

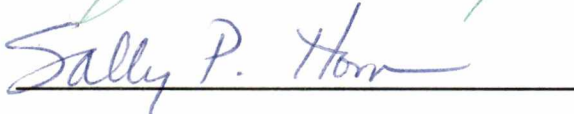
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**INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
CONSTRAINTS ON NATURE CONSERVATION IN BELIZE**

**A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Michael S. Mitchell
December 1990**

To my mom, Jean K. Mitchell, my brothers, Rick, Bruce,
Andy, Paul, and Jeff, and to the memory of my father,

B.T.

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ABSTRACT

The conservation of biological diversity is increasingly viewed as a global problem requiring integrated global solutions. While the maintenance of wildlife diversity is of universal concern, the degree of habitat destruction and the resulting loss of wildlife varies from nation to nation, as does the ability to implement wildlife management programs. At present, the destruction of wildlife habitat is most serious in the developing nations in the biologically-rich tropical region, where more than 50 percent of all known species occur. The need for economic growth in these nations often precludes the commitment of resources needed to develop effective wildlife management programs. With the increasing awareness of an interconnected global environment, conservation non-governmental organizations (CNGOs) in the economically and technically more advanced nations have initiated a large number of wildlife conservation projects in tropical developing nations. Supporting the technical, financial, and institutional development of CNGOs in developing nations is often advocated as an ideal way for CNGOs of the developed world to enhance international conservation and forge international links.

Examination of a cooperative relationship between the Massachusetts Audubon Society (MAS) and the Belize Audubon Society (BAS) indicates that establishing effective

partnerships between CNGOs from developed and developing nations is not a simple or easy process. The MAS-BAS partnership (November 1984 to October 1988) was beset with miscommunications and misunderstanding as the interests and values of each organization were never clearly understood by the other partner. Details of the relationship provide a better understanding of the pitfalls and problems inherent to international cooperation between CNGOs. Measures for overcoming these constraints are suggested for groups which will try to build similar relationships in the future.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BANF	Belize Audubon Nature Fund
BAS	Belize Audubon Society
<u>BCEP</u>	<u>Belize Country Environmental</u> <u>Profile</u> (USAID-sponsored report)
Board	Belize Audubon Society Board of Directors
CATIE	Tropical Agricultural Research and Training Center in Costa Rica
CBFR	Cockscomb Basin Forest Reserve/ Jaguar Preserve
CBWS	Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary
Coke	Coca-Cola Foods Corporation (U.S.)
CTWS	Crooked Tree Wildlife Sanctuary
FAS	Florida Audubon Society
FOB	Friends of Belize
GP	Guanacaste Park
GOB	Government of Belize
HMCNM	Half Moon Caye Natural Monument
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
MAS	Massachusetts Audubon Society
MF	MacArthur Foundation (U.S.)
NPSA	National Park System Act (1981)
PFB	Programme For Belize
Society	Belize Audubon Society
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
US	United States

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS (cont.)

USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCI	Wildlife Conservation International (a division of the New York Zoological Society)
WWF-International.	World Wildlife Fund-International
WWF-Norway	World Wildlife Fund-Norway
WWF-US	World Wildlife Fund-United States
WWNGF	Wild Wings Foundation

LIST OF KEY INDIVIDUALS

BAIRD, James	Vice President, Massachusetts Audubon Society
BERTRAND, Gerard	President, Massachusetts Audubon Society
CRAIG, Margaret	Founding member and Vice President, Belize Audubon Society
CRAIG, Walter	Executive Director, Belize Audubon Society
GONZALEZ, Victor	President (2/86 to 6/90), Belize Audubon Society
SWIFT, Byron	Belize Representative, Wild Wings Foundation
WAIGHT, James	Founding member and President (2/69 to 2/86), Belize Audubon Society
WAIGHT, Lydia	Founding member and Secretary, Belize Audubon Society
WEYER, Dora	Founder and Vice President, Belize Audubon Society

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. RATIONALE

The conservation of biological diversity has been increasingly viewed as a global problem requiring integrated global solutions. In their quest for economic development, nations of the world have frequently taken a short-sighted approach to the exploitation of natural resources. The resulting problems, including ecosystem degradation and extinction of wildlife (plant and animal) species, are widespread and threaten Earth's capacity to sustain development and to support life.¹

While the maintenance of wildlife diversity is of universal concern, the degree of habitat destruction and the resulting loss of wildlife varies from nation to nation, as does the ability to implement wildlife management programs. At present, the destruction of wildlife habitat is most serious in the developing nations in the biologically-rich tropical region, where more than 50 percent of all known species occur.² The exploitation of natural resources in these countries is the primary means of generating national

¹See for example, IUCN, et al., World Conservation Strategy; Brundtland, Our Common Future.

²IUCN, et. al., World Conservation Strategy, Priority for International Action Number 16.

income. With large foreign debts and increasing populations, these developing nations must increase economic growth. Unfortunately, the need for economic growth often precludes the commitment of resources needed to develop effective wildlife management programs. Moreover, beyond the lack of money, these countries have few, if any, personnel trained in wildlife or wildlands management. In the developed nations that are less biologically-rich, but economically and technically more advanced, the expertise and financial resources are more readily available. As a result, and with the increasing awareness of an interconnected global environment, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the developed nations have initiated a large number of wildlife conservation projects in tropical developing nations (Table 1). Supporting the technical, financial, and/or institutional development of conservation NGOs (CNGOs) in developing nations is often advocated as an ideal way for CNGOs of the developed world to forge international links.³

Independent of direct governmental control and unhindered by rigid governmental protocol, environmental NGOs⁴, in general, are a fundamental component of the

³Brundtland, Our Common Future, p.326-329; Hazelwood, Expanding the Role; WWF-US, World Wildlife Fund 1988, p.54.

⁴CNGOs represent only one category within environmental NGOs which includes other groups whose primary concerns are environmentally related (e.g. pollution or ozone depletion).

TABLE 1

**TYPES OF WILDLIFE CONSERVATION PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN
BY DEVELOPED NATION NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN TROPICAL DEVELOPING NATIONS**

Environmental education including implementation of new and/or expansion of existing programs at the community and national level in cooperation with local organizations and government agencies;

Biological/ecological research including single floral or faunal species assessments as well as community and ecosystem evaluations, especially those centered around rare or endangered species. Other research efforts include degraded habitat reconstruction, and endangered species reintroduction programs;

Establishment of research stations, national parks, and wildlands systems. This includes the preparation of operational plans and management guidelines for individual parks or nature reserves, holding training seminars and workshops, and paying for the construction of physical facilities;

Natural resource policy assessment including the evaluation and preparation of government legislation as well as the environmental impact of corporate and organizational policies;

Purchase of land in critical habitats, for example, through debt-for-nature swaps;

Institutional support of local conservation groups through the transfer of technical and financial resources. Institution-building workshops, for example, help local groups understand the fundamentals of project planning and execution, fundraising, personnel management, and public relations.

Sources: Miller, K. R. Planning National Parks For Ecodevelopment: Methods and Cases From Latin America. School of Natural Resources, University of Michigan Ann Arbor, 1982, p.553; WWF-US, Hispanic Latin America and Caribbean Program. WWF country conservation profiles: Central America. Washington, D.C.: WWF, 1988; NYZS, New York Zoological Society Annual Report 1987-1988. New York: NYZS, 1988, p.43-49.

global environmental movement. Their importance is reflected in their ability to increase public perception and concern for the environment. Driven by grass-roots support, NGOs are a more direct expression of popular concern than governments and they provide an unmatched source of new ideas, strategies, and innovations needed to combat environmental problems.⁵ The World Commission on Environment and Development recently praised NGOs as "important and cost-effective partners in work to protect and improve the environment." Further, the Commission stated that NGOs have:

played an indispensable role. . .in identifying risks, in assessing environmental impacts and designing and implementing measures to deal with them, and in maintaining the high degree of public and political interest required as a basis for action.⁶

CNGOs in the developed nations are highly organized, professional organizations that are action-oriented. They have broad public appeal resulting in mass memberships and considerable financial support.⁷ Their goals and

⁵For discussions on the organization of conservation internationally see Boardman, International Organization; Dahlberg, et al, Environment and the Global; Caldwell, In Defense of Earth, p.53-79.

⁶Brundtland, Our Common Future, p.319, p.326.

⁷For example in fiscal year 1989 (1 July 1988 to 30 June 1989), World Wildlife Fund-US had 686,000 members and revenue of approximately \$36 million. For a summary of the largest conservation groups in the United States see USA Today, 5 September 1989 (Tuesday), p.5D.

strategies are designed by professionals: they employ ecologists, biologists, park planners, lawyers, accountants, fund raisers, and public relations experts to conduct their affairs. They promote environmental education, conduct scientific research, acquire wildlife habitat, propose legislation, and monitor the impact of government and corporate policies on the environment. By themselves or in cooperation with other groups, they develop policies and programs at the regional, national, and global level.⁸ CNGOs in the developed nations command the attention of governments and corporations by holding them accountable for their actions to the wider public.

Supporting the institutional development of CNGOs in developing nations appears to be an ideal way for those CNGOs in the developed nations to enhance international conservation. Although usually small, voluntary organizations limited by meager financial resources and few, if any, personnel skilled in wildlife management, CNGOs in the developing nations are much more attuned to local issues. They often share local values and have good political connections. They have grass-roots support and they are advantageously positioned to promote the popular attitudes necessary for the long-term maintenance of

⁸See for example, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, The tropical forestry; Hazelwood, Expanding the Role; World Resources Institute, Making common cause.

wildlife resources. By working on their own or in cooperation with other local groups and government agencies, they can implement environmental education and wildlife protection programs. Local CNGOs can identify needs for scientific research as well as conduct or sponsor the research themselves. Working in concert with international conservation groups, they can play a vital role directing outside support to where it is most needed and can be used most effectively in country.⁹ In short, with the financial and technical support of their counterparts in the developed nations, CNGOs in the developing nations can become assertive environmental advocates on the local level that help protect wildlife resources over the long-term.

Despite the seemingly complementary attributes of CNGOs in the developed and developing world, forging effective links between the two groups is not necessarily a simple or easy process. CNGOs in developed and developing nations are inherently different as they reflect the interests and values of their respective cultures. As a result, partnerships between them may suffer from a variety of problems.

Forging effective organizational links requires that problems be anticipated and that strategies be developed and implemented which enhance cooperation. Without cooperation, conservation activism will remain a piecemeal endeavor

⁹WWF-US, World Wildlife Fund 1988 Annual Report, p.54.

limited by fragmented efforts and disparate organizational abilities. Analyzing positive and negative aspects of past cooperative relationships can help CNGOs develop viable cooperative strategies.

2. THE CASE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS AUDUBON SOCIETY IN BELIZE

The history of the involvement of the **Massachusetts Audubon Society (MAS)** in Belize (November 1984 to October 1988) illustrates that integrating the interests of conservation groups from developed and developing nations is likely to be one of the more formidable challenges facing international conservation in the near future. Although the original agreement between MAS and the **Belize Audubon Society (BAS)** appeared to be a rather simple one, the relationship between the two groups floundered, and after several attempts to set right the relationship, MAS terminated its support in October 1988, less than four years after the relationship began.

The partnership between these groups was beset with misunderstandings and miscommunication as the interests and values of each organization were never clearly understood by the other partner. Defining common objectives and achieving desirable goals for each organization proved difficult. Ultimately, MAS misunderstood the potential of BAS to do what MAS thought was important work for conservation.

This study of the relationship between MAS and BAS has two purposes: first, to provide a better understanding of the pitfalls and problems inherent to international cooperation between CNGOs; and, second, to suggest measures that will help organizations avoid them.

3. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The following chapter provides the necessary background for analyzing the partnership. The first section examines the attraction of Belize to MAS and other international conservation groups.¹⁰ This includes a brief discussion of the nation's economic and settlement history as well as its biological endowment and sociopolitical culture. The second section establishes the context for MAS's involvement with BAS. This is achieved by introducing BAS, its early organization and activities, and the role that international conservation groups played in Belize prior to November 1984, when MAS and BAS officials first met. The third section shifts to a brief discussion of MAS including its early success, administrative operations, and how it developed a participatory interest in international conservation. The chapter ends with the introduction of MAS to BAS and with

¹⁰International conservation groups for the purposes of this study includes those groups who specialize in international conservation, for example, World Wildlife Fund, and those whose primary focus is not international, but who have chosen to pursue projects outside of their country of origin, for example, MAS. MAS has traditionally been a state-based CNGO in the United States.

MAS offering financial assistance to help the local group manage the parks and nature reserves under its supervision.

The third chapter is an analysis of the partnership (November 1984 to October 1988). The first section examines MAS's preconditions and the basis for its agreement with BAS, including the details of the agreement itself. The second and third sections form the core of the study. The second emphasizes the organizational traits of BAS that restricted the development of a satisfactory partnership. Organized chronologically, the third section discusses how these organizational traits manifested themselves throughout the partnership. The fourth chapter concludes by expounding on themes established earlier and by suggesting measures to assist conservation groups in building successful partnerships.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

1. THE APPEAL OF BELIZE TO INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION ORGANIZATIONS

The appeal of Belize to MAS and other international conservation groups is an outgrowth of the nation's economic and settlement history. Situated on the southeast corner of the Yucatán peninsula (Figure 1), Belize was formally established as a British colony (British Honduras) in 1862, primarily for the exploitation of its timber. The timber industry, managed by large British conglomerates, held much of the nation's land and dominated Belize's socioeconomic and political development until the 1950s. As late as 1971, more than 90 percent of the privately-held land (approximately 42 percent of the national territory) remained foreign-owned, mostly by absentee-landlords holding large estates. For nearly three centuries, dating back to the mid-1600s, the local economy depended on exported logs and imported food.¹

The timber industry had a fundamental influence on the settlement pattern and agricultural development of Belize. With much of the colony's land and labor committed to timber related activities, the development of an agricultural

¹Bolland, Belize: A New, p.69; Bolland and Shoman, Land in Belize, p.102-116; Ashcroft, Colonialism and Underdevelopment, p.64-79; Hartshorn, Belize Country, p.88.

