



UNIVERSIDAD DE QUINTANA ROO

DIVISIÓN DE HUMANIDADES Y LENGUAS

LAND CONFLICTS OVER CULTURAL AND NATURAL
HERITAGE IN SOUTHERN MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN REGION

Tesis
Para obtener el grado de
**Doctor en Estudios Culturales y Sociales de Mesoamérica y del
Caribe**

PRESENTA
Adrián Hernández Santisteban

DIRECTORES
Dr. Julio César Robertos Jiménez
Dr. Kruno Kardov



Chetumal, Quintana Roo, México, 30 de noviembre de 2021



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INTERNATIONAL DUAL DOCTORATE

Supervisors:

Dr. Kruno Kardov

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Zagreb, 2022



University of Zagreb



Filozofski fakultet

Odjel za humanističke
znanosti i jezike

Adrian Hernandez Santisteban

**ZEMLJIŠNI SUKOBI OKO KULTURNE I
PRIRODNE BAŠTINE U SREDNJOJ
AMERICI I KARIPSKOJ REGIJI**
MEĐUNARODNI DVOSTRUKI DOKTORAT

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To Elda Nieto Padrón, who was the first person that showed me and made me love the Caribbean culture.

Abstract

This dissertation presents the analysis of three specific land conflicts that impact heritage in Southern Mexico and the Insular Caribbean through the construction of a unit of analysis named “Conflict Landscape” and a specific methodology for its representation called “Conflict Maps”. The study of these cases is approached through two possible reading filters, or narratives, Peace and Conflict studies and Decolonization. To accomplish this objective, the research was conducted for the study of specific land conflicts from a heritage and conflict perspective.

From a methodological perspective, a conflict landscape is a hybrid between a *stakeholders’ map* that takes place in peace studies and conflict management and a focused ethnographic description. The four elements to consider in these landscapes are: identity, common history, relationship, and geographical representation. Also, to organize and represent data input, conflict maps take advantage of variables such as groups’ identity, land attachment, discourses for conflict, groups’ relationships with heritage, and power.

The three case studies selected show these aspects in different degrees: a) Samana Bay (Dominican Republic) heritage conservation context is proper to observe actors’ agencies in conflict from the perspective of peace and conflict studies. b) Displaced mining in Adjuntas (Puerto Rico) is a case that can be studied at all conflict stages and that it is possible to explain through the proposed decolonization reading filter. This is the story of a conflict that started from the outside. c) Wind energy development in Tehuantepec Isthmus (Mexico) shows a conflict in which land tenure and heritage management is uneven because of both a colonial past legacy in which certain elites set the rules, and unaddressed problems that activate conflicts at the first likely opportunity. It is a context of permanent potential conflict. Therefore, the conflict map is narrated here through both reading filters, a peace and conflict studies perspective plus some elements of decolonization.

This dissertation concludes that the key aspects that must be study in heritage land conflicts are the relationship between competing groups, discourse management and legitimacy, power struggles, actors’ expectations, and social license processes that could lead to better understanding and possible applications for conflict transformation.

Extended Abstract (English)

This dissertation presents the analysis of three specific land conflicts that impact heritage in Southern Mexico and the Insular Caribbean through the construction of a unit of analysis named “Conflict Landscape” and a specific methodology for its representation called “Conflict Maps”. The study of these cases is approached through two possible reading filters, or narratives, Peace and Conflict studies and Decolonization. To accomplish this objective, the research was conducted for the study of specific land conflicts from a heritage and conflict perspective. The document is organized through seven chapters and a conclusion section.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the research question and the researcher’s motivation to engage on it, as well as a summary of the regional conflict context and its basic elements. Chapter 2 examines the current literature about heritage and conflict studies in the region, the use of landscape as an analysis unit and, also, certain previous works concerning land conflicts in the area.

Chapter 3 comprises the theory behind the idea of “conflict landscapes” or “landscapes of conflict”. The elements that constitute them are enlisted and are exposed through the custom-fit tool designed for its representation, “conflict maps”. The basic aspects explained are identity, land attachment, discourse building, power, and social influence. Finally, comes the description of the theory behind the two proposed “reading filters” elaborated to explain and narrate the “conflict maps”. The first filter is agency understood through Peace and Conflict studies and the second one comes from elements of Decolonization studies.

Chapter 4 elaborates the research tool designed to build conflict landscapes and that was used for case study understanding. It is based on stakeholder’s analysis and ethnographic observation. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the analysis of the case studies through the proposed tool. They are a sample of different land, conflict, and heritage aspects:

a) Samana Bay (Dominican Republic) heritage conservation context is proper to observe actors’ agencies in conflict from the perspective of Peace and Conflict studies.

b) Displaced mining in Adjuntas (Puerto Rico) is a case that can be studied at all conflict stages and that it is possible to explain through the proposed decolonization reading filter. This is the story of a conflict that started from the outside.

c) Wind energy development in Tehuantepec Isthmus (Mexico) shows a conflict in which land tenure and heritage management is uneven because of both a colonial past legacy in which certain elites set the rules, and unaddressed problems that activate conflicts at the first likely opportunity. It is a context of permanent potential conflict. Therefore, the conflict map is narrated here through both reading filters, a Peace and Conflict studies perspective plus some elements of Decolonization.

Finally, a last section was written for conclusions where key aspects and findings that can be study in heritage land conflicts are enlisted such as the relationship between competing groups, discourse management and legitimacy, power struggles, actors' expectations, and social license processes that could lead to better understanding and possible applications for conflict transformation.

Introduction (Conflict Landscapes)

Whoever controls heritage has direct access to symbols, power, and the right to establish landscape meanings. From a landscape perspective, conflicts would be situations or moments in which landscape dwellers perceive threats to their way of life and observe conflicting interests with those of other stakeholders. So, a landscape of conflict is a hybrid between a *stakeholders' map* that takes place in peace studies and conflict management (Susskind and Thomas-Larmer, 1999) and a focused ethnographic description. Therefore, the resulting landscape can be understood as an ethnography of the studied conflict by also considering the particularities and that each case study will differ from other conflicts. The four proposed elements to consider in these landscapes are:

- a) Identity Principle. Communities, collectives, institutions, and individuals, as landscape dwellers, generate a link with the landscape that identifies them.
- b) Common History Principle. Beyond the identity self-ascription that the actors build on land, their activities and roots have built a history in common with landscape that an external viewer can observe.
- c) Relationship Principle. There are multiple interrelationships between social agents, sectors, institutions, inhabitants, and economic activities
- d) Geographical Representation Principle. Landscapes of conflicts distinguish from other types of social conflicts, mainly because there is always a land aspect that can

be represented and impacts heritage, even if it is only symbolic. Land is present and an issue. Its tenure, use, or management needs to be studied with the conflict.

Land Conflicts Representation (Conflict Maps)

Once the construction of conflict landscapes is finished, the next proposed step is to proceed with data organization and representation. The dissertation proposes the following central points for the elaboration of these representation named Conflict Maps:

1. Identity. Although an individual or a group does not manage certain land, it may consider a certain landscape or region as part of the referents that build its identity.
2. Land attachment. Groups, collectives, and individuals that have a role in conflicts have different roots in the landscape in which they exert their influence. Some groups have a common history connected for centuries, as in the case of the indigenous peoples.
3. Discourses. Besides the attachment and identity of the actors, it is important to recognize the construction of their discourses and the language used within conflicts.
4. Relationship with heritage. Conflict maps take from the stakeholders' study the characteristics of actors' interests and positions to understand the type of relationships with the heritage in question.
5. Power. Heritage is power when heritage control allows access to resources, but also when it gives recognition to an actor, even if it does not have this access. Heritage builds power when it is used for identity construction and discourse writing. Heritage makes an actor visible and places it at a conflict negotiation table that, by other means, would not have achieved. The most natural expression of power within conflict and heritage maps is over land access and heritage resources management.

Reading filters for Conflict Maps

Reading filters are tools to elaborate a conflict map explanation and a way to narrate with coherence the aspects represented on them. One possibility is to read a map from a Peace and Conflict studies approach to be able to understand a) incompatible actors' points of view (public positions and interests' differences), and b) conflicts from human relations, that is, from the agencies of the individuals engaged. As part of this Peace and Conflict filter, the

costs of being in conflict can also be expressed for each actor involved. The model elaborated by Shen *et al.* (2014), allows to establish a principle of how social conflicts affect the individual and collective performance of group members.

A second reading filter comes from decolonization studies when there are references to external elements that were established with visions of superiority of one group over another. These respond to traditional development models in the regions that are a legacy of the colonization process. Unattended conflicts during their formation processes as independent countries are still visible in the current conflicts. It is not unusual for certain actors in conflicts over heritage to use these colonization-product categories when referring to other protagonists, as well as in the construction of discourses of their own legitimacy, law, and heritage conservation.

Research tool

The foundation of the proposed tool for information gathering (landscape building) comprises two elements:

- a) the actors' mapping, or Stakeholder's Map, which is an activity that collects perceptual information to record issues at stake, the actors' relations, and group and individual interests.
- b) ethnographic notes written through in-depth interviews and external party's observation.

Through this tool, the dissertation proposes that a land conflict can be perceived as a social tension arising from the differences in perspectives between actors or social groups regarding heritage or resources management. Furthermore, reflections on this idea also conducted to the proposal of the following characteristics that these disputed lands and territories possess from the perspective of the groups or actors in question:

- a) Land is part of its identity construction or gives legitimacy somehow to the foundational discourse of the identity of at least one actor.
- b) There are economic or social relations between the actors in conflict and land.
- c) There is a historical, diachronic context that explains the relationships of actors with land and its identity incorporation process.

Another interesting aspect that was found out during the tool elaboration is that it is possible to identify current land exploitation practices where heritage is located, as well as the different actors who consider themselves with rights on it. In addition, it is possible to clarify the type of management that each of the parties in conflict desires to establish in the land in which heritage is located.

Case Studies

THE SAMANA BAY CASE STUDY

The Bay and its environment comprise a region of the Hispaniola Island that includes both marine and terrestrial ecosystems with unique characteristics in the region, for example, it has one of the few subtropical humid forests at sea level in the insular Caribbean and a whale sanctuary. In the past, different areas within this region were difficult to access and were isolated somehow from infrastructure and urban development. However, in the present the impacts of different economic and urban activities have transformed that context. It has forced different people, groups, and institutions within the country to talk about the conflicting issues and placed them on the public agenda of heritage management.

During November and December 2018, 9 in-depth interviews and 1 focus group were conducted to gather data for the Samana Bay's Conflict Landscape. Interviewees were reached through the staff Peace Villages Foundation (Aldeas de Paz) and its stakeholder's network. Oral consent was asked before the activities.

The Samana Bay heritage conflict case study is not one with single actors for each stakeholder group, that is, each of the sectors comprises a diversity of individuals, collectives, and institutions. Agricultural and fishing activities in the region have always been linked to the exploitation of natural heritage. The identities of the fishing and agricultural communities of the region were constructed from the relationships that the distinct groups had with heritage. Compared to other regions of the island, the Samana area remained with fewer communications with the interior, therefore, communities with greater self-sufficiency were formed. For some interviewees, it seems as if the existence and survival of heritage had always been taken for granted, however, with the arrival of tourism, deep-sea fishing, and mining projects, the context was transformed.

Decisions that were made from outside, mainly from the capital city of Santo Domingo, transformed the heritage use. Fishing, hotel construction, and mining concessions increased. A competition began for the same resources once the impacts of these activities were significant. There were different expressions of opposition and concern for the future of heritage. Some areas were protected, for example, *Los Haitises* National Park to the southwest of the Bay. Some regulations for fishing were also put in place, especially to keep whale watching activities attractive. However, none of the activities stopped and the impacts continued to rise. Among the agendas and activities of the groups, we observe that there is competition for the same resources and the phenomenon described by Shen (2014), *section 3.3.1*, on the reduction of group productivity regarding its full potential.

DISPLACED MINING IN ADJUNTAS, PUERTO RICO, CASE STUDY

In the second half of the 20th century, projects for the development of industry and infrastructure began on the island, and one of the most prominent was the proposal to create a mining corridor in the mountainous area. The magnitude of the proposed project suggested a high-level transformation of the communities of the region, their economic activity, transportation, the landscape of the area, and its heritage. More than a single project, the plan found showed a regional corridor that would connect with other infrastructures to be developed in the region. In July 2019, 5 in-depth interviews and 1 focus group were conducted to gather data for the Adjuntas' Conflict Landscape. Interviewees were reached through local NGO staff and online research. Oral consent was asked before the activities.

The mining project was discussed in non-local decision-making spheres without reaching the general population, however, the information spread, and the project's potential impacts went out to the public. At the local level, there were actors that showed total support for the project, others talked about conditional support with the proper impact mitigation, and others of clear opposition. Nobody ruled out the need for a similar economic opportunity for the island, but the real discussion was about the mining impacts and consequences of the mining project as an option. However, the decision-making rested outside the local sphere with the commonwealth government and US agencies. Under these conditions, other local, national, and international groups articulated in opposition to the project with arguments

about the potential social and environmental negative impacts of mining on Puerto Rican society and its heritage.

A time limit race to transform stakeholders' perceptions began after new information became available and local politics got involved. The public opinion was a melting pot of actors that were mostly disjointed. One aspect to study in the conflict development was the changes in actors' position, at least discursive transformations. Political stakeholders, with specific political agendas within the Puerto Rican context, tried to be part of the opposition movement. As part of this debate, some parties observed mining development as a possibility of economic development for the island once political independence had been obtained, therefore, they just were momentarily placed within the group of opponents.

The conflict landscape map of the Adjuntas, Puerto Rico case study represents a conflict that was openly manifested in its initial stage, but whose potential impacts were not realized because of the mobilization of opposition actors. This is a conflict that can be studied from start to finish since it began with the mining project construction announcement and ended instead with a heritage conservation area creation act at the same site. It reflects elements to consider from a decolonization perspective. This is the story of a conflict that started from the outside. An economic and mining development project was announced in an area where only agricultural activity existed. The conflict helped to unite certain social sectors around common heritage defense from the local level. This agenda did not exist prior to the conflict, it was constructed as a response to it. This situation forces us to consider the colonial character of Puerto Rico's politics in the Conflict Map.

Heritage conservation agenda prevailed over that of mining, and the David and Goliath phenomenon occurred (*section 3.2.1*), where the opposition group showed themselves as a small and defenseless actor that was threatened by an all-powerful rival. They asked for support, mobilized, raised the issue on the political and electoral agenda and defeated the actors who seemed invincible.

Another point to consider from the perspective of decolonization is the transformation of meanings. When we speak now of the region of the Puerto Rican Central Mountain range, we talk about natural and cultural heritage, not only about its resources. It used to be the other way. A new identity was constructed. Now the local actors handle conservation, and this discourse empowers them, one step more of a long postcolonial process.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WIND ENERGY IN THE TEHUANTEPEC ISTHMUS

The Tehuantepec Isthmus is a physical and cultural region that can be explained as a melting pot of biodiversity and culture. This region has one of the most attractive wind potentials for the development of the wind industry in Mexico. As part of the framework of a study project on the conflict over the development of wind energy by the Center for Civic Collaboration, *Centro de Colaboración Cívica (Mexico)*, a conflict management NGO, during the years 2014, 2015 and 2016, it was possible to collect a series of observations and interviews with people, collectives, institutions, and key actors that permits the development of a landscape of conflict for this case study.

Wind farms require land extensions of considerable size, even if they are not fully used. The infrastructure of a power plant of this type comprises buried cement blocks on which towers with wind turbines are supported, spaced one from the other, as well as a road network and power lines to provide service and transport the energy generated to the electrical network. At a first glance, it was no easy to identify how they ended up involved in issues of heritage and conflict. The key was landscape. There is no way to hide a wind farm within a certain land.

When the first projects were developed, questions about collective heritage management began. Who has the right to transform the landscape at that magnitude? In the case of the Tehuantepec Isthmus, actors noticed that unlike other types of infrastructure, it is not only the local landscape that is impacted, but the entire horizon of a region. In addition, the possible impacts on biodiversity were questioned: migratory birds' transit, underground water currents, effects on fishing, solid and liquid waste management. It is then that the discussion on conservation and impact on heritage was placed at the center. As it was possible to understand through the data, wind farm construction was marked by three types of conflicts:

- a) Land access. As in other parts of Latin America, social problems begin with certain impacts on land access. For example, road closure or infrastructure transformations. (De Sousa-Mendes *et al.* 2015).
- b) Access to electric power by the inhabitants adjacent to the power plants. If there are areas without electricity in regions surrounding the construction of a wind power

plant, the use of this resource becomes a common demand of the inhabitants. In the Mexican case, the law prohibits companies from supplying energy by themselves, it must go through the state distribution network.

c) Payments for land use. Disputes arise frequently between companies and landowners that ended in a cycle of annual renegotiation of contracts.

These conflicts were just the tip of the iceberg. Inhabitants, agricultural producers, local and regional authorities, companies, and fishermen ended up involved in a context of conflict that they called “*the wind conflict*”.

An important observation is that affected population areas differed from the polygons considered impacted by the projects and the inhabitants themselves. The calls to take part in protests, demonstrations, blockades, and mobilizations were answered by people in distant places. Including those who are part of the diaspora in the country's capital and abroad. Several people sympathized with opposition movements since they were appealing to indigenous identity, land protection, and threats to the traditional landscape. Although there is no consensus among the actors about which land elements are part of the traditional landscape, they rallied up towards common heritage.

A proper way to explain the Conflict Map of this case is from a Peace and Conflict studies perspective, plus including some elements of decolonization. It is important to consider that wind farms were proposals that came from outside. The actors who developed them had no link with the region, but they observed a potential wind power that made the activity favorable. Also, it should also be noted that wind development was not a local agenda. This situation caused landless actors, not involved in commercial transactions, to denounce right's violation and developed opposition movements. Infrastructure construction of such height, up to 100 meters tall, was erected as an affront for many. It was difficult to mitigate the transformation of a heritage landscape. So, each actor was forced to react according to its agenda, interests, and resources.

Conclusions

Key aspects that can be study in heritage land conflicts in the region are the following:

1. Actors compete for access to resources and land management, but they also rally up over emotions, feelings, and discourses. Heritage itself has a load of symbols

and identities that should not be devalued. When heritage is at the center of a conflict, land cannot be perceived only as a resource or tenure, it becomes heritage.

2. The relationships between competing groups for heritage management must be considered. This aspect implies the interaction between the distinct groups with interests in heritage management and their power relations.
3. There are influence areas in which the actors involved in a land conflict use their power to promote their agenda and interests. Heritage defense discourses are attached to these sites. They provide them legitimacy.
4. It is possible to anticipate a conflict. This work focused only on conflict analysis, but there are also possible applications for its research method. Reflecting on the conflict maps, we can see that each community has its own landscape of conflict. Usually, land conflicts start with current or potential infrastructure development. Conflict prevention is possible.
5. An expected result of a conflict map is the possibility for the researcher to propose next steps for a conflict transformation process. A way could be to promote the acquisition of a *social license*, given by the stakeholders, for the development of a conflict transformation process within a framework that enhances economic benefits of heritage management and, at the same time, complies with legal requirements and a human rights' framework.
6. Traditional Stakeholder's maps are useful, but in some conflicts these may not be enough. Land heritage conflicts are an example. Ethnographic fieldwork can add up new categories for conflict analysis.

Extended Abstract (Croatian)

Ova disertacija predstavlja analizu tri specifična zemljišna sukoba koji utječu na kulturnu i prirodnu baštinu u južnom Meksiku i na otočnim Karibima kroz izgradnju jedinice analize koju nazivamo „krajobraz sukoba” i specifičnu metodologiju za njezino predstavljanje koju nazivamo „karte sukoba”. Proučavanju ovih slučajeva pristupa se kroz dva moguća filtera za čitanje, ili narativa, i to studije mira i sukoba te dekolonizacije. Kako bi se postigao ovaj cilj, provedeno je istraživanje sa svrhom analize specifičnih zemljišnih sukoba iz perspektive kulturnog naslijeđa i sukoba. Rad je podijeljen u sedam poglavlja i zaključni dio.

Prvo poglavlje predstavlja uvod u istraživačko pitanje i motivaciju istraživača da se bavi ovom temom. Daje se i sažetak konteksta regionalnog sukoba i njegovih osnovnih elemenata. Drugo poglavlje analizira aktualnu literaturu o kulturnom i prirodnom naslijeđu i studijama sukoba u regiji, korištenju krajobraza kao cjeline za analizu te, također, analizira određena prijašnja djela koja se tiču zemljišnih sukoba u ovom području.

Treće poglavlje predstavlja teoriju koja stoji iza ideje „krajobraza sukoba” ili „sukoba oko krajobraza”. Tvorbeni elementi su navedeni i izloženi kroz prilagođeni alat oblikovan za njegovo predstavljanje, „karte sukoba”. Osnovni aspekti koji se obrazlažu su identitet, vezanost za zemlju, izgradnja diskursa, moć i društveni utjecaj. Naposljetku se iznosi opis teorije koja stoji u podlozi dva predložena “filtra čitanja” i koja se razrađuje kako bi se objasnile i ispričale “karte sukoba”. Prvi filter je agencija promatrana kroz optiku studija mira i sukoba, a drugi proizlazi iz studija dekolonizacije.

Četvrto poglavlje razrađuje istraživački alat oblikovan za izgradnju konfliktnih krajobraza i koji se koristi za kasniju analizu studija slučaja. Temelji se na analizi dionika i etnografskom opažanju. Peto, šesto i sedmo poglavlje čine analize studija slučaja kroz taj predloženi alat. Oni čine uzorak različitih aspekata vezanih uz zemlju, sukob i naslijeđe:

a) kontekst očuvanja baštine Samana zaljeva (Dominikanska Republika) prikladan je za promatranje djelovanja aktera u sukobu iz perspektive studija mira i sukoba.

b) izmješteno rudarenje u Adjuntasu (Puerto Rico) je slučaj koji se može proučavati u svim fazama sukoba i koji je moguće objasniti kroz predloženi filter čitanja dekolonizacije. Ovo je priča o sukobu koji je započeo izvana.

c) razvoj energije vjetra u prevlaci Tehuantepec (Meksiko) pokazuje sukob u kojem je posjedovanje zemljišta i upravljanje baštinom neravnomjerno kako zbog prošlog

kolonijalnog naslijeđa u kojem su određene elite postavljale pravila, tako i zbog neriješenih problema koji služe kao prilike za aktiviranje sukoba. To je kontekst trajnog potencijalnog sukoba. Stoga je karta sukoba ovdje ispričana kroz oba filtera čitanja, perspektivu studija mira i sukoba te kroz neke elemente dekolonizacije.

Konačno, u zaključnom dijelu rada navode se ključni aspekti i nalazi koji se mogu proučavati u zemljišnim sukobima oko baštine, kao što su odnos između konkurentskih grupa, upravljanje diskursom i pitanje legitimiteta, borba za moć, očekivanja aktera i procesi društvenog licenciranja koji bi mogli dovesti do boljeg razumijevanja i mogućih primjena u transformaciji sukoba.

Uvod (krajobrazi sukoba)

Tko god kontrolira baštinu, ima izravan pristup simbolima, moći i pravu na uspostavljanje krajobraznog značenja. Iz perspektive krajobraza, sukobi bi bili situacije ili trenuci u kojima oni koji prebivaju u nekom području uočavaju prijetnje svom načinu života i uočavaju sukobe interesa u odnosu na druge dionike. Dakle, krajobraz sukoba je hibrid između *karte dionika* koju nalazimo u mirovnim studijama i studijama upravljanju sukobima (Susskind i Thomas-Larmer, 1999.) i fokusiranog etnografskog opisa. Stoga se rezultirajući krajobraz može shvatiti kao etnografija proučavanog sukoba uzimajući u obzir posebnosti i činjenicu da će se svaki slučaj razlikovati od drugih sukoba. Četiri predložena elementa koja treba razmotriti u ovim krajobrazima su:

- a) načelo identiteta. Zajednice, kolektivi, institucije i pojedinci, kao stanovnici krajobraza, stvaraju vezu s krajobrazom koja ih identificira.
- b) načelo zajedničke povijesti. Izvan samopripisivanja identiteta koje akteri izgrađuju na tlu, njihove su aktivnosti i korijeni također izgradili zajedničku povijest s krajobrazom koju vanjski promatrač može opažati.
- c) načelo odnosa. Postoje višestruki međusobni odnosi između društvenih subjekata, sektora, institucija, stanovnika i gospodarskih aktivnosti
- d) načelo geografske reprezentacije. Krajobrazi sukoba razlikuju se od drugih vrsta društvenih sukoba, uglavnom po tome što uvijek postoji aspekt zemlje koji se može predstaviti i koji utječe na naslijeđe, čak i ako je samo simboličan. Zemljište je

prisutno i ono predstavlja problem. Njegovo korištenje ili upravljanje potrebno je proučavati zajedno sa sukobom.

Predstavljanje zemljišnih sukoba (karte sukoba)

Nakon što je izgradnja krajobraza sukoba završena, sljedeći predloženi korak je nastavak organizacije i predstavljanja podataka. U ovom radu se predlažu sljedeće središnje točke za razradu ovih prikaza pod nazivom karte sukoba:

1. Identitet. Iako pojedinac ili grupa ne upravljaju određenim zemljištem, oni mogu smatrati određeni krajobraz ili regiju konstitutivnim elementima izgradnje svoga identiteta.
2. Privrženost zemlji. Grupe, kolektivi i pojedinci koji imaju ulogu u sukobima imaju različite korijene u krajobrazu u kojem vrše svoj utjecaj. Neke skupine imaju zajedničku povijest povezanu stoljećima, kao u slučaju autohtonih naroda.
3. Diskursi. Osim privrženosti i identiteta aktera, važno je prepoznati konstrukciju njihovih diskursa i jezik koji se koristi u sukobima.
4. Odnos prema nasljeđu. Karte sukoba preuzimaju iz analize dionika karakteristike interesa i pozicija aktera kako bi se razumjela vrsta odnosa s određenom baštinom.
5. Moć. Naslijeđe čini moć kada kontrola naslijeđa omogućava pristup resursima, ali i kada omogućuje priznanje nekom akteru, čak i ako taj akter nema pristup tim resursima. Naslijeđe izgrađuje pozicije moći kada se koristi za izgradnju identiteta i diskursa. Naslijeđe čini aktera vidljivim i stavlja ga za pregovarački stol u sukobu u slučajevima kada se to ne bi moglo postići drugim sredstvima. Najprirodniji izraz moći u kartama sukoba i baštine nalazi se u pristupu zemljištu i upravljanju baštinskim resursima.

Filtri za čitanje za karte sukoba

Filtri za čitanje su alati za razradu objašnjenja karte sukoba i način da se koherentno pripovijeda o aspektima koji su u njoj predstavljeni. Jedna od mogućnosti je čitanje karte iz

pristupa studija mira i sukoba kako bi se moglo razumjeti a) nekompatibilna gledišta aktera (javne pozicije i razlike u interesima) i b) sukobe koji se tiču ljudskih odnosa, odnosno agencija angažiranih pojedinaca. Kao dio ovog filtera mira i sukoba vodi se računa o tome da se troškovi sukoba mogu izraziti za svakog uključenog aktera. Model koji su razradili Shen i sur. (2014), omogućuje uspostavljanje principa koji govori o tome kako društveni sukobi utječu na individualni i kolektivni učinak članova grupe.

Filter drugog čitanja proizlazi iz studija dekolonizacije u slučajevima u kojima se spominju vanjski elementi koji su uspostavljeni s vizijama superiornosti jedne skupine nad drugom. Oni odgovaraju tradicionalnim modelima razvoja u regijama koje čine naslijeđe procesa kolonizacije. Nenadzirani sukobi koji su se odvijali tijekom procesa formiranja neovisnih država i dalje su vidljivi u aktualnim sukobima. Nije neobično da određeni akteri u sukobima oko naslijeđa koriste kategorije koje su same proizvod kolonizacije kada se pozivaju na druge protagoniste, kao i u izgradnji diskursa vlastitoga legitimiteta, zakona i očuvanja baštine.

Istraživački alat

Temelj predloženog alata za prikupljanje informacija (izgradnju krajobraza) čine dva elementa:

- a) mapiranje aktera ili karta dionika, što označava aktivnost prikupljanja percepcijskih podataka kako bi se zabilježila problematična pitanja, odnosi aktera te grupni i pojedinačni interesi.
- b) etnografske bilješke pisane kroz dubinske intervju i izvanjska opažanja.

U disertaciji se predlaže da uz pomoć ovog alata sukob oko zemljišta može percipirati kao društvena napetost koja proizlazi iz razlika u perspektivama između aktera ili društvenih skupina u pogledu upravljanja baštinom ili resursima. Promišljanja o ovoj ideji u daljnjem rau su dovela do prijedloga sljedećih karakteristika koje ova sporna zemljišta i teritorije posjeduju iz perspektive određenih grupa ili aktera:

- a) Zemljište je dio njegove identitetske konstrukcije ili na neki način daje legitimitet temeljnom identitetskom diskursu barem jednog aktera.
- b) Postoje ekonomski ili društveni odnosi između aktera u zemljišnom sukobu.

c) Postoji povijesni, dijakronijski kontekst koji objašnjava povezanost aktera sa zemljom i proces uključivanja zemlje u identitet.

Još jedan zanimljiv aspekt koji je pronađen tijekom elaboracije alata ukazuje na mogućnost identificiranja trenutne prakse iskorištavanja zemljišta na kojem se nalazi baština, kao i različitih aktera koji smatraju da polažu određena prava. Osim toga, moguće je razjasniti vrstu upravljanja koju svaka od strana u sukobu želi uspostaviti na zemljištu u kojem se baština nalazi.

Studije slučaja

STUDIJA SLUČAJA ZALJEVA SAMANA

Zaljev i njegovo okruženje obuhvaćaju regiju otoka Hispaniola koja uključuje i morske i kopnene ekosustave s jedinstvenim karakteristikama u regiji. Primjerice, u zaljevu se nalazi jedna od rijetkih suptropskih šuma u razini mora u području otočnih Kariba te utočište kitova. U prošlosti su različita područja unutar ove regije bila teško dostupna i na neki način izolirana od infrastrukture i urbanog razvoja. Međutim, danas su utjecaji različitih gospodarskih i gradskih aktivnosti promijenili taj kontekst. To je natjeralo različite skupine, grupe i institucije u zemlji da govore o prijepornim pitanjima i stavilo ih na dnevni red javne rasprave o upravljanju baštinom.

Tijekom studenog i prosinca 2018. provedeno je 9 dubinskih intervjua i 1 fokusna grupa kako bi se prikupili podaci za krajobraz sukoba u zaljevu Samana. Do sudionika u istraživanju se došlo putem *Zaklade Peace Villages (Aldeas de Paz)* i mreže njezinih dionika. Prije provedbe zatražen je usmeni pristanak.

Studija slučaja o baštinskom sukobu u zaljevu Samana nije takva da bi svaku skupinu dionika činili pojedinačni akteri, nego svaki od sektora uključuje raznoličite pojedince, kolektive i institucije. Poljoprivredne i ribolovne djelatnosti u regiji oduvijek su bile vezane uz iskorištavanje prirodne baštine. Identiteti ribarskih i poljoprivrednih zajednica u regiji konstruirani su iz odnosa koje su različite skupine imale s baštinom. U usporedbi s ostalim dijelovima otoka, područje Samane imalo je slabiju komunikaciju s unutrašnjim područjem, pa su se formirale zajednice s većom samodostatnošću. Nekim se sugovornicima čini da je postojanje i opstanak baštine oduvijek uzimano olako, no dolaskom turizma, dubokomorskog ribolova i rudarskih projekata taj se kontekst promijenio.

Korištenje baštine promijenile su odluke koje su donesene izvana, uglavnom iz glavnog grada Santo Dominga. Povećan je broj koncesija za ribolov, izgradnju hotela i rudarstvo. Nakon što su učinci ovih aktivnosti postali značajni, počelo je i natjecanje za resurse. Bilo je različitih izraza protivljenja i brige za budućnost baštine. Neka područja su bila zaštićena, na primjer, Nacionalni park *Los Haitises* jugozapadno od zaljeva. Uvedeni su i propisi za ribolov, posebno kako bi aktivnosti promatranja kitova bile što atraktivnije. Međutim, nijedna od aktivnosti nije prestala, a učinci su nastavili rasti. Među programima i aktivnostima grupa, primjećujemo da postoji natjecanje za iste resurse i fenomen koji opisuje Shen (2014), *odjeljak 3.3.1*, smanjenje produktivnosti grupe s obzirom na njezin puni potencijal.

STUDIJA SLUČAJA IZMJEŠTENOG RUDARSTVA U ADJUNTASU, PUERTO RICO

U drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća na otoku su započeli projekti razvoja industrije i infrastrukture, a jedan od najistaknutijih bio je prijedlog uspostave rudarskog koridora u planinskom području. Veličina predloženog projekta sugerirala je značajnu transformaciju zajednica u regiji, njihove gospodarske aktivnosti, transporta, krajobraza područja i njegove baštine. Bilo je to više od jednog projekta. Plan je podrazumijevao regionalni koridor koji bi se povezo s drugim vrstama infrastrukture koje bi se razvijale u regiji. U srpnju 2019. provedeno je 5 dubinskih intervjua i 1 fokusna grupa kako bi se prikupili podaci za Adjuntas krajobraz sukoba. Do ispitanika se došlo putem lokalnog osoblja nevladine organizacije i online istraživanja. Prije provedbe zatražen je usmeni pristanak za sudjelovanje u istraživanju.

O rudarskom projektu raspravljalo se u ne-lokalnim sferama odlučivanja bez zahvaćanja opće populacije, međutim, informacije su se proširile i podaci o potencijalnim utjecajima projekta izašli su u javnost. Na lokalnoj razini bilo je aktera koji su dali potpunu potporu projektu, drugi su govorili o uvjetnoj potpori uz odgovarajuće ublažavanje utjecaja, dok su se treći izričito protivili. Nitko nije isključio opravdanost potrebe za sličnom gospodarskom prilikom za otok, no središte rasprava je bilo pitanje utjecaja rudarstva i posljedicama rudarskog projekta. Međutim, donošenje odluka bilo je izvan lokalne sfere i u nadležnosti vlade Commonwealtha i američkih agencija. U tim uvjetima, druge lokalne, nacionalne i međunarodne skupine artikulirale su protivljenje projektu s argumentima o

potencijalnim društvenim i ekološkim negativnim utjecajima rudarstva na portorikansko društvo i njegovu baštinu.

Utrka u vremenu za transformaciju percepcije dionika započela je nakon što su nove informacije postale dostupne i nakon što se uključila lokalna politika. Javno mnijenje je činila šarolika skupina aktera koji su uglavnom bili nepovezani. Zanimljiv aspekt za proučavanje ovog razvoja sukoba su promjene u pozicijama aktera, barem njihove diskurzivne transformacije. Politički dionici, sa specifičnim političkim programima unutar portorikanskog konteksta, pokušali su biti dio oporbenog pokreta. U sklopu ove rasprave neke su stranke promatrale razvoj rudarstva kao mogućnost gospodarskog razvoja otoka nakon stjecanja političke neovisnosti, pa su se samo na trenutak smjestile u grupu protivnika.

Karta Adjuntas krajobraza sukoba portorikanskog slučaja predstavlja sukob koji se otvoreno manifestirao u svojoj početnoj fazi, ali čiji potencijalni utjecaji nisu ostvareni zbog mobilizacije oporbenih aktera. Ovo je sukob koji se može proučavati od početka do kraja budući da je započeo najavom izgradnje rudarskog projekta, a umjesto toga završio aktom o stvaranju zaštićenog područja prirodne baštine. Također, slučaj odražava elemente koje valja razmotriti iz perspektive dekolonizacije. Ovo je priča o sukobu koji je započeo izvana. Najavljen je gospodarski i rudarski razvojni projekt na području gdje je postojala samo poljoprivredna djelatnost. Sukob je pomogao ujedinjavanju određenih društvenih sektora s lokane razine oko pitanje zajedničke obrane baštine. Ta agenda nije postojala prije sukoba, ona je konstruirana kao odgovor na njega. Ta situacija nas tjera na razmotranje kolonijalnog karaktera politike Portorika na karti sukoba.

Pitanje očuvanja baštine prevladalo je u odnosu na pitanje rudarstva, a dogodio se i fenomen Davida i Golijata (*odjeljak 3.2.1*), u kojem se oporbena skupina pokazala kao mali i bespomoćni akter kojemu je prijetio svemoćni suparnik. Tražili su podršku, mobilizirali se, gurali problem na politički i izborni dnevni red te su porazili aktere koji su se činili nepobjedivi.

Još jedan aspekt koji treba razmotriti iz perspektive dekolonizacije je transformacija značenja. Kada ovdje govorimo o regiji portorikanskog središnjeg planinskog lanca, govorimo o prirodnoj i kulturnoj baštini, ne samo o njezinim resursima. Nekad je bilo drugačije. Izgrađen je novi identitet. Sada se domaći akteri bave očuvanjem i taj ih diskurs osnažuje, a što je još jedan korak u dugom postkolonijalnom procesu.

RAZVOJ ENERGIJE VJETRA U PREVLACI TEHUANTEPEC

Prevlaka Tehuantepec je fizička geografska i kulturna regija koja se može objasniti kao lonac za taljenje biološke raznolikosti i kulture. Ova regija ima jedan od najatraktivnijih vjetrocentrijala za razvoj industrije vjetroelektrana u Meksiku. U okviru istraživačkog projekta o sukobu oko razvoja energije vjetra od strane Centra za građansku suradnju, *Centro de Colaboración Cívica (Meksiko)*, nevladine organizacije za upravljanje sukobima, tijekom 2014., 2015. i 2016. godine, bilo je moguće prikupiti niz zapažanja i provesti intervjue s ljudima, kolektivima, institucijama i ključnim akterima, a što je omogućilo razvoj krajobraza sukoba za ovu studiju slučaja.

Vjetroelektrane zahtijevaju proširenja zemljišta značajne veličine, čak i ako se ne koriste u potpunosti. Infrastrukturu elektrana ovoga tipa čine ukopani cementni blokovi na koje su oslonjeni tornjevi s vjetroturbinama, međusobno razmaknuti, kao i cestovna mreža i dalekovodi za servisiranje i transport proizvedene energije u električnu mrežu. Isprva nije bilo jednostavno utvrditi na koji način su se akteri uključili u sukob i pitanje naslijeđa. Ključ je bio krajobraz. Ne postoji način da se prikriju vjetroelektrane unutar određenog prostora.

