Frameworks For Assessing Resilience in Guatemala

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Introduction

Interpeace is an international organization whose mission is to assist polarized or violent conflict-afflicted societies to strengthen their social and institutional capacities necessary for preventing violence and building peace. At Interpeace, we understand that peacebuilding is only possible with the commitment of different groups and actors that make up a society to renounce the use of violence as a means of solving their problems and conflicts which are inherent to social and political life. This entails overcoming distrust and separation that underlie the dynamics of polarization and violence by strengthening those elements of social cohesion and legitimacy of politics institutions that allow for effective prevention, management and transformation of violent conflict in society. Instead of working with different actors and groups separately, Interpeace seeks – through dialogue and strengthening the bonds of trust - to bridge the gap that separates them and promote the development of operational strategies that will allow them to address the challenges they face in a collaborative fashion.

Over more than ten years of work in the region, Interpeace's Regional Office for Latin America based in Guatemala has developed a variety of experiences in processes of consolidation of peace by facilitating the convergence of different sectors around initiatives undertaken by social actors and the State that would thereafter be implemented within their own frameworks of social and political action.

The experience accumulated by Interpeace over more than twenty years of working in conflictive zones in five continents underlines the need to better understand the specific challenges of peacebuilding in each context and improve operational strategies by adapting them to each specific case. This requires that attention not only be focused on the negative aspects of conflicts that lead to violence but also to identify existing capacities in society to overcome situations of conflict and violence so that strategies devised to transform conflicts do not only address causes and trigger-mechanisms of conflicts but also the strengthening of existing capacities of different social groups and institutions to face them collaboratively.

Nonetheless, the dominant perspective of international interventions in peacebuilding tends to concentrate only on reducing the negative influence of those conflicts in society. In this sense, and with the intention of contributing to international efforts on behalf of peacebuilding, Interpeace has joined in an effort

that, over the past years, has been supported by different international aid groups and venues at a global level to explore the contribution that the notion of resilience can make to these efforts.

While it is true that the notion of resilience and its various applications changes according to the nature of the discipline which uses it, for the purposes of peacebuilding the concept refers to the capacity that exists in a society – in any of its social or institutional surroundings - to cope with, overcome, and emerge strengthened from situations of violent conflict. While exploring not only the violent phenomenon but also the conditions that enable a society to confront it, a resilience perspective has the potential to contribute to the identification of existing capacities to confront the challenges imposed by violent conflict.

In this context, Interpeace has initiated the "Frameworks for Assesing Resilience" project as a process to explore the mechanisms by which people face conflictive situations that affect them. Under this project, Interpeace seeks to address the contribution of the resilience perspective to peacebuilding on the basis of those principles and values which are fundamental to the organization: wide-based participation of actors involved in the problem, listening to their voice, and their ownership appropriation of the processes as a basis for the legitimacy and sustainability necessary for the consolidation of peace.

In light of the tendency to define resilience from external perspectives and, in the majority of cases, under terms which are alien to the contexts and the people where work is undertaken, the general objective of the "Frameworks for Assesing Resilience" is to contribute to the global debate on this issue on the basis of the perspective of local actors and the identification of guidelines for action that emerge from participatory processes in various countries. It is within that framework that this process is being implemented simultaneously in three countries: East Timor, Liberia, and Guatemala, with the aim in mind of expanding the debate by comparing the experiences of three different cases.

The choice of the case of Guatemala was based on the contribution it could make to this debate on resilience and peacebuilding from the experience of a society which twenty years after the signing of peace accords is still characterized by a weak State and the persistence of conflictive and violent dynamics that have continued to adapt and change over the course of the years. This provides a different perspective from that of the other two countries, en which this same process is being undertaken in contexts which are closer in time to previous conflicts.

In the specific case of Guatemala, the objective of this process was to provide national actors with a conceptual and action framework that, on the basis of a participatory identification of the forms in which resilience is expressed in our society, allowed us to identify the existing capacities in society for the transformation of conflicts in nonviolent ways and, thereby, enhance them.

In concrete terms, the participatory process proposed by Interpeace for Guatemala seeks to identify and analyze different resilience factors derived from the ways in which societies and their institutions confront the effects of conflicts and their violent expressions. This objective will be achieved by a broadly-based participatory process based on the methodology of Participatory Action-Based Research (PAR) that Interpeace has adapted for its use.

Under this perspective, the participatory process that Interpeace promoted became an opening where the participants could seek a consensus. In this sense, dialogue was not an objective in itself but a mechanism that allowed the actors to converge around problems that had been identified collectively.

This methodology entailed working through different complementary phases: exploratory phase, consultation phase, implementation of PAR phase (national project group and thematic working groups), quantitative phase (a national survey), and an evaluation and follow-up phase of the process.

On the basis of the consultation carried out in eleven departments in the country, four areas were identified where society expressed a capacity for resilience: insecurity and violence, socio-environmental conflicts, fragility of state institutions, and socio-economic fragility. These results were presented to the National Group, made up of actors that represented a variety of social sectors: businesspeople, politicians, representatives of civil society organizations, and individual experts, who agreed by consensus on two thematic groupings which were analyzed in depth for resilience: resilience in the face of insecurity and violence and resilience to socio-environmental conflicts. The other two themes were understood to cut across the entire process.

It should be pointed out that one of the key aspects was the capacity of the process to adapt to the political context. In this respect, the work of the groups had to be redefined as a result of the national crisis that began in the country in April 2015, during which the National Group had to decide to include another topic related to the corruption of the political system and its institutional precariousness within the analysis of the capacities for resilience of Guatemalan society. The Group decided to include a new topic for discussion to analyze the social protest that arose from the

corruption in the political system as an expression of the transformative capacity of society and to propose, as a product of that discussion, resilient options that would allow for structural transformations in the long term.

The Participatory Action Research (PAR) process actively involved a wide diversity of social actors and their commitment to identify capacities and to search for joint mechanisms to improve them. A convergence of committed actors in the process was sought in order to achieve, without disregard for their differences, points of agreement that would lead to a search for solutions.

The political and participatory process allowed the national actors to put forward consensus-based proposals aimed at strengthening the capacities for resilience of Guatemalan society and increasing its capacity to act in the face of the problem it faces. In this sense, the "Frameworks for Assesing Resilience" project represents the beginning of a long-range process that is not concluded with the results that have been achieved. The outcomes that emerged from the process are the basis for a strengthening of the convergence of the actors in order to implement joint actions.

In addition to the concrete proposals achieved by the working groups, mention should be made of the value and pertinence of the concept of resilience and its relation to some of the topics and key debates in the field of peacebuilding. Its importance and pertinence is also evident in the face of current discussions about policy in this field, especially with regards to peacebuilding and state building.

The field of peacebuilding can contribute to knowledge about resilience by thinking and acting as a means to better understand, involve, and assess the diverse levels and actors of a society, their leadership to promote change, and the complex relationships among them. This perspective can contribute to an increased recognition of the need to acquire concepts and tools that will facilitate a better understanding of how local actors and systems function and grow and how to better help them as a means to achieve self-sustaining peace.

Chapter 1. The theoretical debate and evolution of the concept of resilience

The concept of resilience is an example of the complexity that is involved when concepts that originate in a specific discipline are transferred and adapted and finally applied to another of a different nature. As developed initially in engineering and physics for the study of specific qualities of materials, the concept was later applied to psychology for the study of the capacity of individuals to recover in the wake of traumatic situations. Subsequently, the social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, explored the concept to understand the capacity of social groups to overcome devastating situations such as natural disasters and wars. At this point, the conceptual debate about the term does not seek an absolute and homogeneous definition, something that was never contemplated by the social sciences, but looks to define it as precisely as possible in the light of that which is observed and, thereby, explained.

In undertaking this exercise, we run the risk of what in comparative studies is known as "conceptual stretching", the application of a concept to an ever wider variety and diversity of fields or to cases in contexts which are increasingly different one from another to the point that the concept loses it specific meaning as it gains in wider application.[1] In other words, the concept becomes more widely used in different fields but, at the same time, its meaning become increasingly vague.

The development of academic research recognizes that reduced vagueness, or an increase in conceptual precision, is a part of conceptual development itself and of academic activities. This is achieved through wide-ranging debate and the constant rebuttal and criticism of given postulates, perspectives, levels of abstraction, and definitions. The goal is to contribute to the diversity of tools available for observation of different realities, both individual and collective, that are required by academic endeavours.

However, the concept of resilience has not only been incorporated into the context of academic research but has also been appropriated by the field of interventions by international development agencies. This step has involved a number of conceptual debates with differing implications from those of academic debate, given that

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1   Sartori, G. (1970) Conceptual Misformation in Comparative Politics. *American Political Science Review* 64: 1033-53.

implementation, assessment, and consequences have a direct impact on people. In this sense, the search for conceptual clarity and precision go beyond the context of a theoretical debate and become a determining aspect of the success or failure of an intervention.

To date, the concept of resilience has transferred its academic vagueness to the context of international aid as a result, among other factors, of the absence of an empirical element that would validate its conceptual definition. This problem, which is fundamentally methodological, avoids to provide the notion of resilience with concrete points of reference that would allow for a clear outline of its innovative nature and contributions with regards to other concepts that have been explored previously. In other words, "old wine in new bottles." The main consequence of this problem is to accept as valid a set of premises about intervention which have been designed "from above" and which do not include the critical perspective of the people who are directly involved in the contexts of intervention.

As opposed to academic debates, interventions that seek to transform societies require critical references from the field in order to validate and legitimize the interventions themselves. Societies, and social groups specifically, that participate in interventions sponsored by international aid agencies are not passive recipients of their actions. On the contrary, a complex cognitive process of understanding and adaptation of the premises to the context determines, in great measure, whether the actions are accepted or rejected.

For this reason, the conceptual debate in the field of international intervention has a different objective from that of academic debate: to assure efficacy and relevance of actions that benefit the people. Instead of aiming at a consensus-based and specific concept, the theoretical notions, such as the concept of resilience, must undergo a process of appropriation on the part of the participants of an action that seeks to promote transformations. The different viewpoints of the academic debate are transferred to the political and social debate, where it is hoped that a collective construct will provide a practical sense to the use of a concept without losing its analytic and explanatory potential of a concrete reality.

This section attempts to describe the principal milestones of the "journey" of the concept: from its beginnings in engineering and the physical sciences, to its passage through psychology, ecology, and natural disaster management, and to its incursion in more abstract areas such as anthropology and sociology. The objective of this analysis is to differentiate, from a theoretical perspective, the contributions and shortcomings that the concept entails for the field of peacebuilding and, specifically, the participatory process within the framework of this project.

Resilience: from the concrete to the abstract, from the unique to the wide-ranging (but ambiguous)

From its beginnings, resilience has been an applied concept, that is, one that seeks to describe the specific and concrete characteristics of something, a reaction, a quality, a state etc. Instead of seeking to abstract a phenomenon, the concept attempts to give form to a series of specific qualities in order to make them available for practical use. The various disciplines that have adopted the use of the concept of resilience have assigned it elements of their own fields of endeavour, thereby converting it into a concept that is adaptable to different circumstances.

Engineering and the physical and materials sciences used resilience as a concept to define the qualities of an object to recover its original form after being subject to an event from an outside source. In this respect, resilience was understood as an attribute both specific and inherent to the object that allowed it to absorb that tension and return to its original condition. From this initial interpretation, two elementary characteristics of the definition of the concept can be derived: absorption and adaptation, that is, the quality of an object to absorb the tension produced by an external event and the capacity to adapt to it. The other element that is derived from this interpretation is the existence of an external event that exerts the tension (the shock) which, in turn, activates the aforementioned qualities.

In engineering and the physical and material sciences there exists the possibility, up to a point, of predicting external events and the response of the materials. However, when transferring the qualities of the concept as mentioned to other contexts, the level of prediction decreases. During the last three or four decades, resilience has been introduced, for example, into the study of ecological systems in support of scientists who seek to understand and respond to natural disasters from a perspective of the world as something complex and uncertain instead of ordered and predictable.

While the study of resilience developed in the field of socio-environmental systems, it evolved to address systemically an understanding of the impact of shocks or forces by recognizing the complex interactions of the response mechanisms in the social and environmental systems. It moved from a lineal and predictable way of thinking to a more "disordered" or complex perspective, more akin to living systems and the processes of change. In this field it was no longer possible to expect that events or disturbances would generate a response anticipated and conditioned by the nature

of the qualities of the object; instead, it became necessary to anticipate both the direct and indirect effects within a wider system, as well as its more complex and interrelated capacities to absorb shocks or disturbances.

Resilience in this context was conceived as the capacity of a system to be hit by a shock while conserving essentially the same function, structure, and identity or, potentially, maintaining the same relationship among the different components of the system. Resilience is expressed with reference to the magnitude of the disturbance that can be assimilated before the system changes its structure.

This field of application of the term incorporated the quality of restoration of the system in order to assure its preservation in the face of an event or tension. This perspective contributed a relational element of the term to the study of resilience in the field of the humanities, that is, resilience implies varied related and mutually dependent reactions so that it is not possible to isolate specific qualities outside the indirect effects that these have on other components of the system. This perspective opened up the doors to the use of the concept in the field of individual human behaviour and of the social systems.

These new uses of the concept determined that resilience is a relational phenomenon when observed in ecological and social systems instead of being only a specific attribute or quality that can be isolated from the multiple subcomponents of a system. It follows that resilience depends on the event and the tension to which it responds to, that is, the question of resilience "to what or in the face of what" is key to observe how in the social systems the relationships among the different components of the system create a series of complexities related to risk and protection factors that can occur at different levels (individual, familial, communal, environmental, etc.) and that can operate or impact at different "scales" (magnitudes) within very diverse and heterogeneous ecological or social contexts.

The use of the concept in the field of psychology resulted from diverse disciplinary interests. One of them was the use of the term to describe those groups or individuals who did not change their behaviours regardless of the adversities they faced. Diverse studies centred on the manner in which individuals and families responded to adversities and vulnerabilities such as poverty, concentration camps, natural disasters, etc. These studies frequently reflected the resilience paradigm as used in engineering by focusing on resilience as a set of psychological attributes rooted in individuals or families, which were understood, in turn, as the fundamental units of any society. This perspective underscored that resilience is an inherent attribute of people independently of the contextual factors from which events and tensions

originate. However, psychology is still debating the question over whether attributes and qualities of resilience are inherent or, instead, develop in individuals.

In spite of the multiple contributions by psychology the evolution of the concept, the criticism to that perspective centres on its excessive "western" outlook and its emphasis at the level of analysis of the individual and not so much on communities or collective experiences. In order to fill these gaps, social psychology has explored resilience among groups and communities that face events related to conflicts, violence, and traumas. The collective perspective emerged from the analysis of reactions of groups in the face of traumas and effects of violence either at a community level, in victim support groups, in acceptance and compensation within society, or reinsertion in communities of former combatants or underage soldiers. Psychosocial research of violence and conflicts goes beyond the condition of the victim and addresses aspects related to the role of the State in recovering interpersonal trust after violent events in the past. At the same time, the potential of expressions of resilience – both positive as well as negative – has been recognized in response to shocks, marginalization, and exclusion of social groups with shared identities.

The concept of resilience also made an important contribution in the field of preparedness against natural disasters by identifying long term actions instead of only focusing on immediate reactions in the wake of disasters. This has resulted in the development of specific definitions of "the resilience of disasters" as, for example, "the capacity to prevent, mitigate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from the impact of disasters." Resilience in the face of disasters focuses on the assets, the qualities, and the attributes of the community – and not so much on the individual. As expressed by Twigg: "A resilience perspective means placing a greater emphasis on what the communities can do for themselves and how to strengthen their capacities instead of focusing on their vulnerabilities in the face of a disaster o their needs in an emergency."[2]

To think of resilience as a concept that incorporates preventive elements was one of the contributions from the field of disaster assistance that helps to overcome a focus that is designed for relief efforts.

In general, the discussions and contributions derived from the different applications of the concept mentioned up to this point refer to events or shocks in which resilience is expressed or required that are external to individuals and their qualities. This situation changes when the concept is shifted and applied to fields such as

2   Twigg, J., "Characteristics of a Disaster Resilient Community". Prepared for the DFID Disaster Risk Reduction Interagency Coordination Group, 2007.

peacebuilding, where conflict (assumed to be a natural condition of social relations) or violence undermine the very foundations upon which the capacities for resilience of people are sustained: social cohesion, trust, cooperation, etc.

Resilience and peacebuilding

During the last years, in some international quarters a growing interest has emerged concerning the sources of fragility and resilience in the context of fragile and conflict-affected States. This interest represents a significant change in the way that conflicts and conflictive situations are perceived, which range all the way from focusing on those factors that generate conflict to seeking out the capacities of social groups that allow them to cope, that is, that allow societies, communities and institutions to anticipate risks, resolve problems in a collaborative and nonviolent way, respond creatively to conflicts and crises, and direct social change in such a manner that it transforms the structural bases of conflicts for the benefit of peace and development.

In this sense, peacebuilding finds points of coincidence with the discussions about the capacities of social groups to confront challenges that are imposed upon them by the fragility of the State and society. One of these points is to conceive of peace as more than point of destination that is defined automatically at the end of an armed conflict and consider it as a long-term process that aims to constantly strengthen social capacities in order to transform conflicts in nonviolent ways.

During its work in Guatemala, Interpeace has reckoned that the process of peacebuilding in the country requires addressing factors which determine social conflict. Interpeace recognizes that conflict is inherent in the political and social life of human groups insofar as they express a diversity of ideas, interests, and agendas. Thus, conflict is a positive influence for social change if it is kept within nonviolent channels. On the contrary, if conflict is badly handled it becomes a factor that heightens social tensions and can turn violent, thereby damaging the cohesion of social groups and the legitimacy of institutions.

The way in which conflict is understood is fundamental in defining the type of action that social change requires. In this regards, Interpeace seeks to establish an analytical difference between conflictive situations and conflicts. In the first case, reference is made to factors of a structural and long-term nature that over time reproduce the negative conditions that are expressed in diverse phenomena such as social polarization, distrust among people, violence and a lack of legitimacy in

public institutions. Conflicts, then, are the concrete and diverse expressions that are generated constantly among different social actors and which, in some cases, turn to violence. Conflicts vary over time with regards to their immediate causes but structural causes underlie them which, if not resolved, aggravate social relations constantly among groups and between them and the State.

At present, it is no longer possible to explain and address the situation in the country from a perspective of a post-war society. Peace, understood as a condition that followed after the end of the armed conflict, is an aspiration that was overwhelmed by the persistence of conflictive situations and by the various incomplete and limited reforms inherited from the post-war years. Guatemala's citizenry must face not only the effects of natural disasters but also persistent social phenomena such as poverty, inequality, corruption, and violence. In this sense, peacebuilding, as a framework for action geared to social change, deems it fundamental to transform conflicts in order to direct social forces towards common objectives that will overcome the obstacles to peaceful coexistence. This requires identifying not only the factors that produce conflicts but the capacities of social groups and institutions to confront them.

While the importance of an approach centred on the capacities for resilience of human groups that face conflicts is recognized, to date there is no precise definition of resilience as it applies to peacebuilding. For this reason, the main challenges posed by the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* project are, on the one hand, to understand the contributions that the notion of resilience has to offer in the efforts of peacebuilding (on a conceptual level) and, on the other, to comprehend, in the voice of the social actors, the ways in which social groups confront problems, that is, their capacity for resilience (on an existential level). In order to contribute to the debate and the action from a participatory perspective, the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* project proposes an analytical strategy that takes into account the following key aspects:

1) Actions (responses) of social groups in the face of the principal problems in their surroundings.

2) Articulation of the actions in terms of their contribution to the creation or detriment of social capital and social cohesion.

3) Identification of existing capacities among the social groups which determine the type of actions that are implemented.

The actions implemented in the face of the problems identified by the social groups need to be placed in their specific contexts because in this manner it will be possible to understand the influence exercised by the social, cultural, and economic surroundings on the capacities for resilience of a given social group. From a perspective of peacebuilding, it is within the social contexts that social capital and the latent conflicts in the social group can be observed, as the necessary dimensions for observing the level of existing social cohesion. Social capital can be described as: "the social and cultural internal coherence of the society, the norms and values that govern the interactions among people and institutions in which they are imbedded. Social capital is the glue that keeps societies united, without which there can be no economic growth or human well-being."[3] From this perspective, societies with strong social capital and an absence of latent conflicts point to capacities for resilience which tend to overcome or confront problems without recourse to violence. In other cases where there is weakness in social capital and latent conflicts, recourse to violence then contributes to a detriment of social cohesion and, as a consequence, an increase in social conflicts.

Social capital and conflicts can be observed both at a vertical as well as a horizontal level. The vertical level is defined as the articulation and exchange of capacities among groups in society and the State, with the intermediation of institutions and norms (linking). The horizontal level is associated with the relations within (bonding) and among (bridging) the groups in a society within different spheres such as the family, religious groups, civil and political organizations, commercial groupings, and other forms of organization based on conditions of gender and ethnicity, among others. To better understand the role that actions and levels of articulation play in peacebuilding, the analytical framework adopted by the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* project is based on the assumption that development and the articulation of actions implemented in the face of problems can be analyzed on the basis of existing capacities in social groups. The relation between problems-actions-capacities implies recognizing that their existence does not necessarily mean that they always contribute to improved social cohesion. This relation, in certain specific contexts, can work in detriment of ideal conditions of social cohesion needed to overcome fragility in the State and in society.

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3   Interpeace (2014). "Una valoración de la resiliencia en la construcción de la paz. Documento base para la discussion." Interpeace, p. 22.

According to the conceptual debate about the notion of resilience, these capacities can be defined as absorption, adaptation, and transformation. In general terms, the capacity of absorption assumes that the responses to problems allow the problem to persist to such an extent that the social groups incorporate it into their own dynamic; the capacity of adaptation allows for a coexistence with the problem by incorporating certain of its aspects in order to deal with it; and the capacity of transformation implies a change or transformation of the problem which the social group faces. In conclusion, in order to understand the contributions of the notion of resilience to a peacebuilding perspective, Interpeace believes it is necessary to take into account the following aspects:

- Understand resilience as a complex system that includes multiple capacities for response, conditioned in turn by the interaction among actors and structures in a specific context.

- These capacities to respond can be expressed via (either singly or together): absorption, adaptation and/or transformation.

- These responses are generated and can have an impact on one or various levels of the social structure (individual, family, community, region, and nation).

- Actions (responses) can be negative or positive with regards to the conflict dynamics in a given context (local and national).

- The temporal dimension of the responses – their duration over time – helps identify their effectiveness for transformation, an essential foundation for peacebuilding.

- The context and the conditions of the conjuncture help to identify structural aspects in the face of which resilience capacities are developed; in other words, resilience to what?

The change of focus that is involved in a resilience perspective – which means not only considering shortcomings or problems but also taking into account the capacities of individuals, groups, families, communities and institutions, and the different relationships they establish – offers new possibilities for addressing the challenges in peacebuilding.

Chapter 2. Country Context

The Republic of Guatemala is located in Central America and border with Mexico to the northwest, with Belize to the northeast, with Honduras and El Salvador to the east and with the Pacific Ocean to the south. Its area is 108,890 square kilometres and according to official figures its total population in 2012 was 15,073,375[4], which means it is the most populous country in Central America. It is also the country with the largest indigenous population, equal to about 40.3% of the total population[5] while the ladino or mestizo population represents about 59.4% of the total, with small complements of garífunas (of African descent) of about 0.2% and xincas with 0.1%. According to the text of the Accords for a Firm and Durable Peace signed in December 1996, Guatemala is a country made up of four peoples: maya[6], garífuna, xinca, and ladino.

The average age of Guatemalans is 20 years, the lowest in all of Central America, which makes for a country that is quite young in terms of its age make-up. Nonetheless, life expectancy at birth is on average 71.4 years (67.9 for men and 75 for women), the lowest in the region. Women make up a majority of the population: 51.22% versus 48.77% for men. According to some indicators, economic participation and opportunities for women are inferior to those for men in a proportion of 2-3 in all variables: participation in the labour force, income equality for similar work, estimated income, participation in higher office and participation in professional and technical fields.[7]

With regards to education, official data reveal that 15.38% of the population over 15 years of age is illiterate[8]; however, other studies estimate that illiteracy is up to 25.2%.[9] Public education is more accessible at the elementary level and its coverage declines at the higher levels. According to the last census carried out in 2002, only 3.6% of Guatemalans have had access to higher education. With regards to health, infant malnutrition has gained prominence as a cause for worry at the national

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4 "Caracterización estadística República de Guatemala 2012". Instituto Nacional de Estadística, noviembre 2013.
5 All statistics, except where otherwise noted, are from data of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística.
6 The Maya population is composed if a diversity of sociocultural and linguistic expressions, among which are Achi, Akateko, Awakateko, Chorti, Chuj, Itza, Ixil, Jakalteco, Qanjobal, Kaqchikel, K'iche', Mam, Mopan, Poqomam, Poqomchi, Q'eqchi, Sakapulteko, Sikapakense, Tectiteco, Tz'utujil y Uspanteco. Taken from the text of the Acuerdo sobre Identidad y Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas, subscribed on 31 March 1995.
7 See Ficha Estadística de Guatemala. Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica (BCIE). Available at http://www.bcie.org/uploaded/content/article/1285334126.pdf
8 Anuario Estadístico de la Educación 2013. Ministerio de Educación.
9 Ibid, BCIE.

level in the last years. This affects 49% of children under five years of age. The State is currently providing social services to reduce this problem, as is the case of the programme called "The window of a thousand days." The infant mortality rate is 22 per thousand live births. According to data available, in Guatemala there is one medical doctor for every 4,885 inhabitants, which means that medical services at a national level are limited; hospitals can provide an estimated 0.6 beds for every 1,000 inhabitants.

Guatemala is a country that, although having a fairly stable macroeconomic growth rate (of about 4% per year) and the largest economy in Central America, is also one of the countries with the highest poverty and income inequality rates in the continent. Poverty affects more than half of the population (56.19%) while 15.5% is affected by extreme poverty. Poverty affects rural and indigenous peoples principally, with 74% in poverty and 24.3% in extreme poverty. A large number of Guatemalan citizens have decided to emigrate to the United States to overcome their economic hardships. According to the National Commission of Guatemalan Migrants (CONAMIGUA), in 2008 there were close to 1.5 million Guatemalans living in the United States, which represents 12% of the country's population. This situation has also converted remittances into an important component of the country's economy. According to CONAMIGUA, in 2008 remittances totalled US$4,314,730,000.