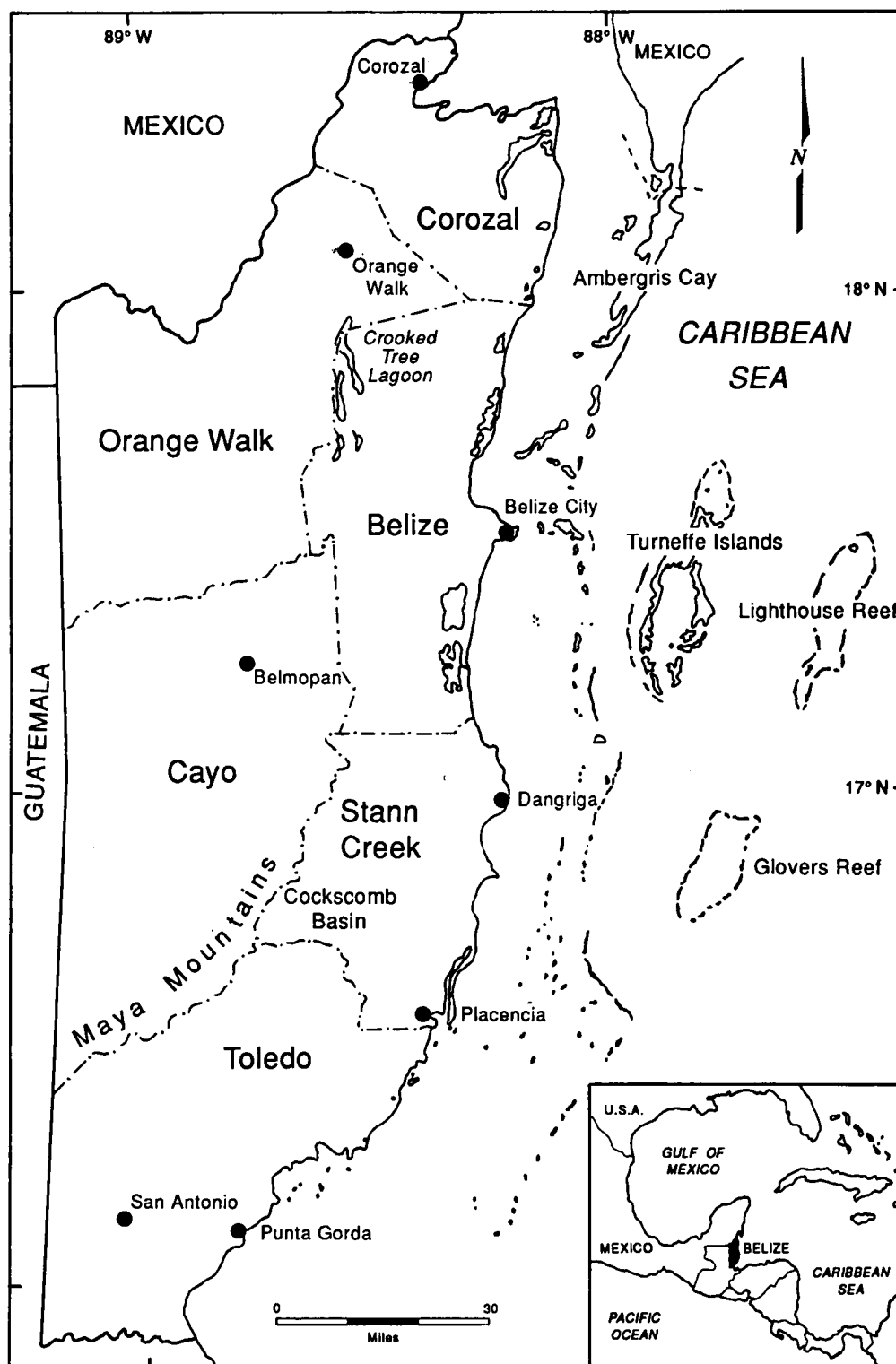


Figure 1. Location of Belize.

economy and an agrarian peasantry was restricted.

Throughout the 1980s agriculture remained largely undeveloped; only 10 to 15 percent of an estimated 38 percent of the national territory considered potentially suitable for agriculture is farmed in any given year.²

Belize also developed a clustered settlement pattern (Figure 2) that left more than 75 percent of its national territory virtually uninhabited. With a low population base (176,000 in 1987), much of which is concentrated in urban areas along its coast (40 percent in 5 towns in 1987), Belize has maintained the lowest average population density in Central America (7.7 people per km²).³

The timber industry's long monopolization of private land and control over colonial trade and legislation also profoundly influenced the future of Belizean conservation. In the early 1900s, after more than 300 years of extensive exploitation, mahogany and other timber resources of the colony were drastically depleted. In 1921, in an effort to revive the faltering timber industry as well as the nation's economy, a report by Hummel recommended intensive forest management to sustain yields and conserve timber

²Bolland and Shoman, Land in Belize, p.102; Government of Belize, Belize fact sheet 1988, p.6.

³Hartshorn, Belize Country, p.31; GOB, Belize fact sheet 1988, p.2.

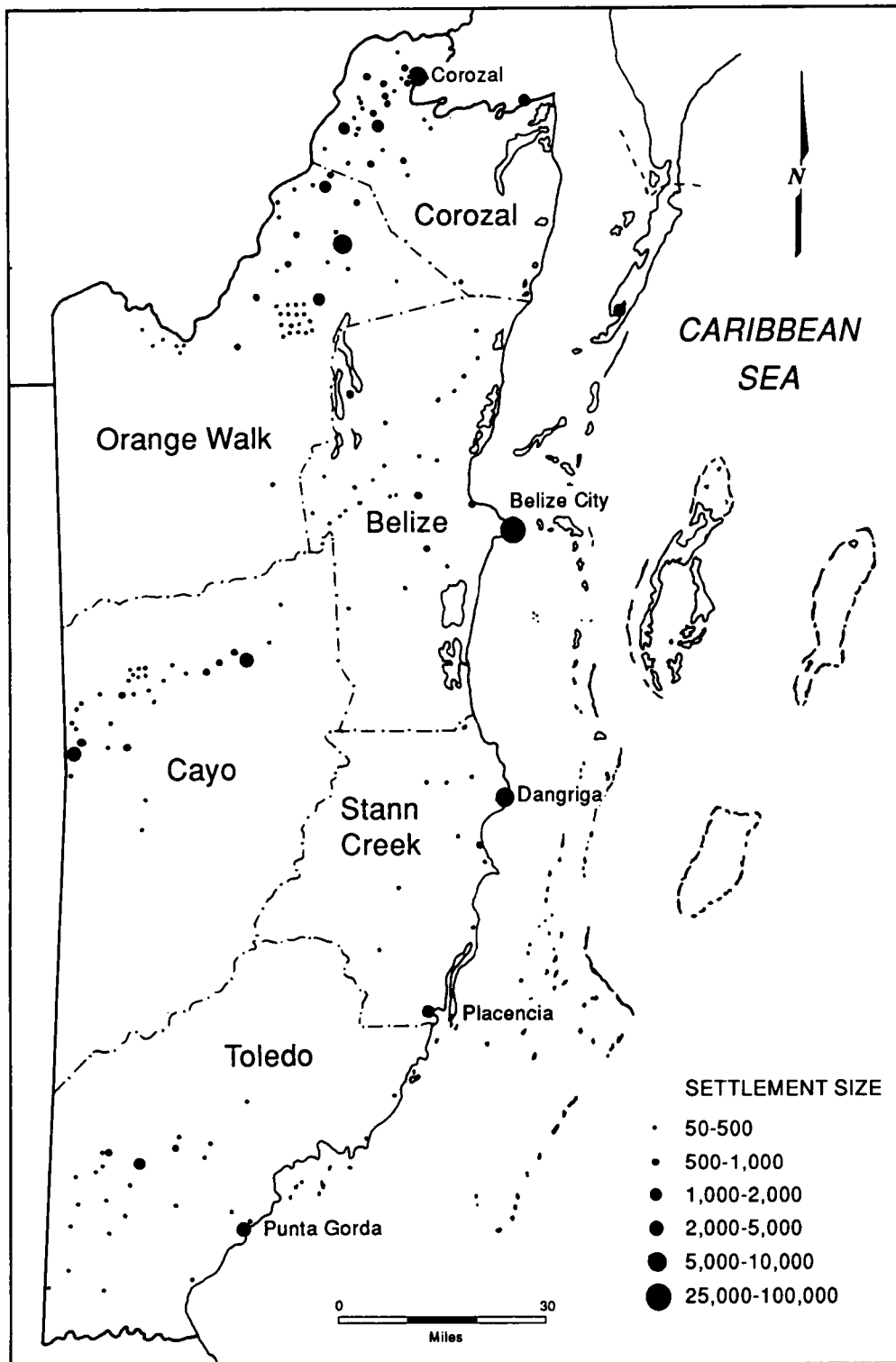


Figure 2. Settlement size of Belize for 1980. (Hartshorn, Gary S., ed. 1984. *Belize Country Environmental Profile: A Field Study*. Prepared for United States Agency for International Development. Robert Nicolait and Associates, Belize City, Belize. San José, Costa Rica: Trejos. Hnos Sucs. S.A., p.30).

resources.⁴ The colonial Forest Department was founded shortly thereafter (1922). Conservation related legislation followed with the enactment of the Crown Lands Ordinance (1924) and the Forest Ordinance (1926) which, combined, provided the legal basis for the establishment of protected areas. The development of forestry management and conservation were thus closely linked. In the 1940s the colonial administration also began establishing Forest Reserves and by 1987 they accounted for almost 28 percent of the national territory.⁵ In addition to managing the colony's timber, the Forest Department, with the enactment of such legislation as the Plant Protection Ordinance (1941) and the Wildlife Protection Ordinance (1944), was assigned responsibility for protecting its wildlife.⁶

As a colonial government geared for timber exploitation, however, the British administration did little to develop a national park system or to train Forest Department personnel in wildlife or wildlands management. Although a portion of Half Moon Caye was designated a Crown Reserve bird sanctuary in 1928, it was never managed as such and subsequently a portion of the reserve was given to a British administrator. The Forest Reserves, confined to the

⁴Hummel, Report on the Forests of British Honduras.

⁵Belize Center for Environmental Studies, unpublished data.

⁶Munro, The conservation of nature, p.140; Bolland, Belize: A New, p.75.

southern half of the country, were managed for timber exploitation without consideration of wildlife conservation. As late as 1984, three years after Belize gained its independence, wildlife protection and management was minimal. The Forest Department had no trained personnel in wildlife management and had few vehicles, equipment, or other resources.⁷

In spite of only modest past conservation efforts, Belize remains rich in wildlife in the late 20th century. In fact, its low population density, clustered settlement pattern, and limited agriculture have allowed Belize to maintain one of the most intact natural resource bases in the region. It contains the highest percentage of forest (42%) in relation to overall national territory in Central America. The deforestation rate in Belize (32 km² per year) is by far the lowest of any Central American nation.⁸ Despite its relatively small size (22,963 km²), slightly larger than Massachusetts, Belize harbors 533 bird species (including approximately 180 migrants from North America), or about the same number as the continental United States. Its mammal species include healthy populations of howler monkeys, otter, brocket deer, jaguar and tapir. Belize also has approximately 4000 species of flowering plants, including 200 species of orchids and roughly 700 species of

⁷Hartshorn, Belize Country, p.103-104.

⁸Nations and Komer, Central America's, p.232.

native trees. Its barrier reef is the second most extensive in the world and the longest in the Western Hemisphere.⁹ The wealth of Belize's biological endowment has increasingly attracted international attention. One of the most prominent international CNGOs involved in Belize recently suggested that:

Belize, with most of its natural heritage still intact, represents the best opportunity for establishing an ideal wildlands and wildlife program in Mesoamerica.¹⁰

The sociopolitical culture of Belize also attracts international conservationists.¹¹ A member of the British Commonwealth, Belize is governed by a parliamentary democracy based on the British model. Since the inception of internal self government (1964), Belize has maintained one of the most stable political systems in the region; it has not experienced the political and social turmoil which have characterized most of Central America. It has also maintained close economic and political ties with the United States (US) and Britain.¹² Its favorable relationship with

⁹Hartshorn, Belize Country, p.102-104.

¹⁰World Wildlife Fund-US, Hispanic Latin America and Caribbean Program, WWF country conservation profiles, p.5.

¹¹For an in-depth discussion of Belize's sociopolitical history and how it shapes Belizean politics today see Shoman, Party Politics in Belize.

¹²In 1986 the United States and Britain combined accounted for more than 75 percent of Belize' total trade.

the US is underlined by its active participation in the US-sponsored Caribbean Basin Initiative. Moreover, Belize has one of the highest US Peace Corps Volunteer contingents per capita in the world.¹³ The openness of Belize to outside support for its social and economic development is perhaps best reflected in its extensive international connections. Belize is a member of the non-aligned movement, the United Nations and its associated programs, the Caribbean Community, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. The openness of Belizean society and government has allowed foreign conservationists a unique, and perhaps unparalleled, opportunity to help a tropical developing nation integrate long-term natural resource management concerns with national development plans. Addressing the receptiveness of Belizean sociopolitical culture to conservation and development, one of the most active international conservationists in Belize recently wrote:

There is an openness to society and government that has encouraged debate and an honest evaluation of options for development. . . . Belizeans . . . have a fundamental respect for government and institutions.

This may sound trivial, but it has made all the difference. I make that assertion having suffered a lot of wounds in other countries, where the dual iniquities of corruption and ignorance drag down conservation . . . and basic social progress. Not so in Belize.¹⁴

¹³Donziger, Peace corps follies.

¹⁴Carr, Good news from Belize, p.1.