Kad su razvijeni prvi projekti, počela su se postavljati pitanja o upravljanju kolektivnom baštinom. Tko ima pravo transformirati krajobraz u tom opsegu? U slučaju prevlake Tehuantepec, akteri su primijetili da za razliku od drugih vrsta infrastrukture, utjecaj ne postoji samo na lokalni krajobraz, već na cijeli regionalni horizont. K tome, postavljana su pitanja o mogućim utjecajima na biološku raznolikost: preleti ptica selica, podzemne vodene struje, učinci na ribarstvo, gospodarenje krutim i tekućim otpadom. Tada je u središte stavljena i rasprava o očuvanju baštine i utjecaju na baštinu. Iz podataka je moguće isčitati da su izgradnju vjetroelektrana obilježile tri vrste sukoba:

- a) Pristup zemljištu. Kao i u drugim dijelovima Latinske Amerike, društveni problemi počinju s određenim utjecajima u području pristupa zemljištu. Na primjer, zatvaranje cesta ili transformacije infrastrukture. (De Sousa-Mendes *i sur.* 2015.).
- b) Pristup električnoj energiji stanovnika u susjedstvu elektrana. Ako u susjednim regijama postoje područja bez struje, korištenje tog resursa postaje uobičajeni zahtjev stanovnika. U meksičkom slučaju zakon zabranjuje tvrtkama da same isporučuju energiju, to mora prolaziti kroz državnu distribucijsku mrežu.

c) Naknade za korištenje zemljišta. Često se javljaju sporovi između tvrtki i vlasnika zemljišta, a koji završavaju ciklusom stalnih godišnjih pregovora o ugovorima.

Ovi sukobi bili su samo vrh ledenoga brijega. Stanovnici, poljoprivredni proizvođači, lokalne i regionalne vlasti, tvrtke i ribari na kraju su bili uključeni u kontekst sukoba koji su nazvali „*sukobom vjetra*“.

Važno je zapažanje da su se područja pogođenog stanovništva razlikovala od područja za koje se smatralo da je pod utjecajem projekata i samih stanovnika. Na pozive za sudjelovanje u prosvjedima, demonstracijama, blokadama i mobilizacijama odazivali su se ljudi i iz udaljenih mjesta. Uključujući i one koji čine iseljenike iz glavnog grada zemlje, ali i izinozemstva. Neki su simpatizirali oporbene pokrete jer su se pozivali na autohtoni identitet, zaštitu zemljišta i prijetnje tradicionalnom krajobrazu. Iako među akterima ne postoji konsenzus o tome koji su elementi zemljišta dio tradicionalnog krajobraza, ipak su djelovali u smjeru zajedničke baštine.

Prikladan način da se razjasni karta sukoba u ovom slučaju čini perspektiva studija mira i sukoba, uz uključenje nekih elemenata dekolonizacije. Važno je uzeti u obzir da su vjetroelektrane bile prijedlozi koji su došli izvana. Akteri koji su ih razvili nisu imali veze s regijom, ali su uočili potencijale snage vjetra što je činilo predložene aktivnosti povoljnima. Također, treba napomenuti da energetska razvoj vjetra nije bio lokalna agenda. Ova situacija navela je aktere bez zemlje, koji nisu uključeni u komercijalne transakcije, da osude kršenje prava i razviju oporbene pokrete. Infrastrukturna konstrukcija takve visine, do 100 metara visoka, za mnoge je predstavljala uvredu. Bilo je teško ublažiti takvu preobrazbu krajobraza baštine. Dakle, svaki akter je bio ponukan reagirati u skladu sa svojim programom, interesima i resursima.

Zaključak

Ključni aspekti koji se mogu analizirati u zemljišnim sukobima oko baštine u ovoj regiji su sljedeći:

1. Akteri se natječu za pristup resursima i upravljanje zemljištem, ali se također okupljaju oko emocija, osjećaja i diskursa. Sama baština ima mnoštvo simbola i identiteta koji se ne smiju obezvrijeđivati. Kada je naslijeđe u središtu sukoba,

zemljište se ne može doživljavati samo kao resurs ili posjed, ono postaje naslijeđe.

2. Moraju se razmotriti odnosi između grupa koje se natječu za upravljanje baštinom. Ovaj aspekt podrazumijeva interakciju između različitih skupina s interesima za upravljanje baštinom i njihove odnose moći.
3. Postoje područja utjecaja u kojima akteri uključeni u zemljišni sukob koriste svoju moć za promicanje svojih planova i interesa. Diskursi obrane baštine naslonjeni su na to područje. Ti diskursi im daju legitimitet.
4. Moguće je predvidjeti sukob. Ovaj rad se fokusirao samo na analizu sukoba, ali postoje i moguće primjene ove metode istraživanja i u tom području. Uzimajući u obzir karte sukoba primjećujemo da svaka zajednica ima svoj krajobraz sukoba. Zemljišni sukobi obično počinju aktualnim ili potencijalnim razvojem infrastrukture. Prevencija sukoba je moguća.
5. Očekivani rezultat karte sukoba čini mogućnosti da istraživač predloži naredne korake za proces transformacije sukoba. Jedan od načina za to bi mogao biti promicanje stjecanja *društvene licence*, a koju daju dionici, za razvoj procesa transformacije sukoba unutar okvira koji povećava ekonomske koristi upravljanja naslijeđem, a istovremeno je u skladu sa zakonskim zahtjevima i okvirima ljudskih prava.
6. Tradicionalne karte dionika su korisne, ali u nekim sukobima to možda neće biti dovoljno. Zemljišni sukobi oko baštine su primjer. Etnografski terenski rad može ponuditi nove kategorije važne za analizu sukoba.

Extended Abstract (Spanish)

La presente tesis aborda el análisis de tres conflictos territoriales específicos que inciden en el patrimonio cultural en el sur de México y el Caribe hispano insular a través de la construcción de una unidad de análisis denominada *paisaje de conflicto* y la propuesta de una metodología específica para su representación denominada *mapas de conflicto*. El estudio de estos casos se aborda a través de dos posibles filtros de lectura, o narrativas, la de los estudios de paz y conflicto y desde la descolonización. Para cumplir con este objetivo, la investigación se realizó a través del estudio de conflictos de patrimonio territorial específicos desde una perspectiva de *patrimonio y conflicto*. El documento está organizado en siete capítulos y una sección de conclusiones.

El capítulo 1 expone una introducción a la pregunta de investigación, la motivación detrás de la tesis, así como un resumen del contexto regional de conflictividad y sus elementos básicos. El capítulo 2 aborda los trabajos de investigación previos en el campo de patrimonio y conflicto en la región de estudio, el uso del concepto de paisaje como unidad de análisis y algunos estudios anteriores respecto a conflictos en el área.

El capítulo 3 presenta la teoría que se utilizó para construir el término de *paisajes de conflicto*. Se realiza una descripción de los elementos que lo componen y sobre los que se basa la herramienta diseñada para la representación específica de estos paisajes, los *mapas de conflicto*. Además, se tratan los aspectos de identidad, arraigo a la tierra, construcción de discurso, poder e influencia social de los grupos dentro de los conflictos. Por último, se desarrolla una descripción de la teoría utilizada para los *filtros de lectura* propuestos para los mapas. El primero es el concepto de agencia desde los estudios de Paz y Conflicto y el segundo, desde los elementos de los estudios de descolonización.

El capítulo 4 aborda la herramienta de investigación que se construyó para elaborar los *paisajes de conflicto* y para el posterior entendimiento de los estudios de caso. Ésta se basa en los estudios de actores y la observación etnográfica. Los capítulos 5, 6 y 7 contienen el análisis de los estudios de caso a través de esta herramienta. Éstos manejan aspectos diversos sobre los conceptos de patrimonio, conflicto y uso de la tierra y el territorio.

- a) Contexto de conservación del patrimonio en la Bahía de Samaná (República Dominicana) en el que se pueden observar las agencias de los actores en conflicto desde la perspectiva de los estudios de Paz y Conflicto.

- b) La minería desplazada en Adjuntas (Puerto Rico), que es un caso de un conflicto que se puede abordar en todas sus fases y que se puede explicar desde el filtro de lectura propuesto con base en los estudios de descolonización. La historia de este conflicto es la de uno que empezó de manera externa.
- c) El desarrollo de la energía eólica en el Istmo de Tehuantepec (México) que muestra un conflicto en el que la tenencia de la tierra y el manejo del patrimonio es desigual tanto por el pasado colonial en el que ciertas élites colocaron las reglas como por los problemas sociales presentes que no han sido atendidos y que activan conflictos de manera recurrente.

Finalmente, existe una última sección en la que se exponen, a manera de conclusión, los aspectos clave y los hallazgos para los estudios de conflictos patrimoniales y territorio como son las relaciones entre los grupos en competencia, el manejo del discurso y la construcción de legitimidad, las luchas de poder, las expectativas de los actores y los procesos de licencia social que pueden conducir a un mejor entendimiento de los conflictos y a posibles aplicaciones para la transformaciones de los mismos.

Introducción (Paisajes de los conflictos)

Quien controle el patrimonio tiene acceso directo a los símbolos, al poder y el derecho para establecer significados en el paisaje. Desde una perspectiva de paisaje, los conflictos son situaciones o episodios en los que los *moradores* del paisaje perciben amenazas a su manera de vivir y observan intereses contrapuestos con otros actores. Desde una perspectiva metodológica, un paisaje de conflicto es una construcción híbrida entre un mapa de actores que se desarrolla en los estudios de Paz y Conflicto (Susskind y Thomas-Larmer 1999) y una descripción etnográfica focalizada. Por lo tanto, el paisaje resultante puede ser estudiado como una etnografía del conflicto al considerar que cada caso de estudio será distinto a otro. Los cuatro elementos que propone esta tesis que tienen utilidad para estudiar estos paisajes son los siguientes:

- a) Principio de identidad. Comunidades, colectivos, instituciones e individuos, como *moradores* del paisaje, generan un vínculo con el paisaje que los identifica.
- b) Principio de historia en común. Más allá de la auto adscripción identitaria que los actores de un conflicto construyen con el territorio, sus actividades y raíces los

han vinculado con una historia en común que observador externo puede identificar.

- c) Principio de relación. Existen diferentes relaciones e interacciones entre los agentes sociales, sectores, instituciones, habitantes y las actividades económicas que desarrollan dentro del paisaje.
- d) Principio de representación geográfica. Los paisajes de conflictos se distinguen de otros tipos de conflictos sociales principalmente porque siempre cuentan con un aspecto territorial, aunque sea sólo de forma simbólica. La tierra está presente y es un tema en conflicto. La tenencia, el uso y su administración necesitan ser estudiados para entender el conflicto.

Representación de los conflictos territoriales sobre patrimonio (Mapas de conflictos)

Una vez construido los paisajes de conflicto, el paso siguiente es proceder con la organización de la información y su representación. Esta tesis propone los puntos centrales siguientes para la elaboración de las representaciones de los paisajes, denominados *mapas de conflicto*:

1. Identidad. Aunque un individuo o grupo no administre cierta tierra patrimonial, éste puede considerar el paisaje o la región como parte de los referentes con los que construye su identidad.
2. Arraigo al territorio. Los grupos, colectivos e individuos que desempeñan un papel en los conflictos poseen diferentes raíces dentro del paisaje en el que ejercen su influencia. Algunos grupos conservan una historia en común con el paisaje que los conecta desde siglos atrás, tal es el caso de los pueblos originarios.
3. Discursos. Además del arraigo y la construcción identitaria de los actores, se debe reconocer la construcción de los discursos y el lenguaje que utilizan dentro de los conflictos.
4. Relación con el patrimonio. Los *mapas de conflicto* retoman de los estudios multiactor el enfoque en los intereses y las posiciones de las partes en un conflicto para poder comprender las relaciones de cada actor con el patrimonio en disputa.
5. Poder. El patrimonio es poder cuando el primero controla el acceso a recursos, pero también cuando le otorga reconocimiento a un actor, incluso si no tiene acceso al patrimonio mismo. El patrimonio permite la construcción de poder cuando es

utilizado para la construcción de la identidad de un actor y la redacción de sus discursos dentro del conflicto. El patrimonio hace a un actor visible y lo coloca en una mesa de negociación a la que no accedería por otra manera. La representación más común del poder dentro de los mapas sobre conflicto y patrimonio es el acceso a la tierra y a la administración del patrimonio mismo.

Filtros de lectura, o narrativas, para los mapas de conflicto

Los filtros de lectura son herramientas que permite la explicación de un mapa de conflicto y una forma de narrar con coherencia los aspectos que son representados dentro de los mismos. Una posibilidad es realizar la lectura de un mapa desde los estudios de Paz y Conflicto y así poder comprender a) las percepciones discordantes entre los actores en conflicto (posiciones publicas y diferencias de intereses) y b) los conflictos desde las relaciones humanas, es decir, desde las agencias desde las que los individuos y grupos se involucran en el conflicto. Como parte de este filtro de lectura, también se pueden expresar los costos que involucran para cada actor el hecho de ser parte de un conflicto. El modelo elaborado por Shen *et al.* (2014) permite establecer un principio para el estudio de como los conflictos sociales repercuten en la productividad y en el desempeño cotidiano de individuos y colectivos.

Un segundo filtro de lectura tiene como base los estudios sobre descolonización y es útil cuando existen elementos externos que se establecieron dentro del conflicto con visiones de superioridad de un grupo sobre otro. Esta relación corresponde a los modelos tradicionales de desarrollo en las regiones con legados vivos de un proceso de colonización. Los conflictos desatendidos durante los procesos de formación de países independientes todavía son perceptibles en los conflictos actuales. Es común que algunos actores dentro de conflictos patrimoniales utilicen categorías provenientes de las relaciones coloniales previas para hacer referencias a otros protagonistas, o bien, para la construcción de sus discursos sobre legitimidad, derechos sobre el patrimonio y su conservación.

Herramienta de investigación

La base para la herramienta de investigación que propone esta tesis para la recolección de información (construcción de paisaje) se compone de dos elementos:

- a) el mapeo de actores, o mapa multiactor, que es una actividad en la que se recoge información perceptiva sobre las preocupaciones de los actores y los temas en conflicto, las relaciones entre los mismos, y los intereses individuales y colectivos.
- b) la elaboración de notas etnográficas que se escriben con base en entrevistas a profundidad y la observación externa del contexto del conflicto.

A través de esta herramienta, la tesis propone que un conflicto de territorio puede ser entendido como una tensión social que proviene de las diferencias en las perspectivas entre los actores y los grupos sociales respecto a su patrimonio y el manejo de recursos patrimoniales. Además, la discusión de esta idea también conlleva a la propuesta de algunas características que se observan en las tierras y territorios en disputa:

- a) La tierra es parte de la construcción de identidad y da legitimidad a los discursos identitarios que utiliza al menos un actor dentro del conflicto.
- b) Existen relaciones económicas y sociales entre los actores en conflicto y la tierra.
- c) Existe un contexto histórico y diacrónico, que explica las relaciones entre los actores con la tierra, su patrimonio y el proceso de incorporación de estos a su identidad

Otro aspecto de interés que se identificó es que es posible observar las prácticas de explotación de la tierra en el que se encuentra el patrimonio, así como la diversidad de actores que considera que tiene derechos sobre este último. Adicionalmente, es posible aclarar qué tipo de manejo del patrimonio busca cada parte en conflicto y cuál es su visión sobre la administración de la tierra.

Estudios de caso

EL CASO DE LA BAHÍA DE SAMANÁ

La Bahía y su entorno son una región de la isla La Española que incluye tanto ecosistemas marinos como terrestres con características únicas en el área. Por ejemplo, cuenta con uno de los pocos bosques subtropicales húmedos a nivel del mar en el Caribe insular y un santuario para ballenas. En el pasado, las distintas áreas dentro de esta región eran de acceso limitado y se encontraban aisladas de la infraestructura y el desarrollo urbano. Sin embargo, actualmente los impactos de las distintas actividades económicas y urbanas han transformado este contexto. Al punto de que personas, grupos e instituciones se vieron obligadas a discutir

sobre las problemáticas regionales y colocarlas en la agenda pública para la administración del patrimonio.

Durante los meses de noviembre y diciembre de 2018, se realizaron nueve entrevistas a profundidad y un grupo focal para la recolección de información necesaria para elaborar el paisaje del conflicto de la Bahía de Samaná. Las personas entrevistadas fueron contactadas a través del equipo de la Fundación Aldeas de Paz y su red de aliados y actores. Se solicitó consentimiento oral a los participantes antes de la realización de las actividades.

El estudio de caso del conflicto por el patrimonio de la Bahía de Samaná no puede asociarse a un solo actor por grupo de interés (*stakeholder group*), cada uno de los sectores involucrados se encuentra constituido por una diversidad de individuos, colectivos e instituciones. La agricultura y las actividades pesqueras en la región siempre han estado asociadas a la explotación del patrimonio natural. Las identidades de las comunidades pesqueras y agrícolas se han construido con base en las relaciones de los distintos grupos con el patrimonio. En comparación con otras regiones de la isla, el área de Samaná se mantuvo con menor comunicación con el interior, así que sus comunidades se formaron con mayor autosuficiencia. Para algunos entrevistados, la percepción era que la existencia y la conservación del patrimonio se daba por sentada, sin embargo, después de la llegada del turismo de masas, la pesca de altura y los proyectos mineros, este contexto experimentó transformaciones.

Las decisiones sobre el manejo del patrimonio que se tomaron desde el exterior, principalmente de la ciudad capital de Santo Domingo, transformaron el uso del patrimonio. La pesca, la construcción de hoteles y las concesiones mineras se incrementaron. Comenzó una competencia por los mismos recursos una vez que los impactos de cada una de estas actividades comenzó a ser significativo. Se dio a pie a diferentes manifestaciones de oposición y preocupación por el futuro del patrimonio. Algunas áreas se protegieron, por ejemplo, el Parque Nacional de Los Haitises en el suroeste de la Bahía. Se elaboraron algunas normas para la pesca, especialmente para mantener el atractivo de las actividades de observación de ballenas. Sin embargo, ninguna de éstas detuvo el crecimiento de los impactos. Dentro de las agendas y actividades de los grupos, podemos observar que existe una competencia abierta por los mismos recursos y se materializa el fenómeno descrito por

Shen *et al.* (2014) en la *sección 3.3.1*, respecto a la reducción de la productividad de los grupos en conflicto respecto a su potencial.

EL CASO DE LA MINERÍA DESPLAZADA EN ADJUNTAS, PUERTO RICO

En la segunda mitad del siglo XX comenzaron proyectos para el desarrollo industrial e infraestructura de la isla de Puerto Rico. Uno de los más prominentes fue la propuesta para la creación de un corredor minero en la zona montañosa. La magnitud del proyecto propuesto implicaba una transformación de alto nivel de las comunidades de la región, de sus actividades económicas, el transporte, el paisaje y su patrimonio. Más que un proyecto único, el plan proyectaba un corredor regional que conectaría la minería con otras obras de infraestructura a desarrollar en la región. Para conocer mejor este caso, durante julio de 2019, se realizaron 5 entrevistas a profundidad y un grupo focal para recolectar información para la construcción de este paisaje de conflicto en la región de Adjuntas. Los entrevistados fueron contactados a través del apoyo de personal de ONGs locales y a través de búsquedas en línea. Se solicitó el consentimiento oral de los participantes antes de la realización de las actividades.

El proyecto minero se discutió inicialmente en esferas de toma de decisiones externas a la isla, sin que tuviera acceso la población en general. Sin embargo, la información se difundió y los posibles impactos del proyecto se hicieron públicos. A nivel local, algunos actores mostraron su apoyo al proyecto, otros ofrecieron apoyo condicional si se realizaba una mitigación de impactos adecuada y otros se mostraron en franca oposición. Ninguna persona descartaba la importancia de una oportunidad económica de esta magnitud para la isla, pero se comenzó una discusión sobre la dimensión de los impactos y las consecuencias de un proyecto minero. La toma de decisión se encontraba fuera de la esfera local dentro del gobierno del Estado Libre Asociado y las agencias de los Estados Unidos. Bajo estas condiciones, grupos locales, nacionales e internacionales se articularon en oposición al proyecto con base en argumentos sobre los impactos potenciales negativos en el ámbito social y ambiental de la minería para la sociedad puertorriqueña y su patrimonio.

Así fue como comenzó una carrera contra el tiempo para transformar las percepciones de los diferentes actores a través de información que se hizo disponible al público y para que se involucrara la política local. La opinión pública era un crisol de actores que se encontraba

desarticulado, por lo tal, un aspecto a estudiar en el conflicto fue este cambio en las posiciones de los actores, al menos en términos discursivos. Actores políticos, con agendas políticas específicas para el contexto puertorriqueño intentaron ser parte del movimiento de oposición. Como parte de este debate, algunos sectores en conflicto incluso consideraban que el desarrollo minero podía ser un motor de desarrollo económico para la isla una vez que obtuviera su independencia, por lo que su oposición al proyecto sería temporal.

El mapa del paisaje del conflicto del estudio de caso de Adjuntas, Puerto Rico, es una representación de un conflicto que se manifestó abiertamente desde su etapa inicial, pero cuyos impactos potenciales no llegaron a materializarse debió a la movilización de los actores que se opusieron. Este es un conflicto que puede ser estudiado de principio a fin ya que comenzó con el anuncio de la construcción del proyecto y terminó con la creación de un área de conservación del patrimonio en el lugar en el que se desarrollaría la minería. Muestra elementos a analizar desde una perspectiva de descolonización. Es la historia de un conflicto que comenzó desde fuera. Se pretendía realizar un proyecto económico y de minería en un área en la que sólo se desarrollaban actividades agrícolas. El conflicto contribuyó a la unión de ciertos sectores sociales en torno a la defensa del patrimonio desde el ámbito local. Esta agenda no existía antes del conflicto, se construyó como respuesta al mismo. Esta situación obliga entonces a considerar el carácter político colonial de Puerto Rico dentro del *mapa del conflicto*.

La agenda por la conservación del patrimonio superó a la de la explotación minera y se desarrolló el fenómeno de *David y Goliat* (sección 3.2.1) en el que un grupo de oposición, que se mostraba como indefenso y pequeño, era amenazado por un rival todopoderoso. Ellos buscaron apoyo, se movilizaron, llevaron el tema a la agenda política y electoral y lograron vencer a los actores que parecían invencibles.

Otro punto para considerar desde la perspectiva de la descolonización es la transformación de significados. Cuando se habla ahora de la región de la Cordillera Central de Puerto Rico, se habla de patrimonio cultural y natural, no sólo de sus recursos. Solía ser antes de manera inversa. Se construyó una identidad nueva. Ahora los actores locales se encuentran a cargo de la conservación del patrimonio y el discurso que construyeron los empodera, un paso más de un largo proceso poscolonial.

EL DESARROLLO DE LA ENERGÍA EÓLICA EN EL ISTMO DE TEHUANTEPEC

El Istmo de Tehuantepec es una región física y cultural que puede ser explicada a través de la metáfora de un crisol de biodiversidad y cultura. Esta región posee uno de los potenciales de viento más atractivos para el desarrollo de la energía eólica en México. Como parte del marco del proyecto de estudio sobre la conflictividad en torno al desarrollo de la energía eólica, desarrollado por el Centro de Colaboración Cívica en los años 2014, 2015 y 2015, se recolectó una serie de observaciones y entrevistas a personas, colectivos, instituciones y actores clave que permitieron el análisis del paisaje del conflicto para este estudio de caso.

Los parques eólicos requieren de extensiones de tierra de tamaño considerable, aunque no las utilicen en su totalidad. La infraestructura para la construcción de una planta de este tipo se compone de bloques de cemento enterrados sobre los que se erigen torres y generadores eléctricos, con espacios entre unos y otros, así como de caminos y redes para transportar la energía generada hacia la red eléctrica. En una primera instancia, no fue fácil identificar cómo este tipo de proyectos terminó involucrado en temas de patrimonio y conflicto. La clave fue el paisaje. No hay manera de ocultar un parque eólico dentro de cierto territorio.

Cuando se desarrollaron los primeros proyectos, comenzaron las preguntas sobre el manejo del patrimonio en común. Una pregunta fue, ¿quién tiene derecho para transformar el paisaje en tal magnitud? En el caso del Istmo de Tehuantepec, los actores observaron que a diferencia de otros proyectos de infraestructura, no sólo se impacta el paisaje local, sino también el horizonte completo de la región. Además, se realizaron cuestionamientos sobre impactos posibles en la biodiversidad: el tránsito de aves migratorias, el flujo de corrientes subterráneas, los efectos en la pesca y por el manejo de residuos líquidos y sólidos. Fue aquí donde algunos actores colocaron la discusión sobre conservación e impacto en el patrimonio en el centro. A través del análisis realizado, es posible entender que la construcción de los parques eólicos se caracterizó por tres tipos de conflictos:

- a) Acceso a la tierra. Así como ha sucedido también en otras partes de América Latina, las problemáticas sociales comenzaron con los cambios en el acceso. Por ejemplo, el cierre de caminos o la transformación de infraestructura existente. (De Sousa-Mendes *et al.* 2015).

- b) El acceso a la electricidad para los habitantes adyacentes a los parques. En el caso de existir áreas sin suministro eléctrico, el uso de este recurso fue una demanda común por las personas. En el caso mexicano, la ley prohíbe a las compañías suministrar directamente la electricidad y es necesario realizarlo a través de la red estatal de distribución.
- c) Pagos por uso de la tierra. Las tensiones surgieron frecuentemente entre las empresas y los dueños de las tierras al punto que terminaron en ciclos anuales de renegociación de contratos.

Estos conflictos fueron sólo la punta del iceberg. Los habitantes, agricultores, autoridades locales y regionales, empresas, pescadores, entre otros, terminaron sumando a las tensiones hasta configurar un contexto que se terminó siendo nombrado el *conflicto eólico*.

Una observación importante es que, en ocasiones, las áreas poblacionales afectadas difieren de los polígonos de los proyectos y de la percepción de los propios habitantes. Los llamados a participar en protestas, manifestaciones, bloqueos y movilizaciones tuvieron respuesta incluso por personas en lugares lejanos. Incluidas aquellas personas que forman parte de la diáspora en la capital del país y en el exterior. Varias personas simpatizaron con los movimientos de oposición ya que ésta apelaba a la identidad indígena, la protección del territorio y las amenazas hacia el paisaje tradicional. Aunque no hay consenso entre los actores sobre qué elementos de la tierra son parte del paisaje tradicional, sí se identificó una unión respecto a la defensa del patrimonio común.

Una manera adecuada de narrar el mapa de conflicto de este estudio de caso es hacerlo desde la perspectiva de Paz y Conflicto con el añadido de ciertos elementos de los estudios de descolonización. Es importante considerar que los parques eólicos fueron una iniciativa que llegó desde fuera. Los actores que los desarrollaron no tenían vínculo con la región, pero observaron el potencial de viento que hacía la actividad posible. Además, también se debe destacar que este desarrollo eléctrico tampoco era parte de la agenda local. Esta situación generó que algunos actores sin tierra y no involucrados en las operaciones comerciales, terminaran denunciando violaciones a derechos humanos y hayan constituido movimientos de oposición. La construcción de infraestructura de tal altura, hasta de 100 metros de altura, se erigió como una afrenta para algunos. En proyectos así es difícil mitigar las

transformaciones en un paisaje patrimonial. Por lo tanto, cada actor se vio obligado a actuar de acuerdo con su agenda, intereses y recursos.

Conclusiones

Algunos aspectos clave a estudiar en los conflictos territoriales sobre patrimonio en la región son los siguientes:

1. Los actores compiten por el acceso a los recursos y la gestión de la tierra, pero también se congregan en torno a emociones, sentimientos y discursos. El patrimonio en sí tiene una carga de símbolos e identidades que no deben demeritarse. Cuando el patrimonio está en el centro de un conflicto, la tierra no puede percibirse sólo como un recurso o por su tenencia, se convierte en patrimonio.
2. Deben considerarse las relaciones entre grupos que compiten por la gestión del patrimonio. Este aspecto implica la interacción entre los distintos grupos con intereses patrimoniales y sus relaciones de poder.
3. Existen áreas de influencia en las que los actores involucrados en un conflicto de tierras utilizan su poder para promover su agenda e intereses. Los discursos de defensa del patrimonio se arraigan en estos sitios. Les proporcionan legitimidad.
4. Es posible anticiparse a un conflicto. Esta tesis se centró únicamente en el análisis de conflictos, pero también existen aplicaciones posibles. Al reflexionar sobre los mapas de conflictos, podemos observar que cada comunidad tiene su propio contexto de conflictividad. Por lo general, los conflictos por el patrimonio comienzan con el desarrollo de infraestructura actual o potencial. La prevención de conflictos es posible.
5. Un resultado esperado de un mapa de conflictos es la posibilidad de que el investigador proponga siguientes pasos para un proceso de transformación de conflictos. Si fuese el caso y existieran condiciones, una forma podría ser promover la adquisición de una *licencia social*, otorgada por los grupos de interés, para el desarrollo de un proceso de transformación de conflictos en un marco que potencie los beneficios económicos de la gestión del patrimonio y, al mismo tiempo, cumpla con los requisitos legales y un marco de derechos humanos.

6. Los mapas de actores tradicionales son útiles, pero en algunos conflictos pueden no ser suficientes. Los conflictos del patrimonio territorial son un ejemplo. El trabajo de campo etnográfico puede agregar nuevas categorías para el análisis de conflictos.

Key Words

Land Conflict

Heritage

Stakeholder's Analysis

Socioenvironmental Conflicts

Conflict Map

Land Attachment

Samana Bay, Dominican Republic

Adjuntas, Puerto Rico

Tehuantepec Isthmus, Mexico

Ključne riječi

Zemljišni sukob

Baština

Analiza dionika

Socio-ekološki sukobi

Karta sukoba

Zemljišni prilog

Zaljev Samana, Dominikanska Republika

Adjuntas, Portoriko

Tehuantepec Isthmus, Meksiko

Palabras clave

Conflicto de tierras

Patrimonio

Análisis multiactor

Conflictos socioambientales

Mapa de conflictos

Arraigo a la tierra

Bahía de Samaná, República Dominicana

Adjuntas, Puerto Rico

Istmo de Tehuantepec, México

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation deals with three subjects: *heritage*, *land*, and *conflict*. We can study them separately, the three are well-known categories of the Social Sciences. Otherwise, we can study only two of them. Heritage and land go together, as well as, land and conflict, or heritage and conflict, but what about land and heritage conflicts? I used to work in a land conflicts management office. Basic conflict resolution tools used to be enough for analyzing *business as usual* conflicts, but then I heard some stakeholders focused their arguments on heritage. My first impression was that they were just using it as an extra element to their discourses, but I was wrong. Some actors had no stake in these conflicts, but they were capable of serious actions against stakeholders that were impacting a land they called their heritage. Terms like *heritage landscape*, *heritage area*, and *motherland* can be quite powerful in a land conflict. So, trying to reset my mind and methodological frameworks, I took a new road. This type of conflicts intrigued me. I wanted to study them more. I did not have enough tools to answer questions where the three elements interact so deeply as to place heritage as the center of a land conflict. What better motivation for research and dissertation writing?

The development of state, private, and community projects have been carried out within different conflict contexts and landscapes that are necessary to understand for the future social coexistence in the area. Land heritage is impacted by initiatives for the development of transport infrastructure, energy production, environmental conservation, or tourism promotion, as well as for increase in urban development and land use change.

These projects have direct land impact on the different regions that make up the macro-region of the Caribbean and Southern Mexico. Although the area cannot be generalized, there are already several common conflict contexts of recent decades. Also, there are common elements that must be considered before decision making if we want conflict management to contribute to social peace and positive coexistence among the communities of the region. To achieve this aim, we need first better and specific analysis.

This research work presents the analysis of three specific land conflicts that impact heritage in Southern Mexico and the Insular Caribbean. Through the design of a specific methodology of landscape analysis, called conflict landscapes, and its representations, *conflict maps*, the study of these cases is approached through a Peace and Conflict perspective and some elements of

decolonization theory. To accomplish this objective, the basic research question that serves as a working axis is: *How can a land conflict in the region be analyzed from a heritage and conflict perspective?*

To answer this question, the initial proposal was the analysis of some recent land disputes through the study of the landscape in which they are located. To achieve this purpose, the following specific objectives were stated:

- Understand the elements that constitute land and heritage conflicts in the region from the perspective of sociology, landscape anthropology, and geography.
- Understand the socio-environmental processes that trigger land conflicts related to heritage management.
- Build a theoretical framework for the analysis of land conflicts related to heritage management.

Although social actors and values/ideas at stake may be diverse in the different types of heritage (further approached in *section 3.2.2*), they share the land variable, for this, the research assumed a socio-environmental analysis perspective. A clear example of this type is land conflicts triggered by the development of wind energy projects, in which environmental and cultural impacts are recognized, and in mining activity disputes, for example, the case of positive transformation analyzed in *section 6* that occurred in Adjuntas, Puerto Rico, between the 1970s and 1990s.

In order to gather material for this research, the cases were chosen during the first year of the PhD (2018) among those that met the following requirements:

- a) Possibility to obtain sufficient documentation, in addition to being able to collect information with ethnographic methods.
- b) The case developed within the geographic or cultural environment of the Caribbean.
- c) The conflict has its origin in land management, exploitation, or administration. Land must be a relevant variable.
- d) That at least one case study was in land or territory identified with indigenous population.

The main expected contribution of this research was the construction of a coherent tool for conflict data gathering and analysis. Viable elements from diverse theoretical frameworks were taken to build a proper methodology that would work in accordance with the objectives. Innovation was not

focused on research methods, rather it was on answering the research question. Creativity is in the development of conflict analysis.

To fulfill the above purposes, the research proceeded through the following three methodological stages:

1. Overview of previous research
 - a. Analysis of the state of the question of the proposed topic.
 - b. Clear definition of the methodological framework to be used.
 - c. Definition of the characteristics, variables and indicators that need to be gathered during case studies research.
 - d. Selection of at least three case studies in the region with the existence of the minimum conditions to carry out research work: information availability and interviews conduction.
2. Data collection and systematization
 - a. Documentation review on the selected case studies.
 - b. Questionnaires preparation to be used for conducting interviews and ethnographic tools.
 - c. Interview conduction with key actors/stakeholders in the case studies.
 - d. Information systematization. (Landscapes of conflict or *conflict landscapes*)
3. Information analysis through the analytical tool called *Conflict Maps*.
 - a. Theoretical framework elaboration for Conflict Maps.
 - b. Analysis of the selected case studies through the Conflict Maps' framework.

Although it was not intended to develop a total ethnography of each of the case studies, the work sought to gather all the information necessary to develop the landscape analysis. By the end of the research, it was possible to put together a file on the selected conflicts, as well as a solid theoretical framework for the study of other land conflicts in the region, along with strategies enlisted and practical tools for the approach, management, and transformation of conflicts around the topic that may be useful for the different actors involved.

Note on fieldwork, focus groups, and interviews

For the development of this research, information was gathered directly on field from actors and stakeholders of the different case studies. The fieldwork ethical guidelines were approved on January 8, 2018, by the PhD Program in Cultural and Social Studies of Mesoamerica and the Caribbean at the University of Quintana Roo. During 2018 and 2019, two different seasons of fieldwork were conducted in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico to gather information. In them, activities such as ethnographic observation, focus groups, and in-depth interviews were developed. The data gathered through interviews was complemented with available documents and ethnographic notes from the field research. Interviewee's consent was always asked before any research activity and no personal data was incorporated to the analysis and final draft writing.

Regarding the wind farm industry development case in Southern Mexico, the information used was available already through direct fieldwork conducted before the beginning of this dissertation. It was gathered during the years 2014, 2015, and 2016 (Babinet-Rojas *et al.* 2014). The existing documentation constitutes a collection of observations and interviews with people, collectives, institutions, and key actors that permits the analysis of a landscape of conflict for this case study.

1.1 Regional Conflicts Context

We cannot deny that the study region is one prone to conflict. Some easily observable common points are those related to land and territory management, to previous problems that have not yet been resolved, and to land perception by the different people and groups that inhabit it.

The region is in constant transformation, at least through the development of urban infrastructure, the geography of its cities, mobility, and agricultural frontier expansion. This statement can be verified with the different conflicts over land management that have been recorded in the Environmental Justice Atlas¹. Beyond what is usually observed in the media and in the actions that different actors have taken in this regard, the pressure for resource obtention, the constant urban growth, and population increase must also be considered. It is not possible to make a single generalization, but these distinct elements force us to explore the variable diversity around the subject. We can list and analyze the common factors found in the contexts in which these

¹ Institute of Environmental Science and Technology (2019)

conflicts arise and develop. The growth and the paths of each are diverse. Each case must be studied separately according to the actions, histories, interests, and situations faced by each actor or subject that make part of them. The features that we can face together are *land, resources distribution*, and its *access*. For example, land tenure is often one of the common disputes, but not necessarily the main issue in all cases. This situation makes us think that, although our desire is to model and generate proposals to understand these conflicts, reality is always one step ahead, so we must adjust these from time to time and continue in permanent analysis.²

Some open conflicts that are currently on-going in the region are the following:

- a) Impacts of energy generation projects with renewable sources: wind, solar, and hydroelectric impacts
- b) Communication and transport infrastructure affections
- c) Extractive mining activities impacts
- d) Forestry resource exploitation land impacts
- e) Urban areas growth
- f) Land use conversion from agricultural land to urban or industrial
- g) Replacement of traditional productive land activities for others with higher commercial performance

Within the development stages of each of these conflicts, the particular history of each region and previous conflicts generated a social friction web on which new conflicts developed. This case is especially important in wind energy production projects on the Tehuantepec Isthmus (*section 7.4*) In it, opposition groups took up previous demands to reinforce their positions on newer conflicts. Therefore, the analysis carried out in these cases must consider the elements of previous *conflict maps* and the rearrangements of the power groups in each of the regions.