The signing of the peace accords between the State of Guatemala and the National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala (URNG)[10] in 1996 brought to a close a chapter in the country's history marked by an armed struggle that lasted for 36 years; during these years thousands of people lost their lives.[11] Eighteen years after this ceasefire which opened up political participation for many sectors in society, the Accords still present challenges to Guatemala society as a whole.

Today, new forms of expression of unresolved social issues are evident all across the country. Especially prevalent are situations of socio-environmental conflicts, principally around mega-construction projects (open pit mining, hydroelectric dams, and large-scale one-crop agriculture), as well as the overall situation of violence and insecurity.

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10   However, as pointed out by Edelberto Torres-Rivas "all the agreements were debated and a consensus reached by the key actors of Guatemalan society." In: "Guatemala, desarrollo y democracia y los acuerdos de paz". *Encuentros*, Revista Centroamericana de Ciencias Sociales.

11   According to official data from the Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico, it is estimated that "in very rough terms there were more than 160,000 executions and 40,000 disappeared people. *Guatemala Memoria del Silencio*, CEH, p. 73, 1999.

Socio-environmental conflicts are found in most all of the country but they are concentrated in the western departments with high percentages of indigenous peoples, such as Huehuetenango, San Marcos and Quiché. Other departments in other parts of the country and with a more diverse ethnic make-up also confront conflictive situations of a socio-environmental character, especially centred on access to land – such is the case of Jalapa, which has a historic dispute over communal lands – and the expansion of single-crop agriculture (mostly involving African palm) as in the case of the department of Petén. According to data of the Ministry of Mines and Energy, in April 2014 there were 57 licenses for exploration and 32 for extraction of metallic ores.[12] On the other hand, a mapping undertaken by the office of the Advocate for Human Rights (*Procuraduría de los Derechos Humanos*) in 2012 suggested that conflictive situations resulting from these mega projects were affecting 13 departments in the country, of which a high proportion were largely of indigenous peoples and located in the western region. Other studies show that of the 101 municipalities with permits for mineral extraction, 78% reported some sort of conflict.[13]

With regards to the phenomena of violence and insecurity, mention should be made of the various studies that place the country among the most violent in Latin America and the world, a position shared with two other countries of the so-called "Northern Triangle" of Central America: El Salvador and Honduras. This characterization of Guatemala as a violent country is based on the homicide rates registered during the last years, one of the most reliable indicators of violence in the country. For example, the Global Homicide Report for 2013[14] estimates the homicide rate in the country at 39.9 per 100,000 inhabitants. Other studies[15] have estimated that the homicide rate has dropped between 2009 and 2014 from 46.4 to 31.4.

However, the situation of violence and insecurity in Guatemala is not only characterized by homicides. Added to these, the citizenry must face criminal situations – such as assaults, kidnappings, extortions, organized crime and drug trafficking – as well as other forms of violence which affect specific sectors of society such as violence against women and trafficking and exploitation of children, among others. In sum, the situation of violence and insecurity creates a source of conflictive situations to the extent that it fosters discontent and social rupture as expressed in the need to take the law into one's hands and the proliferation of private police forces and unregulated security commissions, as well as restrictions on free movement in

12 Data on mining statistics reported in: http://www.mem.gob.gt/viceministerio-de-mineria-e-hidrocarburos-2/estadisticas-mineras/ recovered in July 2014.
13 *Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales (2014).*
14 UNODC (2014)
15 See *"Violencia homicida en Guatemala retrocede por quinto año consecutivo"* at: http://ca-bi.com/blackbox/?p=9753, recovered on 02 December 2014.

certain areas. All this has an impact by promoting distrust towards other members of the citizenry and towards the institutions of the State that are responsible for tackling these problems.

Mention must be made of the political reforms that began in 1985 and continued after the Peace Accords which led to judicial reforms that have guaranteed a greater participation for the citizenry – for example, laws decentralizing government, the creation of development councils, and the municipal code, among others. Even though the different strategies for dialogue promoted by successive governments[16] have not permitted a true meeting of minds among the different sectors, the reforms and legal mechanisms of the Peace Accords still are an important foundation from which to take on the pending challenges and continue to seek answers to the social problems that will assure the full development of all Guatemalans.

The structural factors mentioned previously are the foundation upon which conjunctural crises are played out constantly in the country. On 16 April 2015, the public prosecutor and the International Commission against Corruption in Guatemala (CICIG) revealed a wide-ranging investigation on the existence of a powerful web of corruption within the government of Guatemala. It is estimated that this web, called *La Línea* (The Wire), used its control of the customs' houses to embezzle an average of 2.5 million quetzales a week by charging up to 30% of the duties paid by importers. The investigations of the prosecutor's office and the CICIG led to the arrest of 19 individuals involved in this racket, from low-level government officials up to high level appointees such as the head of the tax office –SAT- (*Superintendencia de Administración Tributaria*) and the private secretary of the vice-president of the Republic, Roxana Baldetti. The prosecutor and the CICIG announced that they would begin investigating the companies which were involved in the payment of bribes to this web of corruption.

The investigation discovered evidence that pointed to the participation of the vice-president, which fuelled a rapidly-growing wave of citizen rejection that, after a massive peaceful demonstration of more than 30, 000 people, led to her resignation on 9 May.

The national crisis deepened after the prosecutor's office and the CICIG revealed on 20 May a second investigation on webs of corruption in the government. This

16   During the government of Vinicio Cerezo (1986-1991) the strategy of "Concertación Social" was promoted; during the government of Jorge Serrano Elías (1991-1993) it was called Foro Multisectorial Social; under the government of Álvaro Arzú (1996-2000) it was called "Encuentros de Actualización"; during the period of Alfonso Portillo (2000-2004) the Mesa de Diálogo Intersectorial y Pacto Fiscal was set up; the government of Oscar Berter (2004-2008) supported the Diálogo Nacional/Plan Visión de País; under the government of Álvaro Colóm (2008-2012) there was a Sistema Nacional de Diálogo Permanente/Mesas temáticas; and currently the government of Otto Pérez Molina is supporting the Sistema Nacional de Diálogo.

time the authorities arrested 17 individuals involved in a web of corruption within the Guatemalan social security institute (*Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social* – IGSS) which included the president of the Bank of Guatemala, the president and members of the board of directors of the IGSS, and other high-level government officials. This web arranged a contract with a pharmaceutical firm for equipment to provide dialysis for kidney patients for approximately 116 million quetzales. The company did not meet the legal standards and it is linked to the death of 13 individuals who used its services. As part of the investigation of this web, the role of members of the judicial branch was revealed, especially of a judge who provided legal protection for those involved.

The social protest escalated in the country and various peaceful and massive demonstrations occurred both in the capital and various departments of the country. Although the protests brought together all sorts of people already discontented within society, a number of issues stood out including the resignation of president Otto Pérez Molina and the reform of the political system in general. During the succeeding weeks after the crisis began, other officials, in addition to Vice-president Roxana Baldetti, resigned from the cabinet, among them the minister of mines and energy and the minister and one of the vice-ministers of government.

The institutional crisis produced by the investigations on corruption worsened as a result of the electoral context in which it occurred. The national electoral board (*Consejo Supremo Electoral*) called for general elections (president, legislators, mayors) to be held in September 2015. The main political parties have been called into question because of their lack of legitimacy, suspicions of corruption, and infiltration by monies of illegal origin. The system of political parties in Guatemala is characterized by its atomization and lack of institutional solidity, which is reflected in parties which have a short existence and are weakened by excessive defections in the legislature. This situation has produced a growing sense of discontent among certain social groups and, in turn, a widespread rejection of existing electoral options.

This crisis can be described at two levels. On the one hand, massive social protests characterized by demonstrations by large sectors of the population. On the other, demands for long-term political reforms, which are varied and lack a clear consensus. Finally, mention should be made of the political reaction of the government in the face of the crisis and the influence of the United States in determining the outcome of the institutional crisis.

From the moment of the publication of the investigations of the public prosecutor and the CICIG, three massive demonstrations have taken place in the capital (with between 40 and 60 thousand in attendance each time) as well as various minor

protests. In some of the main cities in the interior, there have been protests that have brought together up to 15 thousand people. The main characteristic of these protests is that they are peaceful and bring together different social sectors without a clear leadership. They have been convened through social networks and it is through these that the main issues of the protests have been defined. The social networks have also allowed groups of Guatemalans abroad to express themselves and join the protests, especially in different cities in the United States and Europe.

The institutional crisis reached its high point with the resignation of president Otto Pérez Molina on Wednesday 2 September 2015 after the Congress of the Republic lifted his immunity from prosecution and gave the go ahead to the investigation initiated by the CICIG and the prosecutor's office.

These events did not prevent holding the elections which had been announced by the electoral authorities. On the contrary, the first electoral round witnessed one of the highest levels of voter participation (71.33%) since the signing of the peace accords. The results of the second round gave the win to Jimmy Morales of the FCN-Nación party, a surprise candidate who benefitted from the general discontent among the population towards the traditional political class.

The Guatemalan context reflects the existing stresses among factors of a structural, long-term character and conjunctural expressions of conflict. The lack of institutional capacities to address the structural causes of conflictive situations allows for the emergence of specific conflicts and conjunctural crises of governance, which in turn contributes to social and political polarization, a lack of confidence in and legitimacy of public institutions and political leadership, and a weakening of the cohesion of the social fabric.

Chapter 3. Methodological strategy

From a peacebuilding perspective, the form (the how) in which a process is advanced is as important as the issue (the what) that is at stake. This refers to the methodology of the process, which seeks to shape, in practice, a series of values and principles such as legitimacy and the ownership of the processes by those who participate in them.

The implementation of the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* project is built around a design based on Participatory Action Research (PAR), that Interpeace has adopted as part of its focus on the different contexts where the organization works. Under this perspective, the PAR is understood as "a research methodology and at the same time a procedure for social intervention that proposes the analysis of reality as a means of knowing and becoming sensitized so that those involved can, via this procedure, become active subjects and agents of a process of development and transformation of their more immediate surrounding and reality. The principal objective of carrying out participatory action research is to provide stakeholders with ownership of the process to overcome their problems."[17]

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a methodology that has been discussed from various disciplinary perspectives and international interventions. In the case of the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* project, PAR has been implemented with a double objective in mind: to generate knowledge that is valid in the eyes of the local actors and, at the same time, to generate the necessary legitimacy and ownership in the group of participants as a condition for the sustainability of the proposals for action that come out of the process itself.

In this chapter, we address the phases of the PAR, the criteria that informed certain decisions, the changes that occurred in the working groups' dynamics, and the manner in which the proposals were drafted and appropriated by the participants.

The methodology employed for the survey is also described, a process which received the support of the Humanitarian Initiative of Harvard University but which retained the working groups' leadership with regards to the contents that would be researched.

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17   *Diálogo y participación, guía práctica para la definición de políticas públicas en el sector de salud pública.* Guatemala: Interpeace, Oficina Regional para Latinoamérica, 2014.

Finally, this chapter also describes the manner in which the National Group agreed to the proposals that were drawn up and confirmed by the working groups as well as the instructions that they issued for their follow-up.

The process involved in the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* in the case of Guatemala was implemented according to the following phases:

- Exploratory phase
- Consultation phase
- Implementation phase of the PAR (national project group and thematic working groups)
- Follow-up phase

Exploratory phase

The objective of this first phase was to define a methodological strategy to start the discussion on resilience according to the country context.

It was developed through focus groups and interviews. The focus groups were held in the departments of Sololá and Petén, and the interviews were conducted with actors at a national level. These activities aimed to gather information on two central aspects: the principal problems identified by the participants as well as the responses to cope with them.

The information that was gathered was used to define the criteria employed to select the areas and the participating actors in the following consultation phase.

With the idea in mind of relating theoretical knowledge about the concept of resilience with the everyday practices of the actors identified in the exploratory phase, a focus group was held with experts in the field of social psychology. The discussion revolved around the analytical implications of the use of the term of resilience in specific contexts such as that of Guatemala, and led to addressing the following issues:

- The specific forms of response at the local and regional levels.
- The social linkages through which people devise strategies and responses in the face of problems.

- The assessment that individuals make about their own actions and linkages; that is, what is the use of that being done y with whom is it being done.

As a result of this exploratory phase, two principal results were identified. The first, based on the principle that resilience must be defined with regards to factors that require a response, identified three thematic core ideas that bring together a variety of problems that require responses and capacities by the population. These core ideas are:

The core idea of **socio-environmental conflictive situations**, that refers to conflicts that result from damage to the natural environment and the dispute over natural resources.

The core idea of **violence and insecurity**, that refers to violent criminal actions including assaults, kidnappings, extortions, homicides, domestic violence and violence against women, as well as the proliferation of organized criminal groups, especially those linked to drug smuggling and arms and people trafficking.

The core idea of the **fragility of public institutions**, that refers to the incompetence, inactivity or inefficiency of the institutions of the State that are called on to comply with the legal mandate under which they were created.

The second result was the definition of the methodological strategy for the consultation phase, for which answers to the following questions were required: 1) who should participate in the consultation; 2) how should it be organized; and 3) where should it take place.

Consultation phase

The consultation phase sought to study in depth, through a broadly based participation of social actors, those issues associated with the country's principal problems, the responses from society to respond to them, the capacities of the population to implement those responses, the meaning that those actions have, and the priorities identified the social groups.

One of the basic criteria of the work done by Interpeace is that the contents of the substantive topics that are discussed in the participatory processes are grounded on the voice of the actors directly involved in them.

This has been one of the overarching criteria for the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* project in the three countries where it is being implemented, which demands that the reference frameworks and measuring tools of international interventions not be developed exclusively by "leading experts" but through the participation of a variety of sectors.

Who should participate in the consultation?

The exploratory phase allowed us to determine that the sample should include one level of participation at the departmental level and another at a sectoral level.

At the departmental level, the composition of the groups was established as follows:

- Sectors or organizations related to issues identified in the exploratory phase;
- Local officials of public institutions;
- Individuals with a capacity for generating public opinion;
- People who have done analysis or worked in interventions related to the issues;
- Religious institutions;
- Authorities of indigenous communities; and
- Local political leaders.

At a sectoral level, the sample included the following groups:

- Women's organizations
- Young people's organizations
- Indigenous people's organizations
- Political parties
- Organizations working to defend land and resist land encroachments
- Business sector

In order as well to include all those actors who are not organized by sectors, Interpeace planned a survey with the support of a team affiliated with Harvard University (Cambridge, Massachussetts, USA) that will complement the qualitative information gathered during the consultation phase. This survey was carried out after the implementation of the PAR.

How should the consultation be carried out?

It was agreed that the methodology employed in this phase would involve consultation groups, which were conceived as spaces for discussion made up of diverse actors from the sample mentioned above.

These groups would work at two levels:

1) Departmental consultation groups.

2) Sectoral consultation groups.

In addition, at least three in-depth interviews with local actors were contemplated in each of the departments that make up the sample.

Where should the consultation take place?

Even though the problems identified during the exploratory phase can be found all over the country, it was necessary to select some departments[18] that would provide an understanding of their dynamic with regards to different socioeconomic and cultural aspects of the different regions.

The criteria employed to select the departments were the following:

1. *Ethnic-cultural composition.* The sample of the selected departments sought to include not only those with a majority of indigenous population but also some with a majority of non-indigenous population. In the case of Guatemala, this difference is expressed in distinct cultural, social and historic traits linked to territory.

2. *Socioeconomic situation.* The sample of the selected departments sought to include those with variations in the socioeconomic indicators as employed conventionally to describe the socioeconomic condition of the country. This will identify the influence exercised by various factors upon resilience in a given social group as expressed in the responses and actions in different socioeconomic contexts in the country.

3. *Existence and persistence of one or various problems* grouped together as factors to which the society is resilient: socio-environmental conflictive situations, violence and insecurity, and fragility of public institutions.

18   The political administrative division of Guatemala is structured around "departments" and these, in turn, around municipalities. There are currenlty 22 deparment and 335 municipalities within the national territory.

According to these criteria, the selected departments were classified in the following manner:

Department	Ethnic-cultural composition	Socioeconomic situation
Guatemala	**Reflects the greatest ethnic diversity of the country.** Ethnic composition: 87.7% ladinos, 8.1% Kaqchikeles, 1.7% K´iches', and 2.5% other groups. Total population: 3,103,685 inhabitants.	**16% of the population below the poverty line.** **6.9% illiteracy in 2010.** **26.3% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 78.1 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**
Quiché	**Population mostly indigenous.** Ethnic composition: 60.7% K´iche´, 13.3% Ixil, 11.6% ladino, 6.6% Q´eqchi´, 1.9% Poqomchi´, 1.4% Q´anjobal, 1.3% Sakapulteko, 1.1% Mam, 1.0% Uspanteko, 1.1% others. Total population: 921 thousand inhabitants.	**55% of population in poverty and 26% in extreme poverty.** **35.4% illiteracy in 2010.** **72.2% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 7.4 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**
Totonicapán	**Population mostly indigenous.** Ethnic composition: 97.9% K´iche´, 1.7% ladino, 0.5% others. Total population: 461,838 inhabitants.	**52% of population in poverty and 20% in extreme poverty.** **21.8% illiteracy rate in 2010.** **82.2% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 4.3 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**

San Marcos	**Population mostly ladino** Ethnic composition: 71.0% ladino, 27.0% Mam, 1.3% Sipakapense, 0.7% others. Total population: 995,742 inhabitants.	**46% of population in poverty and 20% in extreme poverty.** **20.3% illiteracy in 2010.** **53.5% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 16.6 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**
Huehuetenango	**Population mostly indigenous.** Ethnic composition: 35.4% ladino, 24.8% Mam, 17.2% Q´anjobal, 7.4% Chuj, 5.2% Jakalteko, 4.5% Akateko, 2.4% K´iche´, 1.1% Awakateko, 2.0% others. Total population: 1,114,389 inhabitants.	**49% of population in poverty and 22% in extreme povetry.** **27.3% illiteracy in 2010.** **69.5% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 15.9 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**
Jalapa	**Population mostly ladino** Ethnic compostion: 85.1% ladino, 10.1% Poqomam, 4.8% others. Total population: 309,908 inhabitants.	**39% of population in poverty and 23% in extreme poverty.** **26.5% illiteracy in 2010.** **49.3% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 48.4 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**

Zacapa	**Population mostly ladino.** Ethnic composition: 99.4% ladino, 0.6% others. Total population: 218,510 inhabitants.	**35% of population in poverty and 19% in extreme poverty.** **15.1% illiteracy in 2010.** **45.9% chronic child malnutrition rate. According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 76 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**
Izabal	**Population mostly ladino.** Ethnic composition: 77.1% ladino, 20.9% Q´eqchi´, 0.9% Garífuna, 1.0% others. Total population: 403,256 inhabitants.	**32% of population in poverty and 19% in extreme poverty.** **21.5% illiteracy in 2010.** **40.4% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 64 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**
Alta Verapaz	**Population mostly indigenous.** Ethnic composition: 79.9% Q´eqchi´, 10.9% Poqomchi´, 7.4% ladino, 1.7% others. Total population: 1,078,942 inhabitants.	**36% of population in poverty and 43% in extreme poverty.** **31.8% illiteracy in 2010.** **59.4% chronic child malnutrition rate. According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 17.2 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**

Petén	**Population mostly ladino.** Ethnic composition: 70.1% ladino, 25.2% Q´eqchi´, 1.2% Kaqchikel, 3.4% others. Total population: 613,693 inhabitants.	**42% of population in poverty and 15% in extreme poverty.** **14.7% illiteracy in 2010.** **41.9% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 59.6 pero (per 100,000 inhabitants).**
Escuintla	**Population mostly ladino.** Ethnic composition: 93.5% ladino, 1.9% K´iche´, 1.5% Poqomam, 1.3% Kaqchikel, 1.7% otros. Total population: 685,830 inhabitants.	**36% of population in poverty and 5% in extreme poverty.** **15.1% illiteracy in 2010.** **32.4% chronic child malnutrition rate.** **According to 2010 data, the homicide rate was 77.9 (per 100,000 inhabitants).**

Source: Data on human development. Statistical collection by department. Various issues, UNDP, 2011.

The criteria for selecting the groups for the sectoral consultation took into account the contrast between the departmental perspective and a national vision in the form of organizations and groupings whose interests are not limited to a specific geographic surrounding and whose concerns and interests are of a national character. Each group selected for the sectoral consultation was made up of representatives of different organizations and institutions linked to each sector. The following sectors were chosen:

1) Women's sector

2) Indigenous sector

3) Young people's sector

4) Private sector

5) Political sector (political parties)

6) Sector of organizations in resistance

The exploratory phase also produced information that served to prioritize the problems in the face of which the social groups need to develop capacities of resilience in each department. On the basis of this selection, the departments were organized along the following lines:

Selected departments according to priority of thematic core issue		
Central		**Fragility of public institutions**
Guatemala	Violence and insecurity	
West		
Quiché	Socio-environmental conflictive situations.	
Totonicapán	Socio-environmental conflictive situations.	
San Marcos	Socio-environmental conflictive situations.	
Huehuetenango	Socio-environmental conflictive situations. Violence and insecurity.	
Northeast		
Jalapa	Socio-environmental conflictive situations.	
Zacapa	Violence and insecurity.	
Izabal	Violence and insecurity.	
North		
Alta Verapaz	Socio-environmental conflictive situations. Violence and insecurity.	
Petén	Socio-environmental conflictive situations. Violence and insecurity.	
South		
Escuintla	Violence and insecurity.	

The classification of the eleven departments according to the priority list of problems did not mean that in the consultation process the other problems identified at a national level were not considered at the same level of importance in the discussions. The methodological design of the consultation phase needed to integrate the thematic core ideas independently of the priority assigned to each given the systemic character of conflict situations in the country, as a result of which their difference is of an analytical character.

Implementation of the consultation phase

The consultation phase took place between August and December 2014 and involved a total of 316 individuals.

**Total number of interviews
and of groups consulted**

Activities	Number
Groups consulted at departmental level	11
Groups consulted by sectors	6
Interviews	40

The total number of people consulted represents a wide and diverse group of organizations and public and private institutions, as illustrated in the following graph.

Number of participants in the consultation phase, by sector

Legend:
- Political parties
- Public sector
- Business sector
- NGOs
- Civil society
- Universities
- Armed forces
- Women's organizations
- Indigenous organizations
- Mass media
- Youth organizations
- Churches
- Labour unions
- Student associations
- Organizations for the defence of land rights
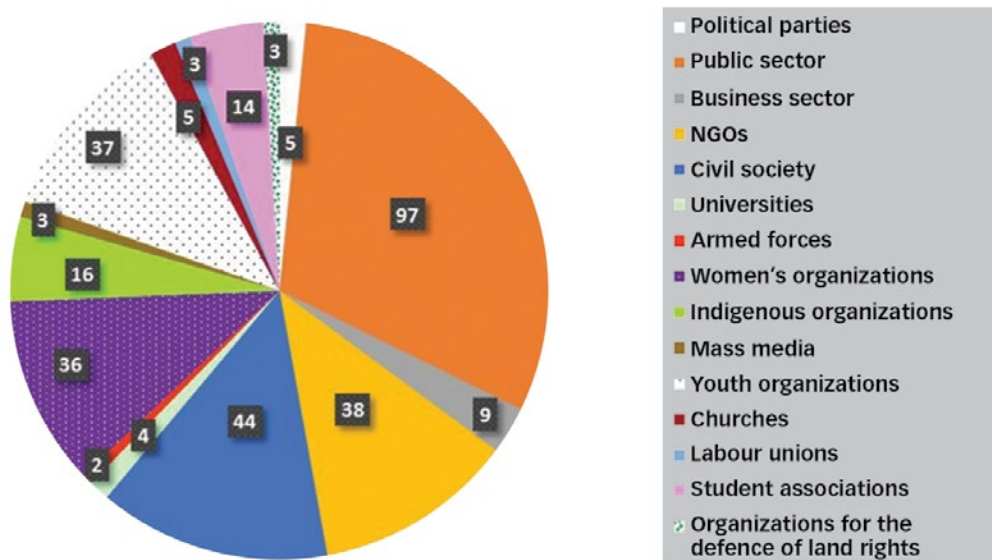
In the case of names assigned to actors who represent civil society or the public sector, it was decided to respect their self-assigned identities. However, for descriptive reasons, the following table offers a generalization of all participants by aggregating those who attended as members of a local or national public institution under the title of "public sector" and those who do not belong to this sector under the title of "civil society." Also aggregated were those individuals who participated as members of a political party.

Number of participants in the consultation phase according to their sector of origin

Sector/ Strategy	Consultation groups	Sectoral groups	Interviews	Total by sector
Public sector	84	0	13	97
Civil society	111	76	27	214
Political parties	0	5	0	5
Totals	**195**	**81**	**40**	**316**

Implementation of the consultation groups

For each of the consultation groups, both departmental as well as sectoral, the methodological guidelines defined three sections.

First section. This consisted of a plenary discussion which addressed the following question: *Which are the problems which most affect the group/community/sector?* This question was asked to open up the discussion among the participants.

Second section. All the participants were divided into three discussion sub-groups according to the thematic core issues defined in the previous exploratory phase (violence and insecurity, socioeconomic conflicts, and fragility of public institutions). These groups (of between 6 and 10 participants) discussed five questions that sought to bring to the fore those aspects which, as observed during the work, are not always evident in the actions of the subjects. The questions were devised in everyday terms, in order that they empathize with the life experiences of the individuals.

The following table lists and explains the questions posed during the discussions in the groups:

Question posed for discussion in the consultation groups	Factors to explore
Question 1: "What do people do to cope/confront from day to day the difficulties derived from this problem?"	Concrete actions that are carried out without assigning a value judgement to whether said action "ought to have been carried out" or not.
Question 2: "In order to confront the difficulties produced by this situation, who organizes and in which ways? Who contribute and help?"	Actors, understood as subjects – individuals or collectives – or institutions that carry out the action. Formal or informal networks that are created, as well as the interactions and exchanges among actors.
Question 3: "What is done in the family to face these situations? What is done in the community? What is done by the State?	Surroundings in which action takes place, but also those in which the action has an impact.
Question 4: "What use have the actions described had for you?	Levels of impact. As the question implies, the perceptions of the participants are sought concerning the social efficacy of the actions, as well as their sustainability.
Question 5: "Why is it important for you to do something or not to do anything?	In addition to inquire about how the actions are assessed (good, bad, correct, mistaken, according to the terms employed by the participants), the question also seeks to understand the arguments and justifications for the actions.