2. THE BELIZE AUDUBON SOCIETY (BAS) AND INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION ORGANIZATIONS

Pre-Independence Era

The Belize Audubon Society (BAS) is the oldest and most prominent CNGO in Belize. It was founded by Dora Weyer, an American (US) expatriate, who arrived in Belize in 1967. Trained as a zoologist, Weyer was informally invited by the colonial Forest Department, which had no trained personnel in wildlife management (see above), to serve as an advisor on wildlife matters.¹⁵ Shortly after her arrival Weyer began wildlife surveys in a government forest reserve, and subsequently became the leading local expert on wildlife, particularly birds. More importantly, Weyer began leading various individuals, including two of Premier George Price's sisters, Lydia Waight and Margaret Craig, on short birdwatching trips throughout the colony.¹⁶

By mid-1968 a small cadre of local birders had formed, including James Waight, Lydia's husband, then the Head of Lands and Surveys for the Belizean Government. Weyer and the other birders decided that a local nature society should be established. Because they lacked a rudimentary

¹⁵Weyer initially came to Belize in 1965 after lengthy stints in equatorial Africa and Costa Rica with her husband, a specialist in tropical public health. After a one year sabbatical at the University of Florida in 1966, at which time he died, she returned to Belize at the instigation of an officer with the colonial Forest Department.

¹⁶Weyer, personal interview.

understanding of how to do it, and because there were no similar local groups to serve as models, Weyer requested the help of a friend, an administrator for the Florida Audubon Society (FAS). With the backing of Premier Price, who "gave his support to any such projects which would encourage the preservation of the [colony's] natural resources," BAS was founded in February 1969 as a foreign subchapter of the FAS. It had 41 founding members.¹⁷

The BAS constitution, similar to that of FAS, provided an organizational framework for the birders. BAS was to have a minimum of five officers: a president, two or more vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. Not more than 13 Society members in addition to the officers would make up the group's Board of Directors (Board). The officers and directors would be elected by the membership each February at an Annual General Meeting. The day-to-day affairs of the Society would be managed by an Executive Committee, consisting of the officers and two other Board members appointed by the President. As an FAS subchapter, BAS was also required to establish six standing committees: conservation, field trips, membership, programs, sanctuary, and youth education. Each committee would have as its chairperson a member of the Board. As the group's primary leader and organizer, Weyer proposed its first officers. As

¹⁷Belize Audubon Society Bulletin 1(1) (February, 1969):1.

a result, Mr. and Mrs. Waight were appointed president and secretary respectively, while Weyer, Craig, and Ford Young, another American expatriate, became vice presidents.

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, BAS was the nation's only environmental organization. Independent of FAS in 1973, it became locally popular for promoting environmental education through weekly radio broadcasts, nature-oriented field trips, and public lectures on conservation topics.

While her fellow officers were active in their own way--for example, Mrs. Waight and Mrs. Craig produced the Society's monthly bulletin and prepared the radio spots while others like Mr. Young organized field trips--Weyer was the most energetic member. Living full-time in Belize, she supported herself by leading foreign groups on birding tours. In 1973 she was praised by the Belizean government for encouraging members of North American conservation groups to see the colony's wide variety of birds.¹⁸ As Belize's leading naturalist, Weyer co-authored a checklist of Belizean birds in 1977.¹⁹ She frequently represented BAS at regional and international conservation meetings where she encouraged international CNGOs to support BAS and to become active in Belize. As a result, she often served as the local contact and provided logistical support when

¹⁸GOB, New Belize, June 1973, p.6.

¹⁹Weyer and Young, Field checklist of the birds.

international conservation groups conducted research in Belize.

Weyer's most important accomplishment at BAS, that helped bring notoriety to BAS and that ultimately attracted MAS, involved spearheading the establishment of protected natural areas throughout Belize. In 1968, within eighteen months of her arrival and shortly prior to the formation of BAS, she engineered the Belizean government's designation of 9,000 acres within the Columbia Forest Reserve as a nature reserve (see **Appendix A**). Establishing a series of parks and nature reserves, in fact, was the primary reason Weyer had formed BAS and had sought international support for the Society.²⁰ The Belizean government owned, and still owns, more than half of Belize's national territory ('Crown land') and Weyer wanted the Government to establish parks while development pressure was only minimal. But as chairperson of the BAS Sanctuary Committee, Weyer faced two fundamental obstacles: inadequate government legislation, and a lack of financial resources to manage the areas. While neither problem would be solved entirely, Weyer partly solved the former by writing legislation proposals²¹ and the later by obtaining preliminary financial support for individual parks from international CNGOs. By the late 1970s BAS had

²⁰Weyer, personal interview.

²¹See, for example, Belize Audubon Society Bulletin, 2(1), 1970.

successfully gained protected status for 9 areas (Appendix A), all known for their bird populations. In each case, the Belizean government appointed BAS as the interim park developer and manager until such a time as a National Parks Department could be established.

Weyer's efforts were in part responsible for the increased involvement of international conservation groups in Belize in the late 1970s. In 1978 a consultant for the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization drafted wildlife and national park system legislation.²² In the following year the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) supported a brief survey of Belize's marine resources. Also in 1979 two prominent international groups, World Wildlife Fund-US (WWF-US) and Wildlife Conservation International (WCI),²³ began supporting projects in Belize. Through the Tropical Agricultural Research and Training Center (CATIE) in Costa Rica,²⁴ these groups provided BAS with financial support

²²Deshler, Proposals for Wildlife.

²³Wildlife Conservation International is a division of the New York Zoological Society (US).

²⁴CATIE is a non-profit institution, founded in 1973 to encourage rural development through research and training in agriculture, animal husbandry, and renewable natural resource management. Through its Wildlands and Watershed Program--designed to promote the creation and management of protected areas where conservation is considered part of development--CATIE since 1976 has trained over 1200 Latin Americans on management, interpretation, environmental education, wardening, and other skills (IUCN, Sustainable development.)

for the re-acquisition²⁵ and preliminary management of Half Moon Caye as a national marine park.

Independence

In September 1981, Belize gained its independence and it quickly became clear that the new Government of Belize (GOB) had strong conservation sentiments. Under the direction of recently elected Prime Minister George Price, the GOB adopted a comprehensive legal framework for protected natural areas and wildlife. The National Park System Act (Number 5, November, 1981) (NPSA), to be administered by the Chief Forest Officer under the direction of the Minister in charge of forestry, now allowed for the designation of Crown land as national parks, nature reserves, wildlife sanctuaries, and natural monuments. The Wildlife Protection Act (Number 4, November, 1981), which clarified and expanded the Wildlife Protection Ordinance (1944), provided a legal basis for the conservation, restoration, development, and regulation of wildlife. A portion of Half Moon Caye became the nation's first protected area under the NPSA (Half Moon Caye Natural Monument) in early 1982. Interim management again was given

²⁵In 1928 Half Moon Caye was established as a Crown Reserve bird sanctuary. However, much of the land was subsequently given to a British official. To establish a park it was necessary to buy back the land from the heirs of his estate, who retained title to the property (Weyer, personal interview; Hartshorn, Belize Country).

to BAS due to a lack of financial and human resources in the Department of Forestry.

The new GOB's support for conservation in the early 1980s was met with more internationally sponsored projects. WCI initiated a comprehensive assessment of the status and management of Belize's barrier reef in 1981.²⁶ WCI also supported Weyer's preliminary assessment of Belize's jaguar population in early 1982. In a follow-up to her report, WCI sent a staff scientist to Belize in early 1983 to conduct a two-year, comprehensive study of the nation's jaguar population. Encouraged by Weyer and Archie Carr III, WCI's regional representative, the IUCN, with the assistance of CATIE, developed a draft National Conservation Strategy for Belize in late 1982.²⁷ A landmark assessment of the status of Belize's natural and cultural resources, including socio-economic and legal aspects of their management, was also undertaken during the early 1980s (1981-1984). Sponsored by the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the Belize Country Environmental Profile (BCEP) went beyond a basic environmental status report by providing a summary of natural resource issues (15) and potential actions (66) to

²⁶See Perkins, The Belize barrier; Perkins and Carr, The Belize barrier reef: Status and prospects.

²⁷Support for the project came from UNEP, WWF, USAID, and WCI. See Hunkeler, Conservation for sustainable.

guide Belizean decisionmakers and the international development assistance community.²⁸

Despite the increased international support for conservation in Belize in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the GOB's pro-conservation sentiments, BAS received little assistance with park management. As a wholly voluntary organization supported exclusively by membership dues and voluntary contributions, BAS did not have the financial resources to manage the parks directly. It relied on informal arrangements instead. Situated 60 miles offshore, Half Moon Caye remained virtually inaccessible to BAS so a local lighthouse operator was asked to watch over the area. The Colombia Forest Nature Reserve had been abandoned after Indians belonging to a government sponsored rice cooperative began farming in the reserve and destroyed its unique habitat.²⁹ Upkeep at Guanacaste Park, a 52 acre park established (1973) near Belmopan, Belize's capital, depended on occasional volunteers, whose efforts could do little to protect the area, which suffered from milpa farmers and vandalism.³⁰ Poaching and vandalism afflicted the seven mangrove bird rookeries which had gone unmanaged except for the placement of a few signs declaring the rookeries to be protected areas. In short, none of the

²⁸See Hartshorn, Belize Country, p.5-8.

²⁹Ibid, p.98.

³⁰Ibid.

nation's parks had management plans or were under active management. Moreover, neither the Forest Department nor BAS had the institutional capacity to do much about it. At this point the Massachusetts Audubon Society saw what appeared to be the perfect opportunity to involve itself in international conservation.

3. THE MASSACHUSETTS AUDUBON SOCIETY

The Massachusetts Audubon Society (MAS), established in 1896, quickly emerged as one of the leading members of the loose federation of Audubon societies in the United States. As early as 1916, the Society began to acquire land throughout Massachusetts in an effort to protect wildlife habitat and promote appreciation of the natural world. In 1939, MAS became one of the first conservation organizations in the US to place teachers in a public school system.³¹

By the early 1980s, the Society had an annual General Operating Fund of more than \$3.5 million and was recognized for its innovative programs in environmental education, land protection, ecological research, and environmental legislation. It consisted of eight administrative departments with a combined professional staff of 67 in 1982 (Table 2). It had an active and growing membership of more

³¹Unless otherwise indicated, information for this section was taken from MAS' annual reports, 1981 to 1985.

TABLE 2
MASSACHUSETTS AUDUBON SOCIETY
ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS
1982

DEPARTMENT	STAFF	RESPONSIBILITIES
Development	4	Raised additional funds to support the Society's general operations, capital campaigns, and special projects
Education	12	Was responsible for the educational activities of the Society, including the support of environmental education in state schools and statewide ecological exhibits
Environmental Affairs	5	Acted as the principal liaison between the Society and other environmental organizations in New England
Environmental Science	8	Conducted and promoted environmental research, provided technical information and advice on environmental issues, and identified future environmental concerns
Membership	5	Provided services to members and recruited new members
Natural History	7	Responded to public requests for information on wildlife, led worldwide natural-history tours, and conducted continuing public-participation programs
Publications	3	Was responsible for the publication of <u>Sanctuary</u> , <u>The Curious Naturalist</u> and the Society's yearbook
Sanctuary Operations	23	Included educational and natural-resource management programs conducted throughout the state at twenty staffed conservation areas and centers and approximately thirty open-space reserves

Source: The 85th Annual Report of the Massachusetts Audubon Society, Publications Department, Massachusetts Audubon Society, 1981.

than 30,000.³² The Society had 94 corporate sponsors and an endowment valued at more than \$17 million in 1984.

The primary mission of the organization was and is protecting wildlife habitat. Its sanctuary system included 17 professionally staffed parks and reserves covering over 12,000 acres throughout Massachusetts in 1984. In addition to conservation and biological research, MAS uses its land to promote public appreciation for the natural world. On-site nature centers, for example, are used to convey the importance of biological diversity to the social and economic well-being of future generations. Nature tours and participation in biological research programs are offered to school children and the wider public. MAS held more than 700 programs and 20 educational events at its sanctuaries and nature centers throughout the state in 1985. Approximately 41 percent (\$1.85 million) of its general operating expenditures in that year went toward its sanctuary operations.³³

MAS's general interest in protecting wildlife habitat and two of its programs in particular drew it into

³²For example, in 1981 MAS added 4,200 new members, many of whom joined as a result of visiting a MAS' sanctuary or participating in a MAS program. See MAS, Annual Report 1981, p.19.

³³MAS, 89 Years of Action, p.3; p.11.

international conservation. The first was a world-wide natural history tour program which MAS began in the 1960s. Staffed with professional biologists and tour operators, the program established a series of favorite 'birding' spots in several countries, including Australia, Japan, Spain, Bermuda, Guatemala, and Panama. Returning to these areas year after year exposed several of the Society's leaders and members first-hand to the destruction of ecosystems worldwide.³⁵ The second program, involving the protection of birds found in Massachusetts, helped focus its attention on Latin America.

The protection of birds has been a fundamental concern of MAS since its inception. Its first "tern warden" began protecting Massachusetts' tern colonies against commercial bird hunters in 1898. Through its Environmental Science Department, MAS began a long-term monitoring and protection program for terns along the beaches of Massachusetts in 1963. However, because the birds only spend one-third of their annual migratory cycle in the northeast, MAS was unable to protect them throughout the year. This led the Society to study the terns' migratory patterns and wintering habitat. Although it was widely understood that many terns

³⁵MAS, Sanctuary, October 1988, p.29; MAS, Sanctuary, September 1988, p.20.

and other birds found in the northeast US migrate and winter in tropical and subtropical areas in Latin America, MAS initially had little understanding of the migratory patterns of its birds. Once it became clear that nations in Latin America indeed served as wintering grounds for its birds, MAS began to focus on the region as well as on Massachusetts. Under the leadership of a new (1980) president, Gerard Bertrand, MAS sent its tern warden to Guyana for an exploratory visit in 1981.³⁵ It was under Bertrand's leadership that MAS would become active in international conservation.