An additional factor for context understanding is the approaches that people, groups and stakeholders have used to manage conflicts. Here we are faced with actors' practices that promoted conflict management and others in which they have not. Apart from classifying each of these through their origin, history, and types of actors involved, we must also note their current conflict status:

² Only those cases that are registered in the Environmental Justice Atlas were mentioned. Consulted on August 9, 2019. This decision was made to be able to work on a defined universe that would allow the following explanation.

- a) **Latent conflicts:** Those that are not yet expressed openly but that can be observed with the development of minor tensions between different people and groups. They still do not show actors' public positions comprehensively, the concerns are usually located only at specific points.
- b) **Open conflicts:** In which previous tensions have developed to the point of generating public animosity between groups and individuals. Clear and contrary positions are exposed regarding heritage management or on any project that has land impacts on it.
- c) **Conflicts without conditions for its management at the present time:** This category includes open conflicts that have escalated. In them, there are no communication channels or the will to work on them by the actors involved. This situation can develop when there are direct violence episodes, feelings of betrayal or dispossession, human rights violations complaints, forced disappearance, and murders.
- d) **Disarticulated tensions:** Here are listed those isolated episodes of social conflict whose impacts are not reflected in the long term and that do not yet appear to be a threat to heritage and land management.

1.2 Disputed Interests

We must also consider actors' disputed interests in conflict. People, groups, individuals, and stakeholders related to each of these conflicts perceive confronting interests. These can be observed through their agendas' analysis and issues at stake. Usually, interests are focused on limited access to a resource or heritage, its relevance for other economic activities, and its role in the identity, discourse building, and power status of each actor (further explained *in section 3.2*). The following were identified:

- a) **Use and management of heritage:** when heritage is necessary for an economic activity. For example, competition between actors for water resources, energy, areas of forestry and fishing.
- b) **Landscape and identity transformation:** As an impact of a project that is perceived as a threat on uses and customs, on symbolic and cultural values, identity construction of a group, or as an alteration to people's daily activities.
- c) **Land tenure and value:** When developing projects with land impact, the different actors within conflicts display a diversity of perceptions about the positive and negative aspects

of land value and tenure transformations, such as purchase and sale prices, taxes, and pressure on land use.

1.3 Land Heritage Perceptions

People, groups, and actors related to each of these conflicts have different land perceptions, and these are a main input to build a conflict landscape. They allow us to better understand each actor's interests. Also, this diversity of perspectives is useful for stakeholders to build their own heritage discourse. The main identified land perceptions are the following:

- a) **Land heritage comprehension from a rural perspective.** This vision focuses mainly on placing land value on its function for agricultural, livestock breeding, and forestry production. It is linked to communities or people who live in areas in which primary land exploitation has been the main livelihood and activity for several generations. From this perspective, the primary concern in conflict is the replacement of these activities, their loss, and the transformation of customs.
- b) **Land heritage as a source of natural resources for use in other primary or secondary activities, as well as for industrialization.** Some actors seek land exploitation for non-agricultural purposes of greater commercial value, not related to conservation. (Adjuntas, Puerto Rico Case Study, *section 6.4*)
- c) **Land heritage comprehension from an urban perspective.** The activities or practices of urban origin in rural communities are perceived as positive by some actors. Its establishment allows employment with greater added value. From this perspective, it is also sought that rural areas become part of land planning exercises in which they can provide services to larger populations.
- d) **Land heritage comprehension from an indigenous group perspective.** Usually as a complement of the previous ones, this perspective adds indigenous identification to land heritage by groups that inhabit or have inhabited the region in conflict. From this point of view, any impact or landscape alteration would have consequences on the way of life, identity, and cultural heritage of these groups. This perspective has been found in groups that currently inhabit the landscape as well as by diasporas. These latter ones are individuals living elsewhere and that do not have property in the area, but identify the conflict landscape as part of their identity. (Tehuantepec Isthmus Case Study, *section 7.4*)

- e) **Land heritage comprehension from tourism perspective.** Here, some people have complained about projects' impact on land heritage, especially infrastructure building. Massive tourism initiatives threaten landscape and natural resources that, at the same time, make up part of the tourist attractions of the regions (Samana Bay Case Study, *section 5.3*). Interviewees recognized that not all impacts are negative. Tourism has promoted heritage conservation and has placed it as an economical trigger and necessity when negotiating with other natural resources exploitation activities.

1.4 Study Region

The decision to work regionally, despite the specific cultural and social differences of each sub area, was due to the conflicts' common characteristics. In all three case studies, there is land use competition between economic projects development and heritage conservation. In addition, there is an indigenous substratum and colonial roots in which the current population, both original and transplanted, were established. Finally, there is a shared identity linked with a heritage that is under threat. Although the Caribbean for some is just the islands and coasts that border the sea of the same name, geographically, the Greater Caribbean encompasses more distant communities found in other areas:

The Caribbean, as much as it is a place, is also an idea. In this, the Caribbean is not unique. Any good geographer will tell you that. The ways that we humans develop our sense for place –the ways in which we vest location with meaning— have to do always, in some sense, with experience and memory. (Jelly-Schapiro 2016, 6-7)

The idea of land, territory, heritage, and identity is similar in the spaces to be studied. There are also similarities between the conflicting actors and their discourses. Some of them cannot define the heritage in question too deeply, but they defend it. When we talk about the Caribbean and Southern Mexico, we are not talking about a traditional geographic region, we are talking about one with a shared conflict context.

1.5 Land Tenure

The forms of land tenure, ownership, and management influence the growth and escalation of conflicts. In these conflicts, land ownership, or tenure, also becomes heritage management.

Furthermore, actors are involved in different ways regarding them. Some tenure forms to consider are the following:

- a) Communal or collective property by a group of people in which decisions are taken as an assembly.
- b) Collective land ownership for agricultural, forestry or conservation use (*ejidos* in Mexico). Tenure is collective, but management private.
- c) Small owners (less than 20 ha) with sovereign decision on each of their properties.
- d) Large landowners (more than 20 ha) with sovereign decision on each of their properties.

The decision-making process and the social actors' involvement are related to the number of people involved and the organization forms. Hence, in those cases in which tensions have arisen between few people, the conflict transformation is faster and with certainty. However, in those in which the number increases and collective decisions must be made, the stories have been diverse. From the emergence of organized groups for land defense with successful actions or conflict paralysis, or even their escalation, as they cannot address emerging phenomena at the right time and in a better way.

1.6 Actors with and without Land

Another issue to consider, in addition to existing land property forms, is the phenomena, relationships and tensions between groups with land ownership and without it. An example increasingly present in the interviews carried out, is that of divided communities within *landowners* and *non-landowners*. Inhabitants identify an inequity gap that becomes wider with time. Access to land is also access to government resources. In two interviews carried out in La Venta and La Ventosa communities, Juchitan municipality, Oaxaca (Mexico, *section 7*), a case was remarked in which a wind farm company only invested money to refurbish classrooms attended by landowners' children, who were leasing their land, promoting inhabitants division. The following statement was recorded "Since the money comes from the *ejido* land [group owners], the ones who have to benefit are the *ejidatarios*' children."³ This circumstance generated discomfort among the rest of the inhabitants since they considered that although the *ejido* is the one that rents land, "they live in the

³ Tehuantepec Isthmus Interviews 2014. (Fieldwork by author)

same community as everyone else and the school is for everyone, not just for the children of the *ejido*."

Furthermore, not owning land has been perceived as a vulnerability factor for some families since this lack of assets limits them in rural areas. In some cases, it even encourages migration in search of job opportunities. Therefore, when analyzing conflicts, landowners and non-landowners show different perceptions that could lead even to divisions between inhabitants of the same community with different positions in a negotiation following a conflict. This circumstance generates a vulnerability panorama for land heritage protection.

1.7 Impacts Information Availability

The impacts of each of the projects or activities that trigger conflict are also a variable to consider. One important point to highlight is that the impacts on heritage are not only because of the nature and infrastructure of the projects or economic activities, but also those that result from social changes and individual behavior transformations.

Therefore, the existence of information over impacts and their mitigation must be considered. One common characteristic identified in these conflicts is a quick escalation of tensions because of the lack of available information, and because of the interpretations made by the different actors of the few available. The lack of it, or its misinterpretation, can lead to different actions by each of the groups depending on how they perceive threats to their interests.

1.8 Impacts Regarding Projects

Without going into the specifics of each of the projects that trigger land conflicts, the types of heritage impacts that have been associated with the emergence of tensions are the following:

- Visual impacts and landscape transformation perception due to infrastructure construction or environment alteration.
- Impacts on heritage management, or pre-existing productive activities in the region because of changes in water availability, resources existence, or due to the impossibility of carrying out an usual activity by roads interruption, *e.g.* grazing, or land use change.
- Impacts in urban areas due to noise generation, shade projections, migration attraction, among others.

- Impacts on local culture because of new population arrival, new types of labor, cultural or social practices.

1.9 Land and Territory Decision-Making

A final element that is useful for the study of conflict contexts is the form or processes for collective decisions making in the impacted regions. When badly applied, these mechanisms have sometimes served as triggers of conflicts by generating exclusion of some local actors with respect to projects that have an impact on land heritage.

In Ledec *et al.* (2011, 58) words, “in areas where there was significant public resistance to wind projects, the people involved were not reacting against the turbines, but rather against the outside agents who wanted to build them.” This statement was confirmed in interviews carried out on the Tehuantepec Isthmus during 2014 and 2015 (Babinet-Rojas *et al.* 2014). Interviewees mentioned that conflict emergence with local stakeholders began, in some cases, with the arrival of outsiders who were perceived as unrespectful by local population, or that conducted different decision-making processes. Some aspects regarding decision-making also to consider are:

- Local use decisions without consulting the general public.** In these cases, the authority is elected by vote, or uses and customs, and makes decisions by itself regarding the projects to be developed in its jurisdiction as well as for heritage exploitation. An example of this case is an autonomous local government that makes land use planning decisions within its council made up of population representatives, but that does not carry out an open consultation process.
- Decision making by a collective assembly.** In this case, the community or communities make up assemblies that are convened periodically or extemporaneously and serve as the highest authority for land use decisions, even above the representatives or elected leaders.
- Individual decisions without group association** where there are defined individual landowners, not associated with a specific group. In these cases, the decision-making actors may do not even live nearby, some even do so in cities far away, so their negotiations and decision-making approach changes, and also may not perceived land heritage at the same way as local inhabitants.
- Citizen or indigenous consultation.** In those territories where the law requires it or inhabitants themselves make requests; decision-making is carried out beyond the holders

of the land rights. A consultation process is initiated that round mainly around the projects' impacts (ILO 169 Convention). These exercises can be of a binding type in which the consulted population decides on whether or not to give consent for heritage use changes, or just to ask for impact mitigation. In any case, the interviewees perceived these consultation processes as a sort of negotiation on mitigation measures and benefits sharing.

STATE OF THE QUESTION

Before choosing the literature to review for the construction of this dissertation, an initial question that had to be answered was about the scale and perspective to be used to address conflicts. The following characteristics were considered during the articles/texts selection to adjust the reading width because the concept of conflict has been a recurring theme in the social and human sciences:

- Reference to conflicts in the study region where the land variable is relevant.
- Specific reference to tensions and conflicts in heritage management in the region.
- Reference to conflicts about heritage in nearby regions with similar characteristics which reading could provide information and methodology for the subject of this work.

As an overall balance of the literature review, it is important to highlight that an increase in the publication of articles and materials on conflicts in the Caribbean was perceived. This phenomenon is explained mainly because of the independence processes in the Lesser Antilles and the construction of the nation states in the majors, except for the Caribbean Coast of Central America and South America. The development of these processes gave rise to power reconfiguration and a new design for land use that would set the stage for subsequent tensions. From this point on, decisions were made in several countries of the region about the future of economic structures and the development of a specific activity: tourism (Mitchell 1969). Therefore, the present review begins with some texts written in the second half of the 20th century and sought to be complemented with the most recent studies identified. There are just a few previous exceptions that provide information about the context, such as *Insularismo* (Pedreira 1934).

One frequent question that researchers have asked about conflicts in the region is how to define and study the area in question. According to Allen (1993, 111-112), "One line of theoretical debate in the Caribbean is the question of how to define and study the region, given its underdevelopment, complexity, small size, and balkanization". However, to not divert the literature review, it was decided not to give a particular answer and to seek more specific information on the contexts to be addressed within the case studies: the former Spanish Caribbean and Southern Mexico. And, specifically, the review was conducted on the Greater Antilles (Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico) and the Mexican Caribbean and Central American Caribbean coast, without underestimating information from other subregions.

There are also works on heritage and land conflicts in post-conflict contexts, mainly in armed ones, that can proportionate ideas for conflict analysis. As Todorovski (2016, 30) points out, “there is increasing quantity of literature about land issues in post-conflict context, basically on what to do about land, land management and land administration in post-conflict contexts”. In the PhD dissertation of this same author (*ibid.*), a literature review from a peacebuilding approach is observed that contribute with useful learning of certain variables that must be included for conflict analysis and management, such as the following:

- A) Access inequity to land and its administration that makes up a context for conflict emergence.
- B) Institutional and governmental weakness and their lack of legitimacy that is linked to the development of territorial conflicts.
- C) Previous economic and social problems in the region, beyond the conflicts in question, that must be addressed.
- D) Social problems solutions inclusion in social security to avoid factors that trigger violence.
- E) The role of displaced people both by current conflict development and because of previous ones.

Another study type to be highlighted is the systematization of field experiences in recent decades, particularly in Central America. International actors/stakeholders and multinational groups have interceded in peacebuilding in the region. Some documents that gather this practical knowledge are, for example, the experience of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (2003) that recapitulates its work on territorial conflicts from triphasic processes: a) conflict management during armed escalations, b) conflict management during negotiation processes, and c) peace reinforcement and implementation of agreements.

The following sections are a literature classification carried out during this research in terms of the perspective used for land and heritage conflicts, its research methods, and the variables studied.

2.1 Studies on Heritage and Conflict

Heritage and conflict concepts are already known veterans in academia, however, the union of both to understand their relationship and social consequences has recently become an attractive field in which some publications from the last twenty years stand out. Whether heritage is considered at

the conflict center or as an element in dispute, this perspective goes far enough as to broaden the points of view from which conflicts can be studied.

A commonly observed situation is that once a certain heritage is recognized at the regional, state or world level, it appears to gain new owners or social interests. The universe of actors around it expands. In addition, the conflict context becomes more complex as more people feel involved in decision-making regarding its administration. This phenomenon was registered in a timely manner by Santamarina and Del Marmol (2020) with the study of the designation of a traditional activity as a world heritage by UNESCO.

Papers have been published on the value change of recognized heritage as a conflict trigger. Such is the case of market value:

In economics, a heritage is usually considered as a form of capital or an economic resource which can be deployed in production processes in order to develop heritage tourism, for instance [...] considering it not as a given resource but as the outcome of a compromise between two mutually dependent and opposite logics: the conservation and the use of resources. The first logic reflects collective interests, whereas the second corresponds to economic and individual interests. That is why a wide range of goods or institutions can be described as “heritage”. Heritage can thus be seen as the output of a compromise between differing views, or of an economic process which inevitably includes tensions and conflicts, depending on the institutions concerned (Cazals *et al.* 2015, 748).

Anthropocentrism and heritage value for human beings is also found in land conflicts papers. Heritage is observed from its cultural function, from *the interests of the masses*. Heritage, of whatever type, exists through human experience. Such a vision has led to successful conservation projects:

Alabama wilderness activists [pro-heritage activists] have developed a unique wilderness ideology built on a mix of traditional wilderness advocacy (concern for biological and ecological integrity) and a clearly stated anthropocentric cultural and populist position. This rare blend harkens back to the [...] idea of wilderness for the masses: Wilderness does not exist outside the human experience; it is central to that experience (Walton and Bailey 2005, 131).

Another issue is the recognition and defense of heritage in conflict by groups that do not inhabit the same area but who feel identified with it. Such is the case of diasporas:

The scholarly study of heritage and diaspora is relatively recent, but emerges out of earlier theoretical works on the separate domains of heritage/tourism (informed by anthropology, history, geography, museum studies and tourism studies) on the one hand, and diaspora (informed by anthropology, history, geography, political science and area studies) on the other (Reed 2015, 382).

Through this literature review it was also possible to understand that the different infrastructure projects and urban developments that threaten land heritage, or impact it, add new conflicts to those already existing in different landscapes. Local actors and population groups manifest their opposition to changes and land heritage transformations.

Unfavorable arguments cover a diversity of factors ranging from environmental values defense, the safeguarding of landscape integrity, heritage protection, all the way to impacts on local population health, lack of transparency in risk assessments, and visual intrusion into the landscape⁴ (Delicado *et al.* 2013, 31).

For these reasons, the relation between land, heritage, and conflict has gained interest. In the following subchapters, we will list some of the main ideas of books and papers related to heritage of our study region. Lastly, it is important to notice that in this dissertation natural and cultural heritage are seen as an indivisible unit for conflict study, but it usual to read about them by their own.

2.1.1 Specific studies on conflict and natural heritage

Recent studies were identified mostly for maritime and coastal heritage areas, specifically regarding heritage management. A special interest was perceived on academic articles aimed at studying the use of marine ecosystems, fisheries (Bennett *et al.* 2001) and its effects on natural heritage conservation. In this same article, a comparative study of conflict management in tropical fisheries in different parts of the world was carried out and the case of the Turks and Caicos Islands in the Caribbean is highlighted. It is shown that the conflicts with these resources' management are based, in principle, on the disarticulation of the different governing bodies that work as authority

⁴[Original] Os argumentos desfavoráveis abarcam uma diversidade de fatores que vão desde a defesa dos valores ambientais, a salvaguarda da integridade paisagista, a proteção do patrimônio, aos impactes na saúde das populações locais, a falta de transparência nos procedimentos de avaliação do risco, bem como a intrusão visual na paisagem (Delicado *et al.* 2013, 31).

on the subject. It mentions that, although a satisfactory level of management is achieved at the local level, higher levels of government make decisions and generate long-term conflict. In addition, the absence of supervision and lack of surveillance accentuate the problems surrounding fishery resources and conservation areas.

Another conflictive context of natural heritage management is associated with the relationship between population increase and decreasing resources. Here the catalysts of conflict are manifested in economic models when demand and supply are not compatible (Homer-Dixon 1999, 27-28; Maxwell and Reuveny 2001, 29).

Bennett *et al.* (2001) paper reports five types of conflicts over access to heritage and its natural resources, specifically in the case of fisheries:

- a) Conflicts around who (actors) own and regulate the right of access to fisheries. Here we group those where the exploitation right only exists for certain sectors, such as inhabitants of fishing fields or industrial extraction companies.
- b) Conflicts in how fishery is managed. Here are the problems about fishing quotas, the percentages of biomass to be extracted, and the licenses that the authorities issue to specific groups.
- c) The relationships between the different actors that exploit the fishing resource. For example, when a new group of fishermen migrate to the area and generates competition. This same article exemplified this case in the Turks and Caicos Islands with the arrival of Dominican and Haitian immigrants.
- d) Relations between fishermen and other users in the aquatic environment. Here are the tensions with the providers of tourist services that carry out activities perceived as incompatible with the fisheries. The article again reports this fact mainly on the island of Providenciales, but it is also a common denominator in the Caribbean region.
- e) The relationships between the fishery and other structural issues not linked to the exploitation of the heritage resource (economy, environmental changes, public policy, corruption, among others). These conflicts are considered within this typology as the most difficult to identify, however their repercussions are not yet of a determinable size, for example, the migration of species due to climate change, the destruction of reefs and sandbars, the coastline change due to a natural phenomenon, political changes, forced

human displacements, and economic or political changes in markets that transform a fishery into an unsustainable activity.

Another type of approach regarding heritage management of fishery resources is presented by Bower *et al.* (2014). It refers to recreational fisheries and heritage conflicts, mainly those that use “catch and release” models that are common in tourist destinations throughout the world. Here, the authors refer to the types of conflicts that take place mainly in developing countries. These include the following: a) those that generate competition for resources access with other users of the same resources, b) those that occur because of industrial fishing, and c) cultural change through which the inhabitants of the regions transform their perceptions about resource exploitation and start to see this activity as unnecessary.

There are also studies with mixed approaches on natural and cultural heritage that observe conflicts as threats to landscape heritage, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon Caribbean. Anderson (2006, 1) wrote about how "small islands inspire the imagination of those who do not live on them." In the sense that after the European colonization of the islands, different initiatives were carried out to protect certain areas or build valuable gardens for the colonizers. This phenomenon was seen in the East Antilles, especially. At the same time, Honychurch (2006) analyzes the unity of the *Caribbean garden*, common between Caribbean indigenous groups in the area, as a unit for heritage conservation, and in which they cultivated certain basic products for their subsistence side by side with trees, jungles, and forests. They even incorporated new plant species that were brought from other continents and that increased basic products availability.

Lackey (2006) built a series of principles on conflicts and natural heritage conservation regarding his experience on different existing policies. These set a guideline to understand actors' behaviors on conflicts:

- 1) In public policy development [as conflict solutions and management] there are always losers and winners. The search for win-win solutions ends with frustrations in all groups.
- 2) The distribution of benefits and costs is more important than the number of benefits obtained.
- 3) The most politically viable option is the one that delivers the most benefits to the majority.
- 4) Potential losers tend to be more assertive when communicating and have more voice than potential winners, which is important in the decision-making process.

- 5) People who advocate a certain conservation policy may disguise their personal preferences as scientific arguments.
- 6) There will be divisions despite the existence of complete and accurate scientific information. Root political differences are based on values and preferences, not necessarily on scientific knowledge and data generation.
- 7) Attacking and vilifying people who support a certain policy is often more effective than presenting analytical arguments.
- 8) Although data can be measured accurately, it is probably not a relevant fact when making decisions. For example, the impacts of climate change on heritage.
- 9) Words' meanings are very important. Debates over the meanings of terms and definitions often lead to debates about the value of heritage.

Finally, it is worth highlighting a study about co-managed natural heritage and resources efforts for both their exploitation and their conservation:

In recent years, co-management has emerged globally as a new model of natural resources management that entails the sharing of power and responsibility between the government and local resource users, especially in relation to fisheries. It can be seen as a shift from the conventional top-down state-centered model to a more decentralized and collaborative one where a range of actors participate in the governance of natural resources. However, it takes many forms: power sharing, collaboration, institution building, trust-building, conflict resolution, and governance (Barton and Goldsmith 2016, 29).

2.1.2 Specific studies on conflict and cultural heritage

Regarding the specific management of land conflicts over cultural heritage in the region, no specific articles and texts were found. However, recently regional efforts were detected for cultural heritage protection and conflict prevention, mainly in the insular Caribbean. These works were presented at the II Summit of the Community of Latin America and Caribbean States (CELAC) held between January 28 and 29, 2014 in Havana, Cuba. It concluded with a special declaration on *culture* as a promoter of human development. In addition, to support this end, guiding documents were designed such as the Caribbean Action Plan for World Heritage 2015-2019 that proposes a line of action for the present time according to certain priorities. It seeks to prevent the emergence of conflicts around heritage, its conservation and management, to promote nominations for World

Heritage, study the effects of climate change and risk management, community participation, sustainable tourism, capacity building and, finally, building networks and alliances for its management (Estados del Caribe 2014).

On the social side of heritage, it is highlighted that, although it presents neutral versions of its attributes and characteristics to promote its tourist value, it also tends to be part of speech arguments on community and regional development and economic advancement. For example, the magazine issued by UNESCO's Regional Office of Culture for Latin America and the Caribbean [UNESCO'S Regional Office for Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean (2014)] mentions the different regional conventions and multinational documents already show “the contribution of cultural and natural heritage to sustainable development, as well as, its importance for local and autochthonous communities”⁵ (Moreno Triana 2014, 11). In addition, heritage management starts to be included as part of sustainable development policies for its own conservation sake:

In so doing, we might (re)consider our aspirations for our heritages, the natural and the cultural, to safeguard the present, past and future and align the interests of heritage professionals with broader social and ecological contexts [...] So, while we flock to World Heritage Sites in our millions to admire and enjoy, are we willing to change anything we do in our everyday life in order to sustain such places?⁶ (Bushell 2015, 504)

Such positions also contribute to heritage conversion into a social good. Cultural heritage used to be of the concern of just certain sectors and not as goods of public interest: “There is a long history of ‘exclusivity’ and elitism in relation to heritage, which came increasingly under attack from the 1980s onwards.” (Dicks 2018, 369) At the same time, cultural heritage was part of the discourse for individuals and groups that sought a reorganization of rural space for agricultural production. A specific case to highlight is the Landless Movement, *Movimento sem terra*, which, although not

⁵ [Original] La contribución del patrimonio cultural y natural al desarrollo sostenible, así como su importancia para las comunidades locales y autóctonas (Moreno Triana 2014, 11).

⁶ [Original] Al hacerlo, podemos (re) considerar lo que aspiramos para cada patrimonio, el natural y el cultural, para proteger el presente, pasado y futuro y alinear los intereses de los profesionistas del patrimonio con contextos sociales y ecológicos más amplios [...] Entonces, mientras nos dirigimos en millones hacia los sitios del Patrimonio Mundial para admirar y disfrutar, ¿estamos dispuestos a cambiar algo en nuestra vida cotidiana para mantener esos lugares? (Bushell 2015, 504).

typical of the Caribbean region, is a reference for Latin American (Maçano-Fernandes and Welch 2019).

In the literature it was also noted that the conflicts over the construction of infrastructure projects that impact on cultural heritage are not unique in the region. Information was gathered on a Portuguese case that contains several similarities with the Tehuantepec Isthmus case study presented in *section 7*. For example, within the program *Aldeias Históricas de Portugal* [Portugal Historic Villages] “Wind turbines construction sparked local opposition precisely because it is seen as jarring compared to the preservation of the countryside interests and, above all, the historical and architectural heritage and cultural tourism.”⁷ (Delicado *et al.* 2013, 17) In an interview conducted by these authors, perceptions focused on heritage defense were recorded:

I [tourism entrepreneur] am against the installation of the park, in the first place, because there was no preservation of the heritage of Sortelha, [because] it interferes, it disagrees with the natural beauty here in the village. The village itself is affected. Here you cannot have cement and modern elements in sight because it is a historic site, and there they stick antennas 80 meters high and cement bases. It is a contradiction⁸ (Delicado *et al.* 2013, 27).

2.1.3 Landscape as an integral perspective for the study of heritage and conflict relation

The analysis of the relationship between conflict and heritage requires the development of comprehensive studies that allow the incorporation of diverse variables as well as perceptions and ethnographic data. In other words, “it is through landscape that we see and feel the complexity of the relations and objects that make up space, territory, region, and place” (Maçano-Fernandes and Welch 2019, 892). A growing bibliography was found for the last twenty years. At first, the term region or regional conflict was used, later the phrase “landscape of the conflict” was coined. Recently, even events with this name have been developed. For example, “The ‘Landscapes of

⁷[Original] A instalação de aerogeradores suscitou contestação local justamente por ser vista como dissonante face aos interesses de preservação da paisagem rural e, sobretudo, do patrimônio histórico e arquitetônico e do turismo cultural (Delicado *et al.* 2013, 17).

⁸[Original] Eu sou contra a instalação do parque, em primeiro lugar, porque não houve preservação nenhuma do patrimônio de Sortelha, [porque] interfere, destoa com a beleza natural aqui da aldeia. A própria aldeia e que fica prejudicada. Aqui não se pode ter cimento e elementos modernos a vista porque é um sítio histórico, e ali espetam com antenas que tem 80 metros de altura e sapatas de cimento. E uma contradição dos caraças (Delicado *et al.* 2013, 27).

Conflict' event was organized in response to an awareness of the growing problems of contested upland environments and mineral-resource extraction" (Adderley y Mills 2014, 98). When using the landscape category, reference is made to the agency of people and groups as an element to study for the understanding of land conflicts.

Maintaining both the ontology and, indeed, the chorography of this description, permits landscapes to be considered in a more readily- and tightly defined intellectual framework. As such, landscapes are seen to adopt different roles both in respect of the impacts of human agency, but also of their perception gathered from such agency (Adderley and Mills 2014, 98-99).

Also, manuals for conflict management and *conflict situation* studies have been developed within these views. They address both the different land components, as well as the entire regional landscape. The interest of these works has been to understand the triggers of conflicts, especially in the construction of infrastructure projects and in the development of initiatives with conflict prevention approaches (EU-UN Partnership 2012a, EU-UN Partnership 2012b, EU-UN Partnership 2012c, International Finance Corporation 2010).

Another recent study on landscape, heritage, and conflict was written by Lookingbill and Smallwood (2019). It shows how land and territory in question are part of a landscape of conflict that "represent potential opportunities for environmental conservation and restoration" (2019, vi). This perspective applies to any type of heritage and exemplifies how when heritage is placed in the center, solutions to conflicts can be created, not only tensions. The proposal to create a heritage area in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba as part of a conflict solving process between the United States and the Caribbean Island stands out here. "Peace can come at a cost of conservation", wrote these authors. Therefore, instead of focusing on the conflict on heritage, it should be considered as a tool for peace building.

Although it is not a specific subject of this dissertation, it is worth mentioning that another recent approach that has been popular both in academic studies and in international journalism is the relationship between heritage and conflict in war contexts. The role of heritage during and after armed conflicts has been the most studied (Viejo-Rose and Stig Sorensen 2015, Walasek 2019) from the French Revolution to the present day. Especially the recent conflict in Syria in which cultural heritage became a spoil of war:

heritage does not only infuse the instigation of aggression; it is also in various ways involved in the conflict and its aftermath. This includes how heritage can become a deliberate target as a means of inflicting psychological damage, destroying trust in the future or harming social relations; but it also extends to conflicts creating their own heritage sites. Furthermore, the effects of conflict on cultural heritage are deeply transformative, altering not only the physical integrity of sites but also the very matrix of their meaning as society re-emerges after conflict (Viejo-Rose and Stig Sorensen 2015, 281-282).

2.2 Land and Conflict Approaches

As part of the general literature review, other land conflicts studies were analyzed in order to achieve a broader approach about the academic work in the study area. A summary of these papers and books is written below.

2.2.1 Racism and classism perspective

A theoretical strand of studies on conflicts associates social and political conflicts with the different racial and class contexts of the region's societies. Here it is emphasized that the relationships between the different actors –mainly in the States that were formed in the second half of the 20th century– maintain the differences of the colonial era and are examples for analyzing fertile ground for the dispute over land and political control. This context is quite noticeable in some regions and more invisible in others. The most prominent among the literature reviewed is the Anglo Caribbean, where tensions between the black population and those of Indo-Pakistani origin are so frequent that they are reflected in the functioning of the institutions (Kenneth 1994). This same author refers to the future of these States in resolving these disputes and building stable relationships as part of the transition phase that some of the Caribbean societies still experience. Despot (2016) presents another case. He wrote that racism is also related to vulnerability situations, mainly in women and ethnic minorities, which add complexity to conflicts.

2.2.2 The external destabilizing agent variable

Another perspective found in the area on the reviewed studies focuses on conflicts generated by an external agent and its direct or indirect intervention. This is reflected both in the development of own conflicts or in third countries. Although the 20th century was famous for its decolonization

processes, some authors affirm that the conflicts in the region continue to be a product of the interests of the ancient and contemporary metropolises. The Caribbean is observed as a board where foreign pieces move and where experiments are carried out on social and political tendencies foreign to the population that inhabits the territory. Here the conflict catalysts are observed as external agents, mainly because of the interests of the political geography of foreign powers (Momsen 1984). This fact was reinforced during the Cold War in cases such as Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Granada. In addition, it is observed that one aspect related to heritage management in which the external agent has more influence is the economy. “The neo-colonial nature of the economies of these small states leads to dependence on the control of government as the power base and the source of wealth” (Momsen 1984, 146).

2.2.3 Studies on colonialism and the origin of the Caribbean State

Another subject encompasses land conflict analysis through the colonialist context. Mars (1995a, 172) mentions that “the Caribbean state was conceived in force, as it was the deliberate creation and extension of the colonial system dating back to the time of Columbus in the fifteenth century“. The author refers to the legacy and the constitution of these states through the plantation system scheme. In summary, even if there is greater autonomy *de jure* in the countries of the region, there is still a foreign state on which there is dependence that adds up Capitalism influence. (Mars 1995a, 172-173).

At least for the English-speaking Caribbean,

The postcolonial state in the Caribbean inherited much of the negative, divisive, and draconian legal structures of colonialism. [...] In Trinidad and Jamaica during the 1970s, antistrike legislation was used to contain working class demands for higher wages, while in Dominica, Antigua, and Grenada what was termed "antiterrorist" legislation was invoked to stem the rising tide of political protest (Mars 1995a, 175).

Finally, as steps for conflict transformation towards a context of understanding between the different ethnic groups, Mars (1995a) proposes also that the Caribbean states should subordinate themselves to their democratic capacities instead of authoritarian ones, open up to spaces for discussion, adjust their educational systems so that they can build capacities for intergroup understanding, allocate funds to inter-ethnic projects, design structures to carry out mediation and

negotiation processes, economy reorientation to extend beneficiaries, and strengthen the capacities building for labor. To summarize,

the postcolonial state, therefore, inherited a class structure that was dominated by an essentially foreign educated, middle class elite, in which the professional and intellectual strata became hegemonic. At the same time, also, this elite was carefully drawn from a particular racial grouping, usually lighter skinned blacks, to replace the dominant white colonial (Mars 1995a, 173).

In the specific context of conflict and heritage, the second began to be accepted and popularized among groups that previously had limited access to it. As their reach and identification with it increased, conflicts also began to grow. Giblin (2015, 313) writes that “post-colonial critical approaches to heritage explore the history and legacy of this relationship between political power, colonialism and heritage, and related lingering heritage colonialities in post-colonial contexts”. Heritage management triggers conflict and related actors are found in this context of unequal political and social relations bequeathed from the colonial past. The author continues, “the key tension in these debates is the issue of post-colonial, post-conflict agency pulling against neocolonial conformity as states struggle to nation-build and make something perceived to be new and better out of something perceived to be old and tainted” (Giblin 2015, 325).

2.2.4 The size of the Caribbean State

Another perspective detected in the approach to land conflicts considers the size of some states and their institutions, mainly in the Lesser Antilles, as reason for conflict development. This fact is seen as a difficulty in making their own and sovereign decisions for themselves. An emblematic example was the case of Granada:

The threats [to states and territories] [...] derive from the location of these small states in a region of geo-strategic significance. [...] there is clearly no totally autonomous state [...] The Caribbean small state, because of its location, finds itself constrained in its choice of internal strategy for development and in its choice of a strategy of external relations designed to maintain its security and to secure resources for development. Peace in the Caribbean of the small state is thus defined to mean the removal or, more realistically, the significant diminution of such constraints (Searwar 1991, 220).

In heritage matters, the small size of public institutions also generates a perception of impotence in some sectors, sometimes in most of them. Such a phenomena can be seen in the case studies that are addressed later within this dissertation (Betancourt-Fernández 2012, Colón-Rivera *et al.* 2014) as well as in the public positions of the opposition groups detected in cases of heritage and socio-environmental conflicts (Fortun 2001).

2.2.5 Ethnic conflicts

Within this category, both the relations of the States with the different ethnic groups as those existing links between members of these groups that cohabit in the same communities are exposed as a basis for conflict analysis. In some cases (Mars 1995a, 169), the existence of tensions has been explained as a natural consequence of the strengthening of some groups over others within the colonial regimes. In others, the explanation is as part of a power struggle that began to develop from the end of the colonial period and the transition towards the independence of the different countries where some groups took control of public institutions and the means of production. Also, Mars (1995a, 168) refers that

In the Caribbean context, ethnic conflict usually manifests itself more in terms of its racial than its cultural or religious dimensions. Within the racial category, East Indian-Black rivalry is usually most prominent, particularly in the larger multiracial territories, followed by Black-White antagonisms throughout the region, manifested at both domestic and international levels. Occasionally, Chinese-Black conflicts also surface in violent form, as in the case of Jamaica in the 1960s.

The ethnic variable is present in more studies reviewed. Even in some countries in the southern region of the Caribbean and Central America it triggers conflict, especially in the English-speaking territories. Premdas (1994, 125) mentions that “ethnic conflict is endemic in the Caribbean.” This author also expressed that, in ethnic terms, the Caribbean is mainly the mixture of two racial groups, the white and the black, except for the southern region in countries such as Trinidad, Guyana, and Suriname where there are groups mostly of Asian origin. In this multi-ethnic structure, “societies have provided inviting waters for foreign forces to fish” (*ibid.*). Here the conflict develops as a play of forces by the groups that were brought in to carry out the work for plantations and later settled permanently. One group was replacing another, the indigenous people by the blacks, the blacks by the Indians, by the Chinese and the emigrants from the Middle East. In this

way, a social structure was built where ethnic origin remained as a mark of the position in the social pyramid.

These racial divisions as conflict detonators had already been pointed out for some time as a reason for the emergence of tensions in the different countries of the region. For example, older studies, such as Lowenthal (1971), referred to the fact that although states were being formed in the English-speaking Caribbean, there were still cultural hierarchies that caused conflicts.

Cultural emulation reinforces the economics of race; to be white is not only to be well-to-do but to be admired; to be black is not only to be generally poor but to be despised, and to despise oneself. [...] Formal independence has scarcely altered the social structure. The men in political power now are black or brown, but [...] got white minds (Lowenthal 1971, 43).

2.2.6 Conflict processes in the Caribbean from the class struggle perspective

In his text designed for the exposition of political conflicts, Mars (1995b) describes the following process of development of conflicts in the region, both for the English-speaking and for the Hispanic Caribbean through the perspective of the class struggle:

- a) Conflict origin: (1) in the external pressures on the local context and (2) in the tensions on the most vulnerable groups of the societies that react against them.
- b) Scenario 1: The reaction of the political elite of the middle classes to the conflict controlled by political, labor, and social organizations.
- c) Scenario 2: The emergence of radical or revolutionary leaders of popular origin or subordinate classes.
- d) Scenario 3: The emergence of spontaneous mass protests.
- e) Scenario 4: The cooptation of movements that arose spontaneously by political and organizational leaders of the elite.