Third section. After the discussions of the sub-groups, all the participants met once again for a final group discussion. The discussion centred around the presentations by the sub-groups of those issues to deal with in the future on a priority basis. The identification of these priority issues is very important as it allows for a visualization in succinct and concrete terms of the issues that in the opinion of the citizenry should be addressed by decision makers and political actors at the national level in order to carry out transformations in current conditions which today are a matter of concern.

Preparation of the summary document of the consultation phase

The consultation phase ended with the preparation of a *Country Document* that brings together in an orderly fashion the results and the information obtained through the departmental and sectoral consultation groups and the interviews.

In order to prepare the *summary document of the consultation phase*, two complementary phases were devised: a summary of the information and a strategy for analysis.

Summary of the information. The information obtained during the consultation phase was summarized by means of two instruments. The first of them was an aide-mémoire prepared *in situ*[19] that contains a transcript of the discussions in each of the sessions.

A second instrument is the minutes which reflect the principal aspects of the development of the meetings in each department and sectoral group.

Thus, each consultation group had at its disposal both instruments, which could be accessed for information when necessary.

With regards to the interviews, they inquired in more depth about issues that were not addressed during the consultation groups due to lack of time or insufficient confidence among the participants. These interviews, on the other hand, were viewed as expressions of confidence by the participants towards the institution. For that reason, verbatim citations have been placed within quotes and italicized in the rest of this text without identifying the person who spoke them.

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19   In addition to these aide memoires, there is the material prepared by the participants during the meetings (notes, photos, video, flip-chart) and a digital archive with audio recordings of all the meetings and interviews.

Strategy of analysis. On the basis of the summary of information, the writing of this document was guided by an analytical-descriptive logic more with the idea of organizing and summarizing the information gathered rather than providing an analytical interpretation.

As mentioned previously, the PAR methodology does not seek to build upon previously defined concepts without the participation of the actors involved in the political process or to generate definitive conclusions or interpretations prior to the in-depth discussions that the PAR groups must carry out. For this reason, the strategy for analysis employed for preparing the Country Document seeks to present the results and information obtained from different angles and different levels of analysis.

The strategy for analysis has been organized on three levels:

- Included in the first level of analysis are the responses and actions undertaken by the population to confront the diversity of identified problems, as well as the recurrent frequency of said actions (that is, which are more frequent and which are not) and the possible contextual aspects that might be related to such frequency.

- At the second level of analysis are included the actions that take place on a horizontal plane (among groups), on a vertical plane (between groups and institutions) and on an individual level.

- At the third level of analysis actions are included in relation to the existing capacities in communities, groups or institutions.

The following graph illustrates the logic of the strategy of analysis employed to prepare this document.
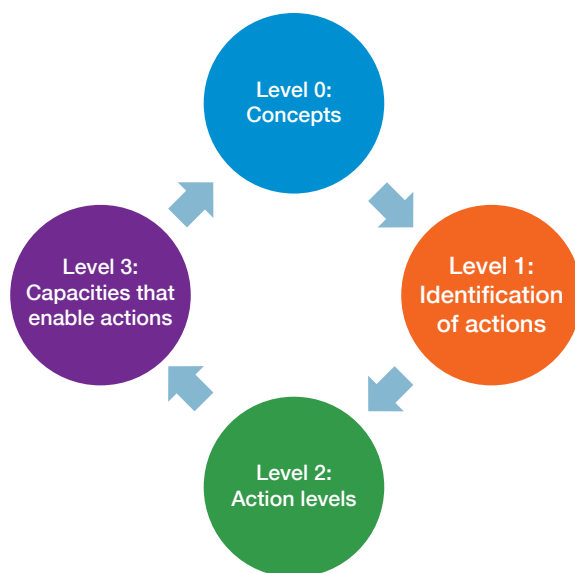
The information is also organized according to the significance which the actions have for the participating groups in the consultation phase. The significance was important in the group discussions since it explains the existential motivation that drives actions to confront the identified problems.

The material obtained in the consultation phase was organized within an analytic organizational matrix made up of descriptive categories that allowed them to be included in an ordered and logical manner in this document. These categories were:

- *Resilience to what?* This refers to the problem issues identified by the participants.

- *Capacities.* Classified according to the levels of action as mentioned: vertical, horizontal (both group based) or individual.

- *Actors.* Refers to the relevant actors (individual and group) mentioned by the participants.

- *Types of resilience.* Defined by the participants according to the efficacy and duration in time of the actions described.

- *Meanings.* Refers to the existential and final dimension that propels actions aimed at confronting a given problem.

- *Priorities.* Refers to the themes and issues that according to the participants merit follow-up. These priorities are classified according to the surrounding where they have impact or are generated (family, community, and State).

Limitations of the consultation

The first of the difficulties faced was the impossibility of covering all the departments. Both limitations of time allotted for the project and of the availability of sufficient human resources for a wider consultation influenced the decision to cover 11 of the 22 departments of the country.

These same factors also influenced the decision to hold only one group meeting in the each of the departments, which represents a methodological limitation insofar as we were unable establish initial contacts that would have made for a more effective call to participate.

Reference should also be made to the fact that both in the departmental consultation groups and in the sectoral groups not all representatives of each locality or sector attended so that the opinions and ideas expressed must be attributed specifically to those who participated in the process.

It is necessary to allude to the negative perception expressed by some of the participants in the sense that it is the lack of trust among actors that limits the possibilities for dialogue as a tool for building social consensus. Along similar lines, the weakness of dialogue as a tool was evident in the little willingness expressed by some people who declined the invitation to participate because they had no interest in sharing a space with representatives of sectors which they consider their adversaries. These situations were more evident in departments where conflictive situations currently exist involving disputes over access and control of natural resources. On the other hand, when groups were more homogeneous (as in the case of the sectoral groups) the discussions were more open, although this also contributed to a more homogeneous perspective on the issues that were addressed.

In that scenario, one of the most important challenges was presenting the interest of Interpeace and the *Framework for an Analysis of Resilience* project to promote dialogue with the aim of generating new knowledge and attitudes for social change. En each of the work sessions we insisted on the importance of an exchange of opinions within a framework of respect in order to get to know the various perspectives without attempting at this stage to reach conclusions or agreements based on consensus.

Participatory Action Research phase (PAR)

This phase meant undertaking two complementary processes: bringing together a National Group that involved key actors who represented various sectors of the country as well as setting up thematic Working Groups that produced recommendations on the core issues that were discussed and on the mechanisms to link the diverse social sectors with the State while at the same time recognizing their capacities to confront conflictive situations and identifying the best options to achieve governance.

The PAR process was extremely rewarding and provided lessons learned for the technical team and the members of the working groups on aspects such as the definition of political spaces, the definition of work agendas, the working dynamics of the groups, the preparation of proposals and their verification and follow-up.

The National Group became the guiding body of the process and was made up of individuals who represent at a high level the various institutions and offices of the State, organizations of civil society identified with the issues to be discussed, the private sector and individuals with experience and knowledge of the issues that were invited on a personal basis.

The National Group was charged with defining the research agenda of the PAR process; appointing technical advisors to assemble the Working Groups; and approval of results and preparation of consensus proposals.

Defining the political space

The first step in setting up the National Group was the preparation of the political space that can be summarized in two main aspects: 1) identifying the actors; and 2) the role of Interpeace as convener. This process was undertaken through a series of bilateral meetings with each of the individuals who represent the invited sectors to present the project and build up confidence in the process.

The make-up of the National Group needed to be broadly based and diverse in order that no political and social actors in decision-making or opinion-forming positions were left out. At the same time, the make-up of the Group would need to reflect a balance of those invited on a personal basis in representation of the diverse sectors.

Number of individuals invited to the National Group according to affiliation

Public sector   **Private sector**   **Social sector**   **Political parties**
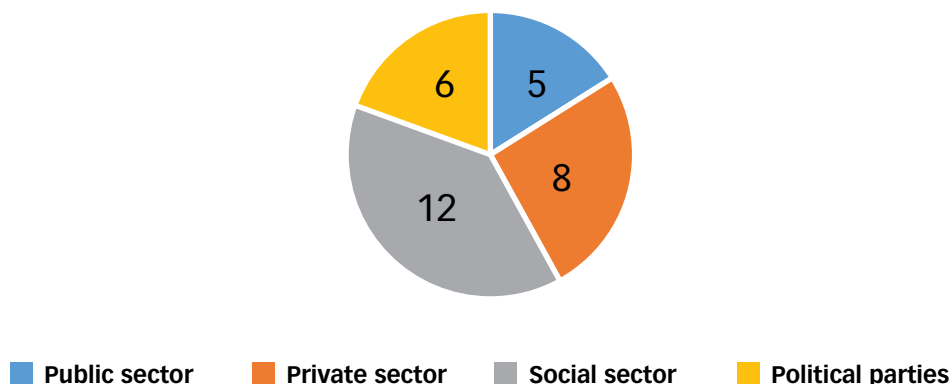
As a result, a first definition considered four large blocs or sectors: public sector, business sector, social sector (social movements and a varied representation of civil society), and political parties.

On the basis of this classification, the project team put together a list of actors who were contacted on a personal basis in order to present the project and invite them to participate in the first meeting of the National Group.

Two fundamental circumstances should be mentioned that determined the list of those invited and the final outcome of their participation in the first meeting of the National Group. The first is the inclusive nature of the process that sought to bring together the greatest diversity of relevant actors around the issues that were addressed. This is one of the central criteria of the participatory methodology. The second consideration is that the political and ideological differences among the participants should not be an obstacle to their inclusion but, instead, an incentive that would guarantee the search for consensus that social dialogue implies. In the end, the objective of the invitation was that the process would bring together minds and actors that would not be possible beyond the spaces for dialogue.

In this process, it is natural that the actors should feel uneasy about the purpose and the results that were expected from a meeting of diverse actors who were occasionally opposed to one another. This was especially evident among the business and social sectors (especially indigenous and peoples and peasants) who made it clear that they had participated in similar exercises without achieving any concrete results.

Number of participants in
the National Group according to sector of origin
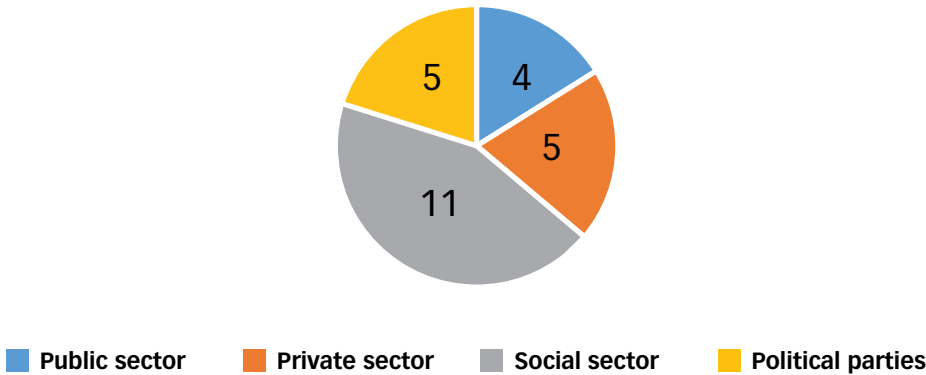
■ Public sector   ■ Private sector   ■ Social sector   ■ Political parties

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Regardless of these circumstances, the characteristics of the proposal awoke interest among a majority of those invited to form part of the National Group and join the process. This meeting was attended by 25 individuals. The following graph shows the composition of the National Group that met on 19 February 2015.

The National Group: plenary session to set the agenda and define the working groups

The plenary session of the National Group was the first meeting of all those invited sectors and sought fundamentally to generate confidence in and ownership of the process by the participants. This was achieved through an open discussion of the results of the consultation phase, after which a thematic agenda was defined as well as the working groups responsible for studying it in depth in the following phase in view of the fact that the National Group defines the criteria and sets up the Working Groups. Under the PAR methodology, the National Group becomes the governing body of the participatory research and makes decisions regarding the process.

The National Group decided to organize dos Working Groups along the following lines:

> Working Group 1: Socio-environmental conflictive situations
>
> Working Group 2: Violence and insecurity

In addition, each one of these groups decided to include two issues which run across all the others:

> Fragility of public institutions
>
> Socio-economic fragility

As was mentioned, the National Group decided it was important that the fragility of public institutions and socio-economic fragility should be included as topics for discussion in every issue that the Working Groups dealt with. That way not only would conjunctural issues be included together with structural issues but, in addition, the agendas of each of the groups would incorporate related issues that would enrich their discussions.

Regarding the debate on resilience, the National Group decided to adopt a working definition which would guide the discussion in the working groups. It was decided to address resilience as "a capacity to confront difficult situations" and to transform adversities into opportunities. Thus, resilience should be understood as a capacity to transform.

Working groups

The creation of Working Groups allowed for greater efforts of participatory research according to the methodology of the process. At this stage, the Working Groups came to agreements about their proposals. The Working Groups were made up of individuals that belonged to the National Group and technical staff that they appointed in accordance with the issues that were most relevant to each organization and institution and in accordance with the nature of their work and interests.

The first distribution of participants left 23 individuals in the working group on socio-environmental conflicts and 10 in the group on insecurity and violence.

In total, this phase resulted in a total of 49 meetings of the National Group, of each working group, and of the specific commissions.

Type of meeting	Number of meetings
National Group	1
Working groups	25
Petit Comité	9
Presentation of proposals	9
Forum and preparation of same	4
Publication of book	1
TOTAL	**49**

The working groups became sources of information (they help by gathering data about their environment and about the existing social relationships) and promoters of research. It was at this level that the full potential of the diversity and strength of the participants was evidenced as a reflection of their knowledge, experiences, capacities, abilities, and interests.

The work of the groups was supported by a researcher and a facilitator for each issue they addressed.

The working group on socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations provided inputs that underscore the collective dimension of the concept of resilience when they referred to how groups work with each other, how they define the actions to be taken, how alliances are established, and how resources are acquired, among

others. These aspects contributed to the analysis of the items of the research agenda. This group underlined that resilience must aim at actions for transformation and not only for adaptation or absorption. The group concluded that the objective of resilience must be to engage in actions that will avoid a repetition of conflicts and that discussions must address prevention.

For the group on insecurity and violence, the discussion on the concept of resilience involved an overview and definition of the concepts of violence and insecurity, as defined by the following questions: *What type of resilience for what type of violence?* and *What should we be looking at, in terms of actions and capacities, in the different urban and rural regions of the country when referring to violence?* The group had no disagreements in identifying some of the sources of violence and insecurity such as: organized crime within the State which tends to grow through illegal mechanisms, the presence of drug trafficking in many regions of the country, the unregulated night watches, widespread consumption of drugs and alcohol, and carrying of firearms. A basic agreement on the sources of violence was that the State and its lack of effective security policies had become a generator of insecurity. During the time of the institutional crisis that resulted from the investigations into corruption carried out by the attorney's office and the CICIG, the two working groups decided to operate jointly for the time being in order to address the implications that this crisis had on the issue of resilience.

With regards to the actions that the conjuncture produced, the group expressed its interests in: getting to know the proposals that began to appear from diverse sectors, finding and supporting new leaderships or collective leaderships, the importance of maintaining citizen mobilization, and channel change along lines that would lead to the reform of those aspects that have corrupted the system and the search for common ground for dialogue and bridging the gap among differing points of view.

One topic that the group agreed upon was supporting the work of the Project Group as an opportunity for reflection and analysis as well as seeking out common ground and linkages with various initiatives for action that emerged during the period of crisis.

With the idea in mind of providing continuity to the methodological process, the researchers put together a thematic proposal at the urging of the group that would generate proposals for reform in the short and medium term under a resilience perspective.

As part of the actions undertaken by the group, a public forum was organized under the title "What have we done and where are we headed? An exchange of experiences

on actions and capacities to confront the current political crisis in Guatemala." This event brought together 135 participants from different social sectors *to identify and analyze the actions and proposals of different groups and social actors to face the current political crisis.*[20]

This process was a watershed in the internal dynamic and the relations within the working group. From then on – due to the involvement demanded of its members – this group began to really acquire ownership of the political space and to define an agenda and methodological road map for all future actions.

This methodological adaptation did not mean the abandonment of specific issues that were being dealt with in each of the Working Groups; on the contrary, it reinforced the interest in seeking institutional changes of a structural nature that, as discussed during the first meeting of each of the Working Groups, underlie and cut across the previously identified issues.

Quantitative analysis

One of the main methodological innovations of the PAR project is the combination of qualitative and quantitative participatory research strategies. The implementation of a national survey on resilience and peacebuilding was carried out by Interpeace in conjunction with the Humanitarian Initiative of Harvard University (HHI) and provided statistically representative information at a national level and statistically indicative information at the departmental and municipal levels.[21]

The complementary nature of the methods employed had an element in common – their participatory character – which was shaped during three moments: the design of the survey, its implementation, and the analysis of the data.

The design of the survey was undertaken jointly between the Interpeace team and the HHI and was validated among the working groups of the project. The key aspect of the participatory design was the inclusion in the questionnaire of relevant questions identified by the participants in the working groups. The analysis of the key questions of the survey reduced the levels of distrust that surveys produce among social actors due to their external and foreign character with regards to the political processes they are engaged in. However, the participants realized that they ran the risk of skewing the questionnaire if it was designed in accordance with the interests of each participating sector.

20
21   The results of this survey are presented in Chapter 5 of this report.

The participatory design of the survey did not compromise the technical specifications that guaranteed the validity of the results. The results demonstrate the level of autonomy achieved by the instrument and the importance of complementary nature of quantitative and qualitative methods in a participatory process.

The survey was carried out in the 22 departments of the country as distributed in eight regions. The sample was chosen at random and involved a total of 3,712 individuals. Ten towns and cities were selected in each department, with the exception of the departments of Guatemala and Petén where 16 sites were selected in each because they were the only departments that constituted a region as well. A total of 232 towns and cities were covered and around 160 interviews were conducted in each department excepting Guatemala and Petén with 256 each.

The preliminary survey results were presented to the working groups for their discussion. This involved two objectives: in the first place, to guarantee that the results of the survey would be used as inputs for the proposals for action; and secondly, to guarantee that the results be used in coherence with the objectives of the group. In this sense, the survey would be integrated into the process of ownership that the project envisioned so that the working group might use the results as part of the technical tools that were developed to further the proposals for action.

Follow-up phase

The implementation of the methodological strategy revealed the capacities for resilience of Guatemalan society and, at the same time, produced a list of proposals for action aimed at the transformation of conflicts in the face of which society is resilient.

The proposals refer to three issues. The first addresses to socio-environmental conflictive situations by strengthening institutional capacities for coordination and multi-sectoral participation for the prevention, monitoring, and transformation of agrarian and socio-environmental conflicts. The second proposal addresses aspects related to insecurity and violence by supporting initiatives for the prevention of violence related to youth at a municipal level. The third proposal underlines the importance of social audits at the municipal level as a mechanism to reduce the levels of corruption.

At this stage of the process, the group became consolidated as a multi-sectoral collective that supports the implementation of these proposals at a political and governmental level as well as within those sectors that are represented by the members of the group. At the same time, efforts are being made to coordinate financial support from the international aid agencies to develop these initiatives.

This follow-up phase should be analyzed not only from a perspective of the implementation of the proposals that were agreed upon but also with regards to possible actions that the actors can continue to support jointly above and beyond the process itself.

Chapter 4. Results of the consultation process

Resilient actions in the face of conflicts

In the following pages the principal problems are listed as referred to in each of the thematic core ideas defined previously in the exploration phase (conflictive socio-environmental situations, violence and insecurity, and fragility of public institutions) and the responses which, according to those who participated in the consultation phase, constitute the principal actions undertaken by the people when confronting the problems that emerged in each of them.

To these three core ideas are added, in the final part of this section, another core idea that we have labelled "socioeconomic fragility." This idea was added on due to the frequent mention in the eleven departmental consultation groups of the issues of unemployment, the economic situation and the access to basic services which, according the participants' thinking, constituted a different issue to the three singled out previously.

To better situate the reader, both the problems as well as the responses are listed according to how frequently they were mentioned by participants. Thus, the first response can be considered, in the analysis, as the most important form of action taken by the population while the last will be the least frequent, according to the participants in the consultation phase. The following table summarizes the manner in which actions are taken in the face of problems as grouped under the thematic core ideas.

Problems and responses

Socio-environmental conflicts

- Use and distribution of natural resources
- Agrarian problem

→

- Protests/demand for action by the State
- Communal or neighbourhood organization and consultation
- Information and awareness raising
- Cultural initiatives
- Peaceful resistance
- Kitchen gardens for subsistence
- Land occupations
- Negotiation and dialogue

Violence and insecurity

- Criminality and delinquency
- Street drug sales
- Violence against women and children
- Tense social relations
- Inept management of security strategies

→

- Silence and fear
- Inertia and acceptance
- Denounce in State institutions and other networks
- Night rounds
- Taking justice into one's own hand
- Privatization of security services and activities
- Use of alternative mechanisms of justice based on community organization
- Influence to achieve transformations of institutions
- Family self-protection measures
- Security strategies implemented by the State

Fragility of public institutions

- Limited capacity to comply with their mandate
- Politicization

→

- Search for alternative basic services
- Search out NGOs as alternative responses to the State
- Substitute for institutional shortcomings: "substitute for the State"
- Business social responsibility
- Social audits
- Non-compliance with obligations or search for defence mechanisms before the State
- Deny one's own identity to have access to the State

Socio-economic fragility

- Unemployment, lack of opportunities
- Consumption and high cost of electricity
- Access to basic services

→

- Adjustment and reduction of family budget
- Informal economy
- Migration
- Underemployment
- Alternative forms of access to basic services
- Exposure to risk: involvement in illicit activities
- Smuggling

In the following paragraphs, the problems described under each of the thematic core ideas discussed in the groups are summarized, with reference to the actors involved in actions and the places where they took place most frequently.

Socio-environmental conflictive situations

For the purposes of this project, socio-environmental conflictive situations are understood as the set of conflict which, over time, have intensified as a result of the dispute by interested parties for access, distribution and use of natural resources (water, land, plantings) that individuals, communities, and societies need to be able to live fully. Along those lines, the principal problems identified during the consultation phase were:

Use and distribution of natural resources: the construction of mega projects and hydroelectric dams.

This problem is centred primarily in the development of mining projects and hydroelectric dams. It has acquired greater dimensions of a conflictive nature in departments with a majority of indigenous population such as Huehuetenango (the municipality of Barillas and the case of the hydroelectric dam of Santa Cruz), San Marcos (San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Sipacapa and the Marlin mine), Quiché (Ixcán and the hydroelectric dams at Xalalá and Chajul and HidroXacbal) and Alta Verapaz (where the cases of Monte Olivo and Mayaniquel were mentioned in the jurisdiction of Senahú). But this is also a worrisome concern in departments with a majority of mestizo population such as Zacapa. For example, in Teculután – a municipality in this department – a communal consultation was held in November 2013 that expressed its opposition to the construction of a hydroelectric dam on the river of the same name.[22] A similar experience occurred a year before, in November 2012, in the municipality of Mataquescuintla, in the department of Jalapa, also in the east of the country.[23]

In the department of Totonicapán, especially, the implementation of the Water Law and the administration of natural springs by the State has been one of the most contentious issues for the communal authorities and the people. For the representatives of the State, this discussion has to do with the lack of exploitation of the natural resources found in the department and which, as a consequence, does not contribute to its development.

22   For more information, see: http://www.prensalibre.com/zacapa/Teculutan-Zacapa-consulta-municipal-rechazan-hidroelectricas-vecinos_0_1256874390.html
23   For more information, see: http://noticias.emisorasunidas.com/noticias/nacionales/cc-avala-consulta-popular-que-vecinos-se-oponen-mineria

In all cases, what is perceived by the sectors consulted – people, companies, and the State – is the existence of a latent conflict that, according to the participants, creates strong divisions within the social fabric to the extent that it separates localities between those who are opposed to the projects and those who support them in exchange for some benefit (usually in the form of jobs). Also, for many it is a kind of "pressure cooker" that can explode at any moment.

Among some of the main causes of discontent are:

- Absence of consultation with the people;
- The way in which the State acts out its role in conflictive situations, frequently described (both by the private sector and communities) as inadequate and with excessive use of force;
- Degradation of the environment; and
- Pollution of rivers and the subsequent spread of illnesses.

Agrarian problem. The agrarian problem is centred on conflict situations caused by problems of access, property and use of land. According to the discussions in the consultation phase, this problem generates controversy due to the expansion of one-crop agriculture, especially of African palm. At the same time, this situation exacerbates conditions due to the accumulation of land in few hands and the lack of access to land for a majority of the population involved. The search for alternatives to alleviate this problem leads to disputes over deforestation, the occupation of protected areas and the eviction of peoples, as well as disputes over sacred places.

The complexity of the agrarian situation in Guatemala has been the focus of attention of analysts and experts, who coincide in identifying it as one of the structural problems of the country.[24] Its concrete expressions are different in each of the regions in the country. In the department of Petén, for example, in addition to the concerns about the use of land for single-crop production, there is a difficult problem in the shape of concentration of landed property. This dynamic is characterized, as mentioned, by the appropriation of small plots of peasant land by large landowners – often linked to drug smuggling – by means of threats or evictions. This is also possible due to close friendship among the large landowners and individuals in the institutions that allow this to happen. A collateral aspect of this problem is the loss

24 Academic writing about the agrarian situation of the country is voluminous and its analysis has been linked to the processes of change in the country. For example, the following can be consulted: Monteforte Toledo, Mario. Guatemala: Monografía sociológica; Schneider, Ronald M. Communism in Guatemala 1944-1954 (Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers); Sabino, Carlos. Guatemala, la historia silenciada (1944 - 1989): Tomo I, Revolución y Liberación (Fondo de Cultura Económica de Guatemala S.A. 2007); Palma Murga, Gustavo, "La problemática agraria en Guatemala hoy: algunos apuntes para su consideración". Revista Centroamericana de Ciencias Sociales, vol II, no. 2 (FLACSO, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, San José, Costa Rica: Costa Rica. Diciembre. 2005).

of access roads for those small landowners whose properties have been surrounded by those of the large landowners.