Bertrand, trained as a lawyer in the US, had been involved with international conservation throughout the 1970s. As a senior scientist for the Council on Environmental Quality under Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter, he helped draft the International Migratory Species Act. Also, as Chief of International Affairs for the US Fish and Wildlife Service (1977-1980), Bertrand assisted in implementing the International Endangered Species Convention and in revitalizing the Convention on Protection of Natural Resources in the Western Hemisphere.³⁶

After his first year at MAS, Bertrand wrote, "I realize more than ever what enormous potential the Society [MAS] has

³⁵Through MAS' tern-banding program, Guyana was found to harbor a large percentage of migrating terns from Massachusetts during the winter months.

³⁶MAS, Sanctuary, September 1988, p.20.

to provide positive leadership in environmental decision making in the coming decades."³⁷ He began actively searching for a country in Latin America where MAS could help preserve tropical ecosystems in early fall 1984. In keeping with MAS's tradition of conservation innovation, Bertrand wanted MAS to set a precedent for similar US-based organizations to follow.

4. MAS: LINKING UP WITH BAS

Diane Weyer, Dora Weyer's daughter, was in Washington, D.C. in June 1983 publishing an article on the recently established protected area at Half Moon Caye³⁸ and met with Byron Swift, a representative of the Wild Wings Foundation (WWNGF), a small (US) foundation interested in supporting a bird sanctuary in Latin America. On behalf of BAS, Diane discussed with Swift the possibility of establishing such a sanctuary at Crooked Tree Lagoon. As early as 1973, Dora Weyer had been working to establish a protected area at Crooked Tree, known locally as a prominent bird rookery. Swift requested a proposal and subsequently went to Belize the following January and June (1984) to investigate the possibility of WWNGF funding such a sanctuary.

³⁷MAS, "A Letter From the President," in The 85th Annual Report, 1981, p.2.

³⁸Weyer, Diane, Half Moon Caye: Central America's.

After learning of BAS' difficulty in handling its park management responsibilities, Swift took a personal interest in the welfare of the Society. While working out the details for a WWNGF-funded park at Crooked Tree, he began searching for a foreign sponsor for BAS. In early Fall 1984, while working on a project at the WWF-US office (Washington, D.C.), Swift met Bertrand, who had come to WWF-US "looking for an international opportunity." Swift proposed that MAS might wish to support a sister organization in Belize (BAS) that was responsible for managing its government's national parks, but was having difficulty doing so. Swift discussed the increasing international interest in Belize's natural resources and the fact that other US-based CNGOs who were already engaged in ecological research (e.g. WCI) in the country. Swift also alluded to the possibility that if BAS effectively managed the parks under its supervision, the GOB would look favorably on proposals to establish additional protected areas.³⁹

MAS was thus presented with an opportunity to involve itself in international conservation in an area central to its own organizational underpinnings, namely, protecting wildlife habitat. Shortly after Bertrand's meeting with Swift, MAS contacted BAS and offered to financially support the Society's management of the parks and reserves under its

³⁹Swift, personal interview.

charge. To Bertrand, the importance of involving MAS in this endeavor was clear. As he put it: "By supporting Belize Audubon, we have an opportunity to help Belizeans establish a first-class park system that will maintain a high quality of life for both people and wildlife."⁴⁰

⁴⁰Quoted from MAS, Sanctuary, Sept. 1988, p.19.

CHAPTER III

MAS/BAS: ANALYSIS OF THE PARTNERSHIP

(NOVEMBER 1984 TO OCTOBER 1988)

1. NATURE OF THE LINKS (THE AGREEMENT)

The leaders of BAS were receptive to MAS's offer of financial assistance and immediately began working on a proposal as requested by James Baird, Vice President of MAS. MAS, a newcomer to international cooperation, was eager to assist BAS yet it did not want to be intrusive; it was especially reluctant to attach strict guidelines or detailed constraints to its support. MAS was keenly aware of the pitfalls of being too aggressive and it did not want to eclipse or undermine BAS, nor did it want to be accused of lender imperialism. Having developed its own sanctuary system with grants and other contributions, MAS understood how strict donor requirements can stifle creativity and it did not want to burden BAS anymore than seemed necessary. Moreover, rigorous guidelines did not appear necessary; MAS saw BAS as a sister organization constrained only by the lack of financial resources. After all, as a private voluntary group, BAS had established and acquired the responsibility for managing its nation's national parks--something no other private organization of its kind in the world had done. MAS assumed that it and BAS had similar organizational values, and that BAS had the capacity to

develop its administrative and technical ability along the same lines as MAS had done; in short, all BAS appeared to need was money.

The agreement between the two organizations was confirmed in November 1984 when Baird, given the responsibility for overseeing the project for MAS and the Audubon Alliance (MAS),¹ presented BAS President Waight with a check for \$1,500.² Based on a budget prepared by BAS leaders, the agreement called for MAS to provide BAS with \$12,000 per year for five years beginning in December 1984. The money would help the Society open a modest office and support a half-time executive director. The premise of MAS's financial support was simple: BAS was to continue developing the parks and reserves under its supervision and, in doing so, satisfy the Belizean Government.³

Exactly how BAS would pursue park management and administrative development was a matter for its own Board to decide; MAS included no written guidelines or stipulations

¹After receiving the budget proposal from BAS, MAS sought and received financial input from the Audubon Alliance, a loose association of several US Audubon societies including Florida, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. With partial (approximately one-third) funding from the Alliance, MAS' support of BAS was regarded as an Alliance project with MAS responsible for its oversight.

²Monetary values are in U.S. dollars.

³BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, March 14, 1985; Baird, Letter from Vice President, Massachusetts Audubon Society to Victor Gonzalez, President, Belize Audubon Society, 14 January 1987.

for the use of its money. As Baird later said to the Society's President, "all we [MAS] want to do is to provide you [BAS] with the financial resources that will allow you to do an effective job."⁴

2. ORGANIZATIONAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE PARTNERSHIP

The ability of BAS to manage the parks and to become what MAS considered to be an effective local partner was limited by much more than the lack of financial resources. Although it was Belize's foremost environmental group, BAS in many ways was more a social club than the assertive environmental advocate and park manager MAS thought it was, or could be with more funding. Its leaders (officers and directors), several of whom were related to one another, seldom changed. The five officers in charge when MAS began supporting BAS were the same individuals that had assumed those positions in 1969, including the three officers who were relatives of Prime Minister Price (President James Waight, Vice President Margaret Craig, and Secretary Lydia Waight, see Chapter II).

Some of the BAS board members were knowledgeable, committed conservationists, but most had only a rudimentary understanding of conservation issues. While they

⁴Baird, Letter to Gonzalez, 14 January 1987.

represented a broad spectrum of Belizean society,⁵ the leaders of BAS were not professional conservationists; they were volunteers whose lives and interests did not revolve around conservation. Conservation activism for most Board members was only one of many interests. As a result, the Society's activities were largely ad-hoc, dependent on individual enthusiasms, and often lacked a sense of urgency.

From its inception and throughout its partnership with MAS, the BAS leadership was divided with regard to organizational goals and priorities. BAS had always been a very personal organization whose approach to conservation followed two distinct yet contradictory ideological perspectives. Weyer, and the few Board members that identified with her values, including some American expatriates, wanted BAS to become an environmental stalwart. They sought a more professional and dynamic organization that approached conservation with a sense of mission. Much like MAS, Weyer and associates viewed the establishment and management of protected areas as major priority and as the base upon which further conservation efforts could be built. On the other hand, Price's relatives, and Board members who identified with their values, had a more casual and simpler vision of conservation. Led by the Waights, they wanted BAS

⁵At the time MAS initiated its support, the BAS board included two science department heads from local colleges, a realtor, a hotel proprietor, a teacher, a consultant and several housewives (see MAS, Belize-a report, p.7).

to remain a personal, simpler organization with an emphasis on birdwatching and on promoting a general appreciation of nature. They viewed managing parks as a strictly temporary activity of no greater priority than publishing the monthly bulletin, preparing the weekly radio broadcast, or hosting an occasional public lecture or nature excursion. Briefly stated, although Weyer founded the Society and was largely responsible for its high foreign profile (Chapter II), the Waights and their followers dominated the Society's administrative affairs and largely determined its internal development and approach to conservation.⁶ As a result, throughout the Society's relationship with MAS, BAS maintained a simpler, more casual approach to, and a more strictly local perspective on, conservation than did its American partner (MAS).

Prior to MAS's involvement, the Society's divided leadership and lack of clear organizational goals combined to restrain its administrative operations and development. BAS was relatively non-professional in its finances and it lacked institution-building skills. The membership and program committees established in 1969 (Chapter II) never functioned per se and were disbanded after BAS became independent of the Florida Audubon Society in the early 1970s. The Society's experience with financial management

⁶Weyer; Gonzalez; Nicolait; and, Gibson, personal interviews.

was minimal; BAS had never operated on a planned budget and its only consistent expenditure was for the publication of its modest monthly bulletin. The local group was also unskilled at fundraising. With no clear organizational goals or priorities, and with most of its leaders working at full-time jobs, fundraising in the early 1980s consisted of little more than selling magazines and bird checklists (Table 3). The money earned from the sale of these items barely offset their costs. What minuscule donations the Society received, \$208 in 1983 for example (Table 3), were frequently put directly into savings. As Weyer put it, "There was a tendency to want to save money rather than spend it."⁷ BAS lacked the skills and the inclination to more aggressively raise and spend money.

BAS also had done little to involve or develop its membership. Although it had been in operation for over 15 years when MAS arrived on the scene, its members rarely had been called upon to help promote environmental education or assist with park management.⁸ Expanding the Society's influence and membership base by initiating local BAS chapters outside of Belize City, for example, in Belmopan, Belize's capital, was considered, but such expansion never took place.

⁷Weyer, personal interview.

⁸Based on a review of the BAS monthly bulletins from 1969 through 1984.

TABLE 3
BELIZE AUDUBON SOCIETY INCOME
AND EXPENDITURES, 1982-1983
(US\$)

	1982 (%)	1983 (%)
Balance at January 1	1,300	1,484
Total Income	670	760
Membership	244 (36)	396 (52)
Donations	213 (32) ^a	208 (27) ^b
Fundraising	134 (20) ^c	89 (12) ^d
Dividends	79 (12)	67 (9)
Total Expenses	486	824
Administration ¹	188 (39)	275 (33)
Programs	104 (21) ²	549 (67) ³
Fundraising	172 (35) ⁴	--
Other	22 (5)	--
Balance at December 31	1,484	1,420

Source: "Treasurer's Report For Year Ending December 31st, 1982," in Belize Audubon Society Bulletin 14(11):4; and, "Treasurer's Report For Year Ending December 31st, 1983," in Belize Audubon Society Bulletin 15(11):4.

^aNine total donations, seven given by individuals.

^bTwelve total donations, nine given by individuals.

^c96 percent of fundraising income derived from sale of magazines and bird checklists.

^d85 percent of fundraising income derived from sale of magazines and bird checklists.

¹Includes publication of monthly bulletin.

²84 percent of program expenditures went to printing of brochures for Half Moon Cay Natural Monument (HMCNM).

³100 percent of program expenditures went to the construction of an observation tower at HMCNM (funded by CATIE).

⁴100 percent of fundraising expenditures went to magazine subscriptions and bird checklists.

The Executive Committee, in charge of the Society's day-to-day operations (Chapter II), was given little authority and was hesitant to make decisions without the consent of the Board, yet the Board met only monthly.⁹ In short, BAS had never functioned as a dynamic or cohesive organization prior to its partnership with MAS. It was ill prepared to manage the increased administrative work that accompanied the responsibilities it was about to assume.

Moreover, BAS was unused to dealing with professional employees: It had never paid anyone to run its affairs before. Despite the formal operating structure BAS adopted as an FAS subchapter (Chapter II), the duties of BAS officers and the objectives of its committees were never clearly defined. When BAS leaders would appoint their first executive director, there would be little consensus regarding specific tasks to be accomplished. Nor would plans be established to evaluate his progress or hold him accountable for his actions. In sum, the Society's general development and progress in park management would become marred by the lack of well-defined administrative procedures. The BAS board would be reluctant to formalize its operations and demand accountability from its executive director.

⁹BAS, President's report for 1982; President's report for 1983.

3. DISCUSSION OF THE PARTNERSHIP

BAS: Leadership and Progress Under Executive Management (December 1984 to December 1986)

At the outset of the partnership, international interest in the welfare of Belize's natural resources was at an all-time high (Chapter II). Weyer and a few other Board members felt that BAS had not taken full advantage of the opportunities this presented. They wanted BAS to shed its small-time, birdwatchers image and to begin managing its affairs more professionally. With funding to open its first office and hire an executive director, the possibility of undertaking such a reorganization was exhilarating. In January (1985), the Waights' control over the Society's leadership was openly challenged for the first time. Backlash from this encounter would have profound implications on the Society's leadership and set the stage for its relationship with MAS.

Debate over whether or not to propose Price's relatives, the Waights and Craig (Chapter II), as officers of the Society ensued within the Nominations Committee shortly before the Annual General Meeting in February 1985.¹⁰ Prime Minister Price and his People's United Party (PUP), after more than thirty years of popular rule, were

¹⁰The Nominations Committee is appointed by the BAS board and is normally comprised of four to six Board members. Each year the Committee is required to send a proposed slate of officers to the Society's membership prior to the Annual General Meeting in February.

defeated in the national elections in mid December 1984. The United Democratic Party (UDP), a coalition of opposition groups, had won--in part by denouncing the PUP for letting personal favoritisms dominate its policies and programs.¹¹ As a member of the Nominations Committee, Weyer argued that if Price's relatives retained their positions as BAS officers, the UDP might retract the park management mandate and take other measures that would hinder the Society's progress. The fear of UDP reprisal was particularly acute during this period because only a few days prior to the elections the Price government had created two new protected areas, the Cockscomb Basin Forest Reserve/Jaguar Preserve (CBFR)¹² and the Crooked Tree Wildlife Sanctuary. In addition, the Price government had sent BAS a letter one week before the elections that officially gave it the authority to manage the CBFR and all areas established under the NPSA.¹³

In response to Weyer's argument against retaining Price's relatives as BAS officers, the Nomination's

¹¹Shoman, Party Politics, p.34-37.