LANDSCAPES OF CONFLICT

A *landscape of conflict*, or *conflict landscape*, is a unit of analysis that allows us to gather information to study a social land conflict. People fight for land, we know it. But just defining areas on a map is not a complete analysis because groups have other links to land rather than just its possession or exploitation. These conflicts transcend the social movements of environmentalists and nature conservation reserves planners. People, groups, and social actors *dwell* in landscapes. According to Cosgrove (1998, 162), “landscape is a cultural expression of social relations with the land”, so the main aim for a *landscape of conflict* is to capture and explain these social relations and clarify why social actors are engaged in defending a certain heritage landscape. Land ownership becomes heritage management. Whoever controls heritage has direct access to symbols, power, and the right to establish landscape meanings. No mystery why landscapes are a frequent source of social conflict.

3.1 Landscape of Conflicts

The idea of approaching these conflicts through a unit of land analysis, such as landscape, originated from a mixed social perspective that takes tools from both sociology and geography. In this, the term *land* is a construction of practices (Bourdieu 2007, 85) and allows at the same time to confront the “world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them” (Ingold 2000, 193). Thus, the conception of landscape as a static container of elements is lost and appears that of a dwelling space with identity, historical context, and relationships with others.

From a landscape perspective, conflicts would be situations or moments in which landscape residents perceive threats to their way of life and observe conflicting interests with those of other stakeholders. These are within their activities, expectations, or ways of understanding their home space. For this reason, a landscape of conflict is a hybrid between a *stakeholders’ map* that takes place in peace studies and conflict management (Susskind and Thomas-Larmer 1999) and a focused ethnographic description.

Therefore, the resulting landscape can be understood as an ethnography of each studied conflict. Each case study will differ from that of other conflicts. There are elements or specific

variables particular for each case, but all of them fit a conflict description and its characteristic elements.

If in an ethnography,

the writer organizes some of these themes into a coherent “story” about life and events in the setting studied. Such a narrative requires selecting only small portions of the total set of field notes and then linking them into a coherent text representing some aspect or slice of the world studied (Emerson *et al.* 2011, 689-690).

In a landscape description, the same rule will apply. The researcher gathers different topics without knowing if they will be later analyzed within the conflict perspective that interests him, however, he must delve in some depth to understand their usefulness.

Subsequently, the person who carries out the work focuses on the central ideas that generate the conflict context, by comparing the information obtained from interviewees and informants with that observed directly. In this way, there are conflicts that, although they seem to be based on land management, are constructed actually on stakeholders’ competition, power struggles, or specific cultural practices that suggest different understandings. For example, when a conflict origin comes from only a certain type of actor or stakeholder. In addition, this information allows the researcher to better convey the ideas to readers who are not as familiar with the subject. “A field note description may seem likely to engage and persuade readers by enabling them to envision scenes, hear voices, and identify momentarily with the ethnographer’s perspective on the action” (Emerson *et al.* 2011, 705).

The degree of objectivity of the described landscape is related to the researcher’s expertise to dive beyond the stated positions that the actors apparently show. And the ethnographer “begins to shape the paper’s overall focus and sense of what this ethnographic story will tell” (Emerson *et al.* 2011, 716) on which he will later analyze the land conflict through the drawing of power relations and perceptions. Finally, the last draft version should include the unexplained details of the events observed in the field. At times, the details will be explained, but, in others, some information will be left out so that each reader can make their inferences. The final narration must be emotional enough to convey and convince others about the landscape that is being built (Emerson *et al.* 2011, 725-726). In addition, there is the stakeholder’s filter. They, those who are represented, will read the analysis. They care about the described landscape and should feel represented indeed. This must be taken under consideration. The researcher cannot lie.

The landscape perception, that each of the groups and stakeholders in conflict may have, is an issue to consider in the analysis. The represented landscape will be based on the ethnographic present, the one that makes a historical narration but also shows the ahistorical and generalizable analysis (Emerson *et al.* 2011, 734). As a basis there are four elements to consider in these landscapes that will help guide this research:

a) Identity Principle

Communities, collectives, institutions, and individuals, as landscape dwellers, generate a link with the landscape that identifies them. Regardless of the time of residence or impact, the identity of these groups is rooted in a specific land that influences their decision-making. This identification is not always clearly historical, sometimes it can be just about a place they call home. Actors self-ascribed to the landscape of their desires.

For example, in the specific cases to be studied in this dissertation, it is important to also consider the traces in the identity of the colonization processes. The three territories experienced population displacement of the original inhabitants before European occupation, and their replacement or subjugation by a dominant group after the 16th century. At the same time, in the XX century they have undergone different decolonization processes in which indigenous peoples, or the groups of people who ended up replacing them, sought to claim their autonomy and right to self-determination in relation to the political and economic decision-making places of the region.

at least as far as the Western peoples who made up the great majority of voyagers, discoverers, and conquerors were concerned, [their identity] consolidates itself implicitly at first ("my root is the strongest") and then is explicitly exported as a value ("a person's worth is determined by his root"). The conquered or visited peoples are thus forced into a long and painful quest after an identity whose first task will be opposition to the denaturing process introduced by the conqueror. A tragic variation of a search for identity. For more than two centuries whole populations have had to assert their identity in opposition to the processes of identification or annihilation triggered by these invaders. Whereas the Western nation is first of all an *opposite* for colonized peoples identity [it] will be [also] primarily *opposed to*, that is a limitation from the beginning (Glissant 1997, 16-17).

Other cases of identities to highlight are those of emigrant and immigrant populations in recent times who have different heritage needs. Simultaneously, some of these groups arrived because of

the economic opportunities after the increase of natural resources exploitation. Although land and heritage conflicts may also affect their life quality, they also have important reasons to remain in the area. Sooner or later, they also become stakeholders.

b) Common History Principle

Beyond the identity self-ascription that the actors build on land, their activities and roots have built a history in common with landscape that an external viewer can observe. Also, although they have diverse origins and different practices, the inhabitants of the landscape have built a history together. Whether it is an Afro-Caribbean, indigenous community, immigrants from the Middle East, or fishers' descendants of long-ago colonizers, the story begins with everyday activities in a common land and territory. And the region, especially the insular Caribbean, is a landscape that takes up elements from different sides, as if several glass vases were broken and then just one was built with fragments of all. The fragments that make up this new vase now have another way of relating in which each element has more force than when it was part of a single vase. This metaphor belongs to Derek Walcott, Santa Lucia's literature Nobel prize winner. It explains why things that were taken for granted in their original places, in their original cultures, now are more valuable in their new place by mentioning that: "Break a vase, and the love that reassembles the fragments is stronger than the love which took its symmetry for granted when it was whole" (Walcott 1992).

c) Relationship Principle

A third element that characterizes landscape inhabitants, and that generates multiple interrelationships between social agents, sectors, institutions, inhabitants, and economic activities, are the relations that the inhabitants have with each other. We faced scenarios of complex societies with internal and external relations that affect the perceptions of the people involved.

In these relations between individuals, groups, and stakeholders there are also mechanisms for conflict management around assets and heritage management. The number and quality of links generate contexts of tension and distress that make both the emergence and management of conflicts feasible.

The cultures of the world have always maintained relations among themselves that were close or active to varying degrees, but it is only in modern times that some of the right conditions came together to speed up the nature of these connections (Glissant 1997, 26).

Even for some regions of the insular Caribbean, Glissant's study provides a historical explanation. The region stopped being an area of unexplored natural land and became a known area with a diversity of human groups:

Understanding cultures then became more gratifying than discovering new lands. Western ethnography was structured on the basis of this need. But we shall perhaps see that the verb to understand in the sense of "to grasp" has a fearsome repressive meaning here. Contacts among cultures -one of the givens of modernity- will no longer come across the huge spans of time that have historically allowed meetings and interchanges to be active but almost imperceptibly so. Whatever happens elsewhere has immediate repercussions here (Glissant 1997, 26).

Within the processes of globalization and market expansion, territories and lands connected. So, external events, outside phenomena, and external power relations started relating to decision-making at the local level. This was also the case with new links between migrant and native groups and new activities that were developed in these regions for economic development. Here we can mention the undeniable case of tourism expansion.

d) Geographical Representation Principle

Landscapes of conflicts distinguish from other types of social conflicts, mainly because there is always a land aspect that can be represented and impacts heritage, even if it is only symbolic. Land is present and an issue. Its tenure, use, or management needs to be studied with the conflict. Stakeholders are fighting for a place in their psychological or material perception of geography, and they can map this aspect. Usually, land interests become exposed through their agendas or decision-making process (*section 3.2.3*). The conflict represented on a map gives us more information. Once it is graphically exposed, we have another kind of understanding. New study perspectives are achievable. During the fieldwork carried out in 2018 in the Samana Bay area in the Dominican Republic (*section 5*), the geographical representation of the resources in conflict showed additional information that was not in the field notes. As depicted on the map below (*Figure 1*), although the stakeholders referred to the same area as an integral landscape, they were in fact fighting for different locations in the same region. However, during the interviews, actors talked about Samana Bay as a whole, as an indivisible site (*section 5.4*). By information contrasting with the data gathered through ethnographic observation, it was possible to perceive which places

were in use in fact for each activity mentioned. There was no major physical interference, but actors did not share this perception. Geographic representation is an outside gaze. Even if it does not represent all stakeholders' perceptions, it does represent a mixture of them.

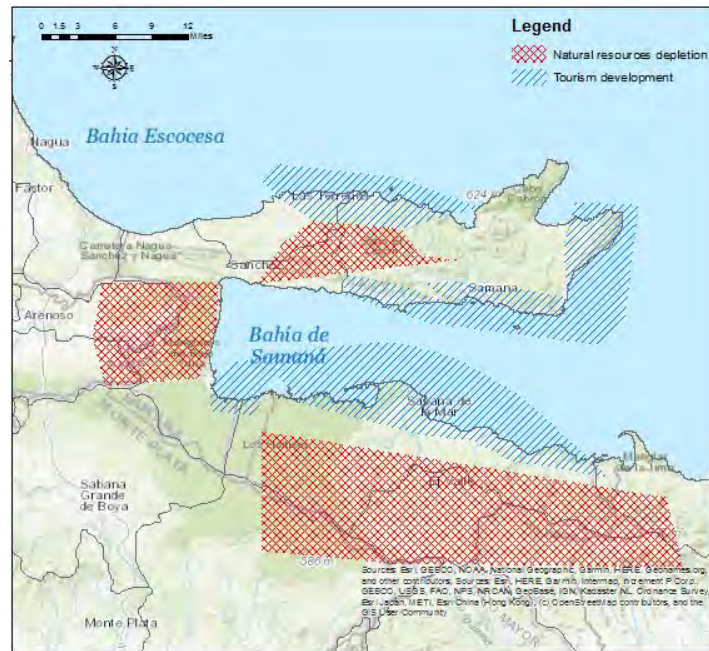


Figure 1. Partial view of the conflict map in the Samana Bay Case Study. Areas in dispute are represented in different colors after the geographical representation of the ethnographic data. Further explained in section 5.

3.1.1 Origin of land and heritage conflicts

Once we draw a landscape of a conflict, besides understanding its current state and characteristics, one frequent question we can ask ourselves is about its origin. How actors finished inside this situation? In land conflicts there seem to be three concepts to consider:

When considering ‘conflict’ within this conception of landscape, three discreet themes are seen to emerge. First is the consideration of access to resources. [...] The second main theme is the consideration of issues surrounding cultural identity, heritage, and ‘place’ within landscapes. [...] However, a third theme [is] the impact of military conflict upon a landscape, either directly or during the wide array of ancillary activities associated with the assembly, training, and deployment of military power (Adderley and Mills 2014, 99-100).

The first two concepts are a constant for the type of conflicts this dissertation addresses. Both are observed in landscapes, usually through unequal access to resources and the identity-heritage

relationship of stakeholders. Sometimes conflicts seem to build up based on previous ones. But the conflict landscapes also show that, in certain moments, with just the announcement of a project proposal or an intended infrastructure construction in a heritage zone, or of potential damage to heritage, a conflict starts. It does not matter if there is a prior conflict or not. “The installation of a project in a small community is a degrading process, from the moment of licensing until full operation”⁹ (Sousa Mendes *et al.* 2015, 249). Or it can be perceived as a threat to everyday life, or for an activity carried out with heritage related resources, for example, marine resources extraction. “For the residents, [... a] project denied their existence - residents who have lived in the area for several generations”¹⁰ (Sousa Mendes *et al.* 2015, 250).

The analysis of elements such as identity, common history, relationships, and geographic representation give us an idea of its origin. A well-built *landscape of conflict* can tell the story of a land conflict and, also, help the researcher build a coherent and grounded discourse to explain it.

3.2 Conflict Maps over Heritage

Once the construction of conflict landscapes is finished, the next step is to proceed with information organization and its representation. Hence, the proposal to build *conflict maps* arises. The basis of these are elements of the landscapes themselves that, as we explained before, are a hybrid between a *stakeholders' map* from Peace and Conflict Studies and conflict management (Susskind and Thomas-Larmer 1999) and an ethnographic description focused on the issues of interest. The advantage of using maps is that they allow to show the full scenario of a conflict and represent it together in one single tool. When represented graphically, these are projected on basic topographic lines, as in any geographical cartography. Elements are added according to the researcher's criteria. For example, population centers, coastlines, geographic features, heritage elements, and the boundaries of the conflict area. In addition, the ethnographic information states which other elements are necessary. These are not necessarily geographic. Each conflict requires different aspects to be highlighted. In the case studies explained at the following sections, it is possible to

⁹ [Original] A instalação de um empreendimento em uma comunidade pequena é um processo degradante, desde o momento do licenciamento até o pleno funcionamento (De Sousa-Mendes *et al.* 2015, 249).

¹⁰ [Original] Para os moradores [...] o empreendimento negou a existência deles – moradores que vivem na área por diversas gerações (De Sousa-Mendes *et al.* 2015, 250).

find individuals living on land, and dwelling on landscapes, that are not properly located in the area in question, (*i.e.*, hometowns of the diaspora population).

The three central points that conflict maps represent are

- a) the elements of identity, land roots/attachment, and conflict discourse construction of the groups and people in the conflict (*section 3.2.1*),
- b) the relationships that exist between social actors and heritage (*section 3.2.2*)
- c) stakeholder's power and influence (*section 3.2.3*).

3.2.1 Identity, land attachment, and discourses

Conflicts' protagonists are actors, stakeholders (actors with specific interests in conflict), individuals, groups, institutions, and organizations that are part of the conflict landscape. There are three key elements that characterize them and can be represented within the maps: their identity, their attachment to heritage or land attachment, and the discourses, or language, they construct over heritage.

1) Identity. How does an actor think of himself regarding land? Although an individual or a group does not manage certain land, it may consider a certain landscape or region as part of the referents that build its identity. This phenomenon is especially important in the case study (*section 7*) in which indigenous groups are involved in the Tehuantepec Isthmus's wind farm development conflict (Babinet-Rojas 2014 *et al.*). Even when actors lost land tenure a long time ago, but still feel identified with it, they can fight for its defense. This aspect also can be identified with the macro characteristic elements of the identity of the modern Caribbean, like the plantation system.

Land defense, or any spot of a landscape in which a group exercises its power, is also part of the defense of the entire cultural region. This is a legacy of the common colonization process and generates expressions of regional solidarity towards groups in conflicts. It also achieves the involvement of more supporting actors. For example, the plantation system legacy is one element Glissant (1997) refers to that built the cultural unity of the Greater Caribbean. Its legacy is a common identity. It forms unity between different actors that is expressed as group support when there is a conflict in which they feel identified:

The Plantation system spread, following the same structural principles, throughout the southern United States, the Caribbean islands, the Caribbean coast of Latin America, and the northeastern portion of Brazil. It extended throughout the countries (including those in

the Indian Ocean), constituting what Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant call the territory of *créolité* (Glissant 1997, 63).

2) Land attachment. Groups, collectives, and individuals that have a role in conflicts have different roots in the landscape in which they exert their influence. Some groups have a common history connected for centuries, as in the case of the indigenous peoples. Others migrated in more recent times and have ties linked to their economic activities that could be more easily transferred. Their level of attachment affects their interest, or *stakes*, in heritage conservation.

This characteristic is identified in the conflict maps on those elements that the actors considered part of their heritage. In this way, it is possible to visually represent the interests and points of concern within the landscape for each one of them. Sometimes their perspective does not specifically coincide with those elements in which they exert real influence. There are even occasions when groups do not even have the power to decide regarding these elements but still argue their connection. A simple example of this situation are the areas of maritime heritage in which actors, who are not engaged in fishing or tourism, support initiatives for their conservation.

3) Discourses. Besides the attachment and identity of the actors, it is important to recognize the construction of their discourses and the language used within conflicts. With discourse, reference is made to

language and communication viewed in relation to a particular culture or cultural setting. The term refers to [...] the characteristic way people in a particular culture or *milieu* interact linguistically. The latter aspect includes the kind of conceptual framework they rely on and transmit, and to the kinds of speech acts that characterize their social relationships. ‘Discourse’ includes what are commonly called ‘belief systems’ (the conceptual part of discourse) and ‘ideologies’ (more or less coherently formulated belief systems). ‘Discourses’ in this sense may be promoted to varying degrees by elites and state structures, though whether such promotion takes the form of propaganda and indoctrination (Chilton 2010).

There are people involved in conflicts who make use of heritage as a central argument, but there are also groups that do not even consider it or are silent about it. Although there is a specific bibliography on the use of language and discourse within conflicts (Kakavá 2005), addressing it in depth would be the task of another dissertation. However, it is important to assume that

Discourse analysis derives from the assumption that language use (or discourse) has systematic and organized patterns, and also that language users consciously use language to achieve particular aims, such as negotiating and sustaining relationships; inciting violence or conflicts or making peace in a society (Chiluwa 2019, 3).

Within the construction of conflict landscapes, we obtain information regarding these language patterns, mainly through field interviews. We can easily find two types of them if we look only at the content of what they say:

- a) Actors who refer barely to the conflict-heritage relationship within their discourses, that is, only as one more element.
- b) Actors who focus their entire discourses on the heritage-conflict relationship and whose legitimacy within the conflict is based on their connection with heritage.

And also, two types of consequences of these discourses that are reflected in their agencies:

- a) Actors whose discourse corresponds to their actions within the conflict
- b) Actors whose discourse encourages actions or conflict escalation without materializing (threats, verbal, psychological violence).

It is possible to observe even different discourses in the perspective of rural and urban population about the same heritage or in those who have access to heritage resources and those excluded. For example, a study by Woods (2017) talks about the phenomenon of *David and Goliath*. Here, a group presents itself as the victim, generates sympathy, and gains another type of power over heritage management decisions. She documented a case of a group that opposed the creation of a protection area for wilderness heritage in the state of Washington in the USA. Discourse generation was the key for rural opposition groups. Their arguments became popular in the region, won over more supporters, and gathered sympathy for their concerns:

Though the more secularized metaphor of David and Goliath often only refers to the concept of a weaker opponent happening to win out over a stronger opponent. [...] The perception of powerlessness can then be used as a tool to legitimize the moral righteousness of a cause, in this case stopping the Wild Olympics legislation. Participants showed evidence of a belief that they are underdogs fighting a larger, more powerful and evil foe (in this case the “environmental industry”) and they sought to disseminate this belief amongst community members. [...] “They don’t care. That’s the problem. We cannot get these people to care.

Because I ultimately believe it goes back to that control. If you get the people in a dire enough social situation, they'll do whatever they're told" (Woods 2017, 161).

Discourse construction around heritage is essential to position an actor within a conflict. Another documented case in the US explains how the generation of less scientific and more popular views helped pro-environmental and heritage conservation movements:

The political and cultural climate of Alabama creates an unfavorable climate for traditional environmentalism. [...] Despite evidence that many Alabamians hold proenvironmental views, few politicians advertise themselves as environmentalists [...] But the activists who are the subject of this study understand that, if framed appropriately, public support for wilderness issues is strong. One successful frame is to claim that big government and big corporations are conspiring to harm something they value. [...] Successful adoption of populist and cultural frames poses a challenge to those who seek to characterize wilderness advocates as elitist liberal tree-huggers. [...] Their populist rhetoric [...] drawing on this grass-roots experience [...] built on a mix of traditional wilderness advocacy (concern for biological and ecological integrity) and a clearly stated anthropocentric cultural and populist position. [...] Wilderness does not exist outside the human experience; it is central to that experience (Walton and Bailey 2005, 130-131).

Additional points to consider regarding the use of discourse and language are the relationships of the groups in conflict regarding this topic. Adejimola (2009) proposes some study points of the actors' sociolinguistic forms of language use:

- a. Existence of communication between groups by any means
- b. Active listening, that is, if there is openness to listening to the arguments of others
- c. Existence of conflict resolution processes via communication

Particular characteristics of island landscapes in contrast to continental ones

For some people and groups within conflicts, there is a perceptive identity difference between continental and island landscapes. This fact was observed within the bibliography review from the second half of the 20th century with the idea of *insularity*. In short, these writers expressed that Caribbean societies are groups isolated from one another but with common characteristics that "repeat themselves" in most cases. An island population must resolve problems by itself, but also, people feel empathy for other islanders' troubles. Conflicts develop in similar contexts and with a

sequence of events that fulfills a pattern. This approach considers the cultural and land characteristics of the region as a mixture of the physical and cultural criteria of the area:

the indisputable fact [is] that the Antilles make up a bridge of islands that in another way connects South America with North America. [However,] this geographical accident gives the entire area, even its continental *foci*, an archipelago character, that is, a discontinuous set [...]: empty spaces, frayed voices, connections, sutures, meaning journeys. This archipelago, like others, can be seen as an island that repeats itself. [...] What would then be the island that repeats itself? Jamaica, Aruba, Puerto Rico, Miami, Haiti, Recife? Certainly, none of the ones we know of. That origin, that island-center, is as impossible to reach as that hypothetical *Antilla* that reappeared again and again, always in a fugitive way, in the portolans of the cosmographers. This is so because the Caribbean is a meta-archipelago [...] and as a meta-archipelago it has the virtue of lacking limits and center¹¹ (Benítez-Rojo 1998, 115-166).

Such a phenomenon of insularity must be considered in the drawing of an island-based conflict map. Some people consider themselves West Indian and observe the conflict from a regional perspective; others see it as a case of a particular island or state phenomenon. Inhabitants associate to a particular identity by the fact of being part of this archipelago. We will observe such a case in two of the three case studies, *sections 5 and 6*. In addition, we must also consider the perceptions of those who observe from outside. Researchers tend to look at them as isolated entities.

In the histories of island peoples from the ancient Greeks onwards, they have a character that is unlike anything ‘on the mainland’. The difference between one island and another, set in the same sea, fascinates us. [...] The prodigious richness of the ecology of small islands is essential to our fascination. These islands are imagined to be true microcosms.

¹¹ [Original] El hecho indiscutible de que las Antillas constituyen un puente de islas que conecta de otra manera a Suramérica con Norteamérica. [Sin embargo] este accidente geográfico le confiere a toda el área, incluso a sus focos continentales, un carácter de archipiélago, es decir, un conjunto discontinuo [...]: espacios vacíos, voces deshilachadas, conexiones, suturas, viajes de la significación. Este archipiélago, al igual que otros, puede verse como una isla que se repite a sí misma. [...] ¿Cuál sería entonces la isla que se repite, Jamaica, Aruba, Puerto Rico, Miami, Haití, Recife? Ciertamente, ninguna de las que conocemos. Ese origen, esa isla-centro, es tan imposible de alcanzar como aquella hipotética Antilla que reaparecía una y otra vez, siempre de manera fugitiva, en los portulanos de los cosmógrafos. Esto es así porque el Caribe es un meta-archipiélago [...] y en tanto meta-archipiélago tiene la virtud de carecer de límites y de centro (Benítez-Rojo 1998, 115-166).

[...] they provide a laboratory for observation and study. In our imaginations, island ecology includes homes for dragons and elves and enchanting spirits; islands are wild and dangerous, or homey and safe, depending on our definitions. They are usually the imagined home of extraordinary and noble indigenous people. [...] Above all, these islands are imagined to support life in greater abundance than elsewhere [... but also] Small islands frustrate the ambitions of their inhabitants (Anderson 2006, 1-2).

Islands inhabitants also interact with people who live outside of their land. They build their identity also in opposition to other people, on the postcolonial context, against their former ruling metropolis. Here the researcher must ask some questions when studying a conflict. In heritage management matters, would they have the same reactions if an action of power or decision comes from a local actor than a foreign one? Or, an external action is perceived as a threat to the identity of a group? Especially when an external stakeholder is part of a decision-making process.

3.2.2 Relationship with heritage

Conflict maps take from the stakeholders' study the characteristics of actors' interests and positions to understand the type of relationships with the heritage in question. Here natural and cultural heritages are mixed. It is people's heritage, and the differences are almost not perceived:

We receive communal legacies from two sources—the natural environment and the creations of human beings. To be sure, these inheritances everywhere commingle; no aspect of nature is unimpacted by human agency, no artefact devoid of environmental impress. Yet we have traditionally dealt quite differently with these two kinds of legacy. Though management of both heritages has many features in common, and both realms often share similar, if not the same, leaders and spokesmen, relations between the two are marked less by cooperative amity than by envy and rivalry (Lowenthal 2005, 81).

Also, the links between the groups and the specific heritage in conflict are established. As Lowenthal said, these are not always simple. In several cases, economic resources of a region come from natural heritage. Cooperation is not *business as usual*. Some relationships identified are the following (based on Galtung 1973, 29):

- a) Exploitation and resources-use relation of the heritage resources
- b) Visual use of heritage relation, especially for touristic activities
- c) Dependency relationship for the construction of an identity discourse

d) Dependency relationship for the exercise of their power

Stakeholder and heritage relationships are also marked by the type of heritage in question. A useful classification to consider was developed by Cazals *et al.* (2015, 749-750) under existing international conventions on heritage conservation. It bases on its collective or private use, forms of exploitation, or economic development, and an evaluation system:

a) Heritage in common. Heritage is a public good and its private ownership is prohibited. It is protected for its universal value, be it biological or cultural. For example, World Heritage sites.

b) Collective heritage that is based on its recognition as a local heritage and that gives identity to certain land. Its possession can be private or collective, and actors decide over its exploitation. For example, a view of a scenic landscape that tourists take advantage of. It does not have an officially recognized value.

c) Domestic heritage. It comprises traditional resources that contribute to the construction of a local identity. Its conservation is a local decision. For example, a forest with orderly logging and on which water supply, a cultural landscape, or population recreation depends.

d) Market heritage. Heritage conservation policies are oriented on heritage survivance, while it is also used for commercial exploitation. Heritage is similar to a private good and depends on private support. For example, the biomass of a fishing reserve.

One last fact that we must consider is that the contradiction between preserving and economically using a heritage will always be present, especially with natural ones. For some stakeholders, preserving and using heritage can be a constantly contradictory relationship. By using a resource something will be lost, but also it can be recovered. We cannot dissociate people's heritage from human impact. Communities depend on heritage in the same way that they admire it.

Interference is another issue over which devotees of nature and culture differ. Both know that human meddling is ubiquitous, unavoidable, and in large measure necessary, but they instinctively react in opposite ways; the cultural steward accepts intervention as normal and necessary, the devotee of nature finds it distasteful and seeks as far as possible to mask it and to conform it to supposed natural processes and results. The notion that nature can and should be left to look after itself—an idle dream for a humanity dependent on agriculture, architecture, antibiotics, water-supply and sewage systems—is no longer a tenet of ecology.

Yet even scientific experts continue to view nature as superior to culture (Lowenthal 2005, 89).

3.2.3 Power and influence

To begin, we must begin with the construction of a definition of *power for conflict maps*. The word *power* has different meanings according to the context in which it is used:

The confluences and ambiguities to which the concept of power is prone have their origins in three uses where the concepts blends into, merges with, or overlaps cognate terms and meanings: 1. Its most general use as a near-synonym for influence, control, rule, and domination [...] 2. As an attribute or quality possessed by individuals [...] 3. [As a relationship,] since power is unequally distributed among groups in all [...] the cultures of these societies will reflect and express this inequality (Wrong 1995, ix).

There are different views for its study. “Sociologically oriented researchers have consistently found that power is highly centralized, while scholars trained in political science have just as regularly concluded that in “their” communities power is widely diffused. Presumably, this explains why the latter group styles itself “pluralist”, its counterpart “elitist”” (Bachrach and Baratz 1962, 947). For conflict maps, the link between heritage and power is clear. Several actors and stakeholders base their power on heritage. “Is not heritage [...] characterized by a highly reductionist recourse to ‘the past’ in order to legitimate current interests and future aspirations of political actors?” (Schramm 2015, 442).

When we observe conflict and heritage relationships, we can analyze that there are even “individuals [that] may possess power resources without using them at all or, more commonly, using them only to pursue non-political goals” (Wrong 1995, 130). Heritage is power when heritage control allows access to resources, but also when it gives recognition to an actor, even if it does not have this access. Heritage grants power when a group imposes its interests on top of those of others by claiming rights to a heritage. Heritage builds power when it is used for identity construction and discourse writing. Heritage makes an actor visible and places it at a conflict negotiation table that, by other means, would not have achieved.

Each conflict map will have a different imprint of power because conflicts are not always active. Therefore, it is better to use a third perspective on power that

allows for consideration of the many ways in which potential issues are kept out of politics, whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals' decisions. This, moreover, can occur in the absence of actual, observable conflict [...] though there remains here an implicit reference to potential conflict" (Lukes 2004, 28).

This perspective is based on a) a focus on political agendas and decision-making, b) current or potential issues of interest, c) observable and latent conflicts, and d) subjective and real interests (based on Lukes 2004, 29). According to the information collected in a conflict case fieldwork, we can understand these characteristics of actors and stakeholders' power within a particular landscape of conflict. Thus, we can trace the geographical areas in which the four characteristics of power are reflected. The aspects in which they coincide will be marked with solid colors, those in which two or more coincide with double, triple, or quadruple lines. Areas where they only meet superficially, with spaced points. For those places where they oppose, we will use other colors. In this way, the power differences and influence of each group can also be better understood.

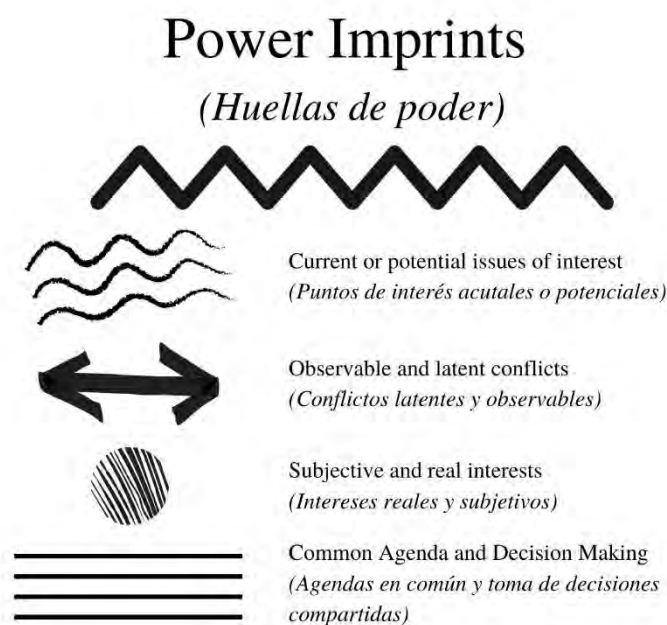


Figure 2. Aspects of power imprints on a conflict map.

The most natural expression of power within conflict and heritage maps is over land access and heritage resources management. Who is in charge or the procedures to access to heritage can be a present agreement or an old one, recognized through legal or customary use? Nowadays, there are

even international agreements or protections systems that state each actor's role in heritage management. It does not matter if power is used, but it is a common issue in these conflicts. Power struggles are frequent when legal heritage protection frameworks are not respected. It is also a constant source of conflict:

On the one hand, land-use conflict may stem from divergences between actors, relating to different heritage [protection] conventions. [...] On the other hand, land-use conflicts may reflect questions relating to a component of the same convention. A disagreement between the actors could emerge about the conditions of the use and protection of heritage, or the conditions of opening a site to the public. Or it could stem from new institutions such as a new label or rule underpinning these conditions (Cazals *et al.* 2015, 749-751).

Another element regarding power relations that maps help to understand are the reactions of groups in conflict to the actions of other actors. A frequently observed reaction is the powerlessness expressed by a minor actor in the face of an apparently stronger one, but, ironically, at the same time empowers the former:

Distressing as this feeling of powerlessness [...] the belief in a beleaguered rural minority is used as a strategy to secure a place at the negotiating table [...] The goal is to demonstrate to the public their strong moral footing, which in turn ensures the group has the power and opportunity to influence decisions. This strategy has been observed by researchers in various fields of environmental policy (Woods 2017, 162).

On the other side, there is the reaction of belittling actors of apparently minor importance. Some major actors do not recognize the latent powers of others with whom they live in the same conflicts because they do not appear to:

To impute latent power to someone, it is not enough, [...] To justify an imputation of power to him, it needs to be shown that he *knows* that others, aware of his resources, consider him powerful and guide their actions by what they believe to be his wishes and intentions (Wrong 1995, 127).

And a last aspect to consider within the power relations in heritage conflicts is the potential force of voluntary work. This is part of the latent issues of conflicts. Volunteers can easily approach certain actors who seek certain heritage conservation and can become a power boost for a certain group or sector in conflict. Their support can be unexpected and suddenly change the importance of an agenda (*section 6*).

The free labour time of many individuals is pooled when volunteers unite to demonstrate for or against something or to work in a political campaign. Students have often been a politically influential group because, although they lack most other resources, they have enough free time available to constitute a formidable volunteer force if they are fired with sufficient enthusiasm (Wrong 195, 135).

3.3 First Map Reading Filter: Peace and Conflict Studies Agency

With the conflict maps ready, it is time to choose the reading filters and a way to narrate with coherence the aspects represented on them. In other words, it is time to construct the conflict map explanation. A first handy filter is that of Peace and Conflict studies. Greco-Morasso (2008) suggests two ways to carry out this task: the traditional approach 1) from the exposition of incompatible actors' points of view (public positions and interests' differences), and 2) the integral approach to conflicts from human relations, that is, from the agencies of the individuals who participate:

Agency theory [...] assumes a more specific view of conflict, focusing on a particular kind of human relationship that may give origin to conflict. [...] This approach does not see two persons' desires or interests as necessarily opposite to each other, but it takes into account the complexity of the relation between institutional roles and the human subjects who implement those roles. [...] The origin of this problem, thus, lies in conflict conceived of as an incompatibility of goals, which might turn out into an overt opposition between the principal [someone who has a goal and delegates its realization] and the agent [who oversees realizing the principal's goal in exchange of some form of remuneration] (Greco-Morasso 2008, 6).

We can narrate conflicts between opposing agendas, objectives, and interests, but also on actors' behaviors which do not always respond to those agendas. For example, a political actor may make a decision that goes against his agenda if he needs to do so to get a vote in an election. Through this view, it is also possible to narrate the conflict characteristics with external actors. It is useful when the diaspora's population becomes a stakeholder in a conflict in its homeland. In the Caribbean region, actors who make up these groups are constant stakeholders in conflicts. They can change power relations. A quick review of the population statistics of the countries that make up the region shows that each of them has a community outside its territory. These are people who

emigrated but still care about issues in their place of origin. Inside these maps, they are part of groups –or sympathize with them— claiming their ancestry and rights to heritage (Clifford 1994).

In addition, writing about agencies in the development of conflicts is also consistent with the regional reality and its needs. The conflicts studied in this dissertation have been triggered by projects that were introduced as champions of social development. “Peace and development are inseparable in the Caribbean as elsewhere” (Rodríguez-Beruff *et al.* 1991, xiv). Conflict is part of these transformations. Development can only come with the construction of peace. This map reading filter is relevant and of current concern.

3.3.1 Potential group productivity

As part of this Peace and Conflict filter, the costs of being in conflict can also be expressed for each actor involved. The conflict stage identified in each landscape (potential, open conflict, permanent conflict, etc.) allows us to understand how the current situation affects each of the actors involved. The model of Shen *et al.* (2014), *Figure 3*, was designed first for biology, later adapted to social studies. It allows to establish a principle of how social conflicts affect the individual and collective performance of group members. This generates a disadvantage in respect with other groups in conflict and forces them to divert resources to other purposes than the objectives of the group.

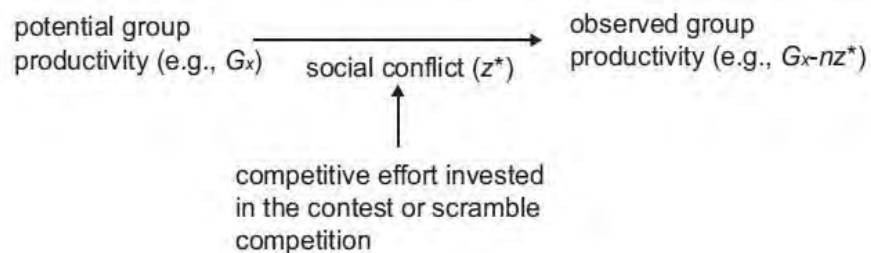


Figure 3. Group productivity, from Shen et al. (2014).

The result of this drop in productivity affects the members of the groups and establishes unequal relations and power balance. It may lead the researcher to think that some groups are benefited by the continuation of the current state of conflict, meanwhile, others are affected. However, in a broader perspective that integrates also an all-actor perspective, the negative impacts are for everyone, and it is reflected in the individual efforts invested to compete in the context:

social conflict as any act that increases the initiator's share of the group resources at the expense of other interacting individuals [...diminished] individual's contribution to social conflict in our model as competitive effort [...] We further assume that competitive effort will not only have a negative impact on the group productivity itself but also on an individual's future fitness because there is a personal cost to exerting competitive effort (Shen *et al.* 2014, 302).

3.4 Second Map Reading Filter: Decolonization Studies

A second reading filter for the conflict maps in the region is the perspective of decolonization. In the analysis of the studied conflicts, there are references to external elements that were established with visions of superiority of one group over another. These respond to traditional development models in the regions that are a legacy of the colonization process.

The history and identity of these regions, as well as for the entire Caribbean macro region, has in its current conception that of those lands that were colonies. Unattended conflicts of their formation processes as independent countries are still visible in the current conflicts. Let us study the background:

With the conquest of the societies and the cultures, which inhabit what today is called Latin America, began the constitution of a new world order [...] a violent concentration of the world's resources under the control and for the benefit of a small European minority [...] A relation of direct, political, social and cultural domination was established by the Europeans over the conquered of all continents [...] a specific Eurocentered colonialism (Quijano 2013, 22).