Without going into details about the ways that land is accumulated, the people of Zacapa also expressed their concern about the purchase of land along the strip which will be occupied by a trans-isthmian highway route across Guatemala. A case in point is that of the department of Jalapa where conflictive situations over the agrarian issue can be considered unique and historical, given that they revolve around disputes over land of the town where the municipal authorities are located currently and which belonged to the indigenous communities of Santa María Xalapán before 1873, after which the creation of the department of El Progreso overstepped the boundaries of that territory and led to the seizure and irregular sale of lands.[25] The conflict in this case confronts the inhabitants of the region and the rest of the people who live in the urban centre. This situation also contains a dispute of a symbolic character that reflects on the ideas and prejudices of the participants in the conflict. An example was the row over the placement of the name "Xalapán" over "Jalapa" on one of the hills that can be seen from the urban centre of the municipality just before the municipal fair in 2012.[26] The people who participated in the consultation group understand that this situation is not due to ethnic differences but to the bad distribution of the land.

In the meantime, in the department of Alta Verapaz the dynamics have been changing: in the year 2000 there was a high demand for land, then these were occupied, and currently one-crop cultivation is moving ahead. The historical agrarian problem can be summarized basically around the concentration of land in a few hands. The participants in the consultation group in Alta Verapaz considered that added on to this problem is the speculation in the price of coffee and cardamom "because the price was brought down due to the manipulations of the businessmen and at the Bank of Guatemala the price was kept low in order to make a lot of people believe that all prices were depressed but that was only to make more profits." With regards to one-crop agriculture, reference was made principally to the fact that the expansion of African palm cultivation is causing much damage to the Northern Transverse Strip.

As a corollary to this problem is action by the State, which is singled out by the participants as disproportionate and prone to use force to settle conflicts. In Huehuetenango and Totonicapán the examples of the municipality of Barillas and

25   See Dary, Claudia. (2010). Unidos por nuestro territorio. Identidad y organización social en Santa María Xalapán. Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala.
26   See more details in: http://www.prensalibre.com/jalapa/Polemica-ubicacion-letrero_0_772722761.html

the massacre of Alaska were mentioned. No less important was the repression of demonstrations in Santa María Xalapán in the municipality of Mataquescuintla, Jalapa.

Resilient actions in response to socio-environmental conflictive situations

When consulted about the concrete actions that take place in response to these problems in each of the departments, the participants discussed a variety of responses that in some cases are similar in each region but different in others. These responses are listed below in the order of frequency that they were mentioned.

- **Protest.** This refers to public demonstrations of discontent both against the use of natural resources and the lack of action by the institutions of the State, especially in its role as mediator. To the question of "What do the people do in the face of these situations?" the first answer that emerged was "protest", an action which includes blocking roads, public demonstrations, and taking over buildings, so that their demands can be heard.

- These actions are accompanied by discourses that attempt to legitimize or delegitimize what the groups in conflict have done. While these actions are perceived as a valid and constitutionally-backed mechanisms by the groups (communities or settlements) who protest, others – as was expressed openly in Jalapa – are seen as resentful people who do not want to dialogue or who "are accustomed to protest for everything" and who, in the final instance, "are manipulated by other interests."

- **The demand that the State do something.** In addition to public demonstrations, the social actors consulted in the eleven departments coincided in demanding of the State, either directly through the institutions involved with socio-environmental issues – such as the Secretariat of Agrarian Affairs or the Ministry of Mines and Energy, among others – or through dependencies such as the Departmental Development Councils, to take action in order to resolve the issues at stake. According to the opinion of the participants in the consultation groups, these demands are generally channelled through the COCODES or through the intersectoral networks and working groups, for example the *Redes de Derivación* (Referral Networks) of the *Comités de Justicia* (Justice Committees) in Huehuetenango and Alta Verapaz.

- **The organization and communal or neighbourhood consultations.** One of the actions that has acquired more notoriety in the opinion of those consulted

is the organization of inhabitants to demonstrate against the construction of mega projects and hydroelectric dams under the slogan of "defence of the earth". This practice is centred on the mechanism of the "assembly" as a form of consultation within the groups but also as a space for debate and demands that the State consult them on the use of natural resources, on the basis of Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization. These kinds of consultation experiences were mentioned in the departments of Quiché, Huehuetenango, and San Marcos, principally.

- **Passive resistance**. When referring to this kind of action, the participants in the sectoral groups of women and resistance organizations coincided in pointing to the inhabitants of La Puya, in San José del Golfo, as a form of opposition to the construction of mega projects in a peaceful manner, thus avoiding confrontation with the security forces that had been stationed there.

- **Domestic plantings for subsistence.** One of the ways to confront the lack of access to land for farming has been the option of planting traditional crops (corn and beans) by small farmers on very small plots or kitchen gardens. These actions were mentioned in those departments where people have a plot of land to cultivate, such as in San Marcos, Huehuetenango, Alta Verapaz and Petén.

- **Occupation of land.** Another line of action, in departments characterized by a high concentration of land ownership such as Escuintla, Alta Verapaz and Petén, peasants and indigenous populations organize to occupy lands (squat) for housing or production. However, this action sets the ground for a circle of conflictive situations based on the formula: scarcity/ occupation/eviction.

    Together with the occupation of lands, among other actions by various individuals who claim to be legitimate owners is the search for regulation and judicial certainty regarding property rights, as described in the case of Santa María Xalapán, Jalapa.

- Information and awareness building. In the face of the difficult conditions for dialogue, the business sector involved in these conflictive situations has also developed certain kinds of actions. The actors from this sector who were consulted referred to the use of their "good neighbour policy" based on documents put together by the World Bank and which seek, basically, to bring local actors together. Among the actions included in this policy are: advertising campaigns, school creation, codes of ethics and social responsibility. These actions are carried out under the idea that on many occasions opposition to projects emerges due to lack of adequate information regarding their nature as well as the benefits that might accrue to the communities.

But information and awareness building is not only carried out by the business sector but also by inter-communal and inter-departmental social organizations that divulge information through alternative media and assemblies where people make their opinions and positions known regarding the problem at hand.

- **<u>Cultural initiatives.</u>** In parallel, businesses also do work through social (cultural) initiatives by hiring people from the communities or settlements where they plan to work in order to know the cultural conditions and the context but also to transfer information in the languages of the regions. These approaches to communities via cultural initiatives, according to the participants in the sectoral consultation with businesspeople, also include openness towards cultural practices like Maya ceremonies in order to request permission to start operations. Not all the participants agree with this idea but, as some of the people consulted said, "This is acceptable because it has to be accepted," and added that the permissions are usually granted.

- Negotiation and dialogue. One of the mechanisms mentioned to overcome differences with regards to access to natural resources, land, and basic services has been the creation of spaces for negotiation and dialogue between businesses and inhabitants. However, there is also a perception among the participants over the limited efficacy of this mechanisms and, in particular, that of the State with its National System for Dialogue, which far from being perceived as an intermediary is seen as an intensifier of conflict.

  Although for many of the participants this is an important form of action, there are a variety of positions involved, as expressed by one of those interviewed: "There are groups that support and other who are in opposition, but there are others who are not visible and can be pressured by the other two groups and forced to take a position that can be in favour or opposed, under the philosophy that you are with me or you against me."

  Other actors suggest that dialogue has worked, as was the case in the department of San Marcos, and it was thanks to the creation of municipal working groups that tensions have been reduced in various municipalities. In this regard, it was mentioned that these actions are not visible because there is a political interest in not accepting that conditions for reducing tensions are, in fact, being created.

A brief comparative summary of the more common responses to socio-environmental problems and the conditions that might be related to their emergence must underline, in the first place, that the feelings of mistrust and dissatisfaction towards the State across the board in all eleven departments produces social protest and the search for channels to demand compliance with its responsibilities.

As we have seen in the actions described, these responses do not only include those that are currently being debated concerning their legitimacy among the sectors because of the measures involved (taking over buildings, blocking roads) but also other recurrent actions such as broadcasting information and awareness-building, that find their expression in different forms and channels in all the departments, such as alternative media, inter-institutional support networks and even the Development Councils.

For other actions which are less recurrent in all the departments but very important in those where they take place, it is necessary to consider certain contextual and cultural elements that allow populations and communities in Quiché, Totonicapán, Huehuetenango, San Marcos and Alta Verapaz to create forms of organization to demand of the State that it comply with its obligations or, instead, generate the conditions that will allow them to take matters into their own hands. This communal organization owes its existence in part to common cultural elements such as language, history and the definition (physical or symbolic) of a territory but also to the relative autonomy (in good measure the result of geographic distance) with regards to the urban centres where state institutions reside.

Violence and insecurity

Violence is understood as all physical and psychological aggression aimed the lives and the properties of people. Included is criminality, which is any act of transgression of the law in detriment of people's lives and property through both violent and nonviolent means. In turn, insecurity is conceived as the feeling of fear produced by the perception of the threat of falling victim to a violent or criminal act and of the incapacity of public institutions to provide a response in the face of this problem.

Within this frame, criminality and delinquency turn out to be the greatest concerns of the people. To that must be added, although in less intensity, situations such as drug peddling and violence against women and children. But it is worth noting

that, in general terms, there exists a perception of tense social relations – that have the potential to be resolved violently – among the citizenry.

Criminality and delinquency. This problem involves acts of extortion, theft, assaults, death threats and, to a lesser extent, kidnappings. Official data are imprecise both in terms of causes as well as frequency in each region. Although this problem is extant all across the country, it tends to affect with greater intensity those regions with larger urban populations and those with greater ethnic diversity, such as Guatemala, Zacapa, Jalapa, Izabal, and Escuintla.

In these departments, theft, extortions, and homicides are more recurrent. In Jalapa this situations is evident in the constant theft of motorcycles. In Zacapa, on the other hand, there is greater concern especially about murders and extortions. It is noteworthy that other situations are considered as part of the phenomenon of violence, such as "shops set up by people who come from over there," that is, from the western part of the country. The explanation for this perception, as discussed, can be found along two lines of reasoning. The first is the causal relationship between businesses and violence that, according to some, moves extortionists to act when they see more money in circulation and to follow the shopkeepers who have it. The second points to the suspicion among the townspeople that the abundance of merchandise and money in the shops cannot be explained other than the result of illicit activities.

In the meantime, in the department of Izabal the problem of criminality is centred in urban areas in the municipalities such as Los Amates, Morales and Puerto Barrios, where homicidal violence and armed assaults are prevalent, but at the same time people perceive this situation as involving only those "who are into something" and, particularly, local networks of drug trafficking. An interesting fact is that his type of violence affects and is principally associated with young men.

In the department of Quiché, when referring to criminal acts such as death threats and kidnappings, the participants in the consultation group attributed them to rival political groupings who utilize fear and violence to intimidate their opponents. These, as was mentioned, involve groups of organized neighbours and inhabitants that have different political views, mutual jealousies, and boundary disputes of small properties although their conflicts can sometimes spread over the whole municipality. But the greatest concern regarding delinquency is extortions to businesses. This concern is heightened by the perception of the incapacity of the National Civilian Police and their possible participation in criminal acts (either through negligence or taking bribes).

Drug peddling. Drug trafficking was not a topic that was discussed openly unless the researcher present asked specifically about it. However, the issue was catalogued as one of insecurity for young people around schools. Even though there exists a widely-held perception, as expressed by those consulted, that in Zacapa and other departments in the eastern part of the country like Chiquimula and Jutiapa a lot of people are engaged in drug trafficking, the situation that concerns them is not the presence of drug traffickers who are not a threat "if one does not get involved with them" and are even considered benefactors of the population. Instead, their concern is drug peddling and low-end consumption by "young people who have no parental guidance".

In general, for those consulted the problem with drug trafficking is perceived as an external issue with no repercussions among the population, as long as people do not get involved in this activity and allow other individuals and groups to do so, such as the case of Huehuetenango which is described as a "transit point." In the final analysis, and in a low voice, the presence of people involved in drug trafficking is recognized as beneficial because of their support for local activities or to "scare off" those delinquents who act on their own. A different perception was held in Escuintla, where the participants pointed to drug trafficking as an alternative source of income by "fishing" loads of drugs that are tossed into the sea.

Violence against women and children. After the concern about common delinquency, people are worried about violence against women, a concern which was expressed recurrently by persons consulted in the 11 departments. Even though it is recognized as a situation that affects the lives of women specifically, in the minds of people it is usually associated with domestic violence (which is different with regard to the place where it is committed) and with violence towards children, especially. As it happens, these issues were frequently dealt with at the same time, including sexual violence, early pregnancies, early marriage for girls, sexual abuse, and child trafficking.

One of the first opinions in this respect is that these forms of violence take place within the private space of the family and reflect various causes such as machismo, patriarchy, and a lack of gender equality. But also mentioned were the lack of resources and conditions so that women might generate their own wealth. However, in opinion of those commenting, in most cases this problem is silenced and its resolution left within the sphere of the family or the couple.

With regards to early pregnancies and marriages of young girls, the participants in the departments of Alta Verapaz, Quiché and Jalapa associated these with communal practices where they are perceived as normal.

Regarding the trafficking and exploitation of girls, boys, and adolescents, the participants in Alta Verapaz said that "there are many judges who are abusers or implicated in people trafficking, which can be a worrisome conflict when one is trying to exercise some control because there are other kinds of control that do not allow for forward movement in this type of situation, either because of an abuse of power or some political control." In geographical terms, the problem in Alta Verapaz is located in the regions of the Northern Transversal Strip (*Franja Transversal del Norte*) and the municipalities of the Polochic River (Senahú, Tucurú, Tamahú, La Tinta and Panzós).

Meanwhile, in border departments like Huehuetenango and Petén, people trafficking and exploitation are also associated with Central American migratory movements, which affect women who are in transit through their territories.

Tense social relations. This aspect has been listed separately because it was mentioned recurrently in various of the departments consulted. Basically, it refers to situations of everyday relationships that affect the citizenry and which are interpreted by many as situations of insecurity as they are perceived as threats to tranquillity, such as the establishment of bars and the noise they produce.

This situation was identified in the departments of Escuintla, Quiché, Alta Verapaz (in municipalities like Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Cahabón) and Jalapa. In this last department, reference was made to alcoholism as a serious situation which is reflected in the admittance of between 60 and 70 people every month to the rehabilitation centres in that department, according to statistics of the local office of the National Institute of Statistics.

In this same region a lack of caution and little observance of traffic regulations have been singled out as one of the main causes of traffic accidents, especially those involving motorcycles or motorbike-taxis. This situation was also pointed out by the consultation group in Guatemala City, where traffic is perceived as one of the contexts where more violent attitudes and behaviours are produced such as running red lights, not respecting the pedestrian ways, excessive use of the horn, and fights between drivers.

In final instance, these forms of relationship produce everyday stress that ends up being reproduced at all levels of social life and "creates a vicious circle from which it is difficult to escape."

Impact of jails on the perception of insecurity. Among the conditions of insecurity, the participants from two departments highlighted the perception of danger and threats in the vicinity of jails. These were the cases of Escuintla with its Canada

Penal Farm and of the department of Jalapa and the Preventive Jail for Men in its jurisdiction.

With regards to the first, concern was expressed about the relatives of those in prison who tend to camp out in the surroundings provoking, according to those who mentioned it, insecurity and violence. In Jalapa, mention should be made of the fact that in April 2014, 240 inmates rioted in protest of the transfer of a group of gang members[27] and that in July of the same year three prisoners escaped.[28]

Mismanagement of security strategies. The situation of violence that people live in and perceive was attributed also to a mismanagement of security strategies, which ends up being a source of conflictive situations. This negative opinion refers especially to the police force.

In Escuintla, in addition to the problems mentioned, the incompetence of the National Civilian Police (PNC) was pointed out, both because of its links to criminal organizations as well as the few police officers if deploys, in addition to the ineffectiveness of the office of the public prosecutor.

A similar perception was expressed among the participants from the department of Guatemala where state actors are said to be involved in crime, as well as their poor response capacity and the corruption that takes place within public institutions, especially the PNC, which regardless of the implementation of diverse security programmes is still perceived as ineffective and hardly trustworthy (for example the plan "Cuéntaselo a Waldemar").

The poor management of security strategies not only impinges on its low efficiency but also in its overall operations; participants frequently contrasted the excessive use of force by the police when confronting public demonstrations (for example, the case of the Minera San Rafael mining company and the inhabitants of La Puya, where large numbers of police officers have been assigned) while the efforts put into controlling common crime are minimal.

A final aspect of the situation was mentioned by the consultation group of Alta Verapaz, where in its opinion there is an excessive use of violence by the State in support of mechanisms by its institutions that discriminate and exclude, a tendency that is expressed in the lack of response to public demands such as security and the rule of law.

27 See more details in: http://www.prensalibre.com/departamental/Motin-disturbios-carcel-Jalapa-presos-reos-pnc-antidisturbios-presos_0_1118888208.html
28 See more details in:
http://www.prensalibre.com/jalapa/tres-reos-se_fugan-carcel-Jalapa_0_1166883525.html

Resilient responses in the face of violence and insecurity

- **Silence and fear**. In the face of the situation of violence and insecurity, frequent mention was made of the fact that people remain silent and prefer not to say what is happening (even if it is happening to them, as in the case of extortions) for fear of reprisals and a lack of credibility in the efficacy of the police and the system of justice. These attitudes or forms of action were singled out by the participants from the departments of Guatemala, Escuintla, Zacapa and Izabal.

- **Inertia and acceptance**. Since it is perceived as a problem that cannot be resolved by complaints or public demonstrations of dissatisfaction, as is the case of socio-environmental conflicts or the fragility of state institutions, there is a sense of inertia that is expressed in statements like "we must struggle up to where it's possible," "there is nothing to be done, just wait until it's our turn," or "all that is left for us is to pray." Perhaps the most dramatic example of this situation was presented in the meeting in Escuintla where mention was made of families in the municipality of Palín who have organized to raise money that at a given moment is demanded from one of them as an extortion payment.

- **Filing complaints before the institutions of the State**. Even though little trust is placed in it, the act of complaining continues to be one of the principal responses by the people, according to the consultation groups. Complaining carries more weight in departments with a greater presence of public institutions that have gained a modicum of recognition, as are the cases of Huehuetenango and Alta Verapaz where the public prosecutor has specialized offices such as the Attorneys for Women and their Model for Comprehensive Services (MAI in Spanish). In those departments where these offices have just been opened, as in the case of Quiché, as reported by a representative of the public prosecutor, the level and "the culture" of filing a complaint is just beginning to increase.

- **Night patrolling.** The organization of neighbours to do prevention work takes the shape of night patrols or watches. For many of those consulted, this practice has been effective to scare off those who might engage in criminal acts. However, there are also reservations about specifying their functions (many of these neighbourhood organizations are endorsed by the National Civilian Police and the Ministry of Government) because abuses have been committed. One of the abuses mentioned is charging money for "protection services" from those people who do not participate directly in night patrol groups. According to those who criticize this practice, charging money privatizes

a community effort and undermines the initial intention of exercising justice. In Huehuetenango, for example, the joint effort among neighbours ended up in the hiring of a private vehicle to do the nightly rounds. In Totonicapán, the nightly rounds are only carried out in times of local fairs; here an "interesting" practice takes place, according to those reporting, which is that people who are detained by the members of the rounds are held without informing the authorities. Hiding them in this way is in response to the concern that "the human rights people or the police" will take over the cases and set them free. Hiding those detained from the police means that they will be tried under communal practices which are not specified.

In summary, night rounds, even though they are perceived with mistrust, are considered in general as the only viable alternative for neighbourhoods and communities to protect themselves from threats.

Taking justice into one's own hand. This action refers to extreme measures such as lynching and "social cleansing." Little was said about "social cleansing" but what little was said points to a positive attitude in the sense that it does away with the problem of "contamination".

Lynching is considered a necessary response in view of the lack of credibility of the system of justice and its ineffectiveness. And as participants said, its origin is indignation, as lynching can be done against those who are singled out or under suspicion of having committed criminal acts as well as against those who act incorrectly or not at all. Thus, for example, in Alta Verapaz mention was made of "Judges who leave much to be desired with regards to their attitudes and the way in which they carry out their work. At present there are many judges who are irresponsible and abuse their authority." In Senahú, where a judge was lynched, the following example provides context: "The inhabitants were punished; however, the responsible party was the judicial branch because the judge's attitude went unchecked: he was drunk, abusive, he didn't do his duty, etc. But this situation was not looked into. The people of Senahú requested on three occasions that the judge be transferred but due to political influences the people's petition was not addressed."

In other municipalities like Zacualpa and Cunén, in the department of Quiché, the violent and massive mobilization of the people resulted in the expulsion of policemen and judges. Despite comments in various departments to the effect that lynching has declined or does not exist, this practice is recurrent in many of them, such as

happened in Totonicapán where just a few days after it was said that lynching is a thing of the past two women were lynched in the municipality of San Cristóbal Totonicapán and some weeks later two men were beaten in the main town.

- **Privatization of security services and activities.** When security is not provided by the State or by organized community groups, the option is to contract private security. This situation was most evident in the consultation in the department of Guatemala, where examples were mentioned such as closing off housing developments, the installation of security cameras, the purchase of firearms, and the hiring of police officers.

  But this is not something exclusive of the capital. In other departments such as Huehuetenango and Zacapa mention was also made of the increased use of private security services, the purchase of weapons, and alarm systems for businesses and vehicles.

- **Alternative justice mechanisms employed by community organizations.** This information refers basically to the exercise of Mayan law with emphasis on the mediation role of indigenous and ancestral authorities as applied to the resolution of problems such as domestic violence, violence against women, and disputes over communal and personal boundaries. Special mention should be made of the closing of liquor stores (in Ixcán, Quiché; Huehuetenango and Alta Verapaz) after communal decisions taken in assembly and put into practice by those who are charged with leading the community organization.

  Various controversies surround this practice. One has to do with confusion over punishments under Maya law and lynching, which are often considered to be the same thing. Another has to do with clarification of the role of the different forms of leadership and delegated authority that exist in many communities where members of COCODES and their commissions, indigenous and ancestral authorities, sheriffs and assistant mayors all coexist.

  On the other hand, the role of indigenous authorities as mediators, especially in cases of violence towards women, has produced friction with official legislation which does not allow for reconciliation in those criminal cases as listed in the "Law against Feminicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women." This has also prompted discussions with organizations of Maya women and feminists regarding forms of retribution and/or reparation in cases such as rape. For example, in the group from Alta Verapaz mention was made of cases

where some communal authorities resolve the problem by having the aggressor marry the victim, as the case might warrant. In other cases there have been contradictions with official legislation due to the kinds of sanctions or sentences as practiced in Maya law when not accepted as just by those who are judged and, as a consequence, seek out the intervention of the official legal system.

In summary, the application of the mechanisms enshrined in Maya law, as discussed briefly in the consultation groups, must be seen under the light of the legality and legitimacy both of communal and local authorities as well as those of the State.

- **<u>Exerting influence to transform institutions.</u>** According to the results of the consultation, influence must be exerted especially around the problem of violence against women, both at communal and intersectoral levels. Such is the case of women's organizations and other intersectoral expressions like the Referral Networks.

Local and national women's organizations have played a relevant role in furthering and promoting measures which contribute to the improvement of conditions for women, as well as demands for the reform of current legislation in support of their rights. An example of this is the establishment of the Centres for the Comprehensive Care for Women (CAIMU in Spanish) and support for women who are seeking redress as victims of violence.

Another of the expressions of influence and lobbying is the participation of organizations and sectors of the Networks for Referral of Care for Victims which was called for and organized by the public prosecutor's office in all the departments of the country and by the Executive Committees for Justice (bodies belonging to civil society) in the departments of Alta Verapaz and Huehuetenango. In some regions like Huehuetenango, Alta Verapaz, San Marcos, Izabal and Totonicapán the activities of the Advocate for Indigenous Women (DEMI in Spanish) have also acquired relevance.

According to the women consulted in Guatemala City there have been many lobbying and outreach activities which have led to an "opening" of the system, although they believe that these actions are *parches* (stopgap measures) that are still only marginal with regards to the main problems.

- **Self-protecting families.** At a more primary level (individuals and nuclear families), actions are aimed at seeking out protection for family members by means of a change of personal habits: taking precautions, instructing children as to the latest they can stay out. These actions were pointed out by the consultations groups in Guatemala, Jalapa, and Alta Verapaz.

- **Security strategies applied by the State.** Actions by the State were also mentioned in the field of security, but limited basically to patrolling, special operations and surveillance, as well as prevention programmes organized by local police offices of the Unit for Communal Prevention of Violence (UPCV) of the Ministry of Government. Up to a point, the State is also considered, through its institutions, as the right actor to call for and legitimize the communal organization to address the issue of public security.

In summary, when faced with the situation of violence and insecurity, there is an observed tendency among the participants from the eleven departments and the sectoral groups to consider that a first response to this situation lies in the private sphere and the individual's choice, in which passivity wins out as expressed in silence, inertia, and acceptance. At a more collective level, responses include the use of patrols and night watches, which in the minds of many of those consulted are closely linked historically to the Civil Self-Defence Patrols (PAC); as one participant put it, "the only thing they have done is changing their name."

The practice of surveillance has been a point that has been debated, especially as practiced in indigenous communities where it intersects with the traditional customs, as in the cases of Quiché, Totonicapán, Huehuetenango, and Alta Verapaz. It has been no less of a problem in other departments like Escuintla, Jalapa, and Zacapa, where it is associated with taking the law into one's own hands and, in extreme form, with social cleansing.

Finally, the prevalence of more specific actions was identified in the department of Guatemala and in urban centres, such as hiring private security services and exerting influence and political lobbying, given that many of the actors who promote these actions are themselves close to the services and the institutions with which they interact, in contrast to the social organization of communities in other parts of the country.

Fragility of public institutions

As employed during the consultations, the fragility of public institutions is understood as a condition of low development of the technical, administrative, and/or financial capacities of the institutions of the State to carry out their legal mandate under which they were created and thereby respond to the citizenry's demands.

During the consultation groups the problems derived from a lack of capacity were addressed. However, also discussed was the limited capacity to resist the influence of factors which move the institutions in directions that favour private and personal objectives above and beyond those that benefit the public, such as corruption and patronage. Under this focus, the problems associated with fragility of the State follow along two paths:

1) the lack of capacity to respond adequately to its prescribed mandate; and

2) the lack of capacity to resist corruption and patronage.

