# HONDURAS: a Risk Assessment Brief

Paper and presentation by

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Based on the CIFP Risk Assessment Methodology

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### **BACKGROUND**

#### Timeline



- 1502: Columbus lands on Trujillo.
- 1821: Independence from Spain.
- 1969: "Soccer war" between Honduras and El Salvador.
- 1979: Honduras inundated with Nicaraguan and El Salvadorian refugees escaping repression.
- 1981: Civilian government re-established after 18 year military rule.
- 1992: Demarcation of El Salvador/ Honduras border.
- 1998: Hurricane Mitch.
- 1990s: LA Riots lead to the deportation of Central American gang members from the US.
- 2003: US CAFTA
- 2006: Manuel Zelaya from the Liberal Party of Honduras (PLH) becomes President.

### **Indicators**

### Governance, Political Stability & Security

- STABILIZING
  - Stable, pluralistic democracy
  - Free and fair elections
  - Freedom of religion and academia; freedom of association and residence
  - Free press

#### • DESTABILIZING

- Fledgling democracy
- Official corruption in police, judiciary and media
- Attacks on government authorities (in relation to war on crime)
- Media ownership by elites; occasional politically-motivated attacks on press
- Highest gang membership in Central America.

- Extrajudicial executions and arbitrary arrests undermine democratic development.
- Corruption discourages foreign investment, exacerbates latent conflict.
- Gang activities promote insecurity and impair economic development.

# **Indicators**

### Demographic Stress

- STABILIZNG
  - Low level of population growth.
- DESTABILIZING
  - Increased urbanization
  - Large population of street children.
    - Youth bulge (14 29): 29.3%
    - Very low secondary school enrollment
    - Youth unemployment rate: 7.9 % (2004)

- Unemployed youth not in school precludes development of skills for pursuit of higher education or skilled employment necessary for future development.
- Provide fertile recruiting pool for gangs and other armed militant groups.

### Economic Performance & Development

- STABILIZING
  - Growth in GDP and GDP per capita
  - Control of inflation
  - FDI doubled between 2000 and 2004
  - International debt relief of \$1.387 billion; declining debt-servicing to exports ratio.

#### • DESTABILIZING

- Reduced trade openness; inequality in wealth distribution
- 65% of population below poverty level of \$2US/day
- 28% unemployment rate
- Dependence on remittances and foreign aid.

#### • RISK ASSESSMENT

 Vulnerability due to potential for import dependency, inequality in distribution, dependency on remittances and foreign aid.

#### Militarization

- STABILIZING
  - Low level of military expenditure: \$5.6 million (0.7% of GDP) in 2005.
  - Reduction from peak of  $\approx 18,500$  personnel (1990 1997) to 12,000 (2003).
- DESTABILIZING
  - Military has authority over legal transfer/ distribution of small arms
    - Military has been implicated in a number of illegal small arms trafficking scandals.

- Military authority over transfer/distribution of small arms could be problematic in light of history of involvement in small arms trafficking, which can lead to national and regional destabilization.
- Increase in military personnel from 8,000 to 12,000 in 2003 may indicate a potential for re-militarization of society.

#### Human Development

- STABILIZING
  - Increased access to improved drinking water and to proper sanitation.
  - 91% and 13.3% enrollment in primary and tertiary schools respectively
- DESTABILIZING
  - High infant (31%) and maternal mortality rates (110/100,000 births)
  - High rate of children in labour force (II.4% of children 7 I4 years of age)
- RISK ASSESSMENT
  - Infant and maternal mortality rates are a serious concern, indicating that much progress remains to be made in primary health care.
  - Child labour perpetuates lack of educational opportunities for this youth cohort.

#### Environmental Stress

- DESTABILIZING
  - 14.4% rate of deforestation
  - Land degradation and soil erosion due to uncontrolled rate of urbanization and development
  - Loss of mangrove swamps (important in th emitigation of hurricane risk damage) to shrimp farming
  - I1% increase in energy use; Honduras is a net energy importer at 13.5 million barrels per year.