However, over time, this structure changed:

that specific colonial structure of power produced the specific social discriminations which later were codified as 'racial', 'ethnic', 'anthropological' or 'national' according to the times, agents, and populations involved. [...] These intersubjective constructions [...] were even assumed to be 'objective', 'scientific' categories, then of historical significance (Quijano 2013, 22).

For this same author, these categories were assumed as natural contexts, and no allusion was made to the history of the power behind them. Racial, ethnic, and subnational divisions were used as instruments for domination and exploitation. As time went by,

colonialism was a product of a systematic repression [...] while, at the same time, the colonizers were expropriating from the colonized their knowledge [...] it was followed by imposing the use of the rulers' own patterns of expression [...] beliefs and images served not only to impede the cultural production of the dominated, but also as a very efficient means of social and cultural control [...] The colonizers also imposed a mystified image of their own patterns of producing knowledge and meaning. [...] they taught them in a partial and selective way, to co-opt some of the dominated into their own power institutions. The European culture was made seductive: it gave access to power. [...] Cultural Europeanisation was transformed into an aspiration. [...] The forms and the effects of that cultural coloniality have been different as regard to times and cases. In Latin America, the cultural repression and the colonization of the imagery were accompanied by a massive and gigantic extermination of the natives [... these] turned the previous high cultures of America into illiterate, peasant subcultures condemned to orality [...] Henceforth the survivors would have no other modes of intellectual and plastic or visual formalized and objectivist expressions, but through the cultural patterns of the rulers [...] Latin America is, without doubt, the most extreme case of cultural colonization by Europe (Quijano 2013, 23-24).

It is not unusual for certain protagonists in conflicts over heritage to use these colonization-product categories when referring to other actors, as well as in the construction of discourses of their own legitimacy, law, and heritage conservation. Even arguments in negotiations use some of these categories. For example, phrases such as “it is indigenous land, it is an area of exception”, “certain rights do not apply, they have another form of administration that comes from colonial times” or “here we continue to be looted as in colonial times”. At times, some of these arguments sound asynchronous. Maybe, in some places as in Mexico, the battles for national independence are already two centuries old, or in islands like Puerto Rico they are still on in the political debate. However, the decolonization process has not yet finished for actors in conflict. In heritage management and legal frameworks, there may be rules that come from the colonial regime and replicate these categories. Conflict landscapes continue to experience the consequences of colonialism on decision-making and resource management.

The relevance or irrelevance of these arguments is not part of the debate on this dissertation, but we know that colonial past is a constant in the construction of the actors' discourses and their

power struggles. “A people deprived of a history should come to need it” emphasized Derek Walcott (1992). Which other history in common can the inhabitants of lands, with different transplanted and displaced groups, have than colonialism?

In addition, the legacy structures of colonial relations in which local populations are not considered in decision-making processes must be noticed. Such a situation is a constant in the Puerto Rican case (*section 6*). Final decisions are made in the capital city of the colonial *metropolis* in turn. The same happens in Mexico or the Dominican Republic, but in these contexts, in the national capitals that centralize decisions since the colonial past. If we apply this explanation perspective for maps, then conflict landscapes still include unresolved concerns from the past that still have negative consequences because of their inattention. The Caribbean, Central American, and Southern Mexican communities have not perceived land always from the same perspective. There have been transformations, changes in the social structures and on actors’ relationships. Land ceased to be *a place to which they brought us, to which they exiled us, and it became the place where we live*. “This discussion develops a generalized post-colonial, post-conflict heritage model that includes three connected elements: reappropriation, recycling and renewal” (Giblin 2015, 317). After the reappropriation of the heritage in a postcolonial context, as happened in the case of Adjuntas, Puerto Rico, which will be explained in *section 6*:

meaning-recycling as a necessary consequence of reappropriation, because the meanings and materials now controlled must be recycled to make something more palatable for the present and future [...] But what is the ultimate purpose of this reappropriation and recycling? [...] [to have] cultural therapy to heal ‘historic wounds’ (Giblin 2015, 324)

Let us exemplify. A discourse that answers to this narrative are the values in dispute regarding agricultural landscape. What is unfarmed land for in a postcolonial context? There are different perspectives on whether the countryside should be used for mass food production or only for the subsistence of small communities. How should land planners decide? Honychurch (2006, 22) refers to the fact that during the colonization process there was a contrast between two ways of using land for agricultural production, a) subsistence agriculture, or the personal or group garden that coexisted with the forest, or, b) extensive plantation agriculture system.

The *jardín caräibe* is a closely planted combination of root crops, tubers, vines, greens and tree crops that was first observed in Dominica by European visitors in the sixteenth century. As colonization proceeded, introduced cultivars from the Pacific, Africa and Asia were

appropriated from the plantation gardens and introduced into the *jardin caräibe* (Honychurch 2006, 22).

There is a difference even as to who proposes the creation of a garden. This same author refers to the perspective differences between the colonized and the native communities since the latter were reluctant to dedicate themselves to cultivating high-production crops, in the style of a plantation system. In contrast, they preferred their own plots as a garden. In this type of vision, there is also a difference in how identity is built regarding the land and its exploitation for agriculture. The quantity produced and the amount of food production is linked to the subsistence chain of communities and their appreciation of land.

Perhaps Honeychurch's paper is written from the perspective of the East Antilles, but the core arguments are of regional importance. There is an undeniable conflict on the confronting interests of protecting and preserving a certain productive land. A small property with an agroforestry garden becomes part of the subsistence and identity of a family. They invest a lot of time to take care of it. It is part of their heritage. But an actor that observes the same place from a plantation or industrial cultivation perspective would have irreconcilable interests with the former person. This is just one example of a heritage management conflict that has remained open after the decolonization processes.

METHODOLOGICAL TOOL FOR CONFLICT LANDSCAPE'S BUILDING

The foundation of the proposed tool for information gathering comprises two elements:

- a) the actors' mapping, or Stakeholder's Map, which is an activity that collects perceptual and, on occasions, technical information to record both the issues at stake, the actors' relations, and group and individual interests of the actors involved in the conflict
- b) ethnographic notes written through in-depth interviews and external party's observation.

This instrument requires both a design and multidisciplinary research that allows finding each actors' interest, hidden behind their visible public positions, the type of relationships they maintain with other actors, the identification of perceptibly coinciding points of view, their vision regarding heritage, the structure of their discourses and language use, and the type of recognition they need from other actors in conflict (identity).

Publications that refer to the topic mention that "Stakeholder analysis is a process that enables analysts to identify how various parties are likely to be affected" (Babiuch and Farhar 1994,3). However, methodology differs according to the purpose of the research, which can be directed towards understanding the impacts of government actions, as these same mentioned actors did in their report, also for general analysis of social impacts (Varclay 2015), or for analysis typical of social conflicts (Susskind and Thomas-Larmer 1999) and environmental (Babinet-Rojas *et al.* 2014; Hernández-Santisteban *et al.* 2016; Zepeda-Domínguez 2017).

4.1 Conflicts Characteristics to Study

Contemporary stakeholder's maps have their origin "probably derived from the custom in two-party mediations in which a neutral party meets with each "side" separately before meeting with them together" (Susskind and Thomas-Larmer 1999, 4). Its adaptation to the study of public conflicts developed, at least as recorded by the academics, in the approach to environmental conflicts. Returning to this work tradition, the development of this tool is focused on those conflicts over resources' use or land management that impact land, society, and landscape. A land conflict is that social tension arising from the differences in perspectives between actors or social groups (some are stakeholders, others are not) regarding heritage or resources management or because of the activities that are carried out in a certain determined area. Furthermore, these disputed lands

and territories possess some of the following characteristics from the perspective of the groups or actors in question (Augé 1992; Eastwood 2009):

- a) Land is part of its identity construction or gives legitimacy somehow to the foundational discourse of the identity of at least one actor.
- b) There are economic or social relations between the actors in conflict and the land in question.
- c) There is a historical, diachronic context that explains the relationships of actors with land and its identity incorporation process.

Therefore, unlike interpersonal conflicts, these are integrated into a social and political community context. They add to a social narrative that must be understood for analysis. This characteristic forces us to include other actors in the strategies for dealing with conflicts, although they are not strictly linked to visible tensions but are also affected or are at risk of being impacted by a land conflict.

4.2 Stakeholder Maps Characteristics for a Conflict Study

Mapping actors on a land conflict requires to work with a fundamental aim for guidance: to elaborate a tool that allows progress both in conflict understanding and in its subsequent approach within a transformation process of social conflict. Although it is usually presented as a written document, it can be done in other graphic and audiovisual media that allow its distribution. Regardless of the selected communication method, and based on own experience, the three basic questions that a map must answer are the following:

1. What are the major concerns of each of the parties (stakeholders) involved in the conflict?
2. What are the hopes for the future and the proposals of the actors to address the problems they express?
3. How do the proposals to solve the conflict influence these same groups? How could effects on heritage be mitigated?

Therefore, to attend to these tasks, the different sections that a tool of this nature must contain are also listed (adaptation based on Susskind and Thomas-Larmer 1999, 10):

- A) Map development justification, research methodology, researcher's presentation, and evidence that they are *stake less* and lack of direct interests in the conflict subject.

B) Power relations exposition that reflect the existence of the different sectors in conflict and the identity of principal actors with an obvious interest in the conflict.

C) The conflict *basin*, in other words, its influence area. This aspect reflects the current and probable future impact zones. Also, the area for tensions development and - at the same time - represents the different urban areas, communities and regions that should be considered in a stakeholder map and ethnographic fieldwork.

D) Expectations identification. In this section, the research team asks questions regarding the ideal perspective for heritage conservation and about the future of a landscape. Also, it is possible to incorporate information about how stakeholders consider heritage should be managed and conflicts addressed.

E) Actors' perspective contrast. Here perceptual differences are pointed out, starting with those that generate greatest consensus towards those with the greatest dissent.

F) The technical review of the proposals and actors' complaints expressed by the different sectors identified. This section is written out based on objective criteria, feasibility, and the stakeholders' needs.

G) [Optional] Recommendations for dialogue processes in which the needs of the different actors are attended so that they can take part in solutions search. This is done regarding their red lines (limits) and those issues that are most important for each sector in the event that they wish to take part in a negotiation.

H) [Optional] Next steps for a participation process for the involvement of all actors in solutions searching with equal conditions.

To properly develop a stakeholder map, it is suggested that the person in charge to be an external advisor or facilitator, because

a conflict assessment must be conducted by someone who will be perceived by all stakeholders as impartial. An assessor should not have a stake in the conflict nor be perceived as partisan in the debate. An assessor must also have some knowledge of the issues at stake, although extensive experience in the given field is not required. Experience in the practice of consensus building is preferred, because educating stakeholders about consensus building is easier if the proponent has first-hand experience (Susskind and Thomas-Larmer 1999, 9).

In addition, the facilitator must first build a relationship of minimal empathy with the key actors and thus receive a mandate to carry out this task. Preferably, this should be written out in a collaboration agreement. The communication bridge that the facilitator builds with the different parties in conflict is what allows access to the understanding of the cultural aspects at the center of the conflict. “Conflicts are mediated by a society’s cultural perception that gives specific meaning to the situation, evaluating it on the basis of the experience of past conflicts, stored as objectified knowledge in a group’s social memory” (Schröder and Schmidt 2001, 4). The *stakeholders’ map* aspires to collect at least a part of these perceptions in order to build useful tools for the study and transformation of conflicts that are respectful of the cultural practices of the groups and that do not refer to negative experiences stored in their social memory.

4.3 The Interdisciplinarity Principle

There are no single paths for the study of land heritage conflicts. Apart from taking care of the emotions of those actors involved and promoting their inclusion in the processes of conflict management, empathy generation, alternatives search, and heritage conservation in a timely manner, it is necessary to make use of information and creative methodologies from any diverse source that is available. True to this spirit and taking up the definition of interdisciplinarity set out by Repko *et al.* (2014, 16):

Interdisciplinary studies are a process of answering a question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline, and draws on the disciplines with the goal of integrating their insights to construct a more comprehensive understanding.

Perhaps a *stakeholders’ map* seeks to solve a basic question asked by the different parties involved in a conflict: Why are we in conflict? Or, simply, are we really understanding what is happening? After revisiting methods and information from different fields of knowledge, the proposed tool's greatest value is the possibility of obtaining:

- A narrative discourse on conflictive issues, as well as models for conflict explanation, in which the different visions are incorporated, and the involved actors feel identified.
- Incorporation of technical information on the conflict study. For example, objective unbiased criteria from natural and social sciences, medicine, and engineering.
- Conflict scenarios data and predictions for the conflict evolution and actors’ strategies.

Interdisciplinarity can also be recognized in the process of obtaining and generating this information since a) there is no defined body of knowledge, but instead, the integration of fundamentals from various disciplines, b) the research method takes up tools from more of a discipline instead of creating its own, c) it seeks to generate new knowledge integrating the different disciplines, and d) it depends on the advancement of the specific knowledge of the disciplines from which the methodologies are borrowed to be able to deepen the field of interest. Therefore, the construction of a land conflict *stakeholders' map* meets at least four of the seven criteria established in Repko *et al.* (2014, 9-10) on the characteristics of interdisciplinary studies, and we approach it from this perspective. The important aim is not to find a novel discovery but simply to know how to place the appropriate existing methodologies for the benefit of the conflict study.

4.4 Objectivity Principle

Another issue for study, that concerns interdisciplinarity in *stakeholders' map* development, is the search for objective criteria and a methodology to produce a non-bias document. By using the actors' perceptions as a basic input, the information provided can hardly go beyond what the interviewees themselves allow. However, incorporating technical information collected by people not directly linked to the conflict usually allows data contrast. Also, if all stakeholders can see themselves represented on the map, then it gains legitimacy. This is an important aspect because it helps to generate a harm free research. Certain actors can use a bad written map for perpetuating a conflict. Specially, if a conflict involves budgetary issues, competition between authorities, land use planning, and community development models.

4.5 References to Land Use Planning

As its name states, land conflicts have land and territory at its center. Frictions and tensions arise for its management and configuration. The actors' concerns and their activities are usually oriented in space organization, in the place they dwell (Hernández-Santisteban *et al.* 2016). Generally, there are land use plans and ordering schemes prior to the escalation of conflicts, however, these are not usually implemented in their entirety because the social dynamics of the community do not allow it. Also, actors may ignore the existence of these, or they might live in a region with a weak rule

of law. During fieldwork, a researcher should ask for official and unofficial land use planning plans. The basic land planning components needed are the following:

- Diachronic context (the evolution of land use planning and custom).
- Environmental context (evaluation of existing environmental and community health because of current social dynamics and practices).
- Social impact assessment to understand the influences of new land management policy rules on the relationships and dynamics between groups and local actors.
- Information on sustainable use of natural resources or an assessment of its current existence.
- Assessment of the availability of human and material resources to implement land management agreements.
- Training needs for communities and stakeholders.

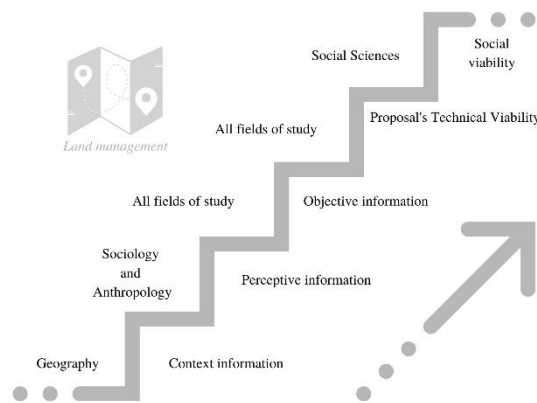


Figure 4. Steps for the construction of land ordering and managing plans.

4.6 Proposed Modifications of Traditional Stakeholder's Maps for Land Conflicts over Heritage

Once we gather the basic information for the *stakeholders' map* construction focused on land conflicts, the next step is the incorporation of additional information that can give us an insight on the heritage variable. Aspects of interest for this category are:

- a) Heritage Landscapes
- b) Heritage use and exploitation practices
- c) Heritage conservation and maintenance practices

d) Activities carried out within a heritage area that are not directly linked to inhabitants or groups that identify land as part of their identity. For example, tourism.

e) Risks and threats to the relationships between groups that identify with heritage.

4.7 Identity and Conflict Map: Identity Impact Zone

An additional map product is the identity impact zones for each actor and stakeholder, areas where they perceive conflicts or conflicting perceptions. Also, we can define areas for potential conflicts identified by technical teams and regions where distinct groups and individuals have cultural and identity attachment. Unlike other types of conflict where principal issues are only material needs, in those where heritage is involved there is a component of identity that can reach even the highest levels of priority for those groups that are in friction. A simple example is landscape modifications because of infrastructure construction for power generation or transport projects.

Learnings from fieldwork are exposed in *section 7*. Nonetheless, let us mention certain aspects. In the conflict after the construction of wind farms in the Tehuantepec Isthmus, Mexico, some people interviewed (Babinet-Rojas *et al.* 2014) even expressed concerns about the impacts on a landscape far from their place of residence but that they considered “a place of origin”. More than a place, for them it is a landscape where ethnic activities are developed. They expressed threats to their identity rather than for than specific material impacts on people, communities, relations, and environment. These arguments can hardly be contrasted with technical criteria or scientific objectivity, they lie fully in the field of perception. Therefore, the determination of an identity impact zone, as part of a *stakeholders’ map*, allows visualizing from where a conflict should be understood. Also, it gives input for conflict management aspects like communication, tools for conflict transformation, non-violence, and Peace and Conflict elements.

4.8 Right to heritage use, exploitation, and management

Another interesting relation to be carried out with the map data is on the current land exploitation practices where heritage is located, as well as the different actors who consider themselves with rights on it. For this aim, it is necessary to contrast perceptual information with that of legal documents or information found by technical staff. The resulting maps can help to redirect collaborative agreement building efforts effectively since the entire territory is often considered

being the subject of dispute, however, sometimes it is only smaller strips that cause the greatest tensions.

In addition, it is possible to clarify the type of management that each of the parties in conflict desires for the land in which heritage is located. For example, there can be a difference between visible actors' positions and their real conflict interests. Maybe a group does not need to own certain land, just to have the right to walk through it as in pilgrimage routes. Also, some actors' interest could be to not perceive landscape transformations. There are examples of underground highways that prevent social conflicts. Also, there could be times when distrust because of previous conflicts generates prejudices. Unequal resources access, use, and management can pre-establish a conflict chessboard on which new tensions related to heritage are built. Both good and the bad practices experienced in this context establish antecedents that are difficult to bear at first. In addition, these historic conflicts can generate little empathic relationships between the actors. It is possible to identify these aspects during fieldwork. A researcher just needs to ask about the past. *What happened here before? Or, why are there no communication links?*

4.9 (Optional) Steps for the Construction of Conflict Management Agreements with Social Acceptance: Process Recommendations

Although the ultimate goal of a *stakeholders' map* constructed under this methodology is conflict analysis, it also allows the tracing of strategies for conflict management, transformations, and solutions. This is not part of this dissertation but is an extra result that could be interesting for certain actors. In conflicts over land sometimes the best collaboration agreements are not built only when most of the interests in conflict are considered, but also when the actors observe that the other sectors/stakeholders recognize their legitimacy and perceive respectful treatment of their perspectives. Therefore, when interests overlap on land, the actors' expectations, needs, desires, and concerns can be attended to. Here lies a possible application of this dissertation's methodological proposal.

A case to highlight is when infrastructure development (Hernández-Santisteban *et al.* 2016; Babinet-Rojas *et al.* 2014) leaves behind solid wastes such as garbage, construction waste materials or even abandoned machinery on the ground. It generates pollution perceptions and negative feelings on local actors who consider this practice as disrespectful. A question that a map can answer is "What does it mean to treat land and its landscape with respect?" An effective waste

management program proposal could be enough to attend this need. This information can speed up new conflict transformation processes and redirect efforts towards a new task of empathy construction that allows the generation of a collaborative environment between actors.

4.10 Stakeholders' Maps Stages

Stakeholders' maps for land conflicts have two major components: the ethnographic and the geographic. The main source of information comes from the development of in-depth interviews. This is complemented with observation exercises and data collection by alternative sources such as participatory arts (focus groups, *world café*, etc.). Subsequently, this information is analyzed with geographical criteria of land in issue and additional technical information provided by existing documentation and work teams involved.

4.10.1 Stage A: Map design

The design of the research process for the *stakeholders' map* elaboration must comply with three principles: a) guarantee the possibility to collect information about experienced or potential impacts for each of the actors according to the issues that have arisen in the conflict, b) approach a sufficient number of actors to identify clearly the groups, individuals, and sectors with interests in the conflict issue, and c) ensure gathering of enough information about actors' activities (Babiuch and Farhar 1994, 22). Some steps suggested for an efficient map design are the following:

1. Carry out a literature review on the subject.
2. Preliminary impacts assessment for each of the sectors and actors in conflict according to existing complaints and the analysis of the context.
3. Key actors' identification involved in order to generate a first list of people to interview. It is important to notice that in most *stakeholders' maps* the community is the basis of analysis, therefore, from the first observation it is possible to gather names of actors involved even before meeting them.
4. Define the main thematic fields to be addressed during the research process and thus be able to orient some key questions in the interview scripts towards them.
5. Generate a table, in matrix format, specifying each identified sector and its apparent concerns according to existing documentation.

6. Determine which actors should be consulted individually and with which to work later in focus groups.

7. Determine the initial method for information analysis. For these maps it can be perceptual evaluation within a geographical context.

Once these tasks are concluded, the first questionnaire for in-depth interviews is prepared. These questions will serve as a guide to get general information from all interviewees, plus additional information regarding their field of work or sector of belonging. In addition, interviews should be complemented with information resulting from bibliographic, geographical, and technical review.

4.10.2 Stage B: The first circle of interviewees and the initial field trip

The next step is to define which actors will be part of the first circle of interviewees in the process of map developing. The selection to be developed must meet two criteria:

- a) Inclusion of at least one member of each of the most visible sectors or those perceived to be of greater importance in the conflict.
- b) Inclusion of actors from the principal areas or affected regions identified during the initial analysis of the conflict.

In practical terms, it is not recommended that the interviews to be carried out in the first circle exceed the number of those that can be carried out during the period of a working week (4 daily interviews or focus groups, whose average is usually between 60-90 minutes, during a period of 5 or 6 days). This criterion is timewise and is suggested because at the end of the first circle it is a good practice to analyze the information, update the list of next people to be interviewed, and design the first script of the content systematization. Also, this will speed up the analysis process and will help to order the results of subsequent interviews as fast as possible if there is enough time and staff.

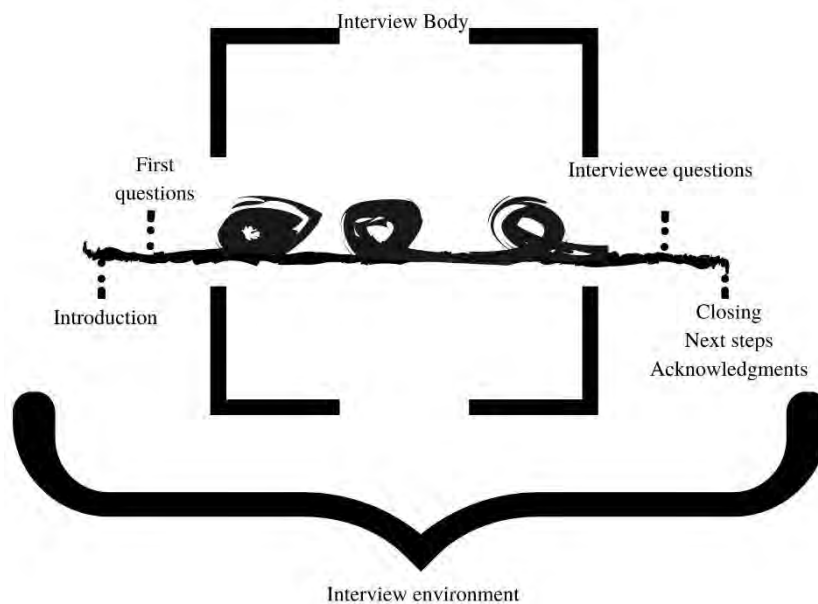


Figure 5. Interview characteristics and interview process description for a stakeholders' map.

4.10.3 Stage C: The second circle of interviewees and information confirmation through a second fieldwork

From the results of the first cycle of interviews, alternative names appear of different people and groups who are considered actors and whose perspectives, according to the first interviewees, are relevant in the conflict. In this way, a broader universe of actors is built, and it enriches the map information and helps to analyze multi party interests, subjects of consensus, expressed concerns, and conflict management proposals.

The interviews of the second circle are carried out with the necessary adjustments considered. Questionnaires should be changed according to information of the first circle of interviewees. Also, new actors may be named. Once the researcher finishes talking with all interviewees indicated on the different circles of interviewees, he can move forward to talk with secondary actors (institutions, governments, etc.) that were also mapped until his full list of names is finished. When actors' names mentioned on the interviews repeat themselves, this can be an indicator to stop. Another way to identify where to finish the interviewing process is when the information gathered repeats itself. Therefore, the interview process is concluded, and the researcher can focus on information systematization.

4.10.4 Stage D: Information validation and review by technical teams

The validation of perceptual information is a process that must be carried out with the support of the same people who provided the information for the map elaboration, the interviewees. Therefore, a good practice identified in the participatory research processes is meeting organizations *for the return*, or exposition, of the results and their feedback from the actors and their allies. In this way, the research also gains legitimacy and information can be adjusted in order to present a tool through a framework of peace building, promotion, peace education, and conflict transformation. This practice also generates community sympathy towards academic work and research. Also, it is an opportunity for interviewees to complete or change any perception expressed with which they are not satisfied. To perform this task in a better way, some schemes that can be used are the following:

- a) Map draft document distribution among all those interviewed and members of their group. A sufficient time period for its review should be available according to the length of the document or infographic.
- b) Holding group meetings. These activities are mainly for regions or with sectors where electronic documents cannot be easily distributed. Although this option requires more preparation time and resources, it is sometimes more effective because it gets at least a certain number of attendees to share their feedback.
- c) Distribution of technical information and proposals for conflict management. Technical teams should have access to map perceptions to generate information to address actors' concerns. It is also pertinent to know actors' reactions, feelings, and opinions in this regard. As part of the validation exercise, without denying the validity of the information provided by the interviewees, the technical groups invited to the mapping process can design proposals or questions regarding the information obtained so that the interviewees can expand the information or clarify it. In this way, this activity works as a conflict thermometer and lets the researcher have more information about the current conflict management.

4.10.5 Stage E: Information analysis

Once the interview cycles have concluded, the information analysis process is carried out with the aim to produce final versions of the map as a document, audiovisual product, or any type of material. A fundamental principle for the development of this stage is that all the information

presented must be associated with the sector of origin of the individuals or groups who stated it without directly relating it to a specific actor. Also, in this way the research team ensures that they did not pour their own perspectives and biases. The only additional information to add is that provided by the technical teams as scientific data and complementary studies on the subject.

From field experience and based on the model proposed by Susskind and Thomas-Larmer (1999), the first step in the analysis is to develop a narrative axis for information organization and presentation. In general, a first draft must maintain a clear line that goes from general perspectives to particular ones. If possible, the conflict issues can be organized also from those that reach the greatest consensus in the perceptual and technical aspect to those of greater dissent. In this way, an empathic narrative towards the different sectors is achieved and it is easier to explain the actors' differences in perception. In addition, as an extra feature, it also allows conditions evaluation to begin the development of conflict transformation through collaborative negotiation or mediation. One possible guide to organize and develop the analysis process can be the following:

- a) General construction of an actor chart and understanding of relationships between them.
- b) Identification of identity traces and land roots for different sectors.
- c) Tree diagram of positions and interests for each sector.
- d) Identification of perspectives in common and of divergent ones between the sectors in conflict.
- e) Map of the conflict *basin* (areas of actors' influence).
- f) Actors' expectations, proposals for conflict management, and ideas for the future.

4.10.6 Stage F: Development of strategies for the transformation of identified conflicts (Optional)

The last stage of the stakeholder map, optional, and if social conditions permit its development, is the research team's contribution to conflict management and peacebuilding. Researchers can provide interesting ideas for a conflict process after hearing everyone involved. After analyzing perceptions, statements, discourses, and perspectives, it is possible to propose pertinent ways for an efficient conflict management. In this stage, the researcher speaks with his own ideas. Unlike other existing perspectives for dealing with conflicts, what is intended to be done with these recommendations is to propose schemes that recognize the needs of each of the actors and encourage them to collaborate with their counterparts through agreements. Therefore,

stakeholders' maps are a tool for dialogue facilitation schemes rather than specific proposals for conflict resolution.

4.10.7 The ethnographic touch

There is data that is not available through actors' mapping. For example, the feeling of veracity of the information given by an informant, or if certain actor's argument is only part of a speech or, in fact, a genuine interest at stake in the conflict. A *landscape of conflict* would be analyzed incompletely if it only relies on written information from an interview and discards observations about the context, interview conditions, and other observable facts that are not in the words of the interviewees. For this reason, it is necessary to complete the *stakeholders' map* with the ethnographic component. Once a fieldwork is completed, there are notes, media, and disorganized observations that, if systematized, can give more information. This data is also part of the analysis and will finish building up. "The original fieldnotes stand there, embedded within the analysis, allowing any reader to listen closely to members' voices, to vicariously experience their actions, and to imagine other interpretations. In the end, it seems, the reader has her say" (Emerson *et al.* 2011, 813). In this case we are the readers, and as conflict analysts we will have the last word. We need to decide about the impact of each group and individual perceptions.

There is a constant feeling in the researcher about the coherence of certain information provided by an informant. We must reflect on the information provided by all actors before making a conclusion and literally transcribing it to our results. How big an actor's perspective shows in a landscape? What else should we say to people who read us? What extra context information is necessary? What should we tell about our informants? In addition, it is also important to clarify how we got to them. Prior to "writing a conclusion [... we should] pause, step back, and reflect on the ethnography in offering some *meta-commentary* on its methods, assumptions, tone, or conclusions" (Emerson *et al.* 2011, 79).

To fulfill the purpose of complementing the *stakeholders' map* over heritage and land, and thus to give an ethnographic touch to a landscape of conflict, the following steps are carried out:

1. Perceptual differences identification between the researcher and the informants.
2. Be sure to ask a series of basic questions common to all stakeholders.
3. Do research with constant curiosity. Do specific questions on the activities and perceptions characteristic of the identity of each stakeholder.

5. Be sure to clearly understand why a person or group is part of the parties in conflict.

Once the basic information is obtained, the researcher asks himself some additional questions:

- a) What makes a person or group get involved in the heritage conflict?
- b) How have they played their role and how have they chosen their action strategy?
- c) What have they said about the conflict? What has been said about them?
- d) In what way have an actor proposed to work on conflict management?
- e) What contrasts exist between the researcher's perspective and the ideology regarding those of the actors involved?

With these questions answered, each actor is placed in its corresponding place in a conflict. In addition, some points that must be consider within the development of the ethnographic touch of a conflict landscape are the following (based on own reflections over fieldwork and the review of Emerson 2011 and Fortun 2001):

- There is no dialectical conversation between the actors, they are not two extreme perceptions in conflict.
- Our goal is to find differences and contrasting issues, but we must be clear that some issues will always be left out.
- The researcher also has a personal position on the conflict. However, by asking questions on a recurring basis and using recursion, he positions himself in front of the conflict that he studies without controlling it and without asking his ethnographic work to respond to the actors.
- In terms of recursion, an ethnographer is responsible for his analysis and the consequences that it has in the conflict.

We must also consider that the ethnographer's perspective is constructed from two conflicting imperatives. The fact of observing and recording, but also the desire to get involved in a conflict and seek solutions. These contradictions are also present when an actor generates sympathy on the researcher, or it ends up establishing a fixed narrative in its conflict exposition. "Individuals are confronted with dual or multiple obligations that are related and equally valued, but incongruent" (Fortun 2001, 13). These contradictions generate situations during talks and interviews in which the ethnographer's desire to point out a problem or propose an idea must be repressed. Furthermore, it cannot despair, when he perceives an actor's inactivity to solve situations that, from the ethnographer's perspective, clearly affects people.

It is difficult to escape these feelings, but it is necessary to keep them in mind. A researcher also has a position regarding a conflict, however, by asking the questions recurrently, the ethnographer positions himself before the conflict that he studies without controlling it, without asking himself to respond to the actors. It is better to focus on getting a more accurate understanding. Paraphrasing Fortun (2001), by asking again and verifying its own statements, applying recursion, the ethnographer is then responsible for analyzing him and the consequences of his work in the conflict.

4.10.8 Final thoughts on the methodological tool

If “research in Social Sciences requires most times the analysis and classification of empirical data during the collection of information [and if] the aim is to have a greater openness on the knowledge generated through empirical research [and if then the] data provide the view of the phenomenon from where each individual stands with whom the study is developed”¹² (Koechert 2015, 16), the *stakeholders’ map*, as a tool to generate the analysis of a land conflict, constitutes a bridge between the gaze of the researcher, the actors’ perspectives, and the objective criteria provided by the different fields of study with the aim to better understand a conflict. As a methodology, it is part of the field of interdisciplinarity since it needs to integrate the elements of the different subjects in the same final substance. Our research is finished once the information has been organized with the ethnographic touch included, once we understand the interviewees’ perceptions, issues, and interests, and once we review the technical information available. The holistic framework that hosts the analysis is no longer hosted by a single study field, but it lets us create a narrative that seeks to understand the *landscape of conflict*. The final draft shows a complete picture of the conflict, and it is no longer possible to discern the source of the original sources of information. Like the conflicts they want to respond to, *stakeholders’ maps* have different readings. And, depending on the one we choose, our work will get legitimacy and will be useful for actors involved. This research can be an initial point for a Peace & Conflict management work if the stakeholders decide it. These tools are valid only when the same actors recognize them. Therefore, the information

¹² [Original] La investigación en las ciencias sociales requiere en muchos casos del análisis y clasificación de datos empíricos durante la recolección de información [y si] el objetivo es poder contar con una mayor apertura del conocimiento generado a través de la investigación empírica [y si entonces los] datos brindan la mirada del fenómeno a partir del posicionamiento de los individuos con los que se desarrolla el estudio (Koechert 2015, 16).

poured into the last map version, even if it comes with additional data from technical teams, is already part of the conflict narrative.

THE SAMANA BAY CASE STUDY: CONFLICT CONTEXT ON HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN SAMANA BAY, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The insular Caribbean region concentrates different cases of heritage vulnerability because of urban development, infrastructure projects construction, natural resources overexploitation, and the unstoppable increase of touristic activities. This last activity has thrived in recent decades. In most of these cases, it is not only heritage that is part of conflicts; it is just one variable within a more complex chessboard that integrates communities, authorities of all levels, small and large producers, institutions dedicated to nature conservation, and the political and economic spheres that concentrate power. Practically all the interviewees expressed concern about the variety of negative impacts of the activities carried out in areas with high heritage concentration. In the other hand, they said that the increased scale and intensity of mass tourism and infrastructure construction are facilitating access to heritage to more people than ever and increasing awareness about the needs for its protection. The Dominican Republic is a country that has bet the most on tourism, 6.8% of its GDP in 2017, the equivalent of 7 billion dollars depends on it (Duarte 2018).

The Bay and its environment comprise a region of the Hispaniola Island that includes both marine and terrestrial ecosystems with unique characteristics in the region. For example, it has one of the few subtropical humid forests at sea level in the insular Caribbean and a whale sanctuary. In the past, different areas within this region were difficult to access and were isolated. Unique communities were able to live by their own. However, in present times the impacts of different economic and urban activities have transformed that context. It has forced different people, groups, and institutions within the country to talk about conflicting socio-environmental issues and placed them on the public agenda for heritage management.

Interviewed stakeholders

During November and December 2018, 9 in-depth interviews and 1 focus group were conducted to gather data for the Samana Bay' Conflict Landscape. Interviewees were reached through Peace Villages Foundation staff (*Aldeas de Paz*) and its stakeholder's network. Oral consent was asked before the activities.

The main aim was to gather perceptions from members of different sectors involved in the touristic industry, fisheries, heritage conservation, and from authorities. The first interviewees were members of local NGOs in order to learn about the case study's stakeholder universe, their perceptions about their heritage interests, and current initiatives to tackle the conflicts over heritage. Then, local inhabitants and small fishermen cooperatives were reached through the region, and finally, the touristic industry and environmental authorities.¹³ It was possible to reach population at both sides of the Bay, as well as actors long engaged with heritage management.

5.1 Context and Brief Geography of Samana Bay

The Bay of Samana is a region located northeast of the Dominican Republic that is composed by the Peninsula and Bay of Samana, the region of the mouth and the plains of Lower Yuna river, as well as its basin, the Nagua River, the karst platform of Los Haitises and the communities south of the Bay located on the north coast of the Hato Mayor and El Seibo regions, on the coastal plain of Sabana de la Mar - Nisibón (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993; 2, Interview / Case Samana / 3).

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Num.	Activity	Sector	Location	Interview Data	Gender
1	In-depth interview	Tourism / NGOs	Santa Bárbara de Samaná	12-XII-2018, semi-structured, 45 minutes	M
2	In-depth interview	International Cooperation / NGOs	Sabana de la Mar	12-XII-2018, semi-structured, 120 minutes	F
3	In-depth interview	NGOs / Technical	Santa Bárbara de Samaná	30-XI-2018, semi-structured, 90 minutes.	M
4	Focus group (8 people)	Fishery / Tourism	Sánchez	7-XII-2018, semi-structured, 90 minutes.	M
5	In-depth interview	Productive / Commercial	La Pascuala	6-XII-2018, semi-structured, 90 minutes.	F
6	In-depth interview	Productive / NGOs	La Pascuala	6-XII-2018, semi-structured, 90 minutes.	M
7	In-depth interview	Touristic / NGOs	Sabana de la Mar	12-XII-2018, semi-structured, 30 minutes	M
8	In-depth interview	NGOs	Santa Bárbara de Samaná / Las Terrenas	28-XI-2018, semi-structured, 60 minutes	M
9	In-depth interview	Tourist / Hospitality / NGOs	Miches	20-XII-2018, semi-structured, 90 minutes.	M
10	In-depth interview	Environmental Authorities	Miches / El Seibo Region	20-XII-2018, semi-structured, 120 minutes.	M



Figure 6. Samana Bay Area, Dominican Republic.