It should be pointed out that this is a division for analytical purposes since in practice the citizenry is basically concerned about the defective operation of the institutions and, in fact, most concerns were expressed, during the consultation, about the second aspect than about the first, as we shall see.

Limited capacity to respond adequately in fulfilment of its mandate. This problem is related basically to four factors: the first is a perception of absence and/or little effectiveness of the institutions of the State; the second is the discredit of the state bureaucracy for a number of reasons; the third refers to the absence of an administrative and civil service career; and fourthly, a lack of awareness of the functions of the State's offices.

Regarding the perception of the limited capacity of the institutions to respond to the demands of the population, in the 11 departments those consulted singled out the institutions that are charged with the security and justice systems such as the PNC, the public prosecutor's office and the courts. This perception is based on three elements: a limited geographical coverage, excessive bureaucratic paperwork when following up on cases, and finally little capacity to resolve those cases brought to its attention.

In second place, the health system was singled out because its role was considered unsatisfactory due to the scarcity of medicines and specialized personnel to treat illnesses, which in many cases only get worse due to the negligence of the doctors and

nurses charged with treatment. In the department of Alta Verapaz those consulted added that the situation is deteriorating because "many times the way people are treated reflects ideas and behaviours that are discriminatory towards indigenous populations."

Other departments such as Petén, Huehuetenango and San Marcos present the same difficulties. In San Marcos, one of those interviewed associated the problem with a lack of economic resources in the following terms: "why go to the doctor if the only thing they give you is the prescription." In Petén, the problem not only refers to the health system but to its historic abandonment by the State of Guatemala.

In addition to the limited effectiveness in the provision of basic services such as education (outdated and irrelevant), health (access, pertinence, coverage) and security, reference was also made to other deficiencies. In Petén, for example, there has been a low capacity in the services of the Secretariat of Nutritional Security (SESAN) in addressing the situation of malnourishment. In Totonicapán a problem of insufficient funding was pointed out, as well as the way the monies have been spent. Similar opinions were registered in the sectoral group of young people who pointed out the lack of organization of the budgetary assignment for the National Commission for Youth (CONJUVE) which receives only 10 million quetzales of which, they said, 80% are spent on administrative costs. As one of the young people said: "There we see how the State continues to keep us sidelined, without recognizing the importance we deserve."

These circumstances have led the population to express its mistrust and discredit towards the State and, as a consequence, they prefer to seek out their own and alternative means to resolve those issues that should be addressed by the State.

On the other hand, the fragile situation of public institutions can be explained by the absence of a professional administrative career and of a strong civil service that will guarantee the continuity of the programmes and services provided by the institutions, which are frequently affected every four years by the change of government.

In the final instance, it was also recognized that there is a lack of awareness among the people about the specific functions that each government office is responsible for. Again, the principal example mentioned in the security and justice system was the PNC, that receives low grades as representative of the entire system.

But this lack of awareness is also associated with the limited interaction with the people in the communities that inhibits people who do not speak Spanish or who are

not sufficiently literate to understand the role that institutions play, together with laws that are not geared to the linguistic requirements of groups and communities.

Lack of capacity to resist corruption and patronage: "the problem is politicization". Among all the participants in the consultation groups in the 11 departments there was coincidence in pointing out that one of the main problems of the State is "politicization". Politicization is understood to mean the intervention of political party interests within the structure of the State and the municipalities. Its clearest manifestations are patronage, influence peddling, the scarce investment in communities that are electorally adverse, abuse, concentration of power, and the lack of representation.

In Huehuetenango the politicization within the state institutions is associated with access to employment in the institutions in a discretionary manner and in response to family and friendship relations, which generates, as was mentioned, chaos and informality in the public sector when positions in government are occupied by people who are not duly prepared for a civil service job.

A similar situation was described in Zacapa, where politicization was compounded by influence peddling in the assignment of jobs within institutions exclusively for those close to the incumbent authorities. This was described as a form of government which acts only under political interests and where there is a notorious use of the "cocodes"[29], as institutions that only rubber-stamp decisions taken elsewhere. Mention is also made of the dependence of government jobs on drug trafficking or the infiltration by the powers that be which, in the final count, determine who gets a job and what decisions must be taken and, closely linked to this, the negligence of the security and justice offices to go after these powers.

In Alta Verapaz, the problems of politicization and patronage are evident, in the first place, in the absence of investment in certain communities. This is a form of punishment via limited investment that is decided by the local authorities of communities that did not vote for them. During the consultation in this department, the following was heard: "In Cobán there are communities which are condemned to not received a single cent of investment because the government's party lost the election in these communities," and they add that "this can result in a conflict, now it is just a latent conflict, in the next elections it can change but if the government party were to lose again, that will be a conflict that will explode, something we cannot say out loud. The same that is happening here must be happening in other

29   COCODES is the acronym for Consejos Comunitarios de Desarrollo, which are part of the operation structure of the Sistema Nacional de Consejos de Desarrollo. However, reference to "los cocodes" frequently means specific individuals who are part of the community structure – the COCODE – at a given moment.

municipalities at a national level."

For the participants this situation is the result of the loss of the secret nature of the vote: "Now it is easy to know which community voted for the government's party or for what party they voted for. That means the loss of the secret nature of the vote and instead of progressing the communities have backtracked with that procedure. Both the local and/or the national government punishes the communities by not investing in projects."

In Izabal, one of the main problems discussed was the abuse and centralization of power by the local and national authorities because, as mentioned, on many occasions they do not take into account the opinion of the wide spectrum of populations and sectors of civil society, such as the Garífuna population and women. To this they add the way in which political parties act by "coopting leaderships and cutting the links of representation between the leaders and the groups they claim to represent." As expressed by one of the participants who has been invited to run for office by a number of parties: "To participate as a candidate it is necessary to consult with the people. It cannot be decided just like that, believing what the parties say about one as a representative. First one must consult, first one has to talk because I know my people."

This need to consult with the population on a number of different issues is one of the aspects most singled out as a weakness or lack of will by the State. According to the opinion of those consulted, little attention is paid by government officials towards conflicts, as well a lack of openness for dialogue, which according to those consulted demonstrates a lack of political will to overcome complicated situations.

Finally, in addition to corruption and patronage, in departments such as Guatemala, Escuintla, Jalapa, Zacapa and Petén, participants said that the use of government offices for personal benefit is associated with criminal groups that place conditions on the activities of the institutions, especially in the case of the application of the law. As said: "People are afraid of the courts because afterwards these same courts 'point a finger' at the people who lodge a complaint."

Resilient responses in the face of the fragility of public institutions

With regards to this issue, an imbalance was observed between the number of problems referred to and the number of answers that surfaced, which is different from the two previous issues. However, during the more extended interviews and

discussions other actions were identified which, to some extent, compensate for the shortcoming mentioned. The constant in this sense (as was also pointed out in the two previous cases) was the mistrust in the capacity of the State to respond to the demands but also the fear of reprisals by those who are singled out for not carrying out their responsibilities within the state's bureaucracy. In the final count, it is believed that there have been changes although with limited capacity, as was expressed by a participant in one of the working groups: "The State listens to the demands but does not act."

The following responses were proposed to address these issues:

- **Search for alternative basic services.** To cope with a lack of basic services – such as health – the population looks to a variety of means: the convergence centres,[30] the use of private clinics, and the purchase of medicines.

  Within communities, one significant alternative involves the local healers and midwives, who are held in high esteem within the communities not only as providers of services but as agents of social cohesion, as was mentioned: "Who better than they, who have seen all of us here being born."

  The kitchen gardens, in addition to providing for the family's economy – as was pointed out in the actions to cope with socio-environmental conflictive situations – also provide medicinal herbs. The same person who mentioned that the only thing that people get at health clinics and hospitals is a prescription then asked "What is one to do with this? Better one heads home and boils some herbs."

- **Finding an NGO as an alternative to the State.** Among those actors that were identified a playing a mediating and substitute function in lieu of those of the State, diverse NGOs stood out as providers of health care, education, and promotion of economic development and tourism, among others.

  For many of those consulted, the NGOs also serve as something like "a shoulder to cry on" where the citizenry can go and demand that the State comply with its responsibilities.

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30   Although mention should be made that these are part of the outreach model for coverage of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance. For more information see: "Modelo de Extensión de Cobertura en el primer nivel de atención", MSPAS, 2007.

However, this role is not always well perceived because according to others the NGOs have also fallen into error by attempting to substitute for the State, with the additional problem of not having the institutional strength nor the economic resources to sustain their interventions. In departments such as San Marcos and Jalapa this was an issue discussed to the effect that there is a need to define and deepen the role of organized civil society and the interventions by NGOs.

- **<u>Make up for institutional shortcomings: "Stick up for the State".</u>** On a number of occasions, those public servants interviewed expressed contradictory sentiments about the perception of an inefficient State in contrast to the positive opinions held within its institutions about its role.

  In San Marcos, for example, during one of the consultation groups an intense debate took place concerning the status of the State of Guatemala as a failed state, to which one of the participants from the public sector reacted strongly. Her argument was that if the State was said to be a failure, this assumed that its institutions had also failed, which she disagreed with. In Quiché, the representative of an office that served women recognized that the State has limits (both in terms of legal mandates and budgets) that did not allow her and her colleagues to proceed according to their notion of justice, hence on many occasions she did "things" that her institution would not allow but which she considered necessary for supporting women victims of violence, such as providing economic support or assisting the community to undertake investigations.

  In another avenue for action, a public servant underlined the fact that the very same public institutions sometimes receive assistance from individuals, groups and even from the employees themselves to enable them to function. This assistance is of little volume and involves office materials and equipment necessary for their operation. On the other hand, it was pointed out that the State receives financial and technical support on a large scale from the business sector or international cooperation agencies (such as donations of computer equipment) that is channelled via the head offices and does not always reach its local destination.

  What lies at the base of all this is a self-assessment of the actions that public servants carry out so that State apparatus can function, as was expressed by one of them who emphatically added after an interview: "Now that you turned that thing off [the voice recorder], I can tell you that what we really feel is frustration. Because the State does wrong things and one must keep a straight face for them."

- **Business social responsibility.** Business social responsibility is carried out by companies that have projects in the regions where they are present, for which they use their own funds.

  In ways similar to those of NGOs, they also intervene in issues of health, education, and the promotion of economic development at micro-social levels such as entrepreneurship and family businesses. An example of this Fundazúcar which has developed training programmes for teachers and improvements in the quality of education, especially in the departments of the southern coast of the country. In Totonicapán the commercial sector also supports education directly (without going through the Ministry of Education and its departmental supervisory offices, which it considers bureaucratic) with training and diploma programmes for teachers in the department.

  For those who support these programmes (hydroelectric concerns and mining companies, among others) there also is concern that these actions might lessen the State's responsibility, whom they consider primarily responsible for promoting education, health, and development at the community level. Regardless, as they mentioned, they are the only ones – in the communities where they are present – that provide these services.

- **Social audits.** Although not evidenced directly, social audits (without being called thus) are one of the actions that sectoral groups – where women once again have a leadership role – carry out to demand that the State and its institutions comply with their mandate.

  In San Marcos, for example, a group of women who are members of the Network of Indigenous Women's Organizations for Reproductive Health(REDMISAR) volunteer to oversee the operations of schools and health clinics. Given the relevance of this work, we can transcribe part of the dialogue:

  How do you do it?

  We go from place to place, hospitals, health clinics, schools. We visit and evaluate the conditions: that the beds be alright, that there is medicine, that there be no discrimination.

  And what is that good for?

  To go and talk to the ministers, to the legislators, to the mayors, and sometimes we have gotten good results.

Departments like Alta Verapaz and Huehuetenango have similar spaces where persons from civil society and representatives of the various institutions of the State get together called Executive Committees for Justice.[31] As expressed by members of these committees in both departments, they are currently engaged in providing support for the justice system by making observations about its functioning and, on occasions, providing support through specific tasks they are assigned. Among their contributions they point to the influence they exerted to set up and constantly improve the Models for Comprehensive Attention (MAI) of the attorney's office and the System of Comprehensive Attention of the judicial branch, in addition to setting up training programmes, especially on issues related to violence against women and other forms of violence.

- **Noncompliance of obligations or search for defence before the State.** Noncompliance of obligations was referred to as a reaction produced by dissatisfaction with – and corruption within – the State and boils down to not paying taxes or reporting to the office of the Superintendent of Fiscal Administration (SAT). This reaction can acquire more elaborate forms of defence against SAT[32] by instructing people in ways to avoid paying taxes or fines for not doing so.

- **Negation of one's own identity in order to get a job in the State.** This aspect was mentioned especially in regions where there are clear cultural differences, especially when compared to the dominant cultural composition of the state apparatus; such is the case in Izabal where the Garífuna population is in a minority. For those who mentioned this topic, it's a matter of leaving one's cultural values aside, such as the language and clothing of one's group, in order to be considered for a post or not to be discriminated against in other spaces of public life such as schools or offices that process people's requests.

The existence of more elaborate responses in the face of the fragility of public institutions is more complicated here than in the two previous ones. In this last, as we saw, a large part of the concerns have to do with very structure of the State and the role of political parties.

In departments with a high percentage of peasant population and higher levels of rural residence – such as Alta Verapaz and San Marcos – the response in the

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31   These bodies were set up with the support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 2011 and bring together sectors of civil society and institutions of the security and justice systems, such as the prosecutor's office and the judicial branch.
32   The name of the department and the sector from which this opinion originates are omitted as specifically requested by the speaker.

face of little presence of the State was the creation of alternative mechanisms. Also frequent was reference to the presence of ONGs and projects sponsored by private businesses, especially in those territories where mining and hydroelectric projects are being developed such as Quiché, Huehuetenango, and Alta Verapaz. At a lesser degree, these projects can also be found in departments like Jalapa, Zacapa and Izabal, where people express resentment over the excessive attention provided to indigenous populations in detriment of others in the eastern part of the country.

In the case of social audits, as identified, this responds to the creation of intersectoral networks without regards to any special characteristic of each department, but there do exist common concerns as in the case of the Referral Networks and the Executive Committees for Justice and their involvement in issues of violence against women and access to justice, as in the cases of the departments of San Marcos, Huehuetenango and Alta Verapaz.

Among the actions undertaken mention can be made of one in particular that evidences the invisibility of the group which expressed it: this is the denial of their identity to have access to the State's structure as told by Garífuna women of the department of Izabal. As they themselves expressed it, these people have also been made invisible historically given the indigenous/ladino dichotomy that is dominant in Guatemalan social imagination.

Socioeconomic fragility

Unemployment, lack of opportunities, and poverty. This problem is associated with a lack of opportunities, understood not only as limited access to a job but also to education, which is understood as a necessary condition for social ascent and an improvement in the economic situation of families. The poverty in which many families live was interpreted recurrently in all the departments consulted as a structural matter caused by low educational levels which, in turn, constitute an obstacle for access to real opportunities to land a good job. Along these lines, a woman who was interviewed in the department of Izabal expressed categorically that "here there is no work for us", and pointed out that in addition to the few job openings they have difficulty complying with all the requirements for obtaining a job.

Other aspects that shape this problem refer to seasonal conditions, as is the case in the department of Escuintla where at the end of the sugar cane harvest income

drops for a large part of the population; gender conditions expressed in the disparity between men and women in access to jobs (sectoral women's group); lack of specific policies and regulations that guarantee access to employment (sectoral youth group); or jobs in the public sector occupied by people who are not qualified that owe their post to some connection with the authorities.

Consumption and high cost of electric energy. The cost of electric energy is one of the major concerns of populations in all the departments due to its high cost, that might reach up to Q400 or Q500 a month. This situation is worsened by irregularities in the service as well as its low quality, according to informants. In rural areas the problem has to do with a lack of access to the service.

But the situation of access to electric energy becomes more sensitive when it is contrasted with the construction of hydroelectric dams among those populations that are most affected. According to a participant from Alta Verapaz, "the strategic platform with regards to the generation, transport and distribution is a time bomb with hidden characteristics." These "hidden" characteristics refer to the play of special political and economic interests that according to his perception could be behind the building of these hydroelectric dams and the lack of services to the surrounding communities. Another approach considered this problem as an example of exclusion due to the ethnic condition of the people (discrimination), especially in a department with a majority of indigenous rural population, as in the case of Alta Verapaz. And the participant added: "The very fact that the needs of this population are not being addressed is a violation of human rights."

For the participants of the business sector, the problem related to the construction of hydroelectric dams is due to a lack of information because by law companies cannot generate, transport and distribute energy at the same time. For the business sector, the problem is in the distribution of energy, which does not affect them directly. On the other hand, the lack of information also affects the perception of populations that do not receive the benefits that the projects supposedly will generate. This situation is explained not only as a matter of perception but also one of the use of the economic benefits that accrue to local authorities and municipalities.

Access to basic services and infrastructure. In addition to the big structural problems and their macro-social impact, for the populations in the departments consulted there are also sensitive concerns surrounding the access to basic services and transportation infrastructure.

With regards to the first, the issue of access to drinking water is of the greatest relevance in various departments. In the city of Guatemala, for example, the water

supply is scarce in various zones and neighbourhoods, especially those located in peripheral or semi-urban areas, such as Mixco and Villanueva. But in other departments also, such as Petén, Zacapa, Jalapa and Escuintla, mention was made of the poor conditions of access to water where even if there are pipes the quality of water is not suitable for drinking and human consumption. Special mention was made of Puerto Barrios, the municipal seat of the department of Izabal, which every year must face the rainy season with a sewage system that is not adequate and leads to flooding; this situation worsens the problem of access to drinking water and health conditions in general.

Some of those consulted say that the problem is due to the lack of political will of the local authorities to solve the problem but they also recognize that municipalities on occasion do not have sufficient budgetary resources to handle these matters.

Other aspects have also been mentioned along these lines, such as the disposal of garbage, drainages and, in general, poor urban planning. Concerning garbage disposal, for example, in the city of Guatemala reference was made to the difficulties of finding places to dispose of garbage. Currently, the landfill for Zone 3 has exceeded its capacity and only the municipality of Amatitlán is accepting garbage that is produced in the capital. In the meantime, other neighbouring municipalities do not allow garbage produced outside of their jurisdiction.

Finally, various departments expressed concern about the poor state of roads and highways that do not allow for easy communication with urban centres, the access to necessary services such as health and education, and in the final instance, to commercial exchanges. Again, the most dramatic case is that of Puerto Barrios, Izabal, where the poor conditions of roads leading to the port of Santo Tomás was pointed out, even though these are important commercial routes.

Resilient responses in the face of socioeconomic fragility

In the face of poverty and the lack of jobs that guarantee a stable income, the citizenry of Guatemala has developed a number of responses by means of which, as frequently expressed, "they go off on an adventure of survival."

The main responses are:

- **Adjustment and reduction of family expenditures.** The lack of possible job options has made families reconsider adaptation mechanisms such as adjustments to the family budget and a reduction of certain expenses, especially in health and entertainment. These responses were mostly mentioned in the departments of Huehuetenango and Totonicapán.

- **Informal economic activities.** These are the set of mechanisms most easily accessible to confront conditions of poverty and lack of employment, among which are the sale of merchandise in the informal market and services which are not regulated by labour law. For example, in Izabal – and more specifically among the Garífuna population – women seek income by selling coconut bread or travelling to local fairs to "braid hair" or organizing dance groups for cultural events.

- **Migration.** In all departments consulted migration was a constant response. Although the risks involved are known, migration is seen as one of the principal measures that people can take to cope with the situation, especially those who decide to travel illegally to the United States. But there is also migration from the countryside to the cities, especially to the capital in search of employment or, as mentioned before, to work in the informal sector.

- **Underemployment.** Defined as employment under conditions which do not meet certain norms[33], underemployment was mentioned especially as a problem for young people to the extent that they do not see how working in something like a "call centre" can allow them to advance professionally. On the other hand, in Zacapa and Jalapa mention was made of a category of young people called *ninis*, those who neither work nor study. This perception, however, was probably associated with a study recently released by an international agency.[34]

- **Alternative forms of access to electrical energy.** This refers to alternative means of obtaining electric energy in communities which lack this service by the state or the hydroelectric companies. The very definition of this practice is being discussed currently. For example, while voices from the government (in Jalapa, San Marcos, Alta Verapaz) talk about "stealing of electricity" – which

33 According to the International Uniform Classification of Occupations, (CIOU, ILO, 1970) the term "underemployment" is used to define inadequate employment in relation to specific norms or alternative employment in accordance with required qualifications, for example, insufficient job openings ("visible underemployment") or imperfect distribution of manpower resources ("invisible underemployment"). Recovered on 8 December 2014 at: http://white.lim.ilo.org/gpe/ver_definicion.php?gloCodigo=141

34 The reference is probably to the report "Trabajo decente y juventud en América Latina", by the International Labour Office (ILO). Although this report contains indicators for Guatemala, they are not disaggregated by department.

assumes a criminal action – others from civil society refer to it as "irregular use" and what is needed, therefore, is regulation, not punishment.

• **"Taking risks": involvement in illicit activities.** For those who mentioned this line of work, these actions refer to activities that are considered illegal within the current body of law, but necessary for the subsistence of individuals or family. In Escuintla, for example, mention was made that "the option seen by many men is to buy a boat and go off to fish (drugs) at sea." While along the border with Mexico families in the department of San Marcos plant opium poppies on small plots and sell the product to the large drug distributors.

• **Contraband merchandise.** In those same border zones – San Marcos and Huehuetenango in the west, and Jutiapa[35] in the east – contraband is a common practice, principally in fuel.

Finally, with regards to responses and alternatives for job creation and improved economic conditions, in various departments mention was made of policies of social assistance such as "conditioned monetary transfers" (Mi Bono Seguro). It should be mentioned here that these were considered ineffective for a number of reasons. For those from the western region, the Bono Seguro is considered a source of dependency, while for voices in the east it is conceived more as a source of conformism for those who participate in the programme.

Resilience at vertical and horizontal levels

Part of the analytical framework for the actions that people undertake in the face of multiple concerns and obstacles that they confront when exercising their citizen rights, considers the ways in which they might contribute to the generation of social capital and, as a consequence, to greater social cohesion. According to the conceptual framework of the project Framework for the Analysis of Resilience in Guatemala, social capital is defined as:

> The internal social and cultural coherence of a society, the norms and values that determine the interactions between individuals and the institutions in which they are embedded. Social capital is the glue that maintains societies united and without which there can be no economic growth or human wellbeing.[36]

35   This department was not part of the consultation phase; however, when discussing alternative mechanisms for facing unemployment, it was mentioned as an example of contraband of goods such as gasoline.
36   McCandless, Erin and Graeme Simpson. Assessing Resilience for Peacebuilding. A discussion Document. Interpeace, 2014.

From this perspective, social capital can be generated along two levels: vertical and horizontal. We will define a vertical level as the articulation and exchange of capacities among groups in a society and the State, its institutions and its norms, while the horizontal level represents the relations among groups in a society and their operation in different spheres of social cohesion as the family, religious groups, civil and political organizations, commercial groupings and other forms of organization based on gender or ethnic conditions, among others.

As we have inferred, Figure 3 (below) illustrates one way of analyzing the exchanges that occur between organized groups (temporal or permanent) and other groups or with the State and its institutions. From other perspectives, these relations might not seem so evident or important; however, as evidenced during the discussions of the consultation groups and the interviews, there are a number of exchanges among the diverse actors at the moment when they execute their actions. This does not suggest that these exchanges are exempt of conflicts or opposing positions, much less of actions based on consensus or agreements.

From the perspective of social cohesion, a relevant aspect is the establishment of articulations along the vertical and horizontal levels, or their intersections, that will allow the groups and communities to generate more capacities to address and manage conflicts more cohesively. Among these articulations we can find strong linkages based on the identity of the members of a group (bonding), the creation of transverse articulations among various groups (bridging) or others which connect these groups via relations which are mediated by the institutions and the norms of the State (linking).

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Figure 3. Levels of analysis of social actions

State, institutions, and norms

Linkages and exchanges
of actions, capacities, and value

Groups in society   Groups in society

Linkages and exchanges of
actions capacities, and values
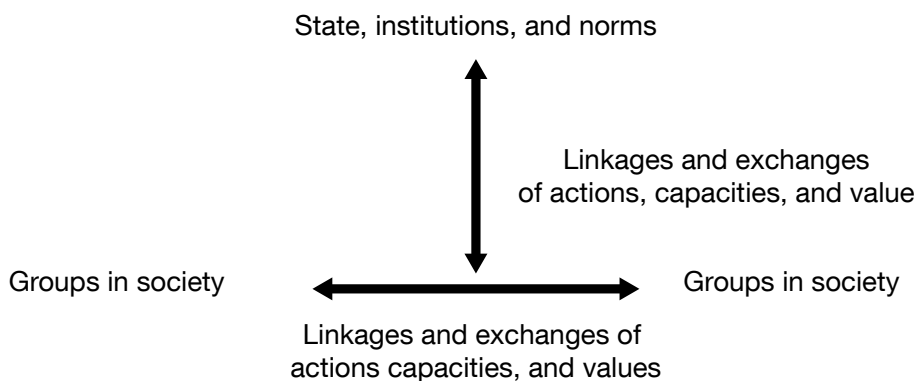
But the same does not happen when the actions are carried out on a more individual level, that is, they do not require the participation or the opinion of others in order to be carried out even though they might be shared by a large number of individuals in society, or at the level of the private space of primary relations, the family. In fact, for the participants in the consultation groups, individual action was identified above all to suggest little interest and a lack of citizen involvement to influence those issues of social concern or of State involvement. In the following diagram the level of individual action has now been added on which, although present in the actions referred to, is not considered a linking factor that will overcome or transform the problems which are faced.

Vertical level

In practical terms, the most debatable of the levels for those who carry out the actions is the vertical level given the perceptions regarding the State as a passive and inefficient body lacking political will to promote strategies and programmes. Despite these perceptions that were mentioned during the discussions of the consultation process, various actions evidence exchanges among the social groups and this body, its institutions and its norms.

State, institutions, and norms

Influence and lobbying for the creation
and/or reform of institutional and legal frameworks

Implementation of prevention programmes

Social audits

Support and advice by a variety of actors
in support of actions by the State

Interinstitutional and intersectoral
working networks

Municipal roundtables for dialogue
and conflict resolution

Groups in society

Groups in society

Communal and social organizations

Implementation of alternative security and justice mechanisms
and participation of local authorities,
patrolling, private security companies etc.