¹²The CBFR was established after WCI-sponsored research in the Cockscomb Basin area indicated healthy populations of jaguars and other felids were present and after heavy lobbying of the Belizean government by WCI representatives (see Rabinowitz, Jaguar).

¹³The natural areas under BAS jurisdiction prior to the NPSA (1981) were established as Crown Reserves. The authority of BAS to manage these areas was never officially in writing.

Committee sent a proposed slate of Board members to the Society's membership on February 1, 1985 that replaced them (Appendix B). The slate was an open attempt not only to replace the Waights, but to revitalize BAS; the individuals proposed as new officers were some of the Society's most zealous and reform-minded members. The selection of officers was also unusual for its expatriate orientation: four of the six proposed officers were American expatriates, including the Nominations Committee Chairman, Ford Young, who proposed himself as the new president.

After more than 16 years as the Society's chief officer, however, President Waight was neither intimidated by the possibility of UDP reprisal against BAS nor prepared to give up the Society's leadership. At the general meeting in February he moved that the election of officers be postponed pending further review of the slate submitted by the Nominations Committee.¹⁴ After a brief investigation suggested that rumors of UDP reprisal against BAS were unfounded, the General meeting was reconvened the following month and a revised slate with the old leadership virtually intact was approved by the traditional show of hands.¹⁵

¹⁴Belize Audubon Society Bulletin 16(11) (February 1985): 2.

¹⁵The election of BAS officers is achieved by the raising of hands by Society members in approval or disapproval of an entire slate proposed by the Nominations Committee, but which may be supplemented by nominations from the floor. Thus, individual officer positions are not voted upon separately.

The only exception was that Vice President Young resigned and was replaced by two BAS directors, Diane Weyer and Janet Gibson (BAS now had four vice presidents including Dora Weyer and Margaret Craig).

By retaining their positions as officers, the Waights' kept in tact their dominance of the Society's administrative affairs. They consolidated their hold on the BAS leadership in mid-March 1985 by urging the appointment of Walter Craig, Vice President Craig's son and a nephew of the Waights, as the Society's part-time Executive Director. Trained as an engineer in the U.S., Craig had most recently been employed with a local bank and although he was an avid orchidist and birder, he had no background in the operation of non-profit organizations or in park management. Several Board members were reluctant to approve his appointment, but the previous challenge of the Waights' leadership had put them, especially the American expatriates, in an awkward position and they were unwilling to directly challenge the Waights any further. Craig was appointed with little resistance. As one director at that time put it, "The acceptance of [Walter Craig] by the Board was part of the backlash from the earlier attempt to change the BAS leadership."¹⁶

For the first sixteen months of the partnership (December 1984 to March 1986), MAS maintained limited contact with BAS as the Society opened its first office

¹⁶Nicolait, personal interview.

(December 1, 1984) and began operating with Craig as its first paid employee. In early March (1985), a US Peace Corps Volunteer was assigned to staff the office on a part-time basis and subsequently began organizing a lending library, comprised of books and magazines BAS had acquired over the years, and indexing the Society's 16 plus years of bulletins.¹⁷

With the addition of two more protected areas, the Cockscomb Basin Forest Reserve (CBFR) and the Crooked Tree Wildlife Sanctuary (CTWS), to its park development and management responsibilities, BAS was becoming more popular in local and foreign circles and was continually being looked upon, especially by international CNGOs, to provide environmental leadership. WWF-US granted BAS \$5,000 for the initial management of the CBFR in January (1985); meanwhile WWF-US and WCI along with BAS continued to pursue the designation of all or part of the CBFR as protected area under the NPSA.¹⁸ The Community Baboon Sanctuary, a private protected area for black howler monkeys, was established in a hamlet outside of Belize City in February; the American (US) researcher who organized the sanctuary gave BAS the responsibility for paying its caretaker and

¹⁷BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from March 1985 to May 1987, p.1.

¹⁸As a Forest Reserve, the CBFR remained subject to logging and other exploitive activities and WWF-US was unwilling to commit full funding to the area unless all or part of it were protected under the NPSA.

handling foreign grants and other contributions earmarked for the area.¹⁹ The Wild Wings Foundation agreed to provide BAS with \$7,500 a year for the development and operation of the CTWS in March. The CTWS also benefitted from an endowment fund, the Belize Audubon Nature Fund, established primarily through a large (\$25,000) donation from an American friend of Weyer's. In April, WWF-Norway approved the Society's first grant proposal (\$10,000) which Weyer had written the previous November (1984) to expand the Society's environmental education program countrywide; \$8,500 was sent to BAS to initiate the project.

Unsolicited fundraising efforts aimed at helping BAS also began. A Canadian zoology student rode in a Belizean cross-country bicycle race in April and raised several hundred dollars for the CBFR. The Carnegie Museum of Natural History (US) conducted a survey of Belize's birds in early spring and later donated materials and \$300 towards the production of wildlife posters to help with fundraising. In August a British soldier swam from an offshore island to the mainland in an effort to focus attention on the need to protect the barrier reef and with the idea of starting a Reef Preservation Fund; more than \$1,200 in donations were received and BAS was asked to be the "custodian" of the funds. Through the personal effort of Archie Carr III,

¹⁹Horwich and Lyon, The Community Baboon Sanctuary; Horwich, personal interview.

WCI's regional representative, BAS in September became the recipient of a MacArthur Foundation (MF) grant of \$20,000 per year for three years. The MF grant was for institutional support and WCI, the 'primary grantee', would manage the grant for the MF (BAS was the 'secondary grantee'). Also in that month the local USAID mission donated several hundred copies of the recently completed Belize Country Environmental Profile (Chapter II); income from the sale of BCEPs was to be used to support Society conservation projects.²⁰

Despite the increased attention and monetary contributions throughout 1985, BAS continued to operate with much of the same values it always had. There was little effort by its top leaders to define BAS' goals or establish clear priorities. The Board gave the Executive Director general directions to manage the office and oversee the development of its programs in cooperation with the respective committees, but the objectives of the committees were ill defined and the committees themselves rarely met. With the increased international attention, much of the Executive Director's time was spent managing foreign contributions and responding to foreign interests rather than working toward specific Society goals. Institution-

²⁰Belize Audubon Society Bulletin 17(11) (February 1986): 4; Carr, personal interview; BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from March 1985 to May 1987, p.3.

building was not perceived as a means to any specific end. Fundraising efforts increased with addition of donated items, jaguar posters and BCEPs for example, however the tendency to hoard money remained. Over \$1,389 was raised from the sale of BCEPs, but no projects were identified to use any of the money.²¹ While 39 new members joined the Society, there had been no membership drives and members were called on to involve themselves with Society activities other than the occasional field trips.²²

Top BAS leaders also remained reluctant to forge ahead with new initiatives. For example, an Executive Committee member's suggestion to start a reef preservation fund was put on hold in July; it was decided to consult with various government ministries on the idea and to advertise in the local press that BAS would like to hear from individuals interested in participating on such a committee.²³ Despite the WWF-Norway grant to expand its environmental education program countrywide, only minimal progress was made: Its bulletin was increased to 300 copies, but only one of eight proposed slide programs was even partly completed, none of six proposed posters on conservation themes were distributed. There was no attempt to organize an active

²¹BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from March 1985 to May 1987, p.3.

²²At the end of 1985 BAS had a total of 175 members.

²³BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, July 25, 1985, p.1.

outreach program. Presentations to local schools and civic groups were given upon request and on a voluntary basis from Board members.²⁴

There was little effort by the Board to clearly define its park management objectives or responsibilities. Committees were established for the Half Moon Caye Natural Monument (HMCNM), Cockscomb Basin Forest Reserve (CBFR), and the Crooked Tree Wildlife Sanctuary (CTWS), but they were given little authority to allocate funds or initiate management activities. The executive director was asked to work in tandem with the committees, as mentioned previously, yet the committees were comprised of volunteers who also knew little about park management. BAS received planning and management recommendations from CATIE (Chapter II) regarding several of the reserves in March, but the Board was hesitant to take action without the approval of the Forestry Department.²⁵

With no clear goals and only a minimal understanding of its responsibilities, progress in park development and management remained piecemeal. Action taken was selective

²⁴WWF/IUCN, Environmental education grant, p.3; BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from March 1985, p.4.; BAS, President's report for 1985.

²⁵In cooperation with WWF-US and the WWNGF a CATIE intern was sent to Belize to write project proposals and short-term management plans for the areas.

and often relied heavily on foreigners.²⁶ For example, a foreign scientist conducting research at the CBFR was asked to watch over the reserve and hire local caretakers from a nearby community to assist him. Progress at CTWS depended on a group of student volunteers from Britain, who between April and June erected a visitors center, demarcated boundary lines, and cleared more than a hundred miles of trails. Management efforts regarding the HMCNM involved the acquisition of materials for making boundary markers. A few nature trails were recleared at Guanacaste Park, but damaged facilities, the signs erected in 1973 for example, were not repaired. There was no management activity at the bird rookeries established in 1977 as they were now all but abandoned by BAS.²⁷

The Society's loose operating procedures and lack of clear objectives frustrated some of its more energetic Board members. In June 1985, while maintaining her position as a BAS vice president, Weyer responded by establishing her own organization, the Belize Heritage Society, to promote the designation of more protected areas throughout Belize. The following month, another Board member moved that the

²⁶Information in the rest of this paragraph is from BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from March 1985 to May 1987.

²⁷In the author's review of BAS bulletins and minutes of BAS board meetings throughout the partnership, the only mention of management activity at any of the seven bird rookeries established in 1977 was the replacing of a sign at Bird Caye in 1987.

executive director position be advertised once it became full-time. Sensitive to accusations of favoritism, Price's relatives along with other Board members agreed.²⁸ But the Board's resolve to carry out this decision was inadvertently tested by MAS' Baird the following spring.

Baird led a MAS-sponsored tour group to Belize and spent several days visiting parks and reserves in March 1986. Realizing that BAS had shouldered a tremendous amount of new administrative responsibilities since his last visit, and that minimal progress had been made in park development or management, Baird concluded that BAS needed a full-time manager. Unaware of the Board's earlier decision to advertise the executive director position once it became full-time, he met with Craig in private and requested a revised budget that would provide full-time support to Craig.²⁹ Baird, after his meeting with Craig, addressed the Board and announced that there was "a lot of work ahead" and that he had requested a revised budget from Craig that would allow him to work full-time.³⁰ It appeared to some Board members, including the new President (Mr. Waight, Craig's uncle, stepped down and became one of five vice presidents), Dr. Victor Gonzalez, that MAS had already made

²⁸BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, July 25, 1985.

²⁹Baird, personal interview.

³⁰BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, March 13, 1986.

a deal with Craig. The Board's earlier decision to advertise the position was recalled as was Craig's opposition to the idea.³¹ Rather than pursue the matter it was decided to allow Craig to begin working full-time once MAS approved a revised budget, which Craig submitted to Baird in June. The budget was approved and a new agreement between MAS and BAS was confirmed in late July (1986) in a letter from Bertrand to Craig. MAS was now committed to paying the Society \$24,000 per year until 1990.³² Once Craig notified the Board of the new agreement, Gonzalez appointed a committee to define the conditions of service and salary requirements for its now full-time executive director.

Two months later the committee submitted a detailed job description consisting of 22 statements outlining the Executive Director's responsibilities. In addition to managing the office and overseeing park development and operations in cooperation with the respective committees, Craig's responsibilities included personnel management, fundraising, public relations (local and international),

³¹Craig had remarked after the Board's earlier agreement that the post of executive director had not been advertised when he accepted the position, and that if it was later advertised, it could be inferred that he had done a poor job. Gonzalez was not present at the meeting in which the Board agreed to advertise the executive director position once it became full-time.

³²Baird, personal interview; Baird, Letter to Gonzalez, 14 January 1987.

maintaining Society equipment, bookkeeping, and coordinating the activities of Society committees and officers to prevent overlap. In his day-to-day duties, the executive director was to accept directions from the BAS president.³³

While MAS was increasing its financial support of BAS, other international CNGO initiatives continued. WCI's earlier research on barrier reef management (Chapter II) led that group to sponsor further research on the reef's ecology for the purpose of establishing a protected marine reserve. BAS Vice President Gibson, a former Belizean Fisheries Administrator, was hired by WCI to work in cooperation with a WCI research associate and to write a preliminary management plan for a proposed marine reserve near Ambergris Caye (Figure 1), a popular tourist destination.³⁴ WWF-US sponsored efforts to have all or part of the CBFR designated as a national park under the NPSA were successful in late February 1986. Approximately 3,640 acres within the CBFR were designated as the Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary (CBWS). The announcement was made at Belize's first National Conservation Conference which was attended by foreign conservation dignitaries and high ranking Belizean government personnel, including the Minister of Natural

³³BAS, Report of the committee on the appointment of the Executive Director.

³⁴The Hol Chan Marine Reserve was established in July 1987 with the financial support for its management provided by USAID and WWF-US (see Appendix A).