The urban and infrastructure development that connects it to the rest of the Dominican Republic has had a considerable increase in the last decades after the opening and the promotion of new sites for touristic development in the island. Smaller localities have also grown in population in these years, as well as the demand for services, land use changes, land transformation for housing and commercial use, and a greater pressure on heritage and the environment. All interviewees agreed that the current situation of urban and environmental practices in the region is not sustainable. In the words of a member of a NGO consulted, "every day we are impacting more, this was a natural paradise, that is why they developed tourism, but it will end, it will end up so polluted that it will not be attractive to anyone". Therefore, this context has triggered different socio-environmental conflicts that have generated difficulties for heritage conservation initiatives and heritage management of the area.

*The physical environment and heritage aspects**

* *Lamelas and Ramírez (1993, 4-20)*

- *Equatorial tropical climate*
- *Annual average temperature 26-27 ° C*
- *Geomorphological / physiographic units: Peninsula and Bay of Samaná, Basin of the Nagua River and the lower Yuna, Los Haitises karstic platform, and Coastal Plain Sabana de la Mar – Nisibón.*
- *Geological history linked to the complexity of tectonic episodes derived from the orogenesis of surrounding structural units.*
- *Type of soils: differentiated edaphic series of limestone type on the Los Haitises karstic massif up to floors on alluvial materials of Lower Yuna.*
- *Vegetation: "potentially exuberant and floristically very varied, with an abundance of endemic and vicariant elements compared to other regions of the country." (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 13). Variation between scattered original forest patches, coconut plantations, mangroves, aquatic plants, and natural forests in Los Haitises National Park.*
- *Fauna: It does not constitute a uniform area in biogeographical terms; however, it has its own species of humid forest, very humid subtropical, marshy areas, and mangrove areas.*

*The social environment and heritage **

** Lamelas and Ramírez (1993, 27-34), Oficina Nacional de Estadística (2008)*

- *Three provinces of the Dominican Republic with relatively isolated communities until the second half of the 20th century, comprising old and recent Haitian migratory flows, old and recent Spanish, French, and black population groups that migrated from the United States after gaining their freedom in the 18th and 19th centuries.*
- *Approximate population of the three provinces that make up the region: 290,000 inhabitants. (Data 2010), Households living in poverty: 56% (most recent source: 2002).*
- *Communities deeply rooted in fishing activities*
- *Main economic activities: fishing exploitation, tourist services, agriculture (dominated by the coconut plantations) and livestock (in smaller proportion).*
- *Bedrock paintings in Los Haitises National Park, pre-Hispanic culture setting.*

Social and political context of the Dominican Republic

Some aspects of the political context of this island nation should be considered to build a better context for the landscape of conflict. “The Dominican Republic is home to the oldest of the Old World societies planted in the New World. The blending of all things indigenous, European, and African, which is largely the history of the Americas, began with this Caribbean nation.” (Roorda *et al.* 2014, 1) As other countries in the region, the history of its communities is rooted on a colonial past:

Spanish efforts to create a mining and plantation economy by dividing up the indigenous people and forcing them to work met first with the baffled incomprehension of the Taínos, who could not fathom the Spanish lust for gold, and then with their fierce resistance, as

Indian communities held out militarily against the Spanish for decades, though in most cases they were unable to withstand their far better armed and supplied opponents [...] Colonial poverty and the fact that imports of enslaved people ceased in the sixteenth century also gave rise to another feature distinctive to the Dominican Republic: a far more familial and paternalistic form of slavery than elsewhere. The fact that most farms were small and slave owners had only a few slaves, who worked alongside family labor, fostered far more intimate relations between masters and slaves than in the larger-scale plantation model. Freedpeople were more numerous than enslaved people in the Dominican Republic as early as the seventeenth century, a fact that itself helped shape a very different culture of race and status-marking than elsewhere. (*ibid.*, 2-3)

In recent times, “another distinguishing feature of the Dominican Republic is that it has suffered far more foreign intervention than other Latin American countries” (*ibid.*, 5). In the XXth century, “The US occupation built the foundation for the long-lived dictatorship known as “The Era of Trujillo.” Rafael Trujillo got his start as a Marine trainee, seized power in 1930, and kept it for three decades. During that time, he simultaneously modernized the nation’s economy and infrastructure” (*ibid.*, 6) The current economical activities and the setting of the Samana Bay area was established after this time. Disperse communities were linked to the economic *boom* brought by tourism and extractive activities, with a shared heritage developed through the island’s history. People and its heritage experienced subtle transformations, that, in the long run, changed the region everyday life.

As part of the social aspects of the Dominican Republic is necessary to point out that social and environmental conflicts are not directly linked to ethnic or racial struggles as in other parts of the Caribbean (Thornton and Ubiera 2019).

Dominicans on the whole have never been as conflicted about nor as enchanted by their own ethnic or racial identities as the scholars who write about them. Dominicans are, clearly, more than simple racial miscreants or blind custodians of a reviled false consciousness; they are, in the main, no more confused about their supposed racial or ethnic origins than anyone else. National identity is neither static nor agreed upon [...] Indeed, as of yet, there is little in Dominican popular culture that would incentivize public affirmation of black identity akin to the Afrocentric and Black Power movements of yesteryear observed in the US, especially as black ethnic identity is most often associated with the

much-maligned Haiti and “Haitianness.” The predominant national mythologies that obscure if not outright deny ancestral origins in Africa are the handmaidens of cultural and political elites who are invested in a national image that deemphasizes foreign black culture and black African heritage and who sponsor in its place the promotion of Hispanic descent, Euro-Christian values, and (increasingly) white North American cultural ideals. (*ibid.*, 416)

Conflicts and stakeholders rally more about everyday life conflicts:

Although questions about race and nation are important, they do not always reflect or even approximate the primary interests or motivations of local actors. Two of the most significant Dominican social movements over the past several years (notably in 2012 and 2017) were inspired by government corruption, poverty, and resistance to the abuses of political authority following widespread dissatisfaction with incumbent politicians and broad disparities in wealth, power, and flourishing between political elites and the general populace. (*ibid.* 421)

5.2 List of Supporting Studies on Samana Bay’s Heritage

- a) Land use: Lockward and Pozo (1997a, 1997b) and ‘Las comisiones de seguimiento de la propuesta de legalización y uso de la tierra de Santa Bárbara de Samaná, Sánchez y Las Terrenas’ (1998).
- b) Environmental characterization: Betancourt-Fernández (2012a, 2012b)
- c) Specific studies on biodiversity and heritage: Martínez-Mercedes (1994), Peguero (1995), Peguero *et al.* (1995) and Lockward *et al.* (1995).
- d) Heritage management and use: León (1997) and Ramírez-Tejada *et al.* (1996).

5.3 Heritage and Environmental Concerns

The main conflicts that stakeholders consider to be addressed at the Samana Bay region are the socio-environmental ones. According to the different interviewees, the greatest threat to the conservation and management of heritage are the threats that the socio-environmental context of the Bay is facing. These threats have already affected the region’s ecological balance, public health, and economic activities. They build up a complex conflict panorama for the region:

- a) Urban development with lack of clear regulation

Both the different interviewees and the literature review agreed that population growth and the establishment of new urban centers for tourism, residential areas, and commercial activities have had a stronger impact on the environmental balance without the establishment of proper mitigation measures and space planning.

b) Solid waste management

The inadequate management of solid waste and the lack of infrastructure necessary for its processing is a constant threat to water bodies and natural areas near cities where it is dumped. Clandestine landfills are recorded, as well as, disposal activities in water flows and the Bay itself.

c) Wastewater treatment

A concern shared by all interviewees is the lack of water treatment facilities for wastewater generated at the different localities of the Samana Bay region. Since the latter is composed mostly by coastal localities, the discharges are conducted directly to the Bay or are deposited in stagnant water bodies that constitute water reservoirs. According to the perspectives of settlers, fisher's cooperatives, and NGOs' members interviewed, public health risks are everywhere because of environmental pollution and incorporation of toxic agents with high negative impact on aquatic flora and fauna. In addition, as it could be verified in the face-to-face trips, at least in the localities of Sanchez and Sabana de la Mar, some wastewater accumulates are already in heritage sites. This phenomenon is reducing the areas potentiality for touristic activities.

d) Maritime pollution of national origin

Another issue identified by the interviewees is the increase of solid waste, especially plastic, at the bottom of the Bay, as well as in the mangrove littoral zones. An important part of these come from the Lower Yuna River Bay's Mouth.

e) International maritime pollution

Besides the solid waste coming from the Dominican Republic hinterland, the interviewees mentioned plastic underwater deposits mainly from other islands located to the east, particularly Puerto Rico. This phenomenon is a consequence of natural sea currents from east to west. Allusions were made to the constant presence of old flip-flops, plastic bags, and garbage whose origin can be easily identified on the west side of the neighboring island.

f) Environmental stress due to the development of touristic activities

All the interviewees agreed that tourism promotion in the area has changed the level of exploitation of natural resources and environmental impact. Additional elements have been integrated into the landscape such as infrastructure, new settlements, roads from Santo Domingo and the rest of the Cibao Valley, as well as the increase of tourist's numbers because of the growing interest in whale sightings. Environmental authorities and NGOs consulted expressed their concern towards the *socio-environmental stress* on heritage. An interviewee said, "although it is possible to regulate the number of boats that can approach for whale watching, only three at the same time, behind them there are fifteen or twenty more that want to approach." They also mention that the different providers of tourist services do not always have the capacity, or even the will, to prohibit visitors from developing certain activities or to prevent the latter from extracting species of flora or rocky material from the region.

g) Clandestine forest clearing

Another of the productive activities that were identified as of high impact is the illegal logging of mangroves. Although, as a local fisherman mentioned, this is carried out throughout the entire Bay, the impact on mangrove forests was highlighted in the western part, in places surrounding protected areas, and near urban localities.

h) Heavy metals pollution due to extractive activity and energy generation wastes

Some residents and NGO's members reported that in certain coastal towns, *i.e.*, Arroyo Barril in the Samana Province, a material denominated as *rock ash* was dumped. This came from energy plants in the neighbor island of Puerto Rico. They explained that, since the environmental legislation that governs the United States does not allow the residue's deposit in Puerto Rico, agreements were made for its deposit in coastal spots of the Dominican Republic. After demonstrations began due to the emergence of health impacts, the activity stopped, but the wastes lay there.

i) Over exploitation of fishery resources

A growing concern for the fishermen and NGO's interviewed are the impacts on heritage conservation because of excessive riparian fishing. They mentioned that the most common type of fishing gear used "*takes everything it finds and interrupts the reproductive cycle of marine species.*" Therefore, they highlighted that this situation influences both the productive sector that is getting less and less catches and the future of the environmental

balance of nearby waters. Some fisher's cooperatives are testing other type of fishing gear that allows species' sustainable reproduction, only fishing for the adult specimens, and does not affect other flora and fauna.

j) Unsustainable livestock breeding and agricultural exploitation.

The interviewees from the Southern area of the Bay mentioned the heritage damage done by the increasing establishment of areas for livestock pasture and land clearing of native vegetation to erect farms for pasture and crop fields for yam production.

k) Natural land resources extraction

Native species extraction is also an issue of concern for environmental activists. The extraction of endemic ferns, from the *Cyathea* family, to produce handicrafts without environmental sustainability is a recorded case. Although it has been prohibited by heritage conservation law, its exploitation continues with long-term impacts (Redacción *El Dinero* 2018).

l) Heritage governance

All interviewees identified the lack of effective rule of law and efficient heritage management that involves all stakeholders' participation, as well as groups and institutions linked to the socio-environmental problems. Although authorities interviewed mentioned the existence of rules, norms and even conservation normative, one of them said that "*they are rarely respected and are only placed in paper posts in fishing cooperatives offices with no one really reading them.*" This fact has generated a chaotic context "*where there is little conscience and much corruption*". The construction of an effective scheme for heritage co-management and environmental governance in the Bay of Samana is one of the future challenges that is of interest for all the stakeholders consulted.

5.4 Stakeholders

Through interviews and documentary research, it was possible to identify the following people, collectives, and institutions that play a role in the issues listed on the last subsection. Some of them are heritage users; others, regulatory institutions; and also, there are affected people by the consequences of the socio-environmental conflicts. The list order was established according to the sectors to which they belong. In this way direct allusions to interviewees were avoided and the writing was focused on an actors' positions and interests analysis.

- a) Productive / primary economic activities
 - a. Riparian fishing. It exists at all the surroundings of the Bay and in the north coast of the Samana Peninsula. Generally, it supplies the local market and touristic areas.
 - b. Fishing boats companies with large vessels based in the port of Sanchez and major cities of the Dominican Republic.
 - c. Agricultural production. From small-scale production for self-consumption (locally named *conuco*) to areas destined for the industrial production of rice and sugarcane (western zone, Bajo Yuna River region), coconut production (especially in the Samana Peninsula) and livestock on the coast south of the Bay as well as for tubers' cultivation.
- b) Riparian communities' inhabitants. Inhabitants of cities such as Santa Bárbara de Samana, Sánchez or Miches, from smaller urban towns, such as Sabana de la Mar and Las Galeras, to small semi-rural and rural towns that are in the Bay's influence and impact area.
- c) Touristic services providers (without considering lodging activities)
 - a. Low-scale services (individually, by family or cooperatives with smaller vessels). Usually for trips to Los Haitises National Park, the mangroves of Bajo Yuna, islands and islets of the Bay, and for whale watching.
 - b. Provision of services on a large scale (companies with employees, high demand, or large vessels). Larger companies that provide services to high-volume tourism -such as cruise ships- that are mostly assisted by smaller-scale service providers to facilitate tourist trips once the cruise ships reach port.
- d) Extractive activities (mining). Mining activities registered mainly in the southern region of the Bay on the northern slope of the Eastern Cordillera of the Dominican Republic. This area extends from *Los Haitises* National Park, on the west, towards the south of Sabana de la Mar and Miches. There are different mining spots for precious metals and for construction materials.
- e) Hospitality and hotels. According to the different interviewees, the tourism sector, with the strengthening and increase of tourism activity in the region, has developed and concentrated near cities with more infrastructure in the Samana Peninsula and later in the Southern Bay area. There is also a smaller-scale option offered by families and small entrepreneurs in the sector. This sector has been established as one of the most important in decision-making at

the community level and has encouraged NGOs activities and a pro-environmental agenda. This sector's importance, from the perspective of the interviewees above, is a counterweight for extractive activities and environmental pollution. Also, they said, it has the power to lobby political actors and convince them to assess projects that threaten the area's heritage.

- f) Municipal and regional authorities. Within this sector are the municipal and provincial governments in whose territory heritage is conserved.
- g) Environmental authorities (national level). According to national legislation, the Ministry of the Environment has representatives in the region that enforces national laws and act, on occasions, as policy brokers with the different actors.
- h) NGOs and international cooperation agencies (national and international). In this case there are organizations specifically dedicated to heritage and environmental conservation, but also others that support pro-heritage alternatives as part of other issues they address like human rights, educational work, community, and health, just to name a few.
- i) Commercial (services not related to resources extraction). As part of the population increase and the necessity of everyday services in the region, the diversity of shops and service providers has also increased, mainly to meet the needs of the touristic sector.

5.5 Actors' Positions and Interests

A characteristic of the different sectors that were identified regarding the Samana Bay case is that, at least as part of their public discourse, they agree on the principle that maintaining the environmental health of the Bay is a priority for population and its heritage. The interviewees desire a Bay area in peace, healthy, and productive for everybody. Other public positions and interests identified are analyzed below.

Sector	Positions	Interests
Productive (Riparian fishing)	Heritage management do not interfere with their economic activity, which is also the economic support of their families.	To stop the decrease of biomass available for fishing. Fair rules so that every fisher and cooperative extracts resources fairly.
Productive (Deep sea fishing)	The activity does not significantly impact coastal	It was not possible to identify.

	land, and most of it is carried out in areas other than the riparian fishing areas.	
Productive (agriculture and livestock)	To continue with livestock breeding that is a source of income and food.	Use of sufficient extensions for livestock grazing.
Inhabitants of the communities	Heritage conservation must be done considering employment and public health.	Town cleaning and sanitation. Wastewater treatment and recanalization so that uncovered water flow does not travel near urban areas. Sufficient employment and job generating sources.
Mining extraction	The mining activity is compatible with the other economic activities in the region.	Continuity of activity and exploration of other mineral veins of available resources.
Touristic services	Allowed only those productive activities that do not alter the whale watching and conservation of areas of touristic value.	To control the number of service providers so that the activities stay lucrative for all participants. Existence of clear schemes so that the service providers themselves do not impact the environment.
Hospitality and hotels	Hotel development with environmental awareness and without affecting protected habitats.	Issuance of operating licenses and allowing the permanence of existing projects and those under construction in such a way that mitigation measures do not affect services.
Municipal and regional authorities	To promote development that considers all stakeholders'	Avoid the emergence of social conflicts and allow the entrance of more foreign

	interests and allows economic growth of the provinces.	currency from tourism and employment.
Environmental authorities	To look for a model for regional development that allows less environmental impact	Compliance with the current regulatory framework
Commercial	There was no specific perception recorded regarding the conflict subject.	N/A
NGOs and international cooperation agencies	Greater efforts must be made to protect the region's heritage because of the number of threats that exist over it and vulnerability context.	Any conservation effort must be realistic and must have political actors' will. Current activities and programs do not work properly. In addition, all sectors should participate in the attention to the problems, not only those with power in the political and/or economic sphere.

5.6 Coincidences

Within the different interviews carried out, it was possible to point out some coincidences and shared perspectives that could serve as a common ground for conflict management and heritage conservation:

- a) The current environmental situation is unsustainable. Interviewees agreed it is not possible to identify just one threat to heritage. Harmful practices against the environment are performed in all towns and by all stakeholders. Something needs to change.
- b) The management of solid waste and wastewater are a priority to be addressed in urban centers.
- c) The development of constructions on the coastal littoral should be regulated more efficiently. Tourism regulations should be enforced. It is critical for species conservation, nesting areas, and mangrove forests.

5.7 Discord

As part of the analysis, contrasting perceptions were identified as well. These dissensus generate obstacles for conflict management and heritage conservation.

The key points of divergence identified in the perceptions recovered through the interviews are those regarding the a) impacts of extractive industry, and b) urbanization development. An interviewee, member of a NGO, pointed out that the paradox of development in the touristic and coastal zones of this region of the Dominican Republic is that the environmental modifications on heritage sites affects the landscape that is, at the same time, the same good that is offered on the tourism industry and that provides the largest amount of foreign economic income. Therefore, the interests of these two activities are perceived with high incompatibility. This aspect generates a diversity of actors' positions regarding the future development of the region and its impact on heritage conservation.

Not everything is lost for peacebuilding. During fieldwork, there was also common ground perceived. All interviewees expressed their desire for updated environmental programs and rules. They considered that economic development needs regulation that allows sustainable use of resources and the preservation of heritage and environmental health.

5.8 Specific Characteristics of the Conflicts over Heritage

As the Samana Bay heritage conflict case study is not one with a single actor for each stakeholder group, that is, as each of the sectors comprises a diversity of individuals, collectives and institutions, the models to be constructed for the study of the conflict landscape must determine the following characteristics:

1. There are no single coalitions that encompass the representatives of each sector. Actors share certain perceptions, even though they do not agree with others.
2. Each community's particularities generate different contexts that cannot be generalized.
3. Not every actor considers the stated issues part of the conflict. Those identified by all the interviewees during the fieldwork were the concerns related to land use and management. For example, 1) land conservation against urban development or tourism infrastructure and 2) heritage conservation against extraction of non-renewable resources, mainly in the case of mining.

5.9 Past and Current Proposals and Initiatives

Some people, groups and institutions have made initiatives and proposals to address these problems partially or comprehensively. Mostly, these ideas have come from NGOs and environmental authorities. However, over the years, as an interviewee said, “these proposals have been ignored and impacts on heritage have increased”. This issue explains the reason why now these initiatives are outdated and need to be adapted to the current reality. An identified proposal that adds solutions to all the variables of the conflict map and that has a direct influence on the conservation of heritage is the project to develop a Biosphere Reserve in the Bay of Samana, and eventually World Heritage. It has been presented by the Center for the Conservation and Eco-development of Samana Bay and its Environment, Inc.¹⁴ (CEBSE) together with other governmental actors, private initiative, communities, and NGOs.

5.10 The Road towards World Heritage

A comprehensive proposal for the conservation and protection of heritage in the Samana Bay region is the proposal to declare it officially as World Heritage. This could be done through a process that starts with a national law that elevates it to a Biosphere Reserve. This figure consists of

protected spaces in land, coastal and marine environments that have been selected because they are representative samples of the biome of the island and that correspond to critical ecosystems because of their relevance or because they have a potential use that is used improperly [...]. It is meant to be a model of the relationship between man and nature, harmonizing the rational use of natural resources conservation and preservation for future generations. [...] A characteristic and distinctive feature is the fact that within the same conceptual framework nature conservation is compatible with the rational use of its resources, with scientific research, environmental monitoring, education, training, and local population participation¹⁵ (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 1).

¹⁴ Centro para la conservación y ecodesarrollo de la Bahía de Samaná y su entorno, Inc.

¹⁵[Original] espacios protegidos en entornos terrestres, costeros y marinos que se han seleccionado por tratarse de muestras representativas del bioma de un país y que se corresponden con ecosistemas críticos por su relevancia o

The configuration of these reserves involves designating at least three types of zones:

- Nucleus, "strictly protected area according to clearly defined conservation objectives and which correspond to land that contain ecosystems that are relevant because of their natural state or because they have a minimum degree of alteration [...] the nucleus area serves as a research field and as a reference to long term environmental changes in the field for the Biosphere in general and ecosystems in particular [...] as well as working as a trial field for environmental recovery and restoration"¹⁶ (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 1-2).
- Impact absorption, "in which there is a regulation on the activities to be carried out in them, allowing only those compatible with protecting the central nucleus, [...] research and capacity building in environmental aspects, recreation activities and for naturalism [...] In case of these being degraded areas they could be the object of programs of ecological restoration"¹⁷ (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 2).
- Transition areas, "corresponds to the natural biogeographical limits, comprising a wide area of land in which cooperative activities between researchers, managers and local population

porque reúnen un potencial de uso que se aprovecha de forma inadecuada [...] pretenden ser un modelo de relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza, armonizando el aprovechamiento racional de los recursos naturales con su conservación y preservación para las generaciones futuras. [...] Como rasgo característico y distintivo se señala el hecho de que dentro de un mismo marco conceptual se hace compatible la conservación de la naturaleza con el uso racional de sus recursos, con la investigación científica, la vigilancia ambiental, la educación, la formación y la participación de la población local (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 1).

¹⁶ [Original] estrictamente protegidas conforme a objetivos claramente definidos de conservación y que corresponden a territorios que contienen ecosistemas relevantes por su estado natural o por poseer un grado de alteración mínimo [...] sirven como campo de investigación sirviendo como referencia a los cambios ambientales a largo plazo en el ámbito de la biósfera en general y de los ecosistemas en particular [...] así como servir [sic] de campo de ensayo para la recuperación y restauración (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 1-2).

¹⁷ [Original] en las que existe una regulación sobre las actividades a realizarse en ellas, permitiéndose sólo aquellas compatibles con la protección de los núcleos centrales [...] actividades de investigación y formación en materia de medio ambiente, así como actividades de recreación y de turismo naturalista [...] En caso de ser áreas degradadas podrían ser objeto de programas de restauración ecológica (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 2).

are fostered to achieve land organization according to aptitudes and stakeholders' demands"¹⁸ (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 2).

The Biosphere Reserve original plan, proposed in 1993, considers an area of 4292.81 km² of land environment and 912 km² of the interior marine platform and water areas surrounding the Bay. Within this polygon there are already some natural protected areas such as *Los Haitises* National Park as well as the natural scientific reserves of *Redonda* and *Limón* lagoons, the *Loma Quita Espuela* Natural Scientific Reserve and the Humpback Whale Marine Sanctuary (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 3).

According to the information collected during the interview process, this proposal could not advance sufficiently because of the lack of political support. An interviewee from an NGO said "it is stuck because of the lack of real political will and, also, because authorities need to start a process to legitimately summon all the actors and social sectors involved. In this way we can establish criteria for heritage management and conservation". There are important concerns still and fear that restricting activities in certain areas could lead to financial problems. In order for a biosphere reserve to be erected, several procedures are still needed to be inform and promotion of benefits is needed.

¹⁸ [Original] corresponde a los límites biogeográficos naturales, consistiendo en una amplia extensión de territorio en la cual se fomentan las actividades en régimen de cooperación entre investigadores, gestores y población local con fines de lograr una ordenación del territorio según aptitudes y demandas (Lamelas and Ramírez 1993, 2).

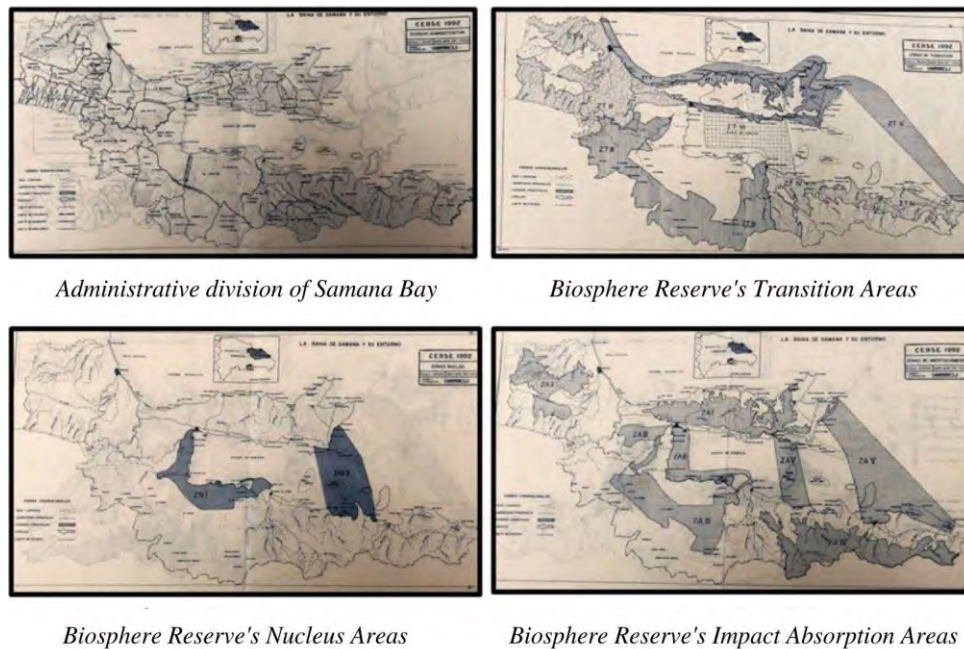


Figure 7. Maps that represent the proposed areas for the Biosphere Reserve. (Lamelas and Rodríguez 1993).

5.11 Proposals by Sectors

Because of the lack of consensus for the Biosphere Reserve initiative, to promote comprehensive heritage protection projects among the different sectors, some attempts have been made by local stakeholders.

On one hand, the touristic sector, clearly interested in waste reduction and nature conservancy, developed a capacity building program in the Samana region. This was reflected in the sector diagnosis made by Ramírez-Tejeda *et al.* (1996) with the priority of local population training and information distribution between touristic services providers in matters concerning the environmental sphere and resources' sustainable use. Also, NGOs have been created, such as Samana's Environmental Forum and some pro-environment groups by locality. There is an environmental agenda available for the region (Lamelas and Reina-Alcántara 2012).

More recent sub regional efforts have also been recorded. There is a *Conservation Plan for the Mangroves of the Lower Yuna River National Park* (Lamelas *et al.* 2012) that seeks to stop environmental deterioration because of productive and urban activities, mainly in the west of

Samana Bay. This involves stopping mangroves removal, reforestation, and recovering of dragon trees.

Another report focused on local efforts is the document entitled *Environmental Agenda of Samana* (Betancourt-Fernández 2012). It compiles the proposals by local actors for heritage protection with the aim of addressing common problems such as living conditions, water supply, waste management, reforestation, environmental monitoring, and education.

5.12 Ethnographic Notes: Heritage as a Category

My first approach to this region of the Dominican Republic was working with an NGO based in the capital city of the province of Samana on community development issues. In conversations with them, a constant subject in our discussions was unmanaged local socio-environmental problems. People were aware of them, but there was an atmosphere of inaction. Nobody was doing anything. The problems' list was long and diverse. The only possible holistic and appropriate unit for its study was heritage. With this in mind, I wrote my first observations prior to this dissertation. I had worked with cases of heritage disputes in the past, mainly in Mexico, and I found a similar context regarding the concerns expressed. Also, about how the conflict started and the escalation of social tensions. The impact on heritage and the environment was clear. Aware of my limitations and biases because of the study of previous conflicts, I conducted the first interviews and designed a focus question: *Why do I perceive inaction on those affected by the destruction of heritage, even if there is a direct relationship with their lives?*

I did not perceive it at first, but with this question there were potential risks of reflecting my vision and personal interests in a study of this nature. After my first observation trips to the region, I remembered that in the past I had expressed my own agenda in favor of managing heritage problems. I was wrong to think that the vision of certain activists was the same as that of the rest of the population. This is the contradiction in ethnographic research that I expressed before. So, I observed again from a new theoretical framework that I was developing for this dissertation and turned the case study into one for its application.

I collected more information, organized new interviews, and observed that, in the specific case of Samana, it was better to change the word actors to *enunciative* groups (furthered explained in this section). Most of the region's inhabitants were not involved in heritage conflicts, even though they were experimenting its impacts. Only some groups were actively taking part. Among them,

they shared mostly the same positions and interests, but this did not lead them to approach their shared problems in the same way. They do not necessarily think similar. As a result, I saw in the category of *enunciative communities* more possibilities to explain them properly. Trying to force their analyzes through a classic stakeholder analysis would have been a mistake.

As I used to work with the category of actors with interest, or *Stakeholders*, which is often used in environmental conflict management studies in the style of Susskind and Thomas-Larmer (1999), my first conflict map contained those possible actors that, according to my preconceived idea, had interest in heritage management. However, unlike other conflict studies in which I had taken part, here there were not always apparent positions in favor or against by many of the actors, nor clear and shared paths to work on conflict resolution. Taking a step back, I thought, "*here we will not know who is who until there is an emergency, just then everyone will come together and take positions as in other conflicts*". So, right now, for NGOs, researchers, and some actors, there is an emergency, but for the rest, there is none. Because of this lack of clarity, I decided I needed to transform this category. Reading Kim Fortun's book on the social consequences of the environmental disaster in Bhopal, India, made me reflect on the following:

Within environmental politics, these questions are usually responded to in terms of stakeholders –groups of people who have a stake in decisions to be made by corporations, government agencies, or other organizational bodies within which decisions by a few people can affect many. A stakeholder model recognizes different social positions and different ways of perceiving both problems and solutions. The model has merits. It has pushed corporations to include non shareholders in their calculations of stakes [...] It has also helped draw once marginalized players into policy formulation and evaluation (Fortun 2001, 10).

My perception was similar. I was addressing a context of conflict over heritage in which different actors have rights but little possibility of acting in terms of solving their problems. Without wanting to discard the stakeholder model in its entirety because of its proven value, especially to give more visibility to other people and groups that should be part of the decision-making processes but are not always there, I decided to look for another category in line with Fortun's own thinking:

the goal is usually to manage difference by forcing diversity into consensus. And each stakeholder community is usually considered to be epistemologically homogenous and epistemologically consistent. Members of any given stakeholder community are assumed

to think alike. And they can't seem to learn, remaining unchanged over time: within a stakeholder model, government agencies are expected to think objectively, procedurally, and politically. Corporations are expected to think objectively, technically, financially, and legally. Rationality is demonstrated by both. Citizens are not expected to be rational. [...] Like most pluralist models, the stakeholder model can't seem to tolerate much complexity – or much dissent. [...] I needed to turn the stakeholder model into a resource, rather than insisting only on its insufficiencies. So, I made the decision to rely on a stakeholder model a little different than usual [...] organizing my own thinking around “indigenous categories” to better understand the merits and problems of those categories (Fortun 2001, 11 and Shrivastava 1987, 80).

A more useful category for conceptualizing people and groups with heritage rights, and in which I was also able to identify those actors who make a social life in Samana Bay, was shown to me by the author herself: the *enunciatory communities*. Actors in enunciative communities: “often share certain interests. But they do not necessarily think in the same way about what those interests mean or about how those interests can be protected” (Fortun 2001, 11).

The diversity of possible solutions on their shared interests is the main characteristic that differentiates these communities from traditional stakeholder groups. Returning to Fortun (1991, 11),

instead of locating enunciatory communities via indicators of interest or epistemological habit, I have focused on fields of force and contradiction [...] Enunciatory communities are produced by double binds, the identity of enunciatory communities is strategically configured; collectively is not a matter of shared values, interests, or even culture, but a response to temporally specific paradox.

5.13 The Conflict and Heritage Map in Samana Bay, Dominican Republic

Conflict Map / <i>Mapa de conflicto</i> 2019	
Samana Bay, Dominican Republic / <i>Bahía de Samaná, República Dominicana</i>	
	1. Small fishing sector: with connection

Main Stakeholders (Actors) and Identity / <i>Actores principales e identidad</i>	2. Offshore fishing productive sector: medium connection
	3. Inhabitants of coastal areas: connected
	4. Inhabitants of non-coastal areas: with connection
	5. Mining productive sector: no identity connection.
	6. Small-scale tourism: with connection
	7. Larger-scale tourism, identity linked to visual and tourist exploitation.
	8. Heritage conservation and environmental authorities: Not all have an identity link, although their interest is heritage protection.
	9. Other authorities: Identity not necessarily linked to heritage.
Land Attachment / <i>Arraigo al territorio</i>	Strong roots in ancient populations (Samana, Sabana de la Mar, Miches). New cities and recently formed settlements without a direct identity land link.
Discourse Analysis / <i>Análisis del discurso</i>	1. In favor of commercial exploitation, without using heritage as a conflict argument (large-scale mining and production).
	2. In favor of heritage conservation and use only for touristic recreation (conservation activists and tourism providers).
	3. Discursive contrast "coast vs inland".
Conflict and Heritage / <i>Patrimonio y conflicto</i>	
Heritage at stake / <i>Patrimonio en conflicto</i>	Samana Bay's Biodiversity, Cultural landscape of Samana Bay
Heritage types / <i>Tipo del patrimonio</i>	Common heritage in isolated points (Los Haitises National Park), with market value
Type of Relations / <i>Tipo de relaciones</i>	Resource exploitation, visual exploitation
Power / <i>Poder</i>	
	1. (Agenda) Conservation and tourism groups / Extraction productive sector

Agenda and Decision Making / <i>Agenda y toma de decisiones</i>	2. (Agenda) Large tourism providers / Small tourism providers
Issues at Stake / <i>Temas en conflicto</i>	Heritage Management
Conflict Types and Characteristics / <i>Tipos de conflicto y características</i>	1. Present conflict: Access to resources that are part of the heritage (fishing and mining)
	2. Present and potential conflict: Impacts on inhabitant's life quality because of environmental deterioration
	3. Present and potential conflict: Access to heritage land
Interests / <i>Intereses</i>	Resource management / Access to heritage area
Reactions to Power Actions / <i>Reacciones ante el poder ejercido</i>	1. Legislation changes proposal
	2. Proposal heritage legal protection as a whole, heritage change to a common type heritage (World Heritage)
	3. No active reaction from inhabitants' minority groups

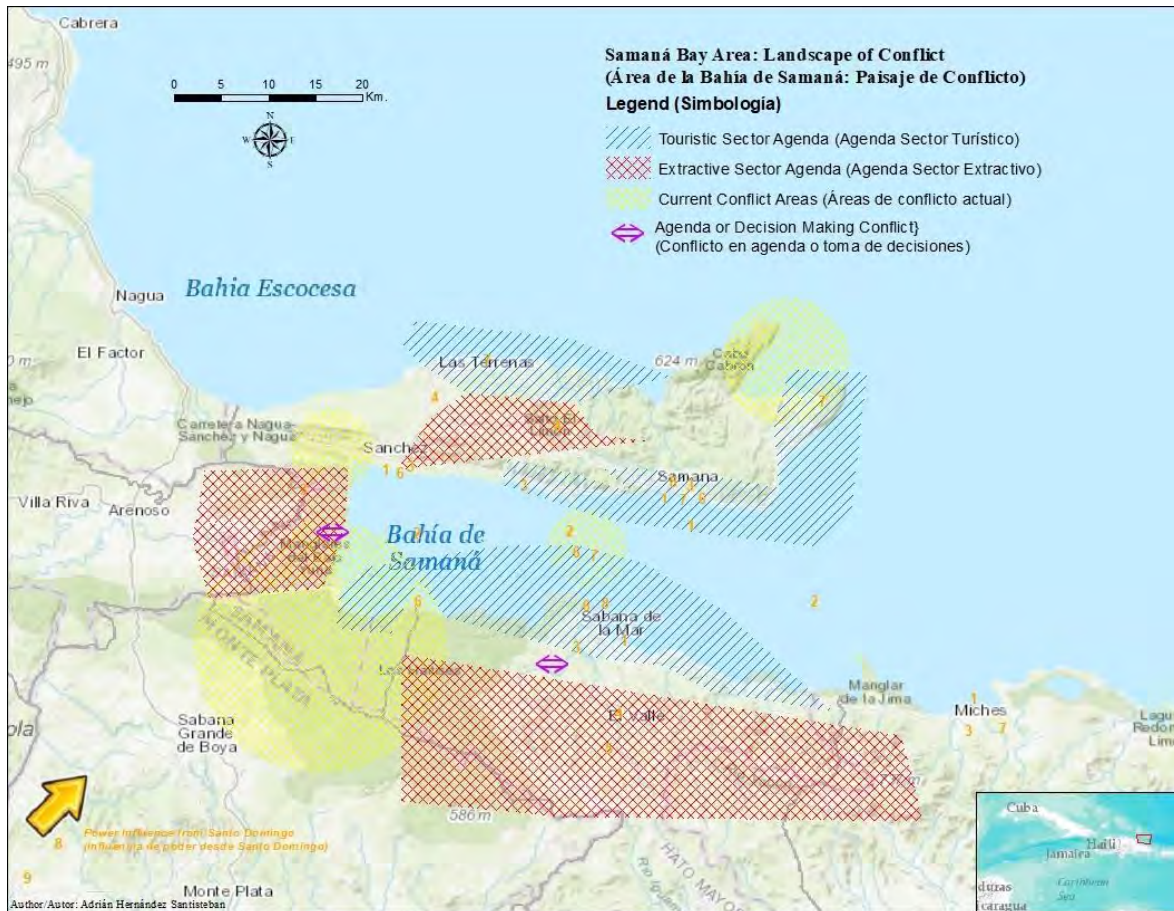


Figure 8. Conflict map 2019. Case study "Conflict for Heritage Conservation in Samana Bay, Dominican Republic". (The numbers correspond to the stakeholders in the table above.)