Social protest

Information: withheld and broadcast

Development of a diversity of economic activities

consultation and discussion process
in community assemblies

Implementation of alternative health mechanisms
and basic services

Acceptance, fear, silence   Informal economy   Search for basic services
and private security

Migration   Adjustments to family budget

- **Influence and lobbying.** Especially among women's organizations for the reform of judicial frameworks to favour the population of women. The links established here are between members of these organizations and local or national public officials, particularly in the security and judicial systems that involve offices such as the public prosecutor, the judicial branch, and

the National Civilian Police. The most illustrative examples are represented in the Executive Committees for Justice of Alta Verapaz and Huehuetenango, as well as the network against domestic and child violence in Quiché. In the department of Guatemala, this level of action is much greater by women's organizations that do follow up of the changes in public policy that support women.

There are also youth organizations that include actions to influence and lobby the State, either to demand compliance of their rights or to provide follow up for passing the youth law. The consultation held in Guatemala was attended by diverse organizations that at present are lobbying for the passage of this law, while in Petén, Alta Verapaz and San Marcos there are youth groups that seek to influence the State's decisions by means of an interdepartmental network.

- **Interinstitutional and intersectoral action networks.** These involve various sectors of civil society with the State institutions. Again, the care for victims of violence constitutes a cohesive force as in the case of the Referral Networks promoted by the prosecutor's office and which were mentioned in departments such as San Marcos, Quiché, Huehuetenango, Zacapa, and Alta Verapaz. In departments where socio-environmental conflicts are more intense, municipal working groups have been formed to promote dialogue and conflict resolution organized by the CODEDES and COMUDES which, although not approved by all, seek to open up dialogue among the sectors involved, as in the case of the departments of Quiché and San Marcos.

    In the departments of Zacapa, Jalapa and Petén there are networks involving youth groups and the National Commission for Youth (CONJUVE) through the so-called "civic service", which has been promoted by the Ministry of Government. This strategy involves youth in activities of the Ministries of Health, Agriculture, and Defence, primarily.

- **Social audits.** The creation of interinstitutional networks and alliances has also added on the social audit component which, according to the participants in San Marcos and Huehuetenango (departments where this issue was discussed the most) is not limited to demanding accountability from state institutions but also involves support and strategies for institutional strengthening, as in the case of the Executive Committees for Justice in Huehuetenango and Alta Verapaz, which act in coordination with the offices mentioned. Another expression of these links is the activity of REDMISAR of San Marcos, that seeks to influence authorities for the improvement of health and education systems in the department.

- **Support and advice by different actors for the State.** According to the participants, this refers to direct interventions or support for public offices in issues of health, education and local economic development, carried out by local NGOs or the private sector. Despite the fact that these actions are funded with their own resources, NGOs and companies must establish some level of contact with the State in order to receive authorization to proceed with the projects. In Totonicapán, for example, the commercial sector has developed programmes to update teachers, as do the sugar interests in the south of the country.

- **Implementation of prevention programmes by the State based on the model of citizen security.** This is one of the issues that brings together most strongly the articulation of efforts on the vertical level: security. These programmes are supported locally by the Ministry of Government through the Units for the Prevention of Communal Violence (UPCV). Despite the fact that night patrols are not part of these programmes, as mentioned by various representatives of these offices in the departments of Totonicapán, Zacapa, Jalapa and Guatemala, they continue to be one of the main spheres of action of communities in collaboration with the officers of the PNC or under its supervision.

Horizontal level

In addition to the linkages and exchanges listed between the people and the State, various actions were identified that associate work, capacities and sharing norms and values among groups and social organizations. In the opinion of many of those consulted, this form of horizontal articulation – without the presence of the State – tends to be favoured due to the mistrust and disinterest in establishing mechanisms of collaboration with public institutions. Among the reasons pointed out by the participants, the "politicization of the State" stands out, understood as taking undue advantage of the State's offices and resources for private gain.

At the horizontal level of action, communal and social organization stand out the principal form of articulation of groups and sectors in society, according to the groups consulted. Organization is conceived as the best way to support really consistent changes, while at the same time it allows actors to propose answers to the problems identified, such as social protest, sharing and distributing information, consulting and discussing matters of interest, activation of alternative mechanisms of justice and basic services not covered by the State and, in the final instance, alternative forms of economic activity.

On a sectoral plane, organization is understood as a form of articulation in order to achieve certain objectives, including political ones, as was mentioned in the women's sectoral consultation group. When referring to communal organizations, the participants referred to the need to establish not only closer organizational links but also those that privilege identity, in addition to the observance of conventional norms (explicit or otherwise) and values such as the respect for communal authorities, not seeking personal gain or showing off, and respect for the decisions of the assembly (the highest body for discussions and decisions), among others.

Following are a list of actions that emerge from this form of articulation on the horizontal level:

- **Social protest.** In general, the participants of the groups consulted in all the departments coincided that protest is one the primary form of social articulation (organized or spontaneous) by which they express their positions, dissatisfactions and demands before the State. (This is not a relation at the vertical level because the State is not part of the articulation but the object of the action.) In addition to its public expressions, social protest, as discussed in the consultation phase, suggests a level of capacity to summon and organize that allows individuals and collectives to act in terms of a common objective. In San Marcos, for example, mention was made of communities that block highways in order to prevent the entry of the police and, in that manner, protect their only forms of subsistence (poppy plantings or contraband). In Totonicapán, while the consultation group was in session, there was a demonstration that blocked the Cuatro Caminos intersection – on one of the main routes for access to various departments in the west of the country – to protest the passage of a law in the Congress of the Republic.

- **Sharing and distribution of information.** The importance of precise and updated information "of what is happening" was one of the most recurrent observations regarding social and communal organization. The various sectors considered the broadcasting of information as one of the principal strategies to obtain information about projects and activities as well as to make known what others are doing with regards to the same problems.

  In the case of the business sector, and especially those that are involved in hydroelectric or mining projects, mention was made of the importance of generating information in the communities where they seek to establish their projects. This is done through advertising and information campaigns in schools and communities.

  Members of indigenous organizations that were consulted mentioned alternative

means for broadcasting information supported by virtual networks; however, according to them the main avenue for information and communication of their activities is the communal assembly.

In the discussion group for the youth sector, one of the groups determined that dissemination of information through their social networks helps to maintain a degree of knowledge about what is happening in the country (even the importance of this is not fully recognized). On the other hand, retransmission of information is not only effective for political action but also for other spheres of social life.

- **Consultation and discussion processes.** Among actions at the horizontal level, special mention must be made of indigenous communities and groups whose forms of organization are closely tied to a shared culture, such as history, territory and common languages. Among others, they have developed the practice of communal assemblies to deal with problems that affect the community as well as those of a more everyday nature, such as the construction of mega projects or mediation in matters such as domestic violence. However, these assemblies to discuss issues of social concern are not exclusive of indigenous populations, as was pointed out in the cases of Jalapa and Zacapa where assemblies were held regarding the construction of hydroelectric dams in those departments. Nonetheless, their organization responded to a specific issue for a limited time, in contrast to the indigenous assemblies which are permanent and are even involved in the regulation of social life.

- **The activation of alternative mechanisms of justice and other dimensions such as health and basic services.** On issues of justice, as has been mentioned, the presence of indigenous and ancestral authorities is important, especially among indigenous populations (Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Totonicapán, San Marcos and Huehuetenango).

The activation of alternative mechanisms of justice includes patrols and night watches in both indigenous as well as mestizo communities (where it is the only expression of alternative mechanisms organized by the community). In both cases, their existence is troublesome. To this troublesome form of action must be added taking justice into one's own hands, with lynching as its most extreme form.

On the other hand, in all departments the people consulted coincided in identifying midwives as the principal providers of alternative health services as well as agents of social integration among groups and communities. They are seen as bearers of knowledge, experience, and legitimacy within these groups

but, despite this, it was said that they have not received due recognition for their role, neither from the State nor from many people in their own communities. To the midwives must be added the healers (Huehuetenango, San Marcos, Quiché) and religious leaders of different persuasions (Zacapa, Alta Verapaz, San Marcos) who, at a given moment, might contribute to achieve higher levels of social articulation.

- **Development of diverse forms of economic activity.** In the final count, the organization of groups and communities seek to collectively cope with economic difficulties of a subsistence nature which affect them through mechanisms like the occupation of land (Petén, Alta Verapaz, Jalapa), access to electric energy (Huehuetenango, Quiché), poppy plantings or contraband (San Marcos), group migrations within the country in search of activities to obtain income (Izabal, Alta Verapaz), and informal markets (all departments). In all these cases, social and communal articulation plays a role of protecting activities undertaken in family circles or local communities.

- **Articulation of efforts to contract private security services.** The participants agreed that organization in urban areas has to do with specific objectives, such as insecurity. The responses, in addition to aiming to reduce risks and threats, also tend to regulate the life styles of the inhabitants of residential areas and condominiums, as for example the establishment of rules of coexistence and the installation of systems to control comings and goings from those places. These measures referred mostly to the department of Guatemala.

Resilience at an individual level

During the consultation phase reference was made to actions undertaken at an individual level, which was understood by the participants to mean a lack of articulation with others to overcome problems. These, then, are responses at a private level that seek to solve specific problems in the short term and which do not transcend to the public sphere. These responses, as was observed, have to do principally with issues of subsistence and security.

- **Subsistence.** In the case of conditions of basic subsistence, for example, we find the informal economic sector (identified by participants from all 11 departments) and migration to the United States. Adjustments and reductions

of family expenditures, on the one hand, and kitchen gardens, on the other, were responses found mainly in the departments of Huehuetenango, Totonicapán, Alta Verapaz and Petén where, it was said, people have access to a plot of land (patio) to plant for self-consumption. In the final count, the most complicated of subsistence activities is poppy planting (San Marcos) and contraband of forbidden substances (Izabal, Petén, Escuintla, and San Marcos).

Other problems such as the lack of access to health services also provokes individual responses as in the case of private health care, as was mentioned by the participants in the departments of Guatemala, Alta Verapaz, Totonicapán, Zacapa, Jalapa, and Huehuetenango. In the rural areas of these and the rest of the departments that were consulted, alternative medicines have been sought: healers or domestic plantings of herbs.

- **Security.** In contrast to those issues involving socio-environmental conflicts and the fragility of public institutions, most comments about violence and insecurity that were heard at the beginning of the discussions referred to silence and fear, followed by inertia (let things happen) and acceptance of the situation (waiting for something to happen). According to the participants, within families the tendency has not been to face the threats but to seek out protection mechanisms such as staying out hours and driving habits. These actions referred primarily to the department of Guatemala.

  Individual actions, especially in the urban centres of the departments of Guatemala, Huehuetenango, Zacapa, Jalapa, Izabal and Escuintla took the form of self-protection measures in the form of alarms and security and defence systems for possessions (homes, cars) and for personal protection (weapons).

No less important, although less frequent, are individual actions in the face of the fragility of public institutions. Reference can be made to the refusal to pay taxes as a form of expressing discontent with corruption in public institutions; this situation was mentioned in Guatemala, Totonicapán, and Huehuetenango.

Capacities for resilience

As described in the analytical strategy for this document, the underlying logic sought to demonstrate how responses (actions) taken and referred to by the participants in the consultation groups are possible thanks to existing capacities which have been gathering strength over the years and which support the implementation of those practices. According to this logic of analysis, in aiming at a specific objective, the groups or individuals have strategies in mind that generated specific actions, based on their capacities to see them through, as illustrated in the following chart:

Capacities allow for

Actions based on

Strategies aimed at

Objectives
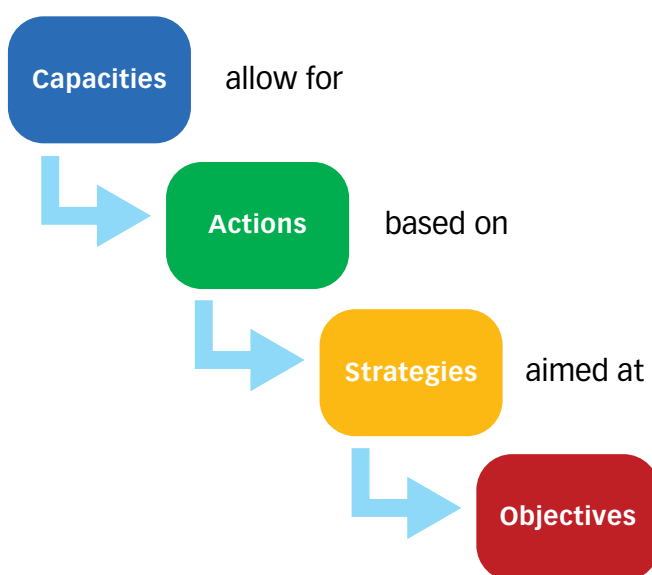
By following the logic described in the graph, we will now refer to the actions described previously and relate them to the capacities which, according to those consulted, allow them to proceed and allow the people to confront the various problems that they mentioned.

In the first place, mention should be made that above and beyond at which level of articulation (vertical or horizontal) the action took place, for those consulted it was also relevant to consider what the actions aimed to achieve (objectives); in other words, where they were headed as a society and what that tells us about the way that responses to problems are devised. Of particular interest in the discussions was the sustainability over time of the actions (their effectiveness and how long they would last). Within the analytical framework of resilience, capacities can be envisioned

analytically under three forms of handling or confronting conflictive situations: the capacity for *absorption*, the capacity for *adaptation*, and the capacity for *transformation*.

These capacities develop ideally within a dynamic process where the capacity for *absorption* denotes the persistence of the problems and the stability of the actions; the capacity for *adaptation* suggests greater flexibility to change the models for action and increase adjustments to problem situations, until the capacity for *transformation* is reached, which means a change in the situation. The following graph offers a summary of these capacities and actions that are taken in the face of problems.

However, during the consultation process an emphasis on *resistance* was brought up repeatedly as the best expression of the capacities of the Guatemalan people. This led to an appraisal, in terms of resilience, of the capacities and the actions in the face of problems, as shown in the following chart.

During the discussions the idea was always present that the actions so described could tend both to absorb the problems as well as achieve a better adaptation, or even transform the existing conditions, according to how each actor interprets his own actions.

Many of these actions and capacities are currently being debated, both with regards to their effectiveness as to their legitimacy. That is why in the preceding graph it is stated that they could both contributed to producing more social cohesion and peacebuilding as well as their detriment, depending on the positions and the ways in which those involved choose to act. Thus, for example, while for some of those consulted the creation of security networks (absorption), both formal and informal, has served to maintain order and security in the communities (as reflected in the 11 departments consulted, with no exceptions), there were frequent discussion also surrounding the danger that these groups pose if they violate human rights and abuse their authority.

In the following pages, each of these capacities will be analyzed, keeping in mind that their application with regards to addressing conflictive situations is one of the basic themes that will have to be discussed in the later stages of this process.

Capacities for managing conflictive situations and conflicts

Absorption
- Formal and informal security networks: security commissions, communal authorities, special courts, intersectoral and interinstitutional networks, private security.
- Security forces: presence of the army, security plans.
- Corruption.
- Involvement in criminal groups in order to survive.

Adaptation
- Mimetic attitudes.
- Inter-communal and regional alliances.
- Personal psychological well-being: silence, not getting involved, mistrust.
- Alternative subsistence mechanisms: informal economy, planting and smuggling drugs, contraband (gasoline and other products), migration.
- Municipal roundtables and mechanisms for dialogue
- Conflict mediation
- Important representation from civil society

Transformation
- Community organization
- Intersectoral networks and alliance and with the State
- Non-violent alternatives to conflicts

Can contribute or obstruct

Social cohesion and peace building

Capacity for absorption

Absorption refers basically to the persistence of difficult situations in the lives of people who by employing this capacity are able to moderate the impact of such problems.

For the participants in the consultation process, especially in the 11 departments, absorption was linked primarily to addressing the problem of violence and insecurity, where actions, albeit considered important, have not led necessarily to a reduction of the problems. A recurrent example of this situation was the complaint of crimes such as theft, extortion or violence towards women. In the case of the first two, the participants accepted that improvement in the form of more openness in the judicial system had taken place, thus allowing for more processing of complaints, in contrast to the little effectiveness of the Police, the prosecutor's office, and the judicial branch to resolve satisfactorily the complaints brought before them. On the contrary, for those who expressed opinions, a complaint is a "double-edged sword" in the sense that if the problem is not resolved they might suffer the consequences of a possible act of vengeance by those who had been singled out.

With regards to the situation of violence against women, the sectoral consultation group in the city of Guatemala also discussed the effectiveness of the complaint mechanism, since the system still does not have the operational and financial capacity to respond to the demands for action. Along this same line, the women thought that the problem of Guatemala was that it was "over-institutionalized", that is, that it has a large number of laws and institutions that address the problems but conditions and political will do not exist to make them operational.

Within the same discussion framework on the situation of violence and security strategies, the participants of departments like Huehuetenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz and Totonicapán, principally, commented on the lack of clarity with regards to the participation of the population in those strategies. The groups involved in community watches were referred to frequently as collective practices that at some moment could get out of hand, or they themselves creating conditions of insecurity among the population.

In another avenue of analysis, the participants considered that certain individual responses in the face of socio-economic fragility, for example, constitute a form of absorption, as in the case of involvement in illicit activities such as poppy plantings and smuggling.

Capacity for adaptation

As has been mentioned, the differences between one or another capacity can be subtle or variable according to the interpretation of those who execute them. In analytical terms, the difference between the capacity for absorption and that of adaptation is of a temporary character. In this last, the actions acquire a higher level of acceptance among the people and turn into capacities which allow them to adapt to difficult situations and shape them in such a manner that they respond to their living conditions.

The discussions about these capacities in the consultation groups resulted in the identification of adaptive capacities both individual and collective. In the case of the first, as mentioned previously, the populations have developed mimetic capacities, that is, the fusion or copy of existing models that allow them to confront problems through survival mechanisms such as the search for alternative means of subsistence as well as access to basic services. In Escuintla, for example, mention was made of "men who go to sea to fish", with reference to the search for drug shipments that mean money income. In departments like Huehuetenango and Zacapa, the mimetic capacity is also expressed through silence with respect to the activities of groups of drug traffickers; the most eloquent expression in this regard came from one of the participants from the first department who said "as long as you don't meddle with them, there is no problem". In fact, outside of the consultation groups and in a low voice, it is admitted that these groups have become "social protectors" or "benefactors" of the communities.

This mimetic capacity is also expressed in the form of silence, in the acceptance of violence and even in the involvement with criminal groups to avoid reprisals, with the ultimate objective being survival, a situation which was discussed especially in those departments where crime statistics are higher in contrast to the rest of the country, such as Escuintla, Guatemala, and Izabal.

Subsistence was another of the mechanisms identified as an adaptive capacity since it seeks alternative means of acquiring income. This mechanism also includes actions such as migration, informal economic activities, and smuggling.

The capacity to adapt was also analyzed at a collective level. According to the discussions, it is the social and communal organization that allows individuals and groups to come together in articulated ways to undertake actions such as protests, demands for rights and services from the State, lobbying and exercising influencing in politics. In the consultation groups held in the departments with a majority

of indigenous peoples, such as Totonicapán, Quiché, Huehuetenango, and Alta Verapaz, it was said that this capacity for articulation is possible thanks to the intervention of the identity component which, according to the participants in the groups in those departments, reinforces the organization by bringing together social and cultural factors such as the use of the same language, a shared geographical location, and shared values, among others.

In summary, populations and social sectors are able to confront adverse situations by their capacity to organize and by having an important presence of organizations of civil society that can summon, involve people and coordinate actions that influence outcomes. This capacity to organize, on the one hand, is geared to demand compliance of the State's responsibilities and, on the other, to develop alternatives when the State is unable to comply with them, such as the provision of alternative judicial and health mechanisms and establishment of social norms, among others.

From another perspective, one of the participants of the sectoral group of political parties explained that this organizational capacity of sectors and communities is relevant although it must be kept in mind whether the creation of norms and laws by the Congress of the Republic should address the specific requirements of the groups that demand their passage (for example, specific laws for women or indigenous peoples) or whether it should address legislation of a general nature that, according to its criteria, should be of interest to the wider population.

Finally, it is necessary to underline the importance that education was assigned in various departments where the consultation was held. According to those who addressed this issue, a higher level of educational achievement allows people to face more successfully difficult situations and problems in addition to reducing, in their opinion, the propensity for violent action to resolve them. However, for the participants in some of the departments the educational aspect is still significantly lacking. In Totonicapán, for example, mention was made of the lack of interest by the State in providing educational services which is manifest in the lack of public investment. Despite this, people look to pay for their own studies and thereby assure themselves a better standard of living. In Quiché, this same situation was mentioned but with a difference in that many (principally) young people do not have the basic wherewithal that will allow them to access education services.

On the other hand, an alternative for organized sectors and groups in the face of a lack of education opportunities, especially with regards to awareness of rights, has been the implementation of information and training strategies. Through exchange of information and training in certain topics, people have not only become aware of their rights but also find motivation for action. Through awareness-raising in the

form of education and training, sectors and groups have engaged in action, as is well evidenced in the case of women, whose actions in support of their rights and against violence have been especially relevant in all the departments that were consulted.

Capacity for resistance

During the consultation process, and especially in the departmental consultations, the groups recurrently identified resistance as one of the principal capacities of the Guatemalan population. However, this resistance is not expressed in the same manner nor does it have the same significance for all individuals and populations.

On the one hand, resistance was referred to as a capacity to withstand (silently), to be patient and hope for change ("we have nothing left to do but pray") or dig in ("to hold on as long as possible"). In this case, resistance was meant as an action of withstanding and holding on which is accomplished individually or in isolation, as was said. Under this perspective, the word "resist" was used as a synonym of "withstand."

The scenarios where this form of resistance was employed are primarily those characterized by conflictive situations or socio-economic fragility. Examples of this form of resistance are "digging in" as mentioned in Guatemala city and personal and family self-protection measures involving changes in conduct and life styles in the departments of Escuintla and San Marcos.

But in another sense, resistance gains relevance not only as a reaction to difficult situations but also as a means of creating identity, social ties, and shared visions of the world, as expressed by some of the slogans employed by some of the sectors consulted: "resist to live, resist to move forward", in the words of a community leader at a sectoral meeting with organizations involved in the defence of land.

In these active expressions, resistance is seen as a collective strategy in support of actions like social protest and public demonstrations in defence of territories and natural resources.

When conceived as a way of life by those who underlined the capacity for collective resistance, the subsequent actions are not necessarily aimed at confronting the State or other sectors, but also as political actions to influence and lobby the State or to generate alternative mechanisms for survival. On a more anthropological level,

for its actors resistance implies construction and reconstruction of identities and recovery of memories, histories and shared experiences that inspire their actions.

Therefore, as was mentioned, resistance is interpreted as a form of forward-looking action but which in some cases is not fully defined as, for example, "resist until when?" or "resist for what?" In any case, for many the very act of resistance is a form of transformation. However, for analytical purposes and subsequent study, an intermediate step has been contemplated prior to transformation so that its expressions can be addressed in more depth by the various groups and sectors in Guatemala.

Capacity for Transformation

Transformation, within the analytical framework that we have used, assumes a more complex dimension of actions and capacities that would tend towards the creation of new forms and structures layered on the previous system. As observed in the description of the actions, many of the concerns of the citizenry regarding the fragility of the institutions of the State are not centred only on their lack of capacity but also on the structure and direction of the State in general. Issues such as corruption, patronage, the use of financial resources or the so-called "politicization" were identified by the consultation groups as obstacles for the transformation of the living standards of the population.

According to the perspective of peacebuilding within the analytical framework of resilience, when the State represents an actor or a party in a conflict – as was mentioned in departments such as Totonicapán, San Marcos and Huehuetenango – it is necessary that the State and its institutions experiment a transformation in their structure. In this sense, under this perspective, the capacities for absorption or adaptation can help communities face difficult situations, but in the longer run the conditions of resilience require a transformation that includes communities and institutions that might help address in a more sustained manner any forthcoming challenges.

A tendency was observed in the consultation groups to consider that there were not sufficient elements to conceive of significant or transformative changes under the current conditions; despite this, the importance of organization in communities, networks and alliances was underlined as a means that has produced good results in furthering social transformations.

To advance along this line, those consulted identified lack of capacities or obstacles that must be overcome to generate new conditions for conflict resolution and management, among them:

- Absence of open and legitimate dialogue

- Lack of political will

- Radicalized ideological positions

- Intervention by political interests

- A priori criminalization of collective actions, and

- Little clarity in the plans supported by the State, as well as a lack of resources assigned to that effect.

Meanings and sense of resilience as understood by individuals

The consultation process was understood from the beginning as a space of intersectoral dialogue in which diverse actors and sectors could express their opinions and perspectives about shared issues, in this case the problems that Guatemala's population faces and the responses they employ to confront them.

From the start of the process, at each of the meetings the importance of dialogue was underlined in order to become acquainted with these multiple perspectives and not to seek a consensus or a unified answer. In this context it was necessary for each one of the sectors and actors involved to understand fully what their actions – or those they mentioned – meant for them since by knowing their meaning it would be possible to discover the underlying arguments and justifications for them.

This approach was based on the assumption that the meanings of the actions refer to aspects of a moral and ethical nature that reflect the existence of different life styles and world visions[37], and that in conflictive situations they acquire greater relevance when contrasting different points of view on acts which for some might seem trivial but for others can even be offensive.

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37   Velho, Gilberto. *Projeto e metamorfosis. Antropología das sociedades complexas.* J. Zahar Editor, Brasil, 2013.

As was evidenced in the consultations, the interpretations of "what does it mean" to do this or that when addressing these issues followed different routes:

1) In the first place, when reacting to the questions about why they did those things with regards to the problems they had identified, some groups tended to consider the answer in terms of the affective impact of their actions, that is, how the actions affected them emotionally.

2) A second way of understanding this issue was to project the "why" into the future; that is, according to the participants, what should be the objective of their actions or the changes they hoped would happen.

3) Finally, another way of understanding the meaning of their actions was to relate them to the reasons and motives (personal and political) that inspired them to act.

Each of these forms of understanding the meanings of actions are described below as they were addressed in the consultation groups.