#### • <u>RISK ASSESSMENT</u>

- Environmental degradation shows litte signs of abating. Proneness to hurricane damage is a concern.
- Dependence on imported fuel could hold the economy and society hostage to sudden, large-scale increases in world oil prices. Such an external shock would wreak havoc at all levels of society.

### International Linkages

#### • STABILIZING

- Ambitious economic programs by international institutions
- UN organizations active in capacity building, public health, gender issues etc...
- US military assistance in anti-drug trafficking operations
- Presence of renowned development agencies and advocacy groups
- Active civil organizations and labour movement
- Honduran Diaspora able to vote in Honduran elections

#### • DESTABILIZING

- Porous borders with neighbours in the region permit two-way traffic in illicit small arms, drugs and other criminal/gang-related activity.
- Deportation of gang members from the US in the 80s led to the proliferation of gangs in Central America, namely Honduras
- Emigrant male/female ratio of 9:I

- Programs by international community in partnership with Honduran agencies have significant potential to redress many of the issues threatening the country's stability.
- Porous borders continue to frustrate government and international attempts to address pressing issues of crime, drugs, small arms flow and refugee movements.

### Population Heterogeneity

- STABILIZING
  - Little potential for ethnic or religious fractionalization
- DESTABILIZING
  - Sporadic low-level oppression of minorities, especially indigenous groups and those advocating for land rights
- RISK ASSESSMENT
  - Risk of ethnic violence is low given the small number of minorities involved and their geographical dispersion.

### History of Armed Conflict

- STABILIZING
  - Limited history of armed inter-state conflict (largely border disputes)
- DESTABILIZING
  - Implication of both military and police authorities in "death-squad" activities in the 1980s
- RISK ASSESSMENT
  - Use of military in an anti-crime role could encourage the return of the use of military in an oppressive role.

# **Stakeholders**

#### Internal

- STABILIZING
  - Honduran government under President Jose Manuel Zelaya
  - Civil society
- DESTABILIZING
  - Organized crime groups (gangs/maras) are Central America's main problem.
- AMBIGUOUS
  - Private sector
  - -Honduran Diaspora
- RISK ASSESSMENT

# Stakeholders

#### External

- STABILIZING
  - Bilateral and foreign aid donors
  - NGOs
- DESTABILIZING
  - US (historical foreign policy)
  - Regional countries (El Salvador, Columbia, Nicaragua)
- AMBIGUOUS
  - Canada and US
- RISK ASSESSMENT

### **Scenarios**

#### Best Case

- Successful anti-crime and anti-corruption programs
- US military support seals borders, interdicts drugs and narcotics traffickers, stems
- Military demobilized, security forces modernized and democratized
- Efforts to eradicate poverty and equalize distribution of wealth are successful.
- Stable world commodity and oil prices
- Migrant workers send remittances home
- Foreign debt serviced and retired, cash-flow saving used for social programs

### **Scenarios**

#### Worst Case

- President Zelaya succumbs to corruption, pays only lip-service to eradicating gang activity and crime
- Military becomes more repressive and less accountable
- Drop in world commodity and oil prices resulting in a drop of imports leading to unemployment
- External shocks cause government to default on social programs and especially education
- Latent conflict turns into open civil war
- Military attempts coup heralding a more oppressive military regime than the last
- Military and political elites join forces with organized crime

### **Scenarios**

#### Most Likely Case

- Zelaya enjoys moderate success in anti-crime/anti-corruption programs without military involvement
- International trainers brought in to educate Honduran security forces in democratic policing.
- Efforts to address poverty and other issues achieve marked success
- •World commodity and fuel prices do not threaten fragile economy
- Governance and economic capacity improve to deal with societal and other forms of conflict
- Maras continue to recruit and proliferate to critical levels within Honduras and abroad making inroads into countries like Canada and US
- Potential conflict lays dormant awaiting an igniting event