Resources and the Prime Minister. WWF-US funded the conference and agreed to underwrite the development of the CBWS by providing technical and financial support to BAS. Swift also paid a visit in February to work out management plans at the Crooked Tree Wildlife Sanctuary for the year. A budget of \$7500 was approved to continue work at the sanctuary and to hire wardens. WWF-US flew Craig to their headquarters in Washington, D.C. to discuss management plans at the CBWS in June. Craig met with Carr (WCI) regarding the MacArthur Foundation's institutional support grant to BAS during the same trip. The two agreed that the MacArthur money would be used to support BAS activities in park development, management, and acquisition--with the stipulation that BAS submit project proposals to Carr for approval prior to funding.³⁵

The international CNGO initiatives required that BAS assume greater administrative responsibilities, including managing grants and serving in a liaison capacity between international CNGOs and the Belizean government. As the Executive Director, Craig was the central figure in Society operations and his actions were increasingly scrutinized by international CNGO representatives and members of the BAS Board. The Society's general lack of organization became increasingly apparent to several of its international

³⁵Carr, personal interview; BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from March 1985 to May 1987, p.13.

supporters by late 1986. Baird began receiving complaints from some CNGO representatives that Craig was ineffective in managing the Society's affairs and that he was operating on his own with little input from the BAS board members.³⁶ One international CNGO representative who visited Belize the previous fall (1985) came away with the impression that Craig had his own agenda and that he "was not a team player."³⁷ In December (1986), Baird was notified that Craig was contending that he had a special agreement with MAS regarding his employment and that he (Craig) was not responsible to the BAS board. Craig claimed that he worked for MAS.³⁸

Clarification of Values (January to October 1987)

Baird wrote to President Gonzalez to clarify MAS's relationship with BAS in mid January 1987. His letter dispelled the notion of MAS entering into any special agreement with Craig concerning his employment. Baird insisted that hiring (or firing) the executive director was strictly a matter for the BAS board. He also suggested that Craig's "continued employment should be based on performance." After restating MAS's financial commitment to BAS (\$24,000 per year until 1990), Baird added:

³⁶Baird, personal interview.

³⁷Norris, personal interview.

³⁸Baird, personal interview.

Now regarding how the money should be spent. I have said from the beginning that neither Massachusetts Audubon [n]or the Audubon Alliance wants to run the Belize Audubon Society in absentia, all we want to do is to provide you with the financial resources that will allow you to do an effective job. We are obviously interested in performance, and if it should become apparent that our support was being squandered, then we would have to give serious consideration to withdrawing that support. But beyond that, you are on your own.³⁹

In the same letter, Baird requested that he be "kept up-to-date on BAS activities [and] budgetary matters" in order to monitor the Society's progress more closely.

MAS's approach to Belizean conservation was shifting. In February (1987) it shifted even further when Baird told BAS leaders that MAS was interested in purchasing land for a private park.⁴⁰ Land in Belize was cheap,⁴¹ and in the preceding four years (1983-1986) MAS had undergone tremendous financial growth. Annual gifts and grants had increased by 129 percent (to \$700 thousand) and its endowment value by 74 percent (to \$28.5 million).⁴² BAS' President Gonzalez accommodated MAS's desire to purchase

³⁹Baird, Letter to Gonzalez, 14 January 1987.

⁴⁰BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, February 12, 1987.

⁴¹The price for a 1000 acre tract of uncleared land with minimal overland access during 1987 ranged from approximately \$15.00 to \$50.00 per acre (Burks, personal interview).

⁴²MAS, Annual Report 1987, p.2.

land by establishing a small committee to recommend areas worthy of MAS's attention.

MAS adopted an even more active posture towards BAS in early March 1987. Baird prepared an outline ('Belize Audubon Planning Guide') of the organizational tasks that he thought BAS should undertake and sent it to Craig (Appendix C). While leading a tour group in Belize later that month, Baird discussed the concerns identified in the outline with Craig. He asked Craig whether he was willing "to give 110% to achieve [MAS' and BAS'] goals before it was too late."⁴³ Craig's response was equivocal. The Executive Director mentioned, among other things, that he had been busy raising funds for a local church. Baird was perplexed and troubled by Craig's casual demeanor. He concluded that indeed Craig was working without the consent of the Board and that the Board had not approached park management in the spirit of its original agreement with MAS in 1984. Rather than address the Board immediately, Baird opted to first consult with MAS' President Bertrand.

Bertrand flew to Belize for the first time to attend a BAS board meeting and to see for himself what progress had been made in April 1987. Then Baird returned to Belize and confronted the BAS board in June. Although the two groups had never agreed on any specific objectives regarding park

⁴³Baird, Letter to Gonzalez, 14 January 1988; Baird, personal interview.

management or any other aspects of BAS's development, Baird made it clear that MAS felt BAS was not living up to the spirit of their agreement. Baird summarized the meeting:

My basic thesis at that meeting was that I found it difficult to see exactly what progress had been made by BAS in the 2 1/2 years that we have been providing financial support. I then reviewed park management, membership, endowment and environmental advocacy and found all of them wanting. In closing, I said that the Alliance did not want to be put in the position of pressuring BAS into accepting a role that it was not comfortable with, but that if the BAS didn't want to become a stronger and more effective force for conservation then we would have to find another organization [which] would - if I remember right, the words that I used was that BAS would have to get into the fast lane because that's where the rest of the world was as far as Belize was concerned.⁴⁴

The reaction of BAS board members ranged from indifference to anger. Some members understood MAS's position in part, but others felt that Baird's statements were overly harsh and without cause. It was the first time that the entire Board had been confronted by Baird or MAS about its general progress. MAS had in the past expressed concern over park management, but issues pertaining to BAS membership development, endowment, and environmental advocacy had never been brought before the Board, nor even discussed prior to the original agreement. MAS had also refrained from commenting on the executive director position, but at this meeting Baird indicated that BAS

⁴⁴Baird, Letter to Gonzalez, 14 January 1988.

needed to give the director a more specific mandate and clarify accountability.

Meanwhile, Craig's suitability for the job was already being questioned openly within the Board. Weyer was increasingly at odds with Craig, whom she claimed was mismanaging the Society's affairs. One Executive Committee member sought access to various park management files in an effort to write grant proposals but was refused it by the Executive Director. President Gonzalez was also at odds with Craig. Craig made little effort to consult with him on managing Society affairs. After learning of Craig's equivocal response to Baird's concerns in late March, Gonzalez requested a two-year progress report from Craig in May 1987 that specifically addressed his contribution to the Society's progress.⁴⁵

The Executive Director circulated a report in late June 1987 that, combined with Baird's message to the Board, led to further debate within the BAS board over its executive director. The Executive Director's report was simply an overview of BAS accomplishments that did not include the personal assessment of his own contribution that President Gonzalez had requested. Even as an overview the report was incomplete, because it excluded, as the Executive Director put it, "subjects into which considerable amounts of time have been spent primarily because there [was] negligible

⁴⁵Weyer; Nicolait; and Gonzalez, personal interviews.

expenditure of funds in pursuit of these topics."⁴⁶ To Gonzalez and other Board members the report was unacceptable. During July and early August (1987), Gonzalez asked Board members to fill out Evaluation Sheets for the Executive Director, ones which asked whether he should be retained.

Only ten of eighteen Board members submitted evaluations, but their comments revealed a clear disunity not only regarding Craig, but the executive director position in general (Appendix D). Craig was accused of having a "negative approach" to the job, hiding information, lacking managerial skills, perceiving himself as only having to answer to a "select few" individuals, and of having a poor relationship with the Belizean government. On the other hand, at least one respondent perceived him as a diligent worker with "impeccable honesty and efficiency." The evaluations revealed considerable uncertainty regarding the executive director and his relationship with the officers and other Board members. One respondent suggested that the Society's "performance is [the] responsibility of [the] Board, not solely [of the] Executive Director," while another stated that there was "too much work" assigned the executive director, especially in relation to fundraising. Another commented that he or she was "not aware of any

⁴⁶BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from March 1985 to May 1987, p.1.

directives/instructions given to [the] Executive Director by [the] Board so evaluation [was] difficult to do."

Suggestions for clarifying the position that were made on the evaluation forms included establishing a work plan for each project, giving the executive director specific directions, having the executive director report to the president daily, and preparing a monthly report.

Despite the clear presence of problems, and suggestions offered by some Board members, the Board was slow to take action. It decided to allow Craig the opportunity to respond to the comments made against him. Baird contacted President Gonzalez in September to determine what, if any, action had been taken by the Board. Gonzalez, who had been unable to establish a formal working relationship with Craig, conveyed the Board's indecisiveness on the matter. With Gonzalez's approval, MAS stopped sending monthly support payments to BAS with the intention of pressuring the Board into taking immediate action. But the decision whether or not to retain Craig would not come until mid November, shortly after MAS announced a more radical change in its Belizean conservation efforts.

Diverging Paths: A New Initiative and an Unkept Commitment (November 1987 to October 1988)

While BAS continued to approach conservation and its own operations much as it always had throughout 1987, MAS also continued to pursue its interest in acquiring land in Belize for a private park. BAS's progress was in MAS's view

too slow, and MAS wanted to more clearly establish visibility as a leader in protecting tropical habitat. During the spring of 1987 the opportunity emerged for MAS to spearhead a complex and formidable task which promised to do this. Baird broke the news to the BAS leadership on November 5, 1987 when he announced that the MAS board of directors had recently voted to spend \$500,000 on conservation in Belize.⁴⁷ The money would go to initiate a project separate from BAS known as the Programme For Belize (PFB). The PFB's primary goal was "to link development and conservation in ways that foster the objectives of both while building the economy and helping Belizeans find a better standard of living."⁴⁸

A complex project involving a relationship with the United Democratic Party-led (Belizean) government, the PFB was the outgrowth of MAS's interest in buying land and its association with a little known, loosely knit group of US CNGO representatives with interests in Belize that had begun to form in the early 1980s. Calling itself the Friends of Belize (FOB), the group included representatives from the National Audubon Society, Nature Conservancy, WWF-US, WCI, the World Resources Institute and MAS. FOB members were aware of Belize's biological wealth and its relatively

⁴⁷BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, October 29 and continued on November 5, 1987.

⁴⁸PFB, "Programme For Belize," (brochure).

intact natural resources. They were interested in coordinating their various organizational interests in Belize, and in pursuing the opportunity Belize presented for establishing a model program for environmentally sustainable development in Mesoamerica. The FOB was a weak group, however, in that it had met only informally and it had no operating structure. Nor were any of its members Belizeans.⁴⁹

The FOB began to gel, however, in October 1985 after the Coca-Cola Foods Corporation (Coke) announced that it had acquired, through a joint partnership, 686,000 acres in northwest Belize.⁵⁰ With its share of 196,000 acres, Coke intended to plant 25,000 acres of citrus for its juice subsidiary, Minute Maid. Two FOB members, representatives of the National Audubon Society, began forming a response to Coke's initiative. According to the representatives, who were also the primary organizers of FOB meetings, the goal was "to convince Coca-Cola and the government of Belize that whatever development takes place [should] be conducted in the most environmentally benign manner possible."⁵¹ Coke responded positively to FOB inquiries, and in 1986 requested that FOB recommend an environmental assessment team to

⁴⁹Norris, personal interview.

⁵⁰For a more detailed explanation of the 'Coca-Cola land deal' see Kyle, Transnational politics: Coca.

⁵¹Norris and Weber, Letter to Friends of Belize, 28 April 1986.

monitor its citrus development. Meanwhile, Coke encountered serious obstacles in the development of its citrus project, including a failure to obtain insurance and calls by non-FOB-member environmental groups in Europe and the U.S. to boycott Coke products.

In early April 1987, MAS, acting alone without FOB consensus, developed a plan that would help Coke's public image while satisfying its desire for a conservation land base in Belize. Baird proposed that Coke donate several thousand acres to MAS as a private park along with a sizable sum of money to assist with the park's development.⁵² Discussions between MAS, Coke, some FOB member representatives, and the Belizean government continued throughout the summer (1987). Most of MAS's fellow FOB members were not closely involved with the discussions, yet they approved in principle of the park idea.

What emerged as the Programme for Belize involved much more than developing a park on land donated by Coke. It was to be a "coordinating mechanism" that supplemented conservation/development projects already underway in Belize. The \$500,000 committed by MAS to initiate the PFB was to be used to accomplish three immediate objectives: 1) hire a natural resources consultant to serve as a personal advisor to the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (formerly Natural Resources); 2) buy an option on

⁵²Baird, personal interview.

110,000 acres of land owned by one of Coke's partners, Belizean businessman Berry Bowen; and, 3) hire a fundraiser in the U.S. to initiate a campaign to acquire the 110,000 acres and to initiate PFB-related activities.⁵³ Coke agreed to donate 42,000 acres adjacent to Bowen's land it held to the PFB along with \$50,000 for its management. Combining the land Bowen wanted to sell with Coke's donation, the PFB would have 152,000 acres of land that it would hold in trust for the Belizean government and develop as a multi-use conservation and development area (similar to the IUCN's Biosphere Reserve concept). In sum, the PFB would develop a model sustainable development program on 152,000 acres (Rio Bravo Resource Management and Conservation Area), advise the Belizean government on natural resource and development issues, and raise money to pay for the land and initiate conservation activities.

When Baird announced the PFB initiative to BAS leaders (in much less detail than given above), their response was largely indifference. Exactly what the PFB was or how it would effect BAS was uncertain. The PFB became an official, independent Belizean conservation organization with MAS serving as its financial manager in late February 1988. As one of three founding PFB board members, all of whom were

⁵³BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, October 29 and continued on November 5, 1987.

Americans, Baird would be responsible for managing MAS's interest in the PFB and its relationship with BAS.

One week after Baird announced the PFB initiative, the BAS board held a special session to determine the fate of Craig as its executive director. Before voting, President Gonzalez explained that any decision made by the Board could not be reversed by MAS or any other organization. Alluding to the strong differences within the board, Gonzalez stressed that members "should not be influenced by factions or personalities." He also reiterated that the report Craig submitted failed to address his personal contribution.⁵⁴

A majority of BAS board members voted to retain Craig, although Weyer and two other members asked to be excused and left the meeting before the vote. However, once it was decided to retain Craig, the Board agreed that the Executive Director's duties should be modified and a committee was appointed to deal with the matter. Despite agreeing to retain Craig and to modify his duties, the Board's continued penchant for indecisiveness led one frustrated Board member to comment that the Board was "too ponderous" and to suggest that the number of directors be reduced.