Meanings of the actions undertaken

One first idea about the significance of the actions undertaken was in the sphere of affective results after the action had taken place. Among the most illustrative examples referred to by the participants are the denunciations of illicit acts before the authorities or, in other cases, social organization to demand compliance by the authorities of their responsibilities such as the provision of basic services.

In these cases, to speak of "what it means" to denounce or demand, two types of sentiments were identified in the face of lack of compliance by the authorities: impotence and frustration.

On the one hand, the feeling of not being able to do anything in the face of problems (especially in the case of violence), but on the other, the feeling of frustration in the face of the realization that regardless of the efforts made there was no change in the conditions that prompted the action. In both cases, as was said, these sentiments generate a lack of interest among the people to participate in any initiative originating in the State and a general condition of anomie.

Meanings as aspirations

Along another line, meanings were also understood and addressed from the level of aspirations, that is, by projecting the wishes for a future as a result of actions undertaken today. These aspirations point to three aspects:

- The improvement in the quality of life for current and future generations: "For my children, in order to leave them a better future," "For the good of all."

- The search for change in the social and political conditions in the country: "To have viable and sustainable proposals," "To work for a peaceful future."

- Create new forms of behaviour: "To overcome indifference," "So that change can begin with us."

Within the consultation group of youth sector in the city of Guatemala, the discussion went into some depth about the perception of the future of the country. The main criticism, according to the young participants, was levelled at the contrast between what was expected of them and the resources assigned so that such expectations could become a reality. As expressed by one of them: "When one becomes aware that we are the future of Guatemala, the idea is inspiring. The sad part is when the possibility arrives and the system does not allow it. And one ends up with a feeling of not achieving anything."

Among the participants of this consultation group the impression is that the discourse about youth being the future of the country only serves as a mechanism to excuse from responsibility those who currently hold the present of the country in their hands.

In Alta Verapaz, during a collective interview with a group of young people, they expressed no interest in political or state activities, even though it is one of the biggest demands among this sector. As one of them expressed, no one wants to participate in a State which they consider illegitimate and lacking credibility.

Meanings as bases for action

As foundations for action, meanings were considered as part of the reasons and sentiments that moved the participants to organize and carry out specific actions in the face of problems that affect their lives. Among the principal reasons mentioned:

- **Indignation.** This feeling of indignation is created in the face of contempt or lack of recognition of identity in its widest sense, that is, of who we are and what we are worth according to our social identity, as expressed by a young person: "At a reunion they gave me bad looks because of the earring; some of those there had been my teachers and they excluded me and my opinion did not register with them, but that motivated me to keep on struggling."

  But the lack of recognition was expressed in other forms, as in the case of the construction of the mega projects (San Marcos, Huehuetenango, Quiché) where initial indignation is produced by the lack of interest by the State and the companies to consult previously with the communities about the projects they seek to initiate: "They arrive and they enter and don't even ask us about it" was a constant complaint when discussing these problems.

  Participants of the business sectoral group also expressed their point of view in the sense that there has been insufficient recognition of the benefits and the investment that the projects represent by those who are opposed to them.

  For various of the participants in the consultation groups, indignation has surfaced as a result of a lack of attention, ill treatments, unfulfilled promises, disdain and inequality (for example, in the distribution of the budget, as was mentioned in Totonicapán) and a feeling of exclusion. In addition to this, in some places mention was made of indignation in the face of a loss of the principle of authority that, as expressed, referred to the way in which many local leaders handled the power given them and ended up negotiating and making deals with political parties and the government authorities.

  In parallel with this indignation, reference was made to the rage which can emanate from these same motives, as was expressed by a social leader: "What is the source of energy? Indignation and rage, in the face of what we experience. Insatisfaction, resentment, those are things that move me."

  In general, this indignation is propelled by a sentiment of injustice and, more concretely, by the perception that actions are not sufficiently valued and understood by those in the other position. An example of this situation can

be found in the case of the government employee, in the department of San Marcos, who refused to accept that the State of Guatemala was a failed state because, under her logic, that assumes that both she and the other employees and officials who take pride in their work are doing a bad job.

- **Organization and overcoming adversity.** At the same time, these feelings of frustration, of impotence and indignation are also understood as motivators to overcome adversity and they end up being a self-recognition of their own capacities. "Why are some able to better overcome situations and others not?" was a question raised in the discussions of the consultation groups. The answer provided especially by women was recurrent: "It was when I began to participate." A government employee in Alta Verapaz, for example, explained that her commitment in the struggle for women's rights began during a training session: "There I became aware that these things happened to me and to other women." A similar opinion was expressed by another woman in the consultation group in Guatemala City, for whom the act of narrating what has happened to each of them then becomes a political tool.

  In this regard it is important to mention the experience of women of REDMISAR in San Marcos, when they refer to the importance of their action, for which there is a very pragmatic reason: "We do it because we have time". But there are reasons also related to sentiments of overcoming adversity: "Because there is a need, because there is a lot of machismo, because we see the suffering of our children."

- **Continuity in the history of struggle.** For various participants in the consultation process, especially in the departments of Petén, Huehuetenango and Quiché, as well as some sectoral groups in the capital, the reasons that impelled them to action were related to providing continuity to a legacy of struggle, especially for those who had relatives who were involved, one way or another, with the circumstances of the armed conflict in the country. As a result, struggle and resistance are essential motivations for the actions they undertake. During an interview in Petén, for example, a young woman of twenty expressed that her interest in participating and in "struggling", according to her own words, comes from a family history of parents and other relatives who were active during the period of the conflict. Others in the groups of women and organizations in defence of land said that this struggle had not lost its relevance after the signing of the Peace Accords but that it had been replaced under new forms and ways of action.

- **Faith.** Given its motivational nature, faith was referred to as a niche of strength that allows for recovery and forward movement. In the women's sectoral group and in an interview with women in San Marcos, faith was also considered to a source of inspiration and a political tool. As a source of inspiration, women find in religious practice (Catholic or Protestant) the motives that lead them to demand better living conditions for themselves and their families, even though the church they belong to might not necessarily partake of these actions. In other cases, as was referred to in San Marcos in the case of the pastoral movement in defence of the land and in Guatemala in the case of La Puya, some religious organizations do provide support for the political action of their congregation and, in this manner, heighten the faith of the people to carry on with their action.

- **Resistance as a way of life.** This approach to resistance was discussed principally in the women's sectoral group in the capital. In this group, resistance is conceived as action, as capacity and motivational force. As action it represents strength to confront problems and conflicts, as a model for building new political and ideological reference points and, finally, as a way of deconstructing and renewing identity. In the case of women, for example, it means leaving behind a perception as victims, to rebel against a historic condition and, as was expressed, to say "no, I don't want this for myself."

- **The defence of private property.** As mentioned primarily by the participants in the business people sectoral group, the defence and certainty of private property constitutes, in their mind, one of the pillars upon which must rest the discussion about access to land and its use for commercial or industrial purposes.

Priorities for the debate on resilience

The thematic priorities reflect the concerns referred to by the participants during the exploration and consultation phases and which, in their own words, must be addressed and discussed openly in the working groups.

During the exploration phase the individuals interviewed identified a series of topics that in their opinion should be discussed as part of each of the core issues:

Socio-environmental conflictive situations:

- Communal consultations prior to the construction of mega-projects (mining, hydroelectric dams, single-crop agriculture).

- Divergent models of rural development.

- Lack of adequate legislation on the exploitation of natural resources.

- Ideological polarization without any real chance of dialogue.

Violence and insecurity

- Drug trafficking as an emergent actor that threatens all social sectors.

- Absence of culturally pertinent strategies on security and justice.

- Gaps in the legislation on citizen participation in security.

Fragility of the institutions of the State

- The State as a source of patronage.

- Fiscal reform and public spending.

- Financing of political parties and, in consequence, reform of the system.

- Role of the Development Councils in supporting their communities or as allies of political parties and the government.

- Current legislation on the civil service and the development councils.

During the consultation phase, the priorities of the core issues were discussed together with the contexts in which these priorities should be developed.

Issues involving socio-environmental conflictive situations

At a family level

- **Support for self-help initiatives to generate income.**

- **Support for food security.**

At a communal and social level

- · **Communal consultations**

    - • Identification of those responsible to convene and regulate in order to assure that the results are binding.

- · **Identification of interests and proposals**

    - • Support for open and sincere dialogue about what each one of the stakeholders aims to achieve and what is proposed to reduce conflictive situations caused by the construction of hydroelectric dams and large infrastructure projects.

At the level of the State

- · **Regulation of mining activities.**

    - • Debate on the benefits and difficulties of these activities.

    - • Regulation of local investments and destination of profits.

    - • Discussion about the economic development model and to what extent the stakeholders are willing to compromise.

- · **Mediating role for the State**

    - • Conflict management and the use of force must be reconsidered.

    - • Discussion about the "criminalization" of protest.

    - • Definition of "legitimate" and "illegitimate" counterparts who must sit down at the discussion table.

Issues of violence and insecurity

At a family level

- · **Prevention of violence:**

    - • Evaluate the role of family units and schools in the prevention of violence.

    - • Promote programmes for training and outreach on specific issues such as violence against women and domestic violence.

At a communal and social level

- · **Administration of justice**

    - • Specify the role of the citizenry in the strategies for security and justice.

    - • Discuss the relationship between Maya law and official law codes.

    - • Acceptance of indigenous authorities and their formal recognition by the State.

At the level of the State

- · **Strengthening of the system of security and justice**

    - • A new discussion about what "security" means for all social sectors.

    - • Improvement and professionalization of the National Civilian Police.

    - • Strengthening of the security institutions (PNC, public prosecutor, Ministry of Government).

Issues involving the fragility of public institutions

At a communal and social level

- · **Support for new forms of social linkages:**

    - • How to revisit the topic of knowledge about the cultural differences in the country.

    - • Get to know the history of the country through its historical memory.

    - • Strengthening of the educational system and support for local leaderships.

- · **Mechanisms for the transformation of ways of thinking within groups and communities**

    - • How would it be possible to support social strategies and policies that are not at odds with cultural aspects but, at the same time, contemplate changes in thinking among the groups to provide viability for these strategies (for example, on an issue like sex education and family planning).

- **About the mechanisms to reactivate citizen participation**

  - Discussions about representation in civil society, its levels of representation and legitimacy, and its relation with the State.

  - Debate on the Law of the Development Councils and the implications of its implementation.

  - Contemplate new schemes for the exercise of citizenry.

- **Role of NGOs and international cooperation agencies**

  - Review their role in the strengthening of the State and their relations and involvement with civil society.

At the level of the State

- **Role of the international aid agencies**

  - Impact of their interventions in the communities.

  - Mediating role and/or promoter of peace efforts.

  - Relationship with the State.

- **The role of the citizenry in the evaluation of public policies.**

  - Strengthening of the norms that regulate citizen participation.

  - Support for strategies for social audits.

- **Linkages between the citizenry and local governments.**

  - At present no coordination is perceived between the population and local governments on issues such as solid waste disposal, provision of services, water cleanup, and urban planning.

  - A lack of coordination is observed between local governments and the central government.

  - Consider the notion of a commonwealth as a new form of local government.

- **System of political parties**

  - A revision and reform of the electoral law and the law governing political parties is in order.

  - The role of political parties in the weakening or strengthening of the State.

  - Debate on the use of public funds and expensive electoral campaigns.

- **Design, funding, and distribution of the public budget**

  - An in-depth discussion on the circumstances of the funding of the national budget and audit at all levels.

  - Design of anticorruption policies and measures against tax evasion.

- **Strengthening of the civil service and review of the civil service law.**

  - Reconsider strategies that avoid patronage and the turnover of the state bureaucracy with each new government.

- **The economic development model for Guatemala.**

  - Include specific topics such as: the tax system, informality and precariousness in employment, access to land and the means of production, migrations and their socioeconomic impact, distribution of wealth.

Issues of socioeconomic fragility

At a family level

- **Improvement of the quality of life and economic situation of families.**

  - Strategies to generate employment.

  - Strategies and policies of family planning.

At a communal and social level

- **Access to new technologies**

  - A serious discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of the inclusion of these technologies both for the improvement of the quality of education as well as for the conservation of cultural aspects.

Chapter 5. Survey Results

1. Characteristics of this study

1.1 General objectives

This report presents the results of a survey that looked at the factors driving conflicts and resilience in Guatemala. It was carried out during the months of September and October 2015 as a complement to the participatory action research designed to understand the complex linkages between resilience and peacebuilding in Guatemala.38 Combined with similar efforts in Liberia and Timor-Leste, the research contributes to the development of a framework to assess resilience in relation to conflict and peacebuilding.

The survey was designed to provide detailed information about existing and potential capacities for the nonviolent transformation and resolution of conflicts with a focus on key dimensions of fragility and resilience identified during the consultation phase and in the initial country study proposal. Specifically, the survey sought to provide information on the perceptions of those interviewed relating to the dimensions of conflict in which resilience plays a role. It also enquired about the factors of resilience identified during the consultation phase, including the key areas of social cohesion (belonging and inclusion; respect and trust, and civic and social participation), and legitimate politics and governance. These components were used to frame the survey data analysis. The research was reviewed by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects of Partners Healthcare in Boston, Massachussetts.

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38   This refers to the process which is discussed in this text.

Figure 1: Survey Regions (Map will be improved /
replaced and include sample)
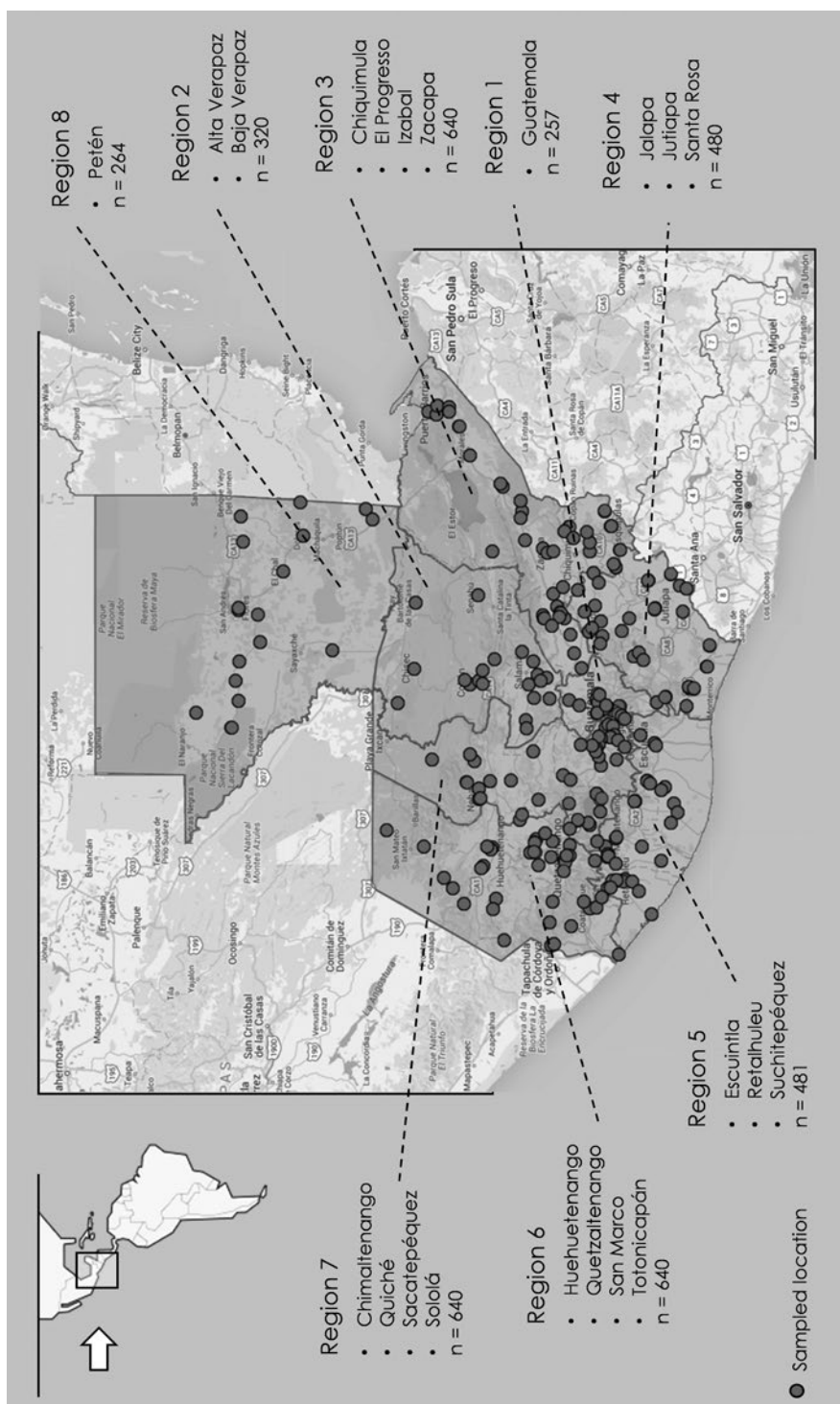
1.2　Methods
1.2.1　Survey Design and Sampling

The survey was designed to produce representative results of eight prototypical regions of Guatemala. These prototypical regions were designed to group those departments with similar socioeconomic characteristics on the basis of discussions with the team in Guatemala. This grouping was preferred over the existing regional divisions that do not reflect the dynamics of conflict and resilience.

In each department, a total of 10 populated places was randomly selected. For two departments, Guatemala and Petén, the number of populated places was increased to 16 because they were the only department in their respective region. The selection was made proportionately to the population size in each area using the best available estimates. In total, 232 populated places were selected. The interview teams aimed to conduct 16 interviews in each location, for a total target of 160 interviews per department (256 in Guatemala and Petén), or 3,712 total interviews nationwide. In the end, a total of 3,722 interviews were conducted.

After reaching the assigned locations, interviewers used a random geographic method to select a dwelling. Interviewers identified the center of the assigned location and randomly selected a direction. In that direction, interviewers selected every other dwelling. In each unit, interviewers randomly selected one adult in the household[39] to be interviewed from a list of eligible respondents. Three attempts were made to contact a household or individual before replacement. Due to the sensitivity of some questions, interviewers were assigned to same-sex respondents.

1.2.2　Survey Instrument

Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers using a standardized, structured questionnaire with open-ended questions. The questionnaire covered topics on demographics, priorities, access to and perception of services, governance, security, exposure to violence, social cohesion and resilience factors.

Response options based on pilot interviews were provided to the interviewers for coding but never read to study participants, with the exception of questions employing a scaling format (e.g., the Likert scale). An open-ended field was always

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39　The household was defined as a group of individuals who normally sleep under the same roof and eat together.

available for interviewers to record complete responses. These answers were coded for analysis.

Once complete, the questionnaire was programmed into Android Nexus 7 Tablets running KoBoToolbox, a special data collection package. The use of the tablets allowed interviewers to enter the data directly as the interview was conducted. Built-in verification systems reduced the risk of skipping questions or entering erroneous values, resulting in data of high quality.

1.2.3   Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected between 16 September and 8 October 2015, by 13 teams comprised of 2 men and 2 women each. The teams conducted interviews under the guidance of one team leader in each team and two national field coordinators.

Prior to collecting data the interviewers participated in a weeklong training that covered interview techniques, the content of the questionnaire, the use of tablets to collect digital data, troubleshooting, and methods for solving technical problems. The training included multiple mock interviews and one pilot day in Guatemala City with randomly selected individuals at 13 populated areas within and around the city. A total of 56 interviewers were trained, from whom 52 were selected and deployed.

The research protocol required each team to collect data in one location per day. Interviews were conducted one-on-one, anonymously, and in confidential settings. When possible, data were synchronized with a central computer, enabling lead researchers to check data for completion, consistency, and outliers. The lead researchers and supervisors discussed any issues that arose with the team prior to the next data collection. Once the data collection was completed the database was imported into Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 22 for data analysis. The results presented here are adjusted for the complex sample design and weighted to correct known disproportionate stratification of the sample and unequal probability of selection down to the household level.

1.2.4   Limitations

The present study was developed and implemented very carefully to ensure that the results would accurately represent the views and opinions of the adult population residing in Guatemala during the period the data were collected in September and October 2015.

The sample was designed to reduce any potential bias in the selection of those interviewed.

The study relies on data on situations that were self-reported or perceived by those interviewed. Responses may have been influenced by inaccurate recall of past events, misunderstanding of the questions or concepts, reactivity to the interviewer due to the sensitive nature of the questions, or intentional misreporting (e.g. for socially unacceptable answers.)

Specifically, the survey was conducted between the two rounds of the 2015 elections for president, legislative representatives, and mayors. The election campaigns, political polling and mobilization may have affected the results. We minimized such risks by clearly explaining the scope of the study and through careful development of the questionnaire to make the questions sufficiently clear and to reduce potential bias.

2. Characteristics of Respondents

The sample was designed so that results are representative for each of the 8 regions comprising all 22 departments. The sample was selected regardless of any selection criteria with the exception that only adults aged 18 or older were to be interviewed and that same sex interviews were to be conducted. The sample was equally distributed between men (50%) and women (50%).

The resulting sample reflects the diverse ethnic composition of Guatemala. Overall, the sample comprises more than 12 ethnic groups, with Ladinos accounting for 50% of respondents, Indigenous groups for 35% (most frequently K'iche 13%, Q'eqchi 7%, and Kaqchikel 6%). Another 15% had another group of origin, most frequently self-described as mixed. The ethnic composition varies greatly by regions and was defined on the basis of the answers provided by those interviewed.

On the basis of the answers on ethnicity, indigenous groups accounted for more than two-third of the population in region II (Chiquimula, El Progresso, Izabal, and Zacapa - 67%) and region VII (Chimaltenango, Quiché, Sacatepéquez, and Sololá - 76%). Spanish was the language spoken most frequently for a majority of respondents (74% of all respondents). About all non-indigenous respondents spoke most frequently Spanish. Among indigenous respondents, 29% described Spanish as the language they spoke most frequently.

Figure 2: Group of origin and home language
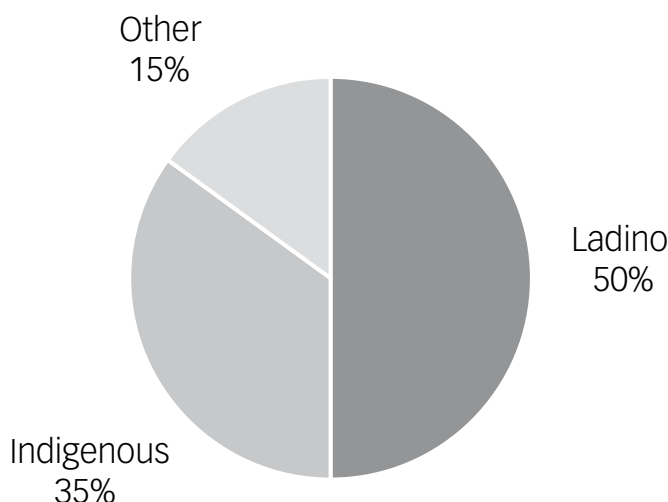
Half the respondents (53%) were between the ages of 25 and 49 with 18% of respondents being young adults under the age of 25, and 9% over the age of 64. Most respondents described themselves as married or living with a partner (48%). Regarding education, 39% of respondents completed at least some secondary or high school education, 20% reported completing primary school, 24% reported some primary school and 17% reported completing no education. 84% reported being able to read and write.

3.   Resilience to What?

This section presents data about four dimensions identified in the consultation phase of the project (focus groups and key informant interviews) as areas where resilience manifested itself in relation to particular conflicts or dimensions of conflict: socio-environmental disputes, violence and insecurity, the fragility of public institutions, and socio-economic fragility. These dimensions provide the frame of reference for understanding the nature, elements and manifestations of resilience in Guatemala. The information presented in this section provides context for the subsequent analysis of resilience factors and contributes to the understanding of the stakeholder's capacities for adaptation and for the nonviolent transformation and resolution of disputes.

3.1 Disputes

Disputes are a normal outcome of social interactions. However, they may reflect deep-rooted divides and governance issues. In Guatemala, 39% of the respondents reported no experience of dispute or conflict in their communities. The most commonly reported disputes include criminal activity (24%) such as theft or murder, the lack of basic resources or services such as water, electricity, sanitation, and health (18%), social conflicts between neighbors (14%), and conflicts related to the sale of alcohol and accessibility of liquor stores (13%).

Figure 3: Main disputes and conflicts existing in this community
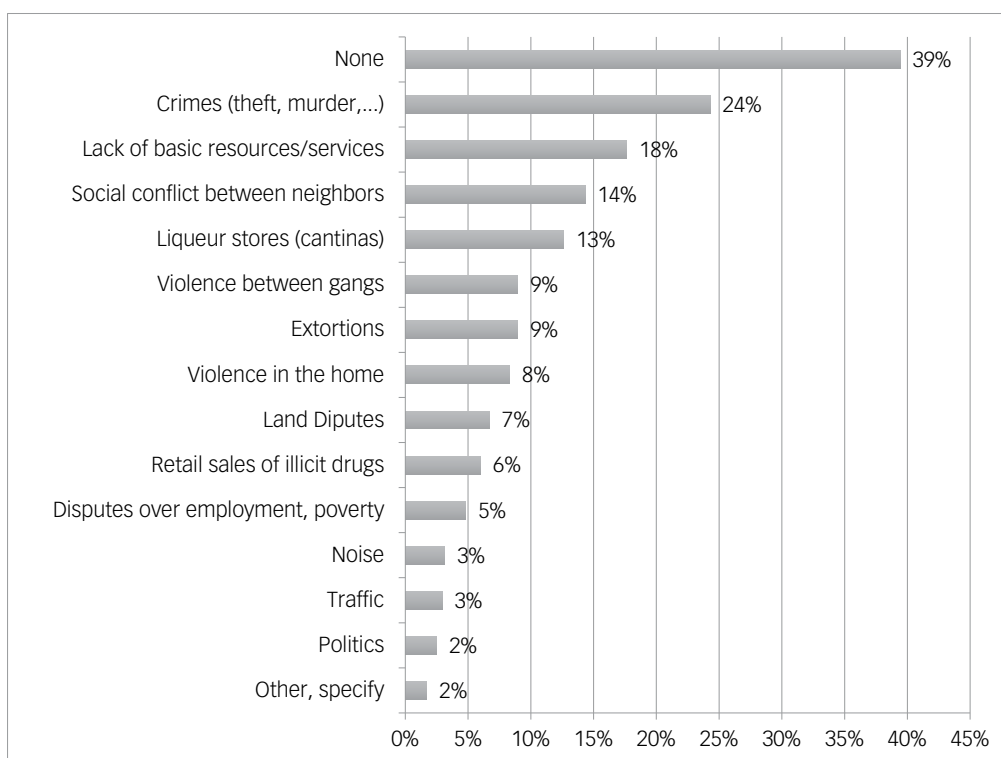
Extortions (9%), violence between gangs (9%), and violence in the home (8%) were reported among conflicts. Together, these responses point to the importance of violence and insecurity as a form of dispute, along with socio-economic fragility. Land disputes were mentioned by 7% of the respondents. More generally, conflicts and disputes resulting from the exploitation of, or damages to, natural resources were not frequently mentioned despite being often identified in Guatemala as a prevalent and largely unresolved social issue. About one in three respondents judged that various conflicts were somewhat to extremely likely to become violent, including conflicts over development decisions (37%), conflicts over natural resources (34%), conflict over agriculture (30%), and conflicts over jobs or the economy (28%).