The conflict landscape map of Samana Bay shows us that, despite speaking of a single region, the agendas and interests of the different actors are not found necessary in the same areas. We clearly observe this fact in cartographic language. The regions marked in yellow are those where there are currently disputes. Of course, the others are part of potential conflicts. However, making a difference allows us to have a place where we can start to narrate the conflict. For this, I consider that the best approach is to observe the actors' agencies from the perspective of Peace and Conflict studies.

Agricultural and fishing activities in the region have always been linked to the exploitation of natural heritage. From the relationships that the distinct groups had with it, the identities of the fishing and agricultural communities of the region were formed. Compared to other regions of the island, the Samana area remained with fewer communications with the interior, therefore, the result was communities with greater self-sufficiency. For some interviewees, it seems as if the existence

and survival of heritage had always been taken for granted, however, with the arrival of tourism, deep-sea fishing, and mining projects, the context was transformed.

Decisions that were made from outside, mainly from the capital city of Santo Domingo, transformed the heritage use. Fishing, hotel construction, and mining concessions increased. It began a competition for the same resources, once the impacts of these activities were significant. There were different expressions of opposition and concern for the future of heritage. Some areas were protected, for example, *Los Haitises* National Park to the southwest of the Bay. Some regulations for fishing were also put in place, especially to keep whale watching activities attractive. However, none of the activities stopped and the impacts continue to rise. Among the agendas and activities of the groups, we observe that there is competition for the same resources in some areas and the phenomenon described by Shen (2014), *section 3.3.1*, on the reduction of group productivity regarding its potential. This impact of social conflict is mainly observed in the areas where agendas and interests touch:

A) Maritime tourist activities vs Fishing activities

B) Extractive activities vs Touristic activities

If no group has imposed its agenda on another, it is because there are important stakeholders with influence and power both in the region and in the capital city in three main sectors: deep-sea fishing, large-scale tourism development, and mining. The strength of these three actors has generated a *status quo* that over time continues to deteriorate the heritage from which everyone benefits. Those most affected on this chessboard are the groups of inhabitants who live in polluted locations.

We can also see on the map that each sector still has areas in which interests do not collide. These are good places to start conflict management, therefore, we can assume that finding solutions has not been a priority. However, active heritage protection groups and diaspora activists, as well as local actors, have sought to have conflicts managed, and avoid potential future issues. Therefore, the construction of legal protection figures such as the Biosphere Reserve has been sought.

The potential aspect of socio-environmental conflicts is the biggest threat in this case. Slowly, a complex conflict context has been developing. If these current concerns are not addressed, then, the conflict will continue to rise at the regional level and may have other manifestations, such as violence, as it increasingly affects the well-being of the rest of the actors involved in the region.

DISPLACED MINING IN ADJUNTAS, PUERTO RICO

Let us now analyze the conflict landscape of a second case study. This arose and developed largely in the Central Mountain Range of the smaller of the Greater Antilles: Puerto Rico. The main motivation for including it was that there was documentation of a conflict that had a unique story. From the perception of an outsider, it differs from others in the region by something outstanding: the opposition groups to an infrastructure and resource extraction project, that was threatening heritage and that triggered the conflict, seemed to have achieved its objectives. This result was not necessarily just because of their actions. They built up a context that ended up with the mining project cancelation. An anti-mine movement arose, succeeded, and disrupted it. "*A mine that never was*", was my first thought. Upon reaching the area where the conflict took place, I found a sign that said, "*Welcome to the School Forest*", instead of the classic landscape of an open pit mine that I already knew in other regions: large tunnels, leachate patios, accumulations of removed materials, machinery, etc. Mining in the region remained a project for several decades and, to date, it has not been carried out.

Unlike the case of the Samana Bay case, the information is not so extensive and there are not so many documentary sources. The map is not that complete in facts, but it is sufficient enough and especially rich in the discursive aspect. The conflict landscape was constructed through three main literature sources: Colón-Rivera *et al.* (2014), Massol-González (1995) and Massol-González (2019). As well as with six semi-structured interviews conducted in the summer of 2019.

Interviewed stakeholders

In July 2019, 5 in-depth interviews and 1 focus group were conducted to gather data for the Adjuntas' Conflict Landscape. Interviewees were reached through local NGO staff and online research. Oral consent was asked before the activities.

The main aim was to gather perceptions from members of different sectors involved in the mining project, local inhabitants, grassroots groups and NGOs, and political actors. The first interviews were conducted to local NGOs to learn about the case study stakeholder universe, their perceptions about their heritage interests and their role in the displaced mining conflict. Then, local inhabitants were reached through the region, and finally, political actors.¹⁹ It was not possible to

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interview members of all sectors in conflict because of the time lapse with its main events, those gaps were filled through the literature review.

6.1 Case Study Justification

Unlike the other two case studies used in this dissertation, here we refer to a conflict that had its most active moment in previous decades but that has a unique characteristic of interest. It underwent a process of peaceful transformation in which the opposition movement achieved the materialization of its main demand: the non-realization of the mining project.

Groups were identified for and against the project proposal. The main opposition discourse was constructed on the threats to heritage. The big difference with the other two case studies is that the main conflict was activated prior to the mining project development. In the case of the Dominican Republic, the impact on heritage developed almost imperceptibly for the groups that were involved in the conflict. In the case of the Tehuantepec Isthmus, the first wind projects were built with little opposition. In those conflicts, it was the experience of the first impacts and the increasing perception of damage that generated mobilization and the definition of apparent positions within the groups in conflict. Instead, here the imminence of the project generated a rejection movement that carried out activities that led to its cancellation. The conflict was prior to the development of the infrastructure project, prior to the impacts, and it has interesting characteristics for the conflict model proposed in this dissertation, mainly due to the latent factor.

6.2 Approach

The first time I had information on the case, it was mere chance. A person from the island mentioned my topics of interest to a friend of hers, the director of a NGO with an environmental

Num	Name	Sector	Location	Interview Data	Gender
1	In-depth interview	NGO	Adjuntas, Puerto Rico	10-VII-2019, semi-structured, 100 min	M
2	2 people focus group	Productive (Farming)	Utua, Puerto Rico	8-VII-2019, semi-structured, 45 min	M
3	In-depth interview	NGO / Commercial	Peñuelas, Puerto Rico	10-VII-2019, semi-structured, 90 min	M
4	In-depth interview	Productive (Farming)	Utua, Puerto Rico	8-VII-2019, semi-structured, 40 min	M
5	In-depth interview	NGO / Academia	Telephone	9-VII-2019, semi-structured, 35 min	F
6	In-depth interview	Government/ NGO	San Juan, Puerto Rico	11-VII-2019, semi-structured, 70 min	M

agenda, who suggested that we visit a community center in the town of Adjuntas, Puerto Rico. That was my first approach to a physical space called “Casa Pueblo”, *People’s House*, a grassroots organization that was built by the opposition movement to the mining project. In it I found walls with paintings, photographs and newspaper clippings that recorded the movement’s history. On a small table, almost in the center of the place, there was an art figure about forty centimeters long that symbolizes the Goldman Environmental Prize for Environmental Protection. It was the scene of a group that had known victory and that took advantage of it to generate a community center funded by all their supporters.

Walking around its vicinity, I figured out that not everyone in town sympathized with the “Casa Pueblo” project. However, they recognized what they had achieved and had no problem with its transformation in a cultural and educational space. Finally, in a conflict someone must be the leader, in the words of one interviewee “each one has his role”. They won, there are no mines today, but how did they do it?

6.3 First Observations

Although from the outside it seems to have the characteristics of a closed conflict, it is in fact deactivated. It could start any time again if there are law changes. That is the reason the opposition group asks for a legal heritage protection status for the land involved. An interviewee from an NGO said, “if they wanted to, they could reactivate it at any time, nothing guarantees that it is over, although in that case we would be there again explaining the impacts, educating, persuading, and trying to avoid it.” They are stubborn, I wrote in my field notebook. For this same reason, they created a community house and a permanent environmental education project, to be always on guard. With the aforementioned panorama, I designed a workflow. First, I was going to interview people belonging to governmental and non-governmental sectors, inhabitants of the area, and then representatives of opposition groups. Also, it was necessary to review materials written in recent years to reconstruct the conflict landscape.

6.4 Conflict Context and Brief Geography

The central mountain range of the island of Puerto Rico is less populated compared to its coasts. It remained with lower urban growth compared to its main cities and on the margin of major infrastructure projects for decades. This region concentrates a heritage complex both from the

indigenous and colonial past of the island, and from the biodiversity of the Antilles and current Puerto Rican society. In the second half of the 20th century, projects for the development of industry and infrastructure began on the island, and one of the most prominent was the proposal to create a mining corridor in the mountainous area.

During the government of Roberto Sánchez Vilella (1965-1968) the mining project had an extraordinary resonance. Puerto Rican society noticed the existence of important copper deposits associated with highly valued metals such as gold and silver that could be economically usable. A great social debate was unleashed around an issue that shook the old and ingrained myth that projected Puerto Rico as an island lacking mineral resources²⁰ (Colón-Rivera *et al.* 2014, 15).

Mining was a new activity on the island, unlike other regions of the continent. Puerto Rico had not been associated with these resources. An interviewee from an NGO mentioned "the mines here were new, we knew nothing about it, nor about the technology, impacts, and needs of this type of project". In addition, together with this activity, a comprehensive development project was planned that included other industries:

an official document that had clandestinely left La Fortaleza [the island's Governor's Office]: 2020 Plan Map that graphically illustrates Puerto Rico's planning up to the year 2020. It separates, among other things, 37,000 acres of land in the municipalities of Adjuntas, Utuado, Lares and Jayuya, for open-pit mining²¹ (Massol-González 1995, 12).

The magnitude of the proposed project suggested a high-level transformation of the communities of the region, their economic activity, people's movements, the landscape of the area, and its heritage. More than a single project, the plan found showed a regional corridor that would connect with other infrastructures to be developed in the rest of the territory.

²⁰ [Original] Durante el gobierno de Roberto Sánchez Vilella (1965-1968) el proyecto de explotación minera tuvo una resonancia extraordinaria. La sociedad puertorriqueña adquirió conciencia de la existencia de importantes yacimientos de cobre asociados con metales de gran aprecio como el oro y la plata que podían ser económicamente utilizables. Un gran debate social se desencadenó en torno a un tema que sacudió el viejo y arraigado mito que proyectaba a Puerto Rico como una isla carente de recursos minerales (Colón-Rivera *et al.* 2014, 15).

²¹ [Original] un documento oficial que clandestinamente había salido de la Fortaleza [Oficina del gobernador de la isla]: Mapa del Plan 2020 que ilustra gráficamente la planificación de Puerto Rico hasta el año dos mil veinte. Éste separa, entre otras cosas, las 37,000 cuerdas de terreno en los municipios de Adjuntas, Utuado, Lares y Jayuya, para la explotación minera a cielo abierto (Massol-González 1995, 12).

Initially, the project design was discussed in decision-making spheres without reaching the general population, however, the information spread, and the project's potential impacts went out to the public. Different opinions were heard. At the local level, there were several nuances. There were actors' positions of total support, others of conditional support with proper impact mitigation or with enough social benefits, and others of clear opposition. Nobody ruled out the need for an economic opportunity for the island. The discussion was about the mining impacts and consequences. However, the decision-making rested with the state government and US agencies. Under these conditions, other local, national, and international groups articulated in opposition to the project with arguments about the potential negative impacts of mining on Puerto Rican society, its heritage, and the environment.

A time limit race to transform stakeholders' perceptions began with new information access and with changes in local politics. The public opinion was a melting pot of actors that were mostly disjointed. In the words of one interviewee, a frequent position at the time was: "as long as extraction is favorable, the neighborhood flourishes". Thus, by the end of the 1970s, the development of the project seemed imminent.

On August 31, 1980, a newspaper headline reported the following: copper mines exploitation decided. The government takes the preliminary steps. They estimate the wealth of gold and silver at \$ 5 billion²² (Massol-González 1995, 10).

It was then that the opposition organized to gain more visibility and public sympathy. A group of neighbors was activated, mainly in the city of Adjuntas, who took actions to report on the impacts of the mining project. They did research, advised local actors, developed graphic materials, and went on a fight focused on heritage defense of the central mountain range of Puerto Rico.

The social and political context

To be able to fully understand the conflict, it is necessary to highlight the social and political organization of Puerto Rico. Currently, "Puerto Rico is a political paradox: part of the United States but distinct from it, enjoying citizenship but lacking full political representation, and infused with its own brand of nationalism despite not being a sovereign state." (Cheatham 2020) This undefined

²² [Original] El 31 de agosto de 1980 un titular periodístico informaba lo siguiente: decidida la explotación de las minas de cobre. El gobierno da los pasos preliminares. Calculan en \$5 billones la riqueza de los yacimientos que incluyen oro y plata (Massol-González 1995, 10).

political situation continues today and created a context where any economical development project finds a place in the political spectrum. “More than a century after being acquired by the United States from Spain, the island continues to grapple with its status as a U.S. territory and the legacy of colonialism in the Caribbean.” (*ibid.*) Land heritage management in the island have experienced external policies, and as a result, its heritage and identity relations are not the same for all the population. The island

became a critical military outpost, allowing Spain to defend its New World colonies against other European powers. By the eighteenth century, Puerto Rico had become a major exporter of tobacco, coffee, and sugarcane. Yet discontent with colonial rule led to a growing independence movement on the island, and Spain granted Puerto Rico self-government in 1897 [...] Just months later, however, the United States invaded the island during the 1898 Spanish-American War, a broader U.S. effort to push Spain out of the Caribbean and the Pacific. Spain lost the war and ceded Puerto Rico to the United States, along with other territories, including Guam and the Philippines. (Cheatham 2020)

Spanish, American, and *jibaro* (local) population, and heritage share the same space. The colonial powers and its institutions established different policies for heritage use. So, for a conflict to be able to focus the public debate over heritage, it is necessary to appeal to all the aspects that constitute the Puerto Rican identity and that surpasses its political divisions.



Figure 9. Area of the Central Mountain Range of Puerto Rico.

6.5 The Opposition Movement

Both the literature review information and the data from carried out interviews agree that, initially, there was not an element of identity and attachment within the region's inhabitants who opposed the project. Therefore, one of the first questions that had to be answered was about the people and groups that had been part of the opposition movement or movements to the mining corridor. It seemed clear that it had been a specific group in the town of Adjuntas that had led the resistance:

The Adjuntas Art and Culture Workshop emerged in 1980, with the aim of combating the proposed mining exploitation of the municipalities of Adjuntas, Utuado, Lares and Jayuya, and the north of Ponce. In this way, the Workshop joined the environmental struggle in opposition to mining in Puerto Rico that began in the 1960s and 1970s [...] With the solidarity and combativeness of groups such as the Industrial Mission, the Pro-Independence Movement, the Puerto Rican Independence Party, *Vanguardia Popular*, and

the Puerto Rican Socialist League, among others, they stopped mining exploitation²³ (Massol-González 2019, 24).

Thus, the first three years went through in which they obtained national and international support but still lacked local help within Adjuntas. By 1983, the work of the mining activity advanced. Some people were displaced, the key land was purchased by the companies and no construction permits were issued in the surrounding areas that were designated for extraction. The opposing group then conducted an evaluation,

we found a determined intention of the government and the companies to exploit the copper, gold, and silver deposits as never before. On the other hand, most of the people were opposed, however there was a certain degree of apathy and weakness to assume the commitment to get involved in the struggle. [...] Through honest and sincere community work, we [...] discard all alliances with parties and politicians²⁴ (Massol-González 1995, 23).

From this moment on, both the documentary sources and the interviewees coincide in the events. The growing popularity of the group allowed them to be invited to more forums with other political stands, and they were allowed to get inside schools to explain the project and its impacts. Along with the cultural activities, they talked about mining. Subsequently, external support arrived. Groups positioning within the continuous United States showed their sympathy and members of the Puerto Rican diaspora welcomed the movement. The fight took an extraterritorial scope. “So much so, that in one bulletin of the US Bureau of Mines they showed that the North American group in solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico, the National Liberation Movement in the

²³ [Original] El Taller de Arte y Cultura de Adjuntas surgió en el año 1980, con el objetivo de combatir la propuesta de la explotación minera de los municipios de adjuntas, Utuado, Lares y Jayuya y el norte de Ponce. De esa forma, el Taller se incorporó a la lucha ambiental en oposición a la minería en Puerto Rico iniciado en la década de 1960 y 1970 [...] Con la solidaridad y combatividad de grupos como Misión Industrial, Movimiento Pro Independencia, Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño, Vanguardia Popular y la Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña, entre otros, se logró detener la explotación minera (Massol-González 2019, 24).

²⁴ [Original] encontramos una decidida intención del gobierno y las compañías de explotar los yacimientos de cobre, oro y plata como nunca antes había pasado. Por otro lado, el pueblo, en su mayoría se oponía, sin embargo, existía cierto grado de apatía y debilidad para asumir el compromiso de involucrarse en la lucha. [...] A través del trabajo comunitario honesto y sincero, [...] descartamos toda alianza con partidos y políticos (Massol-González 1995, 23).

US, and the Arts and Culture Workshop of Adjuntas were organizations that prevented mining exploitation"²⁵ (Massol-González 1995, 21).

At the end of 1984, the Second Anti-Mining Day was organized with national support and more renowned artists. The opposition, the interviewees affirm, was already strong enough and the pro-mining actors harassed them. The Adjuntas' group denounced intimidation and repression of rights. They reached again the public, expressed these concerns, and realized that they were finally being considered as a threat to the project.

Undercover police officers were assigned to constantly monitor the leadership and our activities. Others carried out the sad task of going house to house, intimidating the parents of the children in the dance group, as they did with the musicians, troubadours, artisans, and collaborators. We learned this when almost no one showed up to a rehearsal. [...] The partial delivery of the subversive guys' files, collected by the Police Intelligence Division, showed how much we were on the lookout for. Several informants [...] were infiltrated, damaging the Workshop, the people, and their struggle to save the waters, soil, air, and the community from the consequences of exploiting the mining deposits²⁶ (Massol-González 1995, 31).

The opposition's work agenda was extended to other interests that also concerned people in the surroundings. They engaged with other communities that were in solidarity with the anti-mining battle. It was so,

together with religious sectors, hospitals, and citizens, we started a campaign against noise, thus expanding our radius of action. The political parties drove the community crazy with

²⁵[Original] Tanto fue así, que en uno de los boletines del Negociado de Minas de EE.UU. señalaban que el grupo norteamericano en solidaridad con la independencia de Puerto Rico, el Movimiento de Liberación nacional en los EE.UU. y el Taller de Arte y Cultura de Adjuntas eran organizaciones que impedían la explotación minera (Massol-González 1995, 21).

²⁶[Original] Agentes encubiertos de la policía fueron asignados a una vigilancia constante del liderato y de las actividades que realizábamos. Otros realizaron la triste encomienda de ir casa por casa amedrentando a los padres de los niños del grupo de baile, igual hicieron con los músicos, trovadores, artesanos y colaboradores. Esto lo supimos cuando a un ensayo no se presentó casi nadie. [...] La entrega parcial de los expedientes en las carpetas de subversivos, levantadas por la División de inteligencia de la Policía, evidenciaron cuán en asecho estábamos. Varios confidentes [...] estuvieron infiltrados, haciendo daño al Taller, al pueblo y su lucha por salvar las aguas, suelo, aire y el tejido comunitario de explotarse los yacimientos mineros (Massol-González 1995, 31).

the noise produced by the loudspeakers announcing from cars, day, and night [...] We collected petitions, placed banners, distributed newsletters, and presented a legal ordinance which was fully approved by the Municipal Assembly. The community saw how effective we were in reducing noise, demonstrating our purpose to work for their interests²⁷ (Massol-González 1995, 30).

Again, a consensus was found in the sources of information. The first actions that led to the non-realization of the project were those aimed at public sympathy adoption. They worked on communication aspects. According to the interviewees, on the political board of the moment the majority groups did not want to bear the impact of approving the mining project by themselves. They wanted to share the political costs because of concerns about losing electoral votes, therefore; the government postponed the decision.

With more time to organize, the opposition group now insisted on getting a physical space, a house to establish the headquarters of their work. They named this building *Casa Pueblo*. Once there, they insisted on being present in the media every day. In this way, they could stay in the debate and continue to remember the public about the anti-mining position. They got on the offensive, counterattacked. Committees were held in other neighboring municipalities and, in these, mining exploitation in the area was rejected.

At first, mining seemed impossible to defeat: The Government had decided to start ‘open pit’ mining in seventeen deposits that contained copper, gold, and silver, located in the municipalities of Adjuntas, Utuado, Lares, Jayuya and the north of Ponce. The Planning Board froze 37,000 acres of land for that use; the multinational companies AMAX and Kennecott bought the land where the two main deposits were located: Calá Abajo and Piedra Hueca, and the land to locate the refinery and the smelter on the Guayanilla beach²⁸ (Massol-González 2019, 24).

²⁷ [Original] unidos a sectores religiosos, hospital y ciudadanos, iniciamos una campaña contra el ruido, ampliando de esa manera nuestro radio de acción. Los partidos políticos tenían loca a la comunidad con el ruido que producen los altavoces anunciando desde los automóviles día y noche [...] Recogimos peticiones, colocamos cruzacalles, repartimos boletines y presentamos una ordenanza, la cual fue aprobada íntegramente por la Asamblea Municipal. La comunidad veía cómo éramos efectivos al disminuir los ruidos, demostrando nuestros propósitos de trabajar por sus intereses (Massol-González 1995, 30).

²⁸ [Original] En un principio la minería lucía imposible de vencer: el Gobierno había decidió iniciar la minería ‘cielo abierto’ en diecisiete yacimientos que contenían cobre, oro y plata, localizados en los municipios de Adjuntas, Utuado,

Forums organization did not stop. The group supported, also, the communities of the Ponce region, where a water dam infrastructure construction linked to mining was taking place:

The repression of the police and the FBI in the community was brutal. From threats, intimidation, fear with us to cutting off water and electricity for weeks. The bribery was significant; they offered large amounts of money to buy the properties. Finally, 430 families were evicted after two years of intense fighting. Brave men and women resisted until the last moment. Under the water that community was buried, one of the oldest in Ponce²⁹ (Massol-González 1995, 17).

Finally, the element of identity and visual landscape was incorporated into their discourse:

You should not underestimate the element of topophilia, of love for the land and its scenic beauty, because it did not appear in isolation. In addition to the mining issue and its severe environmental consequences, the issue of ugliness that emerged in public debate was seen as a consequence of the modernization and indiscriminate growth of urban construction³⁰ (Colón-Rivera *et al.* 2014,16).

Public opinion was now on the opposition side. Mining companies asked for more time. They needed to provide more environmental and economic information, but public support for open-pit mining rejection continued to rise. Finally, in 1995, a law was published with its prohibition. Even the political party in power itself endorsed heritage defense. The mining project was buried.

Lares, Jayuya y el norte de Ponce. La Junta de Planificación congeló 37 000 cuerdas de los terrenos para ese uso; las compañías multinacionales AMAX y Kennecott compraron los terrenos donde estaban localizados los dos yacimientos principales: Calá Abajo y Piedra Hueca, además de los terrenos para ubicar la refinería y la fundición en la playa de Guayanilla (Massol-González 2019, 24).

²⁹ la represión de la policía y el FBI sobre la comunidad fue brutal. Desde amenazas, intimidaciones, meter miedo con nosotros hasta cortar el agua y la luz por semanas. El soborno fue significativo, ofrecían grandes cantidades de dinero para comprar las propiedades. Finalmente, 430 familias fueron desahuciadas después de dos años de intensa lucha. Mujeres y hombres valientes resistieron hasta el último momento. Bajo el agua quedó sepultada aquella comunidad, una de las más antiguas de Ponce (Massol-González 1995, 17).

³⁰ [Original] no debe subestimarse el elemento de la *topofilia*, de amor a la tierra y a su belleza escénica, debido a que no apareció de forma aislada. Además del tema minero y sus severas consecuencias ambientales, el tema de la fealdad surgido en el debate público se veía como consecuencia de la modernización y el crecimiento indiscriminado de la construcción urbana (Colón-Rivera *et al.* 2014,16).

6.6 Actors and Stakeholders

After conducting the documentary review and interviews in the area, the following sectors involved in the conflict could be identified.

- Inhabitants of the municipalities in which the mining industry was projected. This sector is heterogeneous and some of its members take part in more than one productive sector, so their perceptions of mining development are different.
- Small landowners, mainly farmers. They received offers to purchase their land.
- Inhabitants of other municipalities on the island (public opinion) who, although they would not be directly impacted, took a position regarding the conflict.
- Regional authorities (at the island level). Based in San Juan and in whose hands was the decision-making to start the mining activities.
- Local authorities, municipalities, that had a position in favor of initiatives that would increase the economic development of the area.
- Federal authorities (United States) in which the regulatory bodies reside.
- Political activism groups on the island and in the US.
- Political parties on the island that took positions regarding mining development.
- Organized environmental and heritage defense groups.
- Project developers (Mining companies).

6.7 Identified Actors' Positions

Within the conflict evolution process, the following main positions were registered regarding the proposal for mining development:

1. "Yes, in favor of mining", which was the position of those who observed mining as a necessary trigger for the island's economic development and as a source of jobs. They also thought it was important for its capacity to generate an indirect economy that provides services to the mining industry.
2. "No, against the mines in the current socio-political context", mainly linked to Commonwealth status with the United States in force since 1952. Their opposition was related to the business model and income management. The environmental impacts were not their primary concern.

They exposed the seriousness of the environmental problems, and on the other, they subtly left the possibility that mines could be exploited in the Republic of Puerto Rico once independence was gained. This brought a lot of confusion. We remember how a drunk guy who was listening to one of those lectures in the Tanamá neighborhood interrupted the speaker to ask if he was for or against mining. Already in the *Pellejas* neighborhood, Mr. Juan Rivera and Pablo Natal had told us how it was possible that the mines would not pollute in the Republic and in the colony they would³¹ (Massol-González 1995, 12).

3. "No to mines" under any conditions. A group mainly made up of people belonging to NGOs, community residents, students, and environmental organizations in order to address environmental concerns. They supported a position of total rejection of the project. "We conclude that mining is not compatible with the environment and that it would also destroy our community formed by centuries. Our forests' reality, hydrographic basins, rivers, population, and size of Puerto Rico, among other things, would not support mines"³² (Massol-González 1995, 13).

6.8 Position Changes According to the Political Context

One aspect to consider in the conflict development was the changes in position, at least discursive. Political stakeholders, with specific political agendas within the Puerto Rican context, tried to be part of the opposition movement. The Commonwealth status that exists since 1952 has generated mixed opinions within the island population to the present day. As part of this debate, some parties observed mining development as a possibility of economic development for the island once

³¹[Original] Por un lado, exponían la gravedad del problema ambiental, y por otro, sutilmente dejaban las puertas abiertas a las posibilidades de que las minas se podrían explotar en la República de Puerto Rico, inclusive en la colonia bajo ciertas restricciones. Esto trajo mucha confusión. Recordamos cómo un borracho que escuchaba una de esas conferencias en el Barrio Tanamá interrumpió al orador para preguntar si él estaba a favor o en contra de la explotación minera. Ya en el Barrio Pellejas el señor Juan Rivera y Pablo Natal nos habían dicho que cómo era posible que las minas no contaminarían en la república y en la colonia sí (Massol-González 1995, 12).

³² [Original] Concluimos que la minería no es compatible con el ambiente y que además destruiría nuestro tejido comunitario formado por siglos. Nuestra realidad de bosques, cuencas hidrográficas, ríos, población y tamaño de Puerto Rico, entre otras cosas, no soportaría minas (Massol-González 1995, 13).

independence had been obtained, therefore, they just were momentarily placed within the group of opponents.

when there was awareness of the magnitude of the expected economic significance of mining development, some groups were in favor of whether there was a context where the Puerto Rican state could take advantage of the benefits. For example, in favor of mining exploitation once the Republic was established were mayors, Medical Association, College of Chemists of Puerto Rico, Popular Vanguard, Government of the PNP with *Ferré*, the PPD under *Hernández Colón*, the PIP, MPI and the Puerto Rican Union Party, some leftist organizations and personalities who understood that these riches could be the material basis for the development of a free and sovereign Puerto Rico³³ (Massol-González 1995, 16).

On the other side, the total opposition group, which focused on heritage, landscape, and environmental defense, also increased its capacities. From its initial organization of just some inhabitants in opposition to the mining project, a larger group was build up that could support other actors that disagreed also with projects that impacted their land and lifestyle. They also showed their support against a new dam in Maragüez, Ponce that would displace 430 families. "It was not necessary to be wise or alarmist, as a distinguished environmental scientist told us, to link that water infrastructure with mining"³⁴ (Massol-González 1995, 16).

The first activities and speeches of the people who opposed were not fit enough. They had to be adapted also to the reality that they faced. Some opponents had a political bias in their discourses and sought to partisan the protest, mainly the sectors that were involved in the search for the island's independence. These events generated a reflection inside the opposition struggle:

We conclude that it is one thing to reach out to the community and for it to listen to you, another is for it to support the struggle and take part in it. *How to wrap it and how to do it* [in italics in the original] revolved in our heads [...] We knew that there was great fear in

³³[Original] a favor de la explotación minera una vez instaurada la República estuvieron: alcaldes, Asociación Médica, Colegio de Químicos de Puerto Rico, Vanguardia Popular, Gobierno del PNP con Ferré, el PPD bajo Hernández Colón, el PIP, MPI y al Partido Unión Puertorriqueña, algunas organizaciones de izquierda y personalidades que entendían que esas riquezas podrían ser la base material para el desarrollo de un Puerto Rico libre y soberano (Massol-González 1995, 16).

³⁴ [Original] No había que ser sabio ni tampoco alarmista, como nos dijera un distinguido científico ambientalista, para enlazar esa infraestructura de aguas con la explotación minera. (Massol-González 1995, 16).

getting involved in a struggle led by independence fighters. Gaining the trust of those fellow inhabitants and convincing them to act against that thing that was going to affect us all was not a simple task³⁵ (Massol-González 1995, 14-15).

After these position changes, observations and methodological tests, the opposition group made up mainly of the inhabitants of Adjuntas adjusted its public position to differentiate itself from the rest of the political groups:

We adopted the slogan: zero mines in the Colony or in the Republic [...] Obviously this position, although endorsed by the people, attacked, and contradicted the opinion of practically the entire political spectrum of the country. [...] So, apart from the subversive portfolios and institutional repression, we earned the isolation of the leadership of some of those sectors that persist. [...] We learned the need for each group to be educated and trained in the subject it is opposed to. To form your own interpretation of the matter. The community struggle cannot be handed over to electoral intellectuals, advisers or politicians, no matter how well-intentioned they might be. To count on the collaboration of some of them, without losing or yielding one's own criteria and the direction of the community struggle. In this way, we created our own identity, wrote the history of the organization, raised self-esteem, developed the will to fight and took part of the possibilities of achieving victories for the people. All this leads to breaking patterns of domination and submissive styles of sharing. The fight is unitary but from equals to equals. That it is necessary to break, not only with foreign domination, but with the colonialism of us against ourselves. Fighting the positions of certain dominant and authoritarian leaders who, in the name of convening power, they smash the grassroots work. All of this will allow groups to speak for their own voice and engage in politics in another way³⁶ (Massol-González 1995, 13-14).

³⁵ [Original] Concluimos que una cosa es llegar a la comunidad y que ésta te escuche, otra es que apoye la lucha y participe en la misma. El *cómo envolverla y el cómo hacerlo* [en cursivas en el original] giraba en nuestras cabezas [...] No teníamos la menor duda que existía gran temor del pueblo en envolverse en una lucha dirigida por independentistas. Ganarse la confianza de los que compueblanos y que actuaran en torno a aquello que nos iba a afectar a todos no era tarea fácil (Massol-González 1995, 14-15).

³⁶ [Original] Adoptamos la consigna: cero minas en la Colonia o en la República [...] Obviamente esta posición, aunque avalada por el pueblo, atentaba y contradecía la opinión de prácticamente todo el espectro político del país. [...] Entonces, aparte de las carpetas de subversivos y la represión institucional, nos ganamos el aislamiento del liderato de algunos de esos sectores que aún perdura. [...] Aprendimos la necesidad de que cada grupo debe educarse y capacitarse

6.9 Identity Transformations

There is a note from the field notebook that is important to highlight: interviewees emotion when talking about the events after the mining cancellation announcement. They agreed that the postponement of the governor's decision gave necessary time for the opposition movement to organize itself better, win public opinion in its favor, and increase the political cost for decision makers on the mining project approval. Taking advantage of the moment, the groups that were not linked to the political parties decided to also increase activities in other areas as part of the formation of a social platform for the defense of heritage. With this victory there was also an identity building process for the region in which the heritage was located. The fact that ordinary citizens had beaten big companies was reinforced and made them proud. This is the phenomenon of *David and Goliath* (Woods 2017) that was discussed in *section 3.2.1* of this dissertation. The weak beat the strong. The group that was born in response to the mining proposal took on a new identity after its defense of heritage was successful. They built on it and even today they continue with other projects of sustainability, promotion of solar energy, and environmental and popular education.

The emphasis on the discourse on identity and on its potential transformations was important in obtaining support. In the interviews and the materials reviewed, there is a constant reflection on the matter by the actors. For example, a person from the anti-mining opposition mentions, “Where we were going, people said, these are those from the mines. Thus arose the first

en el tema al que se opone. A formar su propia interpretación del asunto. No se le puede entregar la lucha comunitaria a intelectuales, asesores o políticos electorales, por más bien intencionados que sean. Contar con la colaboración de algunos de ellos, sin perder o ceder los criterios propios y la dirección de la lucha comunitaria. De esta forma se va creando identidad propia, escribiendo la historia de la organización, se eleva el autoestima, se desarrolla la voluntad de luchar y participar y las posibilidades de alcanzar victorias del pueblo. Todo ello conduce a romper patrones de dominación y estilos sumisos de compartir. La lucha es unitaria pero de iguales a iguales. Que es necesario romper, no sólo con la dominación extranjera, sino con el colonialismo de nosotros contra nosotros mismos. Combatir las posiciones de ciertos líderes dominantes y autoritarios que a nombre del poder de convocatoria aplastan el trabajo de base. Todo ello permitirá que los grupos puedan hablar por voz propia y hacer política de otra manera (Massol-González 1995, 13-14).

identity of the group"³⁷ (Massol-González 1995, 15). Each person had different political opinions, but all of them rearranged the discourse around the element that generated majority sympathy: heritage. From the anti-mining group, they made the leap to the pro-environment group, pro-culture of the central Puerto Rican mountains, pro-heritage of the island. As a reflection of its transformation over the years, a member of the opposition group to the mining conflict mentioned both in an interview and in a recent publication the three principles on community organization, conflict, and discourse that they constructed:

Identity is everything that characterizes it [the community organization] and distinguishes it from the rest. [...] The principle of identity is the definition of the actor himself. We have also [there is] the principle [of] opposition [which] refers to clearly identifying the true adversary. He does not confuse those who favor mining thinking that it will do good to the people and the government, the parties, the politicians, and the mining company that promotes the project. By being clear, you don't make mistakes when making alliances. [...] The [third] principle [of] totality establishes the view of the group, not from the particular facts, but contemplating the whole. It is interpreted with the entire scenario, including the history and the reality where it unfolds. The mining project was not an isolated matter, it was framed in a comprehensive economic development plan for the entire country contemplated in the 2020 Plan³⁸ (Massol-González 2019, 27).

And this is how the opposition's discourse was complemented. It made visible the threats to heritage of the entire island as a strategy to gain strength, generate pressure and, finally, achieve heritage conservation.

³⁷ [Original] *Dónde íbamos, la gente decía, éstos son los de las minas. Surgía así la primera identidad del grupo* (Massol-González 1995, 15).

³⁸ La identidad es todo aquello que la caracteriza [a la organización comunitaria] y la distingue de lo demás. [...] El principio de identidad es la definición del actor por sí mismo. Por otra parte, [está] el principio [de] oposición [que] se refiere a identificar con claridad al verdadero adversario. No confunde entre aquel que favorece la minería pensando que le hará bien a la gente y el gobierno, los partidos, los políticos y la compañía minera que impulsan el proyecto. Al estar claro, no se cometen errores al momento de establecer alianzas. [...] El [tercer] principio [de] totalidad establece en el grupo la mirada, no desde los hechos particulares, sino contemplando el todo. Se interpreta contando con la totalidad del escenario, incluyendo la historia y la realidad donde se desenvuelve. El proyecto minero no era un asunto aislado, estaba enmarcado en un plan de desarrollo económico integral para todo el país contemplado en el Plan 2020 (Massol-González 2019, 27).

6.10 Ethnographic Notes: Heritage as Discourse and Power

Voices are missing from this description of the conflict, mainly those of the people who promoted the project. Because of the temporal distance of some of these events, it was not possible to carry out some interviews, only to review the literature that was mostly written by people who belonged to the opposition. In the interviews conducted, I found, however, that not all the people in the localities of the area sympathize with the movement, but they agree on the value of the heritage that was protected. *"There are still enough threats,"* an interviewee told me, *"a battle was won, but the fight must be permanent."* I noticed that the fame achieved by the opposition movement, today's Casa Pueblo, generated divisions, and distrust in some, however, they still were speaking about biodiversity, the cultural heritage of the municipalities in the center of the island, the indigenous past, the culture of the Puerto Rican *jíbaros*, and the visual beauty of its Central Mountain Range. Today, they are engaged also with ecotourism and cultural tourism initiatives. When touring the area, it becomes visible that a serious attempt has been made to exploit the heritage in all possible discursive ways. They even operate a radio station. Discourse is their power source, and whoever uses heritage elements in their discourse, even if he has no access to them, is empowered.