Shortly after the meeting, Gonzalez notified Baird that the Board was going to remove park management from the job description of the Executive Director and give this

⁵⁴Information in this and the following paragraph is from BAS, Report of the meeting of the board of directors, November 12, 1987.

responsibility to someone else. In December Baird resumed payments to BAS. He strongly supported the proposed action, as he put it:

it clearly separates a major activity of the BAS that is destined to be transferred to the GOB in the not too distant future. This will also allow the Executive Director to spend more time on programs and activities that will increase the effectiveness of the BAS as [an] environmental force in Belize.⁵⁵

In the same letter, Baird reiterated MAS's interest in maintaining a productive relationship with BAS and his desire to be kept closely informed of the Society's progress when he wrote:

We are all embarked on an important conservation experiment, it is an experiment that has captured the imagination of the environmental community. . . . When we [MAS] withdraw from Belize, as we will eventually, we want to be secure in the knowledge that because of our initial support the [BAS] has become a strong, effective voice for conservation, well-endowed and with a active growing membership. . . . I would appreciate being kept fully informed. . . . I do expect to see Board minutes, reports of committees, and other such reports as will allow me to properly assess progress and accountability.

When Baird resumed payments, the Board seemed intent on organizing its affairs more prudently and developing a clear method of oversight to hold the executive director accountable for his actions. The resolve of the Society's top leaders to carry out reorganization began to deteriorate

⁵⁵Baird, Letter to Gonzalez, 14 January 1988.

in February 1988, however. At the Annual General Meeting the number of Board members was reduced from 23 to 9. Those directors and officers most vocal against the Executive Director's past management and most in favor of reorganization, including Weyer and all other expatriates, were eliminated from the Board. Craig's relatives, including the Waights, retained their positions.

Throughout 1988, despite the reduced number of Board members, top BAS leaders continued to conduct Society affairs much as they always had, albeit with less Board dissension. Contrary to Gonzalez's assurances to Baird, park management remained primarily the Executive Director's responsibility. But, there was noticeable progress in park management. With the full-time assistance of Peace Corps Volunteers, and with MacArthur Foundation and Wild Wings Foundation grant support, infrastructure improvements that closely followed CATIE's earlier recommendations were undertaken at the CTWS, Guanacaste Park, and at Blue Hole National Park.⁵⁶ Access was improved at these sanctuaries, trails were cleared (or recleared), signs were posted, modest visitor displays and facilities were constructed, and park brochures were produced. The most improved park under BAS supervision was the WWF-US sponsored CBWS. After a two week long WWF-US sponsored Operational Planning Workshop was

⁵⁶The Blue Hole National Park was created in late 1986 on land donated to the GOB exclusively for establishing a park.

conducted for the sanctuary in early 1987, and with more than \$80,000 in WWF-US grants (1987-1988), the CBWS became the cornerstone of Belize's national park system. A park director and three wardens, all residents of a nearby village, were employed. With the assistance of a Peace Corps Volunteer, they began developing the park for nature-oriented tourism in accordance with a detailed operational plan. During the first nine months of 1988, more than 1700 individuals visited the CBWS including foreign tourists, local and foreign students, and more than 70 Belizean school teachers. The success of the CBWS was highlighted in 1988 when 15 members of the WWF-US Board of Directors and Prince Philip, President of WWF-International, visited the park and gave an award for conservation merit to the Head Warden.⁵⁷

Despite this progress in park management, the basic operation of BAS remained much the same. The BAS board of directors did little to clarify Society's goals or administrative procedures and its institution-building efforts remained unchanged. Perhaps more importantly, neither the Board nor the Executive Director kept Baird abreast of the Society's activities. In late October, again with the support of President Gonzalez, MAS halted its payments to BAS and requested a four year report on BAS accomplishments in park management, membership, endowment,

⁵⁷BAS, Report by the Executive Director on BAS accomplishments from June 1987 to October 1988.

and environmental advocacy. In late December, the Executive Director sent Baird a copy of his earlier report (BAS accomplishments from March 1985 to May 1987), which Baird had not seen before, and a follow up report on more recent BAS accomplishments.

After reviewing the reports and realizing that the Society's administrative operations had remained unchanged, and after it became clear that President Gonzalez was unable to establish a formal working relationship with the Executive Director, MAS decided to terminate its funding for the executive director position. In late January 1989 Baird addressed the BAS board and announced that MAS would not continue support for its executive director, but that it would provide minimal funding to keep the BAS office open. The Society's executive director position was immediately terminated.⁵⁸

This drastic reduction of financial support was the definitive end of the first stage of MAS's involvement in Belize. Rather than continue to pressure and impose its values on BAS, MAS focused on the development of the Programme For Belize. Helping to create a separate, more powerful, and dynamic organization for promoting Belizean conservation took definite precedence over the development of a local, grass-roots organization.

⁵⁸Baird, personal interview.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The relationship between MAS and BAS illustrates the difficulties of forging links between conservation groups from developed and developing nations. A variety of problems hampered the relationship, many of which were rooted in the different cultural values and perceptions of each organization. Many of the same basic problems MAS and BAS experienced will likely appear in similar relationships in the future as conservation groups in the developed world seek, much like MAS, to help their counterparts in developing nations. Moreover, these problems may occur under similar conditions given that Belize shares several commonalities with other developing countries. The existence of a small group of local conservationists, some with a foreign orientation, others with a more "nativist" perspective is one example. Another is the intimate NGO-government ties that often develop. This occurs when a financially and technically restricted local government is anxious to hand off some of its responsibilities while a local NGO sees assuming public responsibilities as a way of getting access to the government and of gaining official status. While NGO-government arrangements will seem to give considerable formal authority to the NGO, the NGO's resources are usually far more modest than their official

mandates. In addition, the NGO's ability to operate, as well as general conservation activity, is limited by highly politicized local environments where every public act has a political connotation, and where extensive lines of patronage and networks of mutual obligations exist.

Understanding the pitfalls and problems of this and other cooperative relationships is essential to building successful partnerships in the future. MAS, with its professional approach to conservation and concern for protecting wildlife habitat, clearly identified with Weyer's interests and enthusiasm towards establishing protected natural areas, but it misunderstood the values of the Society as a whole. On the surface it appeared as if BAS, having spearheaded the establishment of several protected areas and having been given the responsibility for managing them by the GOB, was a well-organized, cohesive organization that viewed and valued parks much as did MAS. But Weyer's interests were overshadowed by those of most of her Belizean colleagues, who had little understanding of the consequences of deforestation or of the problems associated with the decline of global biological diversity. Most Belizean Board members had a sincere appreciation of nature for its own sake. But with no pervasive or obvious threats to their nation's natural resources, they had little concrete basis for understanding the sense of urgency foreign conservationists expressed towards Belize. Consequently,

their approach to the environment was less urgent than those of their international sponsors. In fact, while establishing a series of parks and reserves was Weyer's primary motivation for forming BAS (Chapter II), Price's relatives were more interested in promoting a general appreciation of nature at their leisure.

The misunderstanding of BAS's values at the outset of the relationship led to further problems. By offering financial support without discussing the Society's park management or administrative objectives, MAS left its expectations of the Society open to interpretation. It was not clear to BAS leaders exactly what steps it needed to take to satisfy MAS, beyond hiring an executive director. The Board initially saw MAS's support as a donation to be used in any manner without fear of condemnation. As a result, it was not compelled to clarify its administrative procedures and gave little thought to the need for specific objectives, much less the development of strategies to achieve them.

Organizations have different abilities and operating styles. Understanding the strengths and weaknesses of one's own organization as well as those of one's partner can be critical to effective cooperative strategies. When Baird paid a visit to Belize in early 1986 and realized that little progress had been made in park management, he perceived the problem not as a managerial or procedural one,

but one of administrative capacity that could be rectified by allowing the executive director to work full-time. Having maintained only limited contact with BAS, Baird did not know that Craig's appointment was part of the backlash from an early, internally-driven attempt to reorganize the Society's leadership. He was also unaware of the deep divisions forming over Craig's handling of the Society's operations. Lacking this information, MAS inadvertently contributed to the problem by dealing directly with Craig rather than the entire Board.

The absence of clear communication channels and the hands-off approach MAS adopted (in part to protect itself from accusations of imperialism) led to further problems. After Baird requested a revised budget from Craig, and after the Executive Director began working full-time, MAS remained unaware of the Board's confusion over who exactly Craig worked for. It was not until late 1986, through a third party, that MAS learned of the confusion, which by then had become entrenched.

After Baird became aware that Craig was contending that he (Craig) had a personal agreement with MAS (which Craig might have actually believed), Baird attempted to clarify MAS's relationship with the Society. But miscommunication continued as MAS became a more active, demanding partner. The outline ('Belize Audubon Planning Guide,' Appendix C) Baird wrote regarding the Society's general development and

its park management plans was sent personally to Craig. It was not until after the Executive Director failed to respond to Baird's concerns satisfactorily that the Board learned of MAS's specific concerns and dissatisfaction with BAS's progress. Yet specific Society actions or programs--such as fundraising and environmental advocacy--were not discussed in the original BAS-MAS agreement. The atmosphere surrounding the relationship had suddenly become one of confrontation rather than mutual understanding and cooperation.

Underlying MAS's efforts to urge BAS into taking action was a basic misunderstanding of the Society's managerial capacity. MAS assumed from the outset that BAS leaders knew what needed to be done and that they had the capacity to put their thoughts into action. Other than a seminar Craig attended on parks management in mid-1985 (sponsored by WWF-US), the Executive Director had no background in park management or planning. Developing individual parks, or a system of national parks, is a complex process which requires a tremendous amount of human, financial, and technical resources.¹ Neither the Executive Director nor any of the volunteer Board members were trained in the operation of non-profit organizations. Although the Florida Audubon Society gave the original birders a general organizational structure, they knew little about the

¹See for example, Miller, Planning National Parks.

fundamentals of institution-building. BAS leaders were not professional planners, fundraisers, or lobbyists. They were volunteers, most of whom had full-time jobs. If BAS was going to become an active environmental advocate and a so-called strong voice for Belizean conservation, it needed not only to have clear goals and administrative procedures, but also a basic understanding of the fundamentals of project planning and execution, program evaluation, fundraising, and membership development.² Also, environmental activism and protecting wildlife habitat were relatively new concepts in Belize. Exactly what or how either should be accomplished posed many complex questions that required thought and debate before they could be pursued with any clarity of purpose.

Other factors influenced the relationship. The simple infusion of money into the Society led to unforeseen consequences. MAS's money became a source of power whose control meant the authority to direct the Society. Although the downfall of the Price government played into the attempt by Weyer and the other Board members to reorganize the Society's leadership, the primary motive behind their action was to gain control over the money MAS provided (for a paid employee and the opening of an office). Without the money, Weyer and the others perceived little hope for reform, but

²See, for example, Nature Conservancy International Program, Resources for success: A manual for conservation organizations.

once MAS committed its support, the possibility of redefining the Society's administrative operations was greater than it had ever been. The money offered Weyer and the others a sense of hope, an unparalleled opportunity. Also, coupled with miscommunication and misunderstanding, the money became a source of power for the Executive Director. Once Craig was appointed, he became the central figure in the Society's operations yet he was not compelled to satisfy interests other than those of his relatives on the Board. When other Board members opposed or confronted him regarding his actions, he claimed that he worked for MAS because MAS was paying his salary. The money became a way to avoid accountability.

BAS operated under the shadow of the Belizean Government as well as within Belizean cultural norms. BAS could not simply do what others wanted it to do; it had a legal obligation to get GOB approval for park management and development activities. BAS was also obliged to avoid confrontation with the political establishment. Politics pervades virtually all aspects of Belizean society and learning to cope with local political reality is essential to the well being of any Belizean, or international, organization.³ When the Price-led PUP government was

³One scholar of Belizean history and sociopolitical culture wrote that in Belize, politics "is personalized, and factional struggles within or between parties are often characterized by strong personal loyalties and attacks. Hence, issues are often obscured by both hero worship and

defeated in the national elections, shortly after MAS and BAS had reached their initial agreement, BAS found itself with few ties to the new UDP government. Besides having been given the authority to manage parks, BAS had a weekly spot on the government-run radio. Given its political affiliation with the PUP, it was compelled to avoid confrontation with the UDP government at all cost. Otherwise, BAS was certain to lose whatever favor it might have had with the party in power.

Another important factor in shaping the relationship between MAS and BAS was the different approaches used by international CNGOs towards BAS. MAS was the only organization providing money for the Society's institutional development. WCI, WWF-US, WWNGF, and other groups provided grants or in-kind support, for example, providing plans or materials for park management, to BAS, but their support was project-specific. Little, if any, grant money went to assist BAS with its general administrative costs, much less the development of its administrative, managerial, or technical capacity.

Although most international CNGOs supporting BAS understood that BAS was having administrative and managerial difficulties, some even complained to MAS about it, they were reluctant to express their concerns to BAS or to help MAS try to rectify the problems. In early 1987, a

mudslinging." (Bolland, Belize: A New, p.119)

consultant to WWF-US, the same individual who held the two-week operational planning workshop for the CBWS, recommended that WWF-US help BAS "establish organizational objectives and define a structure to achieve those objectives."⁴ But like its counterpart CNGOs, WWF-US did little toward this end. While MAS was expressing its concerns and pressuring BAS to take action, fellow CNGOs were voicing approval of BAS, but only with respect to the progress of specific projects (parks). For example, at the same meeting of the BAS board that Baird announced the PFB initiative (November 5, 1987), a WWF-US representative stated that "marvelous progress has been made" at the CBWS.⁵ He then presented BAS leaders with a check for \$25,000 of \$46,000 approved for the sanctuary's continued development and management. Thus, despite sharing a common vested interest in the welfare of BAS, MAS and WWF-US gave conflicting signals to BAS regarding its institutional capacity to manage. The desire to move ahead with certain internationally-sponsored projects (parks) tended to overshadow the need to help BAS develop a sound institutional base.

The success of the Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary and other projects of this kind, as compared to the MAS-BAS

⁴Moore, Letter from Wildlands Consultant to Dennis Glick, WWF-US Central American Regional Representative, 19 April 1987.

⁵The information in this and the following sentence is from BAS, Minutes of the meeting of the board of directors, October 29 and continued on November 5, 1987.

partnership, is troubling. These projects employ Belizeans in some capacity, but the values and skills they embody are foreign. These projects have few or no roots in native culture or native appreciation of nature. They do relatively little to develop local conservation sentiment or institutions. Nor do they create a climate in which local groups, with far fewer resources and conservation skills, are likely to flourish or show much initiative.

Empowering local conservation institutions from abroad, as exemplified by the MAS's relationship with BAS, is not an easy process, yet in the long-run it must at least complement more direct approaches. The relationship between MAS and BAS appears to hold several practical lessons for those who would try to build similar partnerships in the future. First, goals and expectations must be based on a firm knowledge of local values and administrative capabilities. Understanding the basic operation and the administrative and technical capacity of the host group is essential for developing reasonable expectations of progress. Internal and external limiting factors, for example, ill-defined administrative procedures and local politics, must be identified and taken into consideration. Second, the relationship should follow a strategic plan with the terms of agreement mutually agreed upon and stated in writing. At the same time, local groups should be encouraged to develop their own strategies based on their

knowledge of local conditions. An international CNGO working in close cooperation with a local group can help the group clarify its own objectives, determine its needs for administrative and technical training in areas such as public relations, fundraising, and park management, and devise an appropriate plan of action. The strategic plan should include periods of review to evaluate progress, redefine priorities if necessary, and ensure adequate oversight. The plan should also be flexible enough to allow for unforeseen problems and for needs not identified in earlier discussions. Having the plan in writing will help avoid misunderstandings once funding begins. Finally, communication channels for ongoing dialogue between the two organizations should be established and maintained. Without them, the potential for confusion, and eventually, ill will, is enormous.

This case study of the partnership between the Massachusetts Audubon Society and the Belize Audubon Society illustrates that a relationship between a local and international conservation organization will not succeed simply because there is a superficial confluence of interest. Constructing a successful cooperative partnership requires much time and skill, as well as a mutual understanding of organizational interests, abilities, and values. While promoting the internal development of local institutions poses a complex and formidable challenge,

developing effective relationships between local and international conservation groups is necessary if biological conservation is ever to fuse into a truly global movement.

CHAPTER V

EPILOGUE

Three months after MAS terminated its financial support for BAS's executive director position, it reinitiated funding to BAS at the original amount agreed upon in 1984 (\$12,000). The resumption of payments was in part a response to the Society's efforts to initiate an alternative park management strategy that decentralized the authority over each park. Under the new plan, project committees (e.g. Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary Committee) would handle part of yearly funding allocations after providing progress reports to a central committee.¹ Also, with the assistance of a WWF-US representative, BAS wrote a report outlining the Society's activities, goals, and responsibilities.² The report, which included "target data" that could be used to evaluate progress, was submitted to MAS and other groups for funding purposes. MAS's support of BAS was now on a year-to-year basis and contingent on a favorable review of Society progress.

World Wildlife Fund-US sponsored a strategic management workshop in April 1990 designed to assist BAS with its

¹For example, a \$20,000 grant might be divided into \$5,000 blocks requiring quarterly reports before allocating the next block.

²Gonzalez, personal interview.

institutional development.³ Through a series of brainstorming sessions, the eleven participants at the workshop, led by a WWF-US "facilitator," evaluated the present management of Belize's protected natural areas and made recommendations for BAS' future institutional development. As a result, the BAS board agreed that it was "imperative" to restructure BAS to better meet its challenges. The Board also began preparing action plans for the Society's major activities, including: 1) the management of reserves and the creation of new protected areas; 2) influencing resource use; 3) promoting environmental education; 4) improving the Society's public image and public relations; and, 5) collecting and disseminating environmental information. BAS also hired a Wildlands Management Officer in 1990 and, with the support of the Programme For Belize, an Office Manager.⁴

Meanwhile, the People's United Party led by George Price defeated the United Democratic Party in September 1989 in the national elections. BAS President Gonzalez resigned his position with BAS the following June (after the workshop) to become the Chief Environmental Officer in the

³BAS, Belize Audubon Society Bulletin 22(1) (January-June, 1990):3,7.

⁴The Programme For Belize (PFB) received a grant to help pay for the training of Belizeans in natural resource management positions. As a result, the PFB offered to pay the salary of an individual that BAS would train as its office manager (Baird, personal interview).

newly created Ministry of Tourism and the Environment. BAS Vice President Janet Gibson, who recently had received the newly created Goldman Environment Prize for her work in establishing the Hol Chan Marine Reserve,⁵ assumed the presidency and continued to help lead the rebuilding of BAS. As she put it:

The Belize Audubon Society has a new vision
for the decade of the 90's. . . .
.
. . . with a willingness to change and adapt to
meet the new challenges, I am sure we will be
ready to enter the 21st century as a vibrant
Society with a strong sense of purpose and
commitment.⁶

⁵Belizean Janet Gibson was chosen as one of six "grass-roots heroes" from around the world for the Goldman Environmental Prize "for men and women of vision and courage who take great risks for the environment." See Time, 23 April 1990.

⁶BAS, Belize Audubon Society Bulletin 22(1) (January-June, 1990):3.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PARKS AND NATURE RESERVES IN BELIZE
1990

<u>Year</u>	<u>Park/Reserve</u>	<u>Type^a</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Mgmt. Status^b</u>
1968	Columbia Forest Nature Reserve ¹	T	9,000	U
1973*	Guanacaste Park ¹	T	52	A
1977	Bird Caye in Northern Lagoon ¹	Mb	--	U
1977	Cayo Pajaros ¹	Mb	--	U
1977	Dubloon Bank Caye ¹	Mb	--	U
1977	Man-o-War Caye in the Tobacco Range ¹	Mb	--	U
1977	Small unnamed caye in Northern Lagoon ¹	Mb	--	U
1977	Small unnamed caye off Sand Point ¹	Mb	--	U
1977	Unnamed offshore mangrove caye near Monkey River Town ¹	Mb	--	U
1982	Half Moon Caye Natural Monument ²	B,M	10,080	A
1984	Crooked Tree Wildlife Sanctuary ²	B,T	3,632	A
1985	Community Baboon Sanctuary ⁴	T	1,920	A,P
1986	Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary ²	T	3,640	A
1986	Blue Hole National Park ²	T	575	A
1986	Society Hall Nature Reserve ²	T	6,741	P
1987	Hol Chan Marine Reserve ³	M	3,200	F
1987	Shipstern Nature Reserve ⁴	T	20,480	
1988	Rio Bravo Resource Management and Conservation Area ⁴	T	152,000	P
1989	Monkey Bay Wildlife Sanctuary ⁴	T	1,080	P
1990	Bladen Branch Nature Reserve ²	T	97,000	?

* officially dedicated in June 1988.

Source: Belize Center for Environmental Studies.

^aB=bird rookery; Mb=mangrove bird rookery; M=marine; T=terrestrial.

^bA=managed by Belize Audubon Society; F=managed by the Fisheries Department of the Belizean Government; P=managed privately; U=under no active management or abandoned.

¹Crown Reserve under Crown Lands Ordinance (1924).

²Protected Area under National Parks System Act (1981).

³Marine Reserve under Fisheries Ordinance (?).

⁴Private protected area--no legal protection.

APPENDIX B

BELIZE AUDUBON SOCIETY

Post Office Box 6
Belize City
February 1st, 1985

Dear

~~The sixteenth Annual General Meeting~~ of the Belize Audubon Society will be held on Tuesday, ~~February 19th, 1985~~, at the Bliss Institute, commencing at 8 p.m. At this meeting, there will be reading of reports and election of officers and members of the Board of Directors.

Before the business meeting, Dr. Rob Horwich will give an illustrated talk on "Baboons of Belize".

The Nominations Committee, consisting of Vice President W. Ford Young as chairman and Mrs. Dora Weyer, Mrs. Meg Craig and Father L.E. Dieckman, S.J. as members, has presented the following proposed slate of officers and directors:

President	- Mr. W. Ford Young
First Vice President	- Mrs. Dora Weyer
Second Vice President	- Ms. Diane Weyer
Third Vice President	- Mrs. Janet Gibson
Secretary	- Mrs. Lou Nicolait
Treasurer	- Ms. Flor David 6
Directors	- Mr. Philip Balderamos
	Father L.E. Dieckman, S.J.
	Dr. Victor Gonzales
	Mr. Jude Lizama
	Mr. Martin Meadows
	Mrs. Jean Shaw
	Mr. Henry Tromm
	Mr. James A. Waight
	Mrs. Lydia Waight 9

To be members of the Executive Committee (which is made up of the officers and any other two members of the Board of Directors), the Nominations Committee has nominated Dr. Victor Gonzales and Mr. Martin Meadows.

Nominations will also be called for from the floor. Members are asked to ascertain beforehand whether persons they nominate are willing to serve as officers or directors.

All members are urged to make a special effort to attend this Annual General Meeting. Any voting member, unable to be present, who wishes to do so, may appoint a proxy by filling out the form given below and sending it to the secretary.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. J. A. Waight
Secretary
BELIZE AUDUBON SOCIETY

PROXY FORM

I
being a member of the Belize Audubon Society, do hereby appoint
M
as my proxy to vote for me and on my behalf at the 16th Annual General Meeting to be held on Tuesday, February 19th, 1985, at 8 p.m. at the Bliss Institute, Belize City, and at any adjournment thereof.

.....
Signature

APPENDIX C



Massachusetts Audubon Society

*South Great Road
Lincoln, Massachusetts 01773
(617) 259-9500*

March 6, 1987

Mr. Walter Craig, Ex. Director
Belize Audubon Society
49 Southern Foreshore
P O Box 1001
Belize City, Belize

Dear Mick,

Everytime I visit Belize, I find myself more and more impressed with the enormous responsibilities that Belize Audubon has shouldered in the past few years. And following my last visit, I thought that it might be useful to prepare an outline of just what the tasks are and how you plan to attack them. Clearly, this outline is sketchy at best and undoubtedly has skipped important areas of responsibility, but it is a start. I hope that we will have an opportunity to discuss this in detail during my upcoming visit.

Best regards,


James Baird
Vice President

JB:km

cc: Gonzalez

Belize Audubon Planning Guide

- I. Reserves in need of management programs
 1. Coxcomb Jaguar Reserve
 2. Guanacaste
 3. Half Moon
 4. Blue Hole
 5. Society Hall
 6. Upper Bladen
 7. others, such as Saltwater Crocodile Reserve
Manatee Reserve
Glover's Reef Reserve
Bald Hills Reserve
Karst Hills Reserve
Mangrove Reserve
- II. Cooperative management plans needed at:
 1. Altun Ha
 2. Forestry Reserves
 3. others?
- III. Management to include
 1. Protection plan
 2. Inspection plan
 3. Development of ecological inventory
 4. Development of specific ecological management plan
- IV. Development of conservation - action plan for acquisition of targeted properties by government and others
- V. Development of plans to increase membership in BAS
- VI. Development of plans to increase BAS endowment
- VII. Development of long range plan to actively assist government in developing capability to manage parks
- VIII. Develop action plan & capability to act as conservation spokesperson in Belize

March 6, 1987

APPENDIX D

BELIZE AUDUBON SOCIETY

To members of the Board of Directors:

At the Board of Directors meeting held on Thursday, November 5th, 1987, it was decided that the Executive Director should be given an opportunity to answer the comments made by Board members in their evaluation of the performance of his duties. There will therefore be a meeting of the Board on Thursday, November 12th, 1987, at 4:15 p.m., at the BAS office.

Attached is a summary of the results of the evaluation sheets sent to members, as well as verbal and written comments made.

Please attend this important meeting, at which it is proposed that a decision be made regarding the continued employment of the Executive Director.

Lydia Wright
Secretary

BELIZE AUDUBON SOCIETY

November 6th, 1987

PERSONNEL EVALUATION SHEET

6 individuals filled out sheets. The results of these evaluations are summarized below.

4 letters were received

Comments:

- diligent when it comes to working hours.
- tight-fisted approach much desired quality.
- impeccable integrity and honesty and efficiency.
- need for monthly report.
- need for work place away from distractions.
- President and other directors should visit office more often.
- united front at home and abroad -- negative comment and criticism aired at board meetings.
- fund-raising and international matters to be done by President (?)
- give specific directions.
- Executive Director should report to President daily.
- too much work for Executive Director, especially fund-raising.
- employer/employee situation needs clearing.
- "work plan" to be drawn up for project and given to Executive Director.
- performance is responsibility of Board, not solely Executive Director.

Additional comments:

- not aware of any directives/instructions given to Executive Director by Board so evaluation difficult to do.
- not prepared to do an evaluation
- Executive Director not interested in job; people unwelcomed at office
- negative approach to just about everything; hides information from Board members.
- no good relations with government.
- little done in field for amount of time spent there.
- lack of managerial know-how.
- does not listen to Board; sees himself as not having to report to anyone save a select few.

VITA

Michael Stafford Mitchell was born in Austin, Texas on March 13, 1964. He was graduated from Pflugerville High School in May 1982 and the following September he entered Stephen F. Austin State University. He later attended Southwest Texas State University where in December 1986 he received a Bachelor of Arts degree (cum laude) in Geography with a Resource and Environmental Studies emphasis and a minor in Agriculture.

In the fall of 1987 he accepted a teaching assistantship with the Department of Geography at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and began study toward a Master's degree. This degree was awarded in December 1990.

The author received the Robert G. Long Graduate Student of the Year in Geography award in May 1990, and he is a member of the Association of American Geographers, Gamma Theta Upsilon, Golden Key and Alpha Chi national honor societies. He and his wife, Joanna, live in Austin, Texas.