Mining cancellation did not lead to violent actions by the opposition movement. A discourse was built, grounded, and propagated. Progressively, this phenomenon generated a power counterweight that made decision-makers doubt. The cultural and social movements that exist today in the Puerto Rican mountains understood it as well. They got legitimacy, and, in the case study of displaced mining in Adjuntas, Puerto Rico, it came from heritage.

6.11 The Conflict and Heritage Map in the Case Study of Displaced Mining in Adjuntas, Puerto Rico

<i>Conflict Map / Mapa de conflicto</i> 1960 - 2000	
<i>Displaced Mining in Adjuntas, Puerto Rico / Minería desplazada en Adjuntas, Puerto Rico</i>	
	1. Productive Sector (Farming): with connection

Main Stakeholders and Identity / <i>Actores principales e identidad ligada patrimonio</i>	2. Productive Sector (Mining): without connection
	3. Small landowners: with connection
	4. Potential impacted town's inhabitants
	5. Other municipalities inhabitants: some connection
	6. Local authorities: with connection
	7. Regional authorities: some connection
	8. Federal authorities (U.S.A.): without connection
	9. Pro-environment groups: Not all with identity connection, although heritage conservation is of interest
	10. Opposition political parties: some connection
	Land Attachment / <i>Arraigo al territorio</i>
Discourse Analysis / <i>Análisis del discurso</i>	1. In favor of mining
	2. Against mining without independent country
	3. Against mining because of potential heritage impacts
Conflict and Heritage / <i>Patrimonio y conflicto</i>	
Heritage at stake / <i>Patrimonio en conflicto</i>	Biodiversity, Cultural Landscape and Puerto Rico's Central Mountain Range heritage
Heritage type / <i>Tipo del patrimonio</i>	With market value (past), common heritage (present)
Type of Relations / <i>Tipo de relaciones</i>	Resources exploitation, visual exploitation
Power / <i>Poder</i>	
Agenda and Decision Making / <i>Agenda y toma de decisiones</i>	1. (Agenda) Mining companies and regional government

Issues at Stake / <i>Temas en conflicto</i>	Heritage management and conservation
Conflict Types and Characteristics / <i>Tipos de conflicto y características</i>	1. Present conflict: Heritage category (conservation or exploitation)
	2. Present and potential conflict: Community impacts after environmental damages
	3. Potential impact: Heritage loss
Interests / <i>Intereses</i>	Heritage conservation
Reactions to Power Actions / <i>Reacciones ante el poder ejercido</i>	1. Heritage identity discourse construction for a nonviolent opposition movement (<i>David and Goliath effect</i>)
	2. Legal category for heritage conservation, changed to common heritage (<i>Bosque del Pueblo Natural Reserve</i>)
	3. Networking with allies

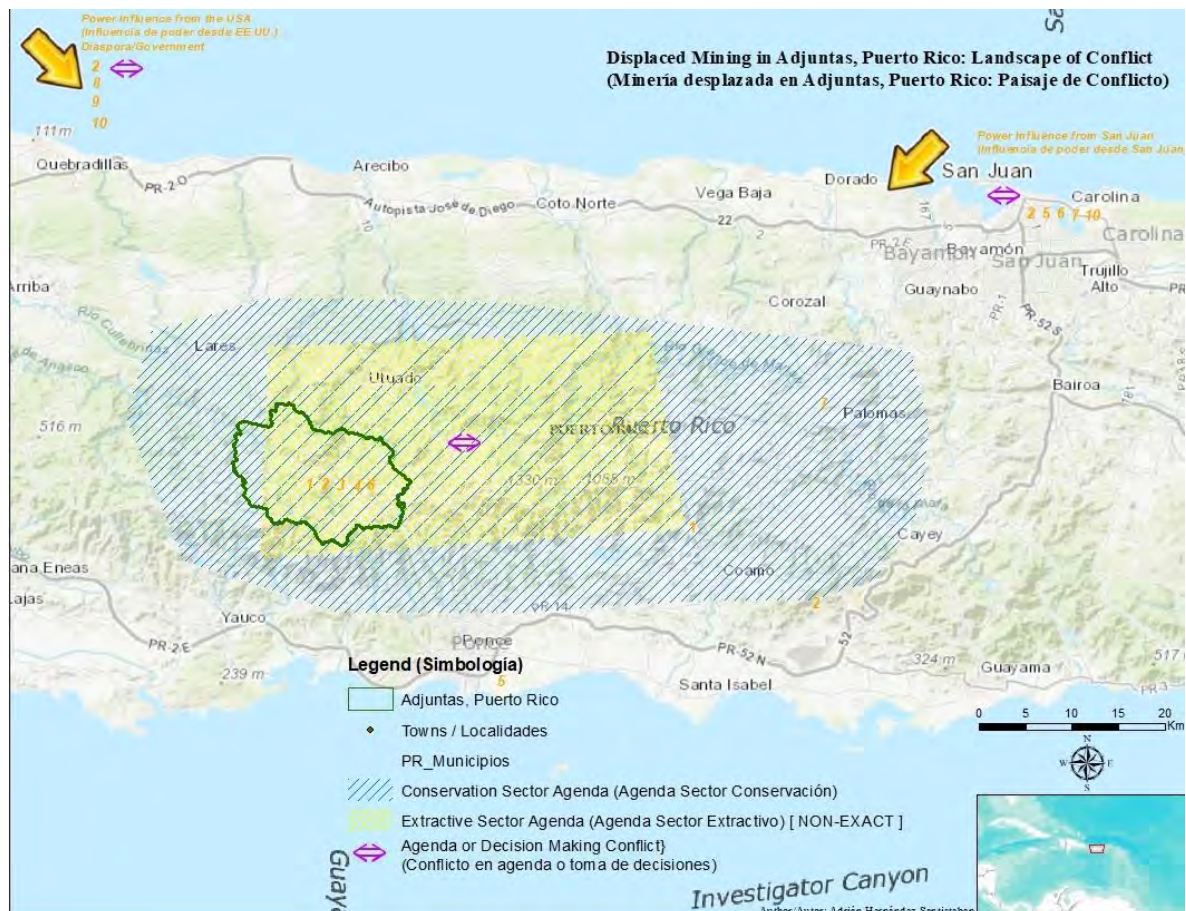


Figure 10. Conflict map (1960 – 2000). Case study "Displaced Mining in Adjuntas, Puerto Rico". (The numbers correspond to the actors in the table above.)

The conflict landscape map of the Adjuntas, Puerto Rico case study represents a conflict that was openly manifested in its initial stage, but whose potential impacts were not materialized because of the mobilization of opposition actors. This is a conflict that can be studied from start to finish since it began with the mining project construction announcement and ended with a heritage conservation area creation in its place.

It reflects elements to consider from a decolonization perspective. This is the story of a conflict that started from the outside. An economic and mining development project was announced in an area where only agricultural activity existed. The conflict helped to unite certain social sectors around common heritage defense from the local level. This agenda did not exist prior to the conflict, it was constructed as a response to it. This situation forces us to consider the colonial character of Puerto Rico's politics. Although the island is currently considered a Commonwealth of the United States, it is in a limbo spot between a metropolis that has the last word in its decisions, and an independent state. As the mining never happened, it is to notice that this conflict was almost all about discourses and communication. The actors needed to define themselves between political and social ambiguities. The opposition to the conflict built a new discourse on the conservation of the local land, and on the right to decision-making by the people who inhabited the island.

The geographical representation of the stakeholders' areas of interest and their agendas shows incompatible desires. Both agendas could not be negotiated since the mining project involved the total transformation of extensive areas of Puerto Rico Central Mountain range. Finally, the heritage conservation agenda prevailed over that of mining, and the *David and Goliath* phenomenon occurred (*section 3.2.1*). The inhabitants of the area were defenseless against the mining interests that came from the colonial elites and the metropolis. They asked for support, mobilized, raised the issue on the political and electoral agenda and defeated the actors who seemed invincible. Another point to consider from the perspective of decolonization is the transformation of meanings. When we speak now of the region of the Central Mountain range, we talk about natural and cultural heritage as one, not its resources. It used to be the other way. A new identity was constructed. Now local actors handle conservation, and this identity discourse empowers them, one step more of a long and painful postcolonial process.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WIND ENERGY IN THE TEHUANTEPEC ISTHMUS

The Tehuantepec Isthmus is a physical and cultural region that can be explained as a melting pot of biodiversity and culture. The north of the area is a coastal plain whose waters flow into the Gulf of Mexico. Its center is crossed by the Sierra Madre del Sur, a relevant mountain range but with land passages that permit easy passage. And, finally, the Southern area that is another coastal plain composed mostly by municipalities of Oaxaca and Chiapas in Mexico. This region has one of the most attractive wind potentials for the development of the wind industry in Mexico and was the pioneer region for it (Elliott *et al.* 2004).

Interviewed stakeholders

As part of the framework of a study project on the conflict over the development of wind energy conducted by the Center for Civic Collaboration, *Centro de Colaboración Cívica (Mexico)*, a conflict management NGO, during the years 2014, 2015 and 2016, it was possible to collect a series of observations and interviews with people, collectives, institutions, and key actors that permits the development of a landscape of conflict for this case study. I was the research coordinator for the project. As a basis for understanding this specific case, it is necessary to explain that wind development refers to the set of wind projects that have been built, are under construction, or are planned to be built in the different municipalities that make up the Tehuantepec Isthmus region. Most of these are carried out by private actors who have got licenses for their construction or operation on land that they rent to private individuals and to *ejidos*, collective land owners. Wind farms by themselves did not generate the existing conflicts. These initiatives have been added to other economic development projects in the region in recent decades that have left a context of unmanaged previous conflicts, empowered local organizations, tensions between groups, and alliances. The wind farm development added an important source of resources at brief notice to the previous conflict landscape.

Although no specific field work was carried out for this dissertation, the existing data was retaken as a third useful case study to apply the proposed conflict study methodology. In the following sections, special emphasis will be placed on the heritage element of the conflict, which in this case is called *the regional landscape*. It is important to note that the conflicts and phenomena

described by the interviewees and those observed are not necessarily the result of the development of wind farms, but they are the product of a context of structural and institutional violence and divisions between groups and individuals. So, let's start with the description of the previous context.



Figure 11. South Tehuantepec Isthmus region, Mexico.

7.1 Previous Context of Conflict

Interviewees from all sectors agreed on one issue when asked about the regional situation: "it is a conflict zone; nobody can deny it". Some interviewees even mentioned that the manifestations of disagreement had been so diverse in recent decades that a "constant culture of protest" was being perceived. Local actors have already established ways to say when they want to negotiate or when they just want to add on pressure on governments to settle certain demands. The first observations made in the field supported this perspective. Even radio stations announce roadblocks daily either to the north, west or south of the Isthmus because these reports have become information of interest for mobility. "Here you have to draw other people attention, or they ignore you," mentioned another interviewee from a community in the region. For a conflict study, this landscape could not be better, however, it also showed that if the wind farm development conflict will be understood it cannot be seen in isolation, rather than as part of a set of conflicts in the area with previously established rules and power relations.

7.2 Information Sources and Ethnographic Activities

The information base for this case study is the work carried out within the Center for Civic Collaboration through the framework of the project *Histories on the Development of Wind Energy in Mexico* (2014-2015). This NGO was interested in addressing this issue because there was internal questioning about the expansion of renewable energy projects in Mexico and the different conflicts that were emerging around them. With these new actors, the regional conflict context became more complex. To such a degree that one key stakeholder interviewed denounced the development of a "*environmental clean and socially dirty energy*" policy. With these questions in mind, fieldwork was carried out. Over 500 people involved were interviewed or surveyed, more than half through in-depth personal interviews and focus groups. The resulting stakeholder map was published at the end of 2014 and is available as a public report (Babinet-Rojas *et al.* 2014). These perspectives correspond to people from the power generation industry, the farming sector, NGOs, members of the different spheres of government, regulatory bodies, landowners' representatives, fishers, teachers, academics, researchers, and inhabitants of the local communities where these wind farms are located (*ibid.*, 4). This work conclusions show that each wind project developed has a different story according to the decisions and actions carried out by each of the actors involved. Those who quickly responded to the conflicts that arose in the early phases of the projects started their operations without major setbacks, however, those who systematically allowed the social tension to grow ended with socially adverse results linked to the escalation of violence, even Human Rights violations complaints and citizen security concerns. The graph below describes these scenarios according to the development phase of each project (*horizontal axis*) and the escalation of the conflicts (*vertical axis*). At each intersection, the primary concerns that the interviewed stakeholders identified are stated.

Wind farms development stories

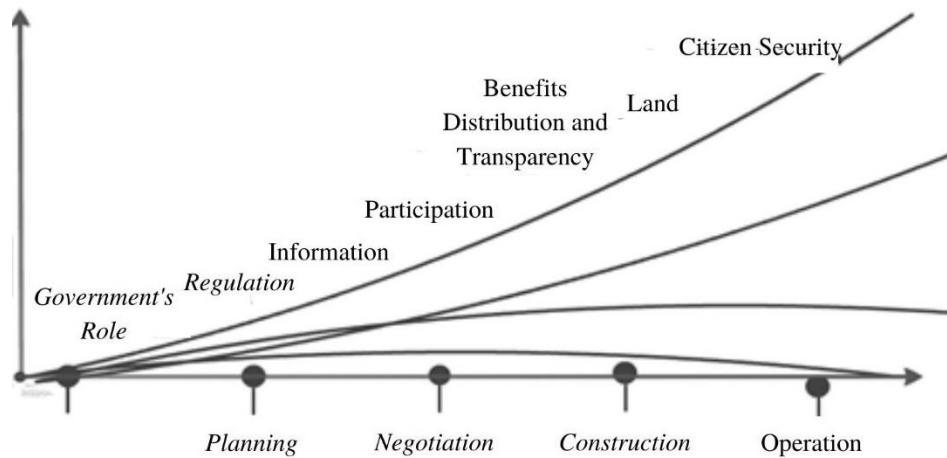


Figure 12. From "Stories over the development of wind energy in Mexico" Report. Centro de Colaboración Cívica (Babinet-Rojas et al. 2014).

7.3 Heritage at the Conflict Center

The first impression of a conflict over a wind farm is that it should be focused on land tenure and management. Land extensions of considerable size are required, even if they are not fully used. The infrastructure of a power plant of this type comprises buried cement blocks on which towers with wind turbines are supported, spaced one from the other, as well as a road network and power lines to provide service and to transport the energy generated to the electrical network. How is it then that they end up involved in issues of heritage and conflict? The first step is the landscape. There is no way to hide a wind farm within a certain land. It is seen in the distance. They are established in rural or peri-urban landscapes in which agricultural activities are carried out. Because of their height, they become visual markers that change the landscape. And this is the point where conflicts arise. Individuals and groups that lease land or use untapped land from wind farms for agriculture may have a specific stake in land tenure and the direct impacts of infrastructure, but the rest of the population sees the landscape transformation and the wind generators as reference symbols for the land it inhabits. And therefore, questions about the collective heritage begin. Who has the right to transform the landscape with that magnitude? In the case of the Tehuantepec Isthmus, actors notice that unlike other types of infrastructure, it is not only the local landscape that is impacted, but the horizon of the entire region. In addition, the possible impacts on biodiversity

are questioned: migratory birds' transit, underground water currents, effects on fishing, solid and liquid waste management. It is then that the discussion on conservation and impact on heritage is placed at the center.

Through the interviews results, two types of heritage were detected: a) the socioenvironmental heritage in the lagoon or *marsh* region and b) the cultural heritage expressed in the landscape and the existing cultural dynamics that were perceived as threatened by the new practices and elements that wind development brought to the region. An interviewee even said, "we will be others after the wind turbines, they will end up changing us". Heritage conservation is also the conservation of a certain land-linked identity. Rather than the specific environmental impacts best understood by scientists, the central concern is encompassed in the word landscape. The first conflict management schemes were based solely on issues of land lease and territorial planning of some communities, but they left aside these heritage variables that ended up linking new local actors, the diaspora, NGOs, and even institutions from other countries.

At least in the discourses collected during the fieldwork, none of the actors was against two statements: "the future of the communities in the region must be more prosperous every day, we all want a better world" and "heritage must be taken in consideration and be preserved, however, with a scheme that also allows the development of economic activities and the well-being of the community". Unlike other conflicts of land and heritage, in this region there was a desire for new projects that would bring sources of employment with them. They were not asking for a complete landscape conservation, but the arrival of at least 15 wind farms at the same time was somehow enough.

Also, focusing on heritage has been a solution for non-violent management of problems. For example, in the town of San Dionisio del Mar, Oaxaca (Coalition for Human Rights 2019) local population was divided in two after the conflict over an unconcluded wind farm project named *Mareña Renovables*. An element that got into dispute was the control of the catholic temple. The tension reached such a point that the local Saint celebrations were carried out in duplicate by each of the confronted sectors. This situation pleased neither, so a proposal for a dialogue table between the sectors could naturally begin with solution search for community heritage, to which they were more open to discuss rather than address the conflict over land use for wind power generation projects.

7.4 Conflict Context

The Tehuantepec Isthmus is mostly a rural region. In this context, wind farm construction was marked by three types of conflicts:

a) Land access. As in other parts of Latin America, most of the problems begin with certain obstacles that wind farms generate in the daily activities of people who live in neighboring communities (De Sousa-Mendes *et al.* 2015). When designing a park, the clearest challenge is that of access and free passage through the land it comprises. Roads are built with specific access points that are managed, mostly, by the concessionaire, and block old routes that were used. Also, these projects prohibit land access for recreation and local transportation.

b) Access to electric power by the inhabitants adjacent to the park. If there are areas without electricity in regions surrounding the construction of a wind power plant, the use of this resource becomes a natural demand of the inhabitants. In the Mexican case, the law prohibits companies from supplying energy by themselves, it must pass through the state distribution network. This is also a constant in other regions:

The lack of electricity was another conflicting element. The community did not have electricity, only one year after the park was installed and in full operation the community had access to the service. The fact that the community is just a few meters from a wind power plant and not having an energy service has caused discontent among residents³⁹ (De Sousa-Mendes *et al.* 2015, 250).

c) Payments for land use. A widespread opinion among the interviewees was that people knew nothing about wind farms, therefore, they were always suspicious and wanted to verify that they were receiving the right amount of money in compensation for its land. This issue started disputes between companies and landowners that ended in a cycle of annual renegotiation. As an interviewee mentioned, “no agreement is good, you think you could always call on a bigger one.”

From these conflicts, others emerged. Inhabitants, agricultural producers, local and regional authorities, companies, and fishermen ended up in a context of conflict that they called “*the wind conflict*”. The interviewees agreed that, after the wind farms constructions, there was a

³⁹ [Original] A inexistência de energia elétrica foi outro elemento conflituoso. A comunidade não dispunha de energia elétrica, somente após um ano do parque instalado e em pleno funcionamento a comunidade teve acesso ao serviço. O fato de a comunidade está a poucos metros de uma central de energia eólica e não dispor do serviço de energia causou descontentamento nos moradores (De Sousa-Mendes *et al.* 2015, 250).

redistribution of resources and political and social power. The conflict then was to have access to the new chessboard. The construction of wind farms continues in the region. Each has a unique story, and both companies and communities have experienced different practices that have generated some type of conflict.

7.5 Actors

In a regional context with so many actors, we aggregated them into the following categories:

- a) Landowners (small owners), with positions divided between those who lease land to energy companies and those that do not.
- b) Collectives or landlord groups (social property of the land, *ejidal* or communal), equally divided, but negotiated in group. Groups with the greatest pressure power can carry out roadblocks or interrupt land access.
- c) Local and municipal authorities, whose interests in conflict are regarding the amount of taxes and tariffs paid by companies. In their majority, the companies paid taxes to the federal government and not to these. This generates conflicts between them and the energy companies.
- d) Collectives and activists working in the region. Projects for land defense of opposition groups have been added to a discourse centered on heritage defense, especially in the cultural landscape of the region.
- e) State and federal authorities in terms of government, land regulation, and rights' protection. Usually, their position is to work as mediators.
- f) Communities nearby or from the diaspora that engage in heritage defense.
- g) Energy companies or their representatives

7.6 Regional Conflict Evolution

Three years went by after fieldwork was done. It is possible to observe that the trend has been towards the co-habitation of the projects and inhabitants. The energy development policy in Mexico has also changed. Energy availability is a national security issue for any country, therefore, the challenges faced by the development and operation of the infrastructure for its production become a priority. With the country's energy transition responsibilities moving towards a carbon-free industry, renewable projects are no longer mere isolated initiatives [Mexican Energy Transition

Law 2015]. Social problems within this sector seem to be over social impacts and land management. Consequently, the pending tasks related to these projects are becoming a challenge for national security (Ministry of the Interior, *Secretaría de Gobernación* 2015). It is well known that during the 20th century the energy model promoted was thermoelectric production, as expected in an oil extracting and exporting country, over 70% even in 2018 (Coldwell *et al.* 2018, 5). However, the country assumed its commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and promoted other sources of energy generation both through the state company, the Federal Electricity Commission, and for the first time since the nationalization of the electricity industry in the 1960s, through private companies that got concessions through public tenders.

The production of renewable energy implies, in most cases, a more extensive land use for the installation of wind, photovoltaic or geothermal plants, just to name a few. Land use planning as a social issue in Mexico has different facets. Now, it rises to the political board in regions with renewable energy potential production where it had not been of importance before. Although, at present time, it is not possible to generalize the different regions of the country, given that the histories of land use planning in its subregions have been diverse in recent decades, there are still elements in common that must be considered regarding land tenure, decision making, management, and impact mitigation to safeguard different public interests. Land conflict contexts, which were there before, were transferred to the energy sector and, finally, to national security after the approval of the new sector policies.

Groups that continue to fight today, for example, the Assembly of Indigenous Peoples of the Isthmus of Oaxaca in Defense of the Land and Territory (APIIDTT), use landscape defense arguments and indigenous heritage protection to construct their discourses. Wind energy seems to be here for long, but this industry is also learning to negotiate and live with a traditional landscape that it cannot ignore.

7.7 Ethnographic Notes: Landscape as a Power Source

An outstanding observation on the field notes is that affected population areas differed from the polygons considered impacted by the projects and the inhabitants themselves. For example, in a region with high population density (the coastal plains south of *Cerro Atravesado* and towards the lagoon zone of the *Ikoot* people), and which inhabitants self-ascribes to an indigenous group, significant opposition to wind farm projects was encountered. However, in the nearby area there

were no projects yet. This phenomenon was detected even in communities who live 100 kilometers away from some wind farms. Population reported rights' violation, mainly because they were not consulted under the criteria of ILO's Convention 169. This situation elevated conflicts to a regional status. The calls to take part in protests, demonstrations, blockades, and mobilizations were answered by people in distant places. Including those who are part of the diaspora in the country's capital and abroad. A lot of people sympathized since they were appealing to indigenous identity, land protection, and threats to the traditional landscape. There are different perspectives among the actors about what is part of the traditional landscape and what elements should be considered as common heritage. However, they are certain elements that are for all.

Saying that *a wind farm makes a landscape ugly* or that *it affects how a person thinks about its land* are not trivial statements. People who are uncomfortable with this new infrastructure are more likely to respond to calls from opposition groups and actors. Some of them who would not be together in other circumstances, but they congregate because of common concerns about heritage.

Cultural landscape is a category that has an elusive character. It is difficult to draw up a law or policy to protect it, but the case study of the Tehuantepec Isthmus shows how talking about heritage is also a power source for an actor or stakeholder's discourse. It is also important because of its effect on the others. Landscape defense helps an actor obtain power recognition.

7.8 The Conflict and Heritage Map in the Development of Wind Energy in the Tehuantepec Isthmus, Mexico

<p>Conflict Map / <i>Mapa de conflicto</i> 2000 - 2018</p>	
<p>Wind Farm Development in the Tehuantepec Isthmus / <i>El desarrollo de la energía eólica en el Istmo de Tehuantepec</i></p>	
<p>Main Stakeholders and Identity / <i>Actores</i></p>	<p>1. Landowners and users: diverse connection degrees (Market value heritage)</p>
	<p>2. Cooperatives, landowners' groups, or collective users (social land property, <i>ejidal</i> (legal category in Mexico) or communal land: with heritage connection (Market value heritage)</p>

<i>principales e identidad</i>	3. Local governments and municipalities: with some connection to heritage
	4. Social activists and rights' defense groups working in the region: with connection to heritage. (At least for discourse writing.)
	5. Regional and federal governmental agencies: without connection
	6. Landless inhabitants of the affected communities. They engage directly or through diaspora groups: with connection
	7. Energy companies and their local representatives. Wind energy sector: without connection
Land Attachment / <i>Arraigo al territorio</i>	Local population with strong attachment to land and landscape. Diaspora population with strong attachment. Indigenous identity land attachment (Zapotec and Ikoot ethnic groups) Attachment to land as a visual landscape.
Discourse Analysis / <i>Análisis del discurso</i>	1. In favor of wind farm development because of economic benefits.
	2. In favor of wind farm development with land planning and heritage conservation.
	3. Against wind farm development because of heritage landscape impacts and environmental damages.
Conflict and Heritage / Patrimonio y conflicto	
Heritage at stake / <i>Patrimonio en conflicto</i>	Regional landscape (Socioenvironmental heritage of the marshes, water bodies, and biodiversity of the Tehuantepec Isthmus and the cultural heritage of the Zapotec and Ikoot landscape)
Heritage type / <i>Tipo del patrimonio</i>	With market value, domestic value, and collective value
Type of Relations / <i>Tipo de relaciones</i>	Heritage linked to discourse, resources exploitation, visual exploitation, and opposition groups' power limited to heritage conservation

Power / Poder	
Agenda and Decision Making / <i>Agenda y toma de decisiones</i>	1. (Agenda) National Security, Energy Production
	2. (Decision-making) Extraterritorial or local
Issues at Stake / <i>Temas en conflicto</i>	Heritage conservation and management
Conflict Types and Characteristics / <i>Tipos de conflicto y características</i>	1. Present conflict: Landscape transformation by wind farms
	2. Potential Conflict: Identity transformation and changes in community lifestyle
	3. Potential and present conflict: Regional landscape access and management
Interests / <i>Intereses</i>	Heritage conservation
Reactions to Power Actions / <i>Reacciones ante el poder ejercido</i>	1. Discourse building focused on heritage defense. It permits stakeholders access to land negotiation processes.
	2. Direct violence (verbal, physical, and structural)

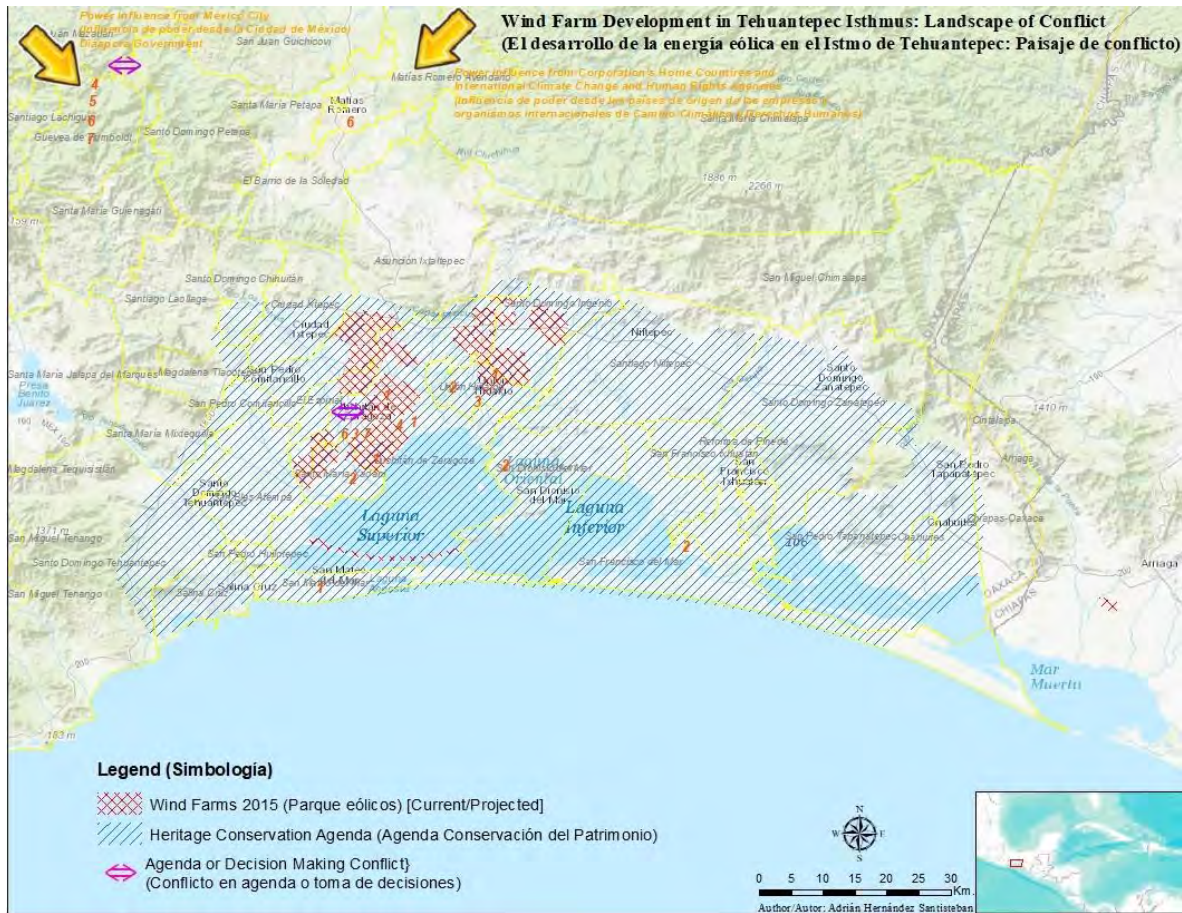


Figure 13. Conflict map (2000-2018) for case study "Conflict over the development of wind energy in the Tehuantepec Isthmus, Mexico." (The numbers correspond to the actors in the previous table.)

The conflict map over wind development in the Tehuantepec Isthmus does not properly represent the different nuances that are in issue. It is undoubtedly a generalization; however, it shows us a region in which natural and cultural landscape comprises a common heritage for all inhabitants. This is a common feature in indigenous regions, but it is not without conflict. Land tenure and resource management is uneven, because of a colonial past legacy in which certain elites set the rules. This has also generated distinct problems that have not been addressed and that activate conflicts at the first likely opportunity. It is a context of permanent potential conflict.

Therefore, the conflict is narrated here from a Peace and Conflict studies perspective, plus some elements of decolonization. The problems over wind farms began after infrastructure development, but they also deepened the divisions and unequal relationships between actors that existed in the area because of colonial past and present conflicts. Any new economic actor faces

these unequal group links. Landowners and non-landowners are the main division. The first accepted the wind farms, but some of the latter opposed them because of landscape impacts.

It is important to consider that wind farms were proposals that came from outside. The actors who developed them had no link with the region, but they observed a potential wind power that made the activity favorable. At the time of their arrival, they looked for land to lease. They generated commercial agreements with the owners, who observed an economic convenience, and empowered an already privileged group of landowners. Most of them already had wealth and power, so the construction of wind farms increased their resources and deepened the inequality gap.

It should also be noted that wind development was not a local agenda. This situation caused landless actors, not involved in commercial contracts, to denounce right's violation and developed opposition movements. Infrastructure construction of such height, up to 100 meters tall, was erected as an affront for many. It was difficult to mitigate the transformation of a heritage landscape. So, each actor was forced to react according to his agenda and resources.

We should also note that, unlike the Puerto Rican case where there was also a landscape defense, here the wind farms are mostly already built. There is a relationship of coexistence between the actors' agendas, since the region's landscape heritage extends to a larger area than the specific one in which the wind farms are. They do not impact everyone equally. However, unmanaged conflicts make up a context in which tensions and problems frequently occur. Each time one arises, it is partially addressed, but no long-term response is given to its structural concerns. Cohabitation looks like a permanent potential conflict source. The map shows how wind farms are embedded within the heritage area. It is a never-ending story. If the agendas of the different sectors continue to clash, the conflict will continue.

Therefore, we are facing a case study that began within a postcolonial context, but that now requires a peace and conflict approach for peace building. Right now, it seems like a static conflict map. Meanwhile actors' concerns are not attended, all of them lose productivity.

CONCLUSION

In land conflicts we cannot ignore heritage. When an actor defends a certain heritage, a fight begins in which not only the direct stakeholders get involved. Here, land and heritage are the same, a common good. People that live far away, but close in identity and land attachment, for example, diasporas, join because of their concerns over issues that arise hundreds of kilometers away. Land comprises diverse heritage elements in a unit we named landscape.

If we only talked about conflicts on their own, an encyclopedia could be written. That is why this dissertation was adjusted just to heritage and land conflicts, because I considered it a useful relation to understand some past and present conflicts in the study region. There are some interesting lessons that are important to highlight:

1. Actors compete for access to resources and land management, but they also rally up over emotions, feelings, and discourses. Heritage itself has a load of symbols and identities that should not be devalued. When heritage is at the center of a conflict, land cannot be perceived only as a resource or tenure, it becomes heritage.
2. There are influence areas in which the actors involved in a land heritage conflict use their power to promote their agenda and interests. Heritage defense discourses are attached to these sites. They provide them legitimacy. Usually, these places can be delimited by communal group's identification:

Communal groups vary from a set of few individuals who regularly interact and share a common identity to large collectivities or social categories whose members believe they possess or are attributed common interests and shared identities [...]

Communal groups are often based on presumption that its members have shared interests derived from carrying out the same occupation or position in the labor market. As a result, they can sustain various types of class struggle, including revolutions⁴⁰ (Harto de Vera 2004, 160-161).

⁴⁰ [Original] Los grupos comunales varían desde un conjunto de pocos individuos que regularmente interaccionan y comparten una identidad común hasta grandes colectividades o categorías sociales cuyos miembros creen poseer o se les atribuye intereses comunes e identidades compartidas [...] Los grupos comunales a menudo están basados en la presunción de que sus miembros tienen intereses compartidos derivados de desempeñar la misma ocupación o posición en el mercado de trabajo. Como resultado, pueden sostener diversos tipos de lucha de clases, incluyendo las revoluciones. (Harto de Vera 2004, 160-161).

3. The relationships between competing groups for heritage management must be considered. This aspect implies the interaction between the distinct groups with interests in heritage management and their power relations. A useful typology comes from traditional studies of Peace and Conflict (Galtung 1973).
4. It is possible to anticipate a conflict. This work focused only on conflict analysis, but there are also possible applications for its research method. Reflecting on the conflict maps tool, we can see that each community has its own landscape of conflict. Usually, land conflicts start with current or potential infrastructure development. The antagonists and supporters to the different projects that are being developed move around these landscapes. The region contains enough similarities to understand in which cases a project is contributing to peace building and social development and when it is not. From the perspective of a Do No Harm framework (Ernstorfer and Barnard-Webster 2019), the issues/interests that connect and form positive links between stakeholders are the following:
 - a) Participation of the local population in impact assessment and mitigation measures.
 - b) In case of infrastructure building, sufficient information must be available both on the technical operation and on the construction and implementation phases of the projects. Impacted population should have full understanding.
 - c) Promote inclusive decision-making systems in which it can be ensured that there are no excluded sectors. Let us break with the inertia of a colonial past in which decisions were made on a country's capital city. Although the community's inhabitants have their own decision-making processes, it is useful to insist that all potential conflict actors should be included. If not, parallel participation exercises should also be scheduled to reach those not consulted.
 - d) Agreements to guarantee land tenure and access by all stakeholders are necessary before infrastructure construction. Especially in those places where there is no clarity or certainty prior to the project.
5. An expected result of a conflict map is the possibility for the researcher to propose next steps for a conflict transformation process. A way could be to promote the acquisition of a *social license*, given by the stakeholders, for the development of a conflict

transformation process within a framework that enhances economic benefits of heritage management and, at the same time, complies with legal requirements and a human rights' framework.

A Conflict and Heritage Stakeholder's Map is a diagnosis that also includes information about a conflict potential. This aspect helps to understand probable social impacts on the different actors and thus avoid the escalation of tensions or the emergence of new conflicts. Therefore, a positive addition is the incorporation of a brief impact assessment that can be developed based on general guidelines that can be easily adapted to the context. Examples of these are those carried out by the International Association for Impact Assessment within its guide to assess and manage social impacts (Vanclay 2015). In addition, it seeks to understand the stakeholders' needs and steps to engage them on conflict transformation. Benefits and contributions of an impact assessment elaborated with the information provided by a conflict map could be:

- a) Ways to involve all actors and stakeholders according to their needs and interests.
- b) Creative conflict management opportunities identification.
- c) Necessary actors' commitments to advance on conflict solving and heritage conservation, as well as, which type of capacity building must be done.

In summary, impact assessment conducting methodology, under the guidance of the *International Association for Impact Assessment* considers the following four phases (Vanclay 2015):

- i) Understanding of context, project, and conflict issues study.
- ii) Impact trend prediction, analysis, and assessment.
- iii) Strategies development and implementation plan.
- iv) Follow up programs design and implementation plan.

6. Traditional Stakeholder's maps are useful, but in some conflicts these may not be enough. When land becomes a heritage conflict is an example. Ethnographic fieldwork can add up new categories for conflict analysis, i.e., enunciatory communities, seen in the Samana Bay case study; opposition discourse construction based on heritage as in the case study of Adjuntas, Puerto Rico; or the power of unattainable categories to build up opposition to infrastructure projects such as cultural landscape in the case study of the Tehuantepec Isthmus.

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Published works:

1. *Adrian Hernandez-Santisteban. 2021. Study on the Protection Situation of Venezuelan Refugees and Migrants in the Caribbean. International Organization for Migration. United Nations.*
2. *Adrian Hernandez-Santisteban. 2020. El campo en Malinalco. [Agriculture in Malinalco] Fundacion Comunitaria Malinalco.*
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