3.2   Socio-environmental Situation

A series of questions were asked to better assess the incidence of socio-environmental disputes and conflicts. The survey assessed the incidence of six common forms of disputes in the 12 months prior to the survey among the respondents, household, and community. The events considered included disputes over access to land, over access to water, over planting / agriculture, over the exploitation of natural resources by the state, over the exploitation of natural resources by corporations, or any other disputes over the exploitation of natural resources.

Overall, one in three respondent (34%) reported having experienced any of the disputes listed, either themselves or in their household, with the most common being disputes about access to water (22% of the respondents) and planting/ agricultural issues (17%). Respondents indicated these two disputes as being most prevalent in the community in general, with disputes over access to water affecting others in the community according to 21% of the respondents, and 17% noting that disputes over planting/agricultural issues affected others in the community in the year prior to the survey.

Figure 4: Self-reported incidence of conflicts over natural resources in the last 12 months
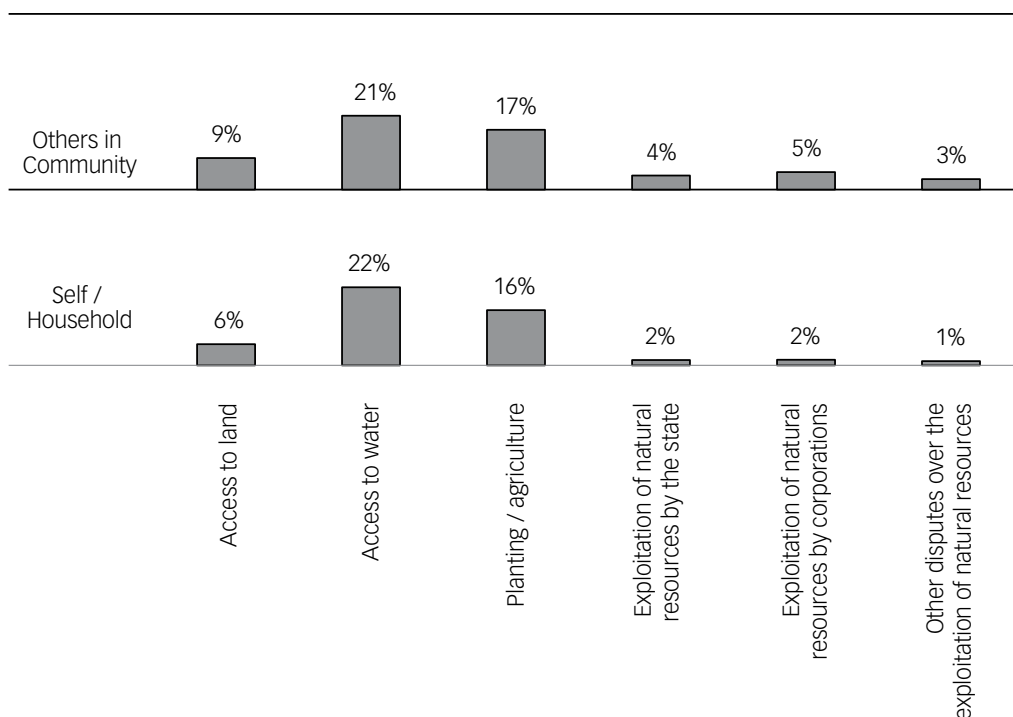
Fewer respondents were directly affected, or their household, by the exploitation of natural resources by the state (4%) or corporations (5%). However, these are incidence rate only for the year prior to the interview. More generally, mega constructions, such as hydropower and mining projects are often associated with socio-environmental conflicts. Few respondents reported such conflicts. This may reflect the relative rarity of such project: just 7% of the respondents mentioned that development projects exploiting natural resources had taken place in their community over the last 10 years before the interview.

There is however evidence that such project are becoming increasingly frequent, and constitute a major potential cause for violence: half the respondents exposed to such development projects noted that it resulted in some form of conflict: 29% indicated their water source had been harmed, 27% felt it brought violence, 20% reported their land had been polluted and 16% indicated that it had affected their health. Other effects included having their land taken away (6%), ruined roads (4%), and problems with electricity (6%). These results likely reflect the negative

impact of electrification and large farm irrigation projects on water supply. Conflict over development project was also most frequently seen as somewhat to extremely likely to become violent (37% of the respondents).

Figure 5: Self-reported experience of conflict over development project in the last 10 years

Effect of conflict

Resulted in conflict

Any development project
7%

No 50% Yes 50%

Modified / harmed water source	29%
Brought Violence	27%
Polluted my land	20%
It threatened my health	16%
Nothing	12%
Took away land	6%
Affects electricity/power/prices	5%
Ruined roads	4%
Problems with neighbors	4%
Other, specify	2%
No response	1%
Made me leave my community	1%
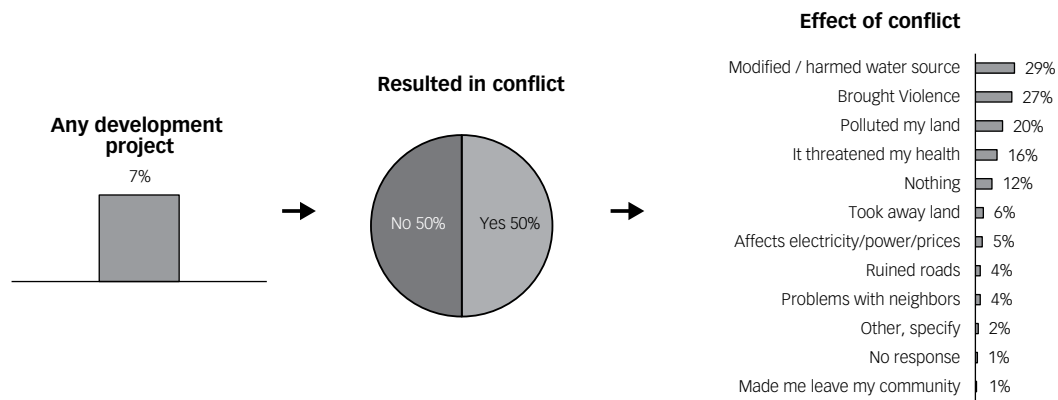
When asked who helps addressing environmental conflicts, about half the respondents said nobody (46%) with some mentioning the Cocodes (23%), themselves (20%), and city/municipal authorities (18%). The departmental and national governments were mentioned by 3% and 5% of the respondents, respectively. Similarly, about half the respondents indicated that nobody helps to resolve disputes related to development projects, while some (17%) felt the city or municipal government work to resolve these conflicts, 17% indicated that they themselves worked to resolve the conflicts, and only 8% felt the national government helped to resolve such disputes. These numbers contrast with the expectation that the government should be involved: 83% simultaneously felt it was ultimately the role of the state to resolve disputes linked to development problems. They also indicated that community consultations needed to be organized when beginning a development project (91%).

3.3   Violence and Insecurity

Violence and insecurity are well-known chronic issues in Guatemala. The fact that respondents see crimes and violence as a leading form of dispute arguably reflects how much insecurity creates discontentment, divides communities, and undermines perception of state actors. The sense of security and incidence of various crimes were assessed through the survey.

Overall, about half the respondents felt safe or very safe in their general activities, but just 38% reported feeling safe or very safe walking at night in their neighborhood/village. The leading causes of the sense of insecurity were identified as the constant repetition of crimes such as robberies, the lack of police and the existence of gangs. Only one in five respondents (20%) said there was no source of insecurity in their community.

When feeling insecure, a majority of the respondents said they would respond by staying home (56%), or not going out alone (25%). Some (17%) would communicate with neighbors, but few would call the police (8%). These results highlight the paralyzing effect of insecurity as respondents would respond by staying home. Looking at the incidence of specific forms of violence shows that theft is the most common crime experienced directly by respondents (7%). Overall data on security tended to be worse in the regions at the border with Honduras and El Salvador, which are traditional corridors for contraband trade and drug trafficking.

Figure 6: Self-reported incidence of selected crimes in the last 12 months

	Theft / burglary	Physical attack resulting in injury	Physical attack resulting in the death of someone you knew personally	Unlawful occupation of your land	Kidnapping	Any other crime
Others in Community	17%	8%	4%	2%	2%	4%
Someone Else in Household	9%	2%	2%	1%	0	1%
Self	7%	2%	1%	1%	0	1%
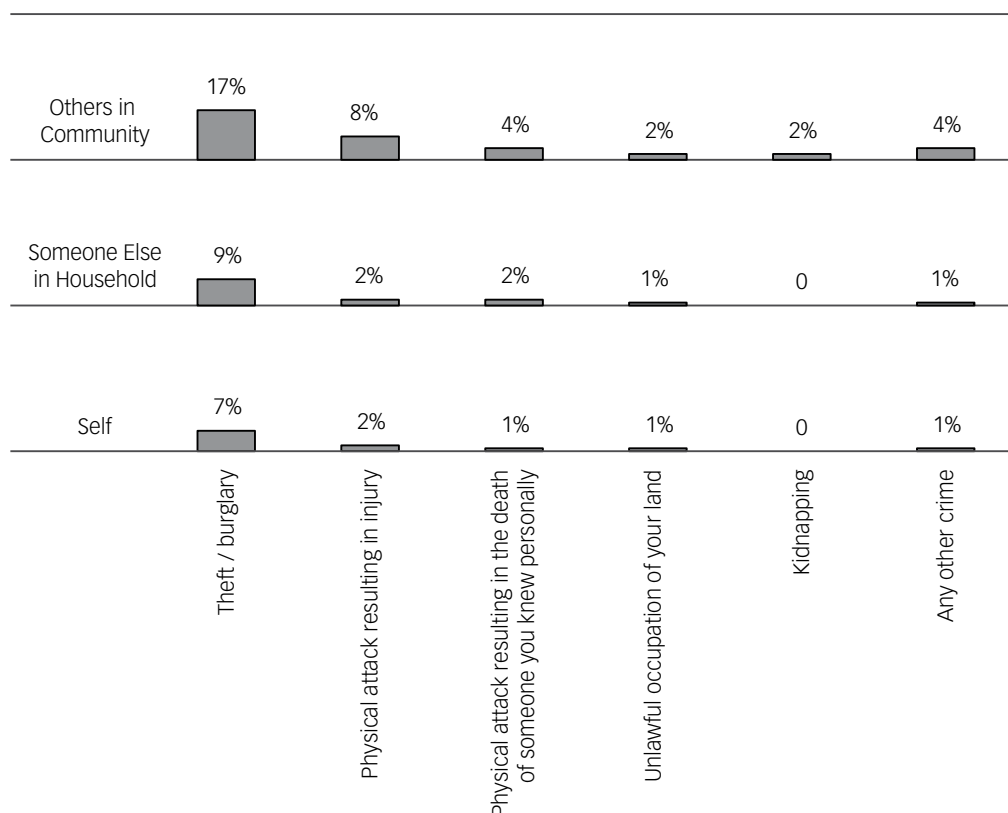
Respondents identified who, they think, ensures security in their village or neighborhood. Most respondents felt that they were in charge of their own security (34%), that neighbors organized in order to provide security (33%), or that the police ensured security (31%). Other providers of security included private firms (5%), while 7% felt that nobody was in charge of providing security.

Figure 7: Who ensures security here?
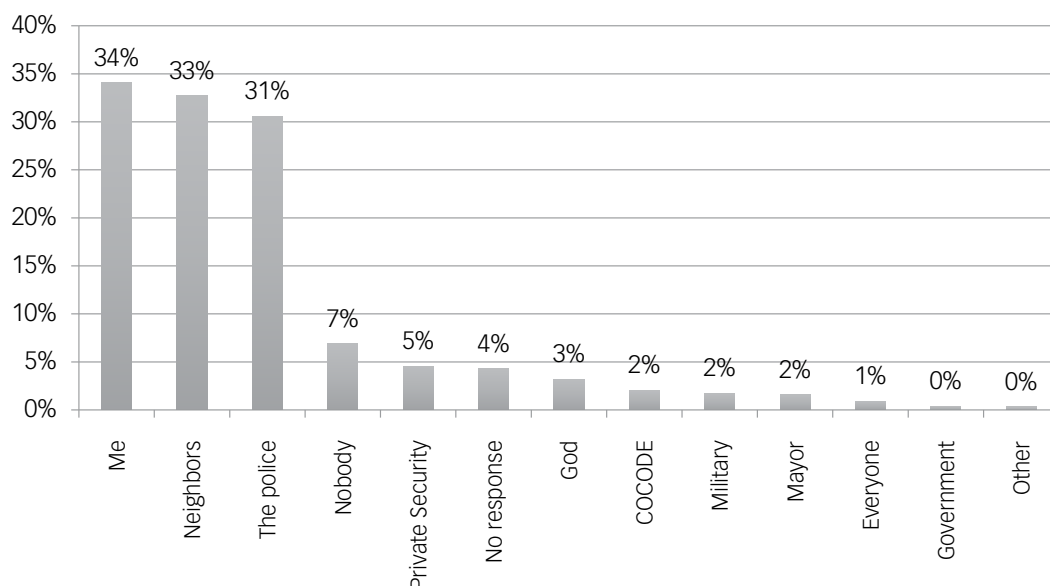
Respondents clearly contrasted security provision as it is experienced with what they believe it should be. Many (73%) felt that state actors do little to nothing to address crimes, 58% believe the judicial system itself does little to nothing to address crimes, and 55% believe the police does little to nothing to address crimes. Just 8% said they would call the police if they felt unsafe. However, a large majority believed it is the role of the institutions of the state to address crimes (85%).

Although 69% of respondents felt that the police did not ensure security in their communities – arguably its primary role and responsibility – and 55% percent felt the police did little to nothing to address criminal activity, the majority of respondents (50%) felt that more police presence would be the best way to improve security in their communities, highlighting the importance of this security actor. Other responses included neighborhood watch programs (35%), increased military presence (14%), increased employment opportunities (14%), and increased justice and less impunity (8%).

While most respondents did not condone the use of violence, 29% felt it was acceptable for the community to use violence in response to criminal activity, about the same percentage felt that the police should be able to use violence (26%) for the same reason; 55% believed that the use of violence was never appropriate, 31%

felt it appropriate when redressing a murder, 25% felt it acceptable in the cases of violence or rape, and 17% in the case of theft.

Figure 8: Proposed measures to improve security
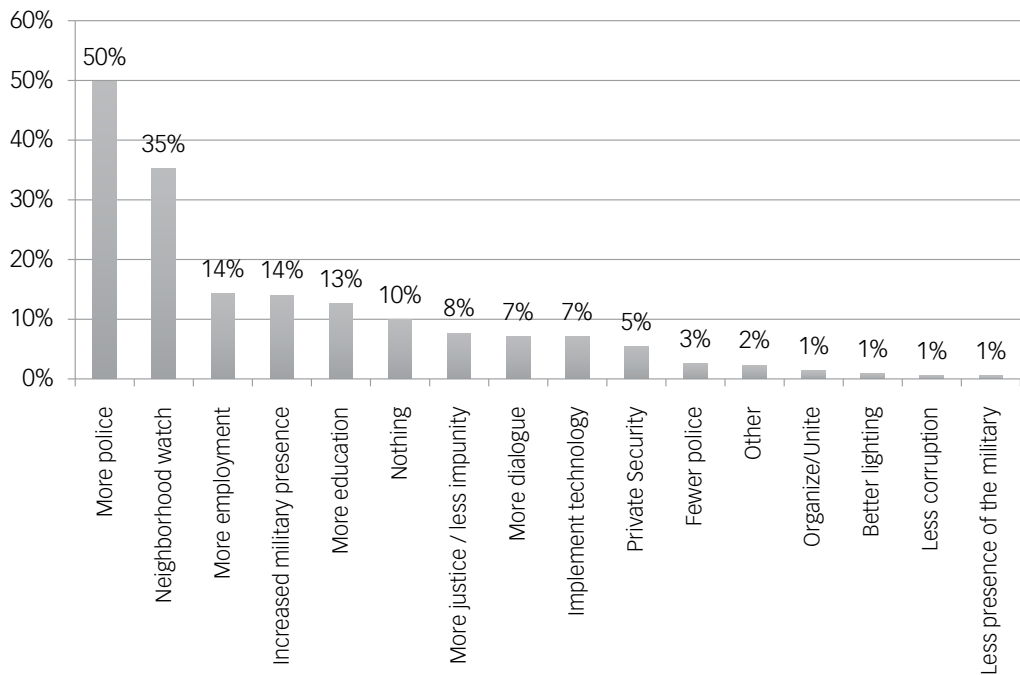
3.4 Fragility of Public Institutions, Legitimate Politics and Governance

The fragility of public institutions reflects the capacity (technical, administrative, financial) of the state to carry out its mandate and respond to the needs and expectations of the population. One of the objectives of the survey was to better understand the perspectives of the population about the roles and capacities of the government and other public institutions in order to better understand the fragility of public institutions and how this may affect individual, community, institutional, and societal resilience. The information provides some understanding of and context to respondents' views on the roles of the state, trust, perceptions of corruption, socioeconomic opportunities, security, and freedom of information.

The survey asked respondents to identify what they thought the roles and services of the state should be. Health was the most frequently mentioned service among respondents (44%), followed by providing access to education (41%) and the provision of security (37%). Helping the poor (27% of respondents) and promoting work/improving the economy (25% of respondents) were also listed as main roles of the state. Data on socio-environmental conflicts and security also highlighted how much the population expects the government to be involved in resolving conflicts and ensuring protection.

Figure 9: Main roles of the state
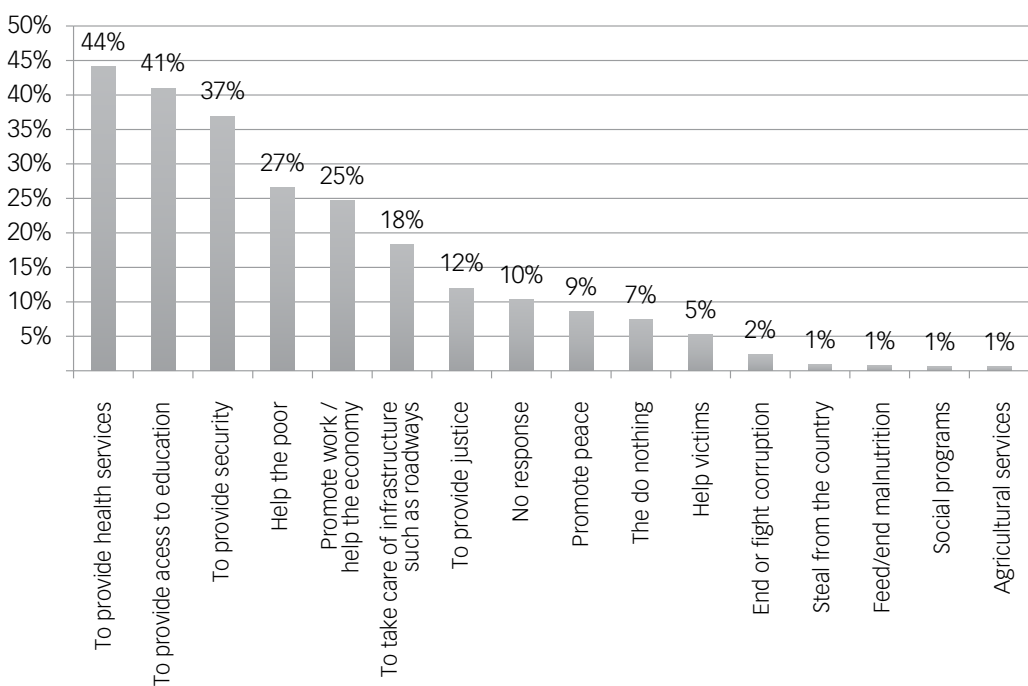
In contrast with their expectations, respondents ranked poorly the performance of the government on key aspects: 79% judge the performance of the government on increasing employment to be bad or very bad. Similarly a majority of respondents were negative about the governments performance on reducing poverty (76% bad – very bad), reducing crimes (75% bad – very bad) or resolving conflicts (72% bad – very bad). A majority of the population further believes that the government does nothing to improve life in their community. Survey results rather suggest that four out of five respondents believe that the government (80%), congress (85%), and other elected officials (83%) work little or very little in their interest.

Confirming the poor perception of the government performance, respondents listed themselves (42%), the municipality governments (37%) and community elected organizations (28%) when asked to list the actors involved in improving live in their communities and neighborhoods. Only 7% reported that the national government acted to improve lives in their communities.

Figure 10: Perception of performance of the government in selected areas (% bad – very bad)
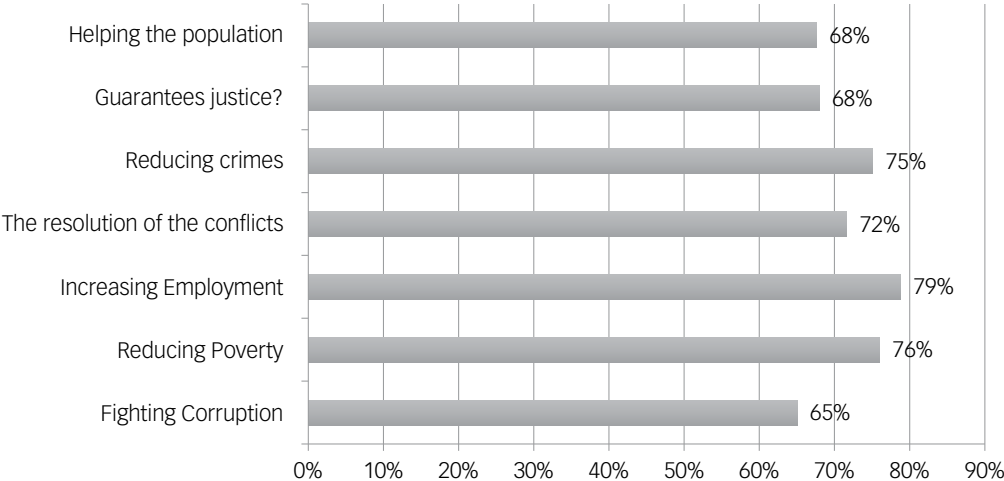
This perception of poor performance of the state likely also undermines trust in government institutions: 74% of the respondents had little to no trust in the national government, 59% had little to no trust in the departmental government and 46% had little to no trust in local city or municipality governments. Furthermore, 55% of the sample reported little to no trust in the police. In contrast the level of distrust was lower toward civil society actors such as the media, schools, or the church.

Figure 11: Trust in selected actors (% little – no trust)
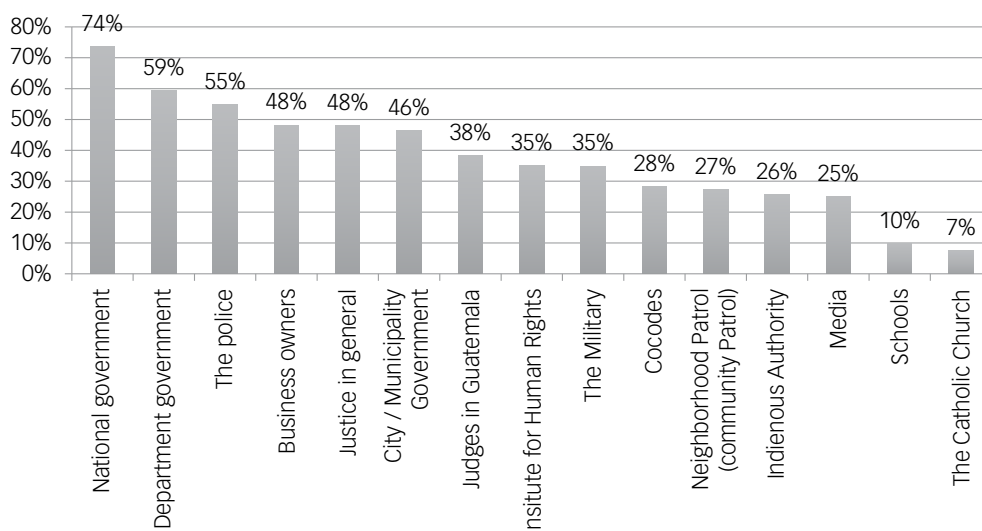
Arguably, confidence in the state is further undermined by a lack of contact and perception of corruption: 81% of respondents in the sample reported having had no contact with any authorities in the year prior to the survey; 13% of respondents indicated having contact with their mayor and 6% with local community authorities. With regards to corruption, 90% of respondents felt that corruption is widespread in the government, but few find corruption acceptable under any circumstances – only 8% find it acceptable for officials to seek illegal payments (bribes) for services.

Despite the negative perception of state actors, 89% of respondents are registered to vote, 80% reported voting in the last national elections, and 81% planned to vote in the next election at the time of the interview (the second round of the 2015 presidential election). The main reason for not voting was not being registered, which in turn was primarily the result of not caring about politics (23%), losing documents (16%), or traveling and being prevented from registering (14%).

3.5 Socio-economic Fragility

Respondents in the consultation process highlighted the challenges raised by poor access to services, unemployment, and the general economic conditions in Guatemala. Respondents were asked to rank their access to - and the quality of - a range of services. Only about half the respondents were positive about their access to education (59%), access to electricity (53%), and access to food (53%). Respondents were by far most negative about their access to jobs (6% good – very good).

Figure 12: Perception of services (% good – very good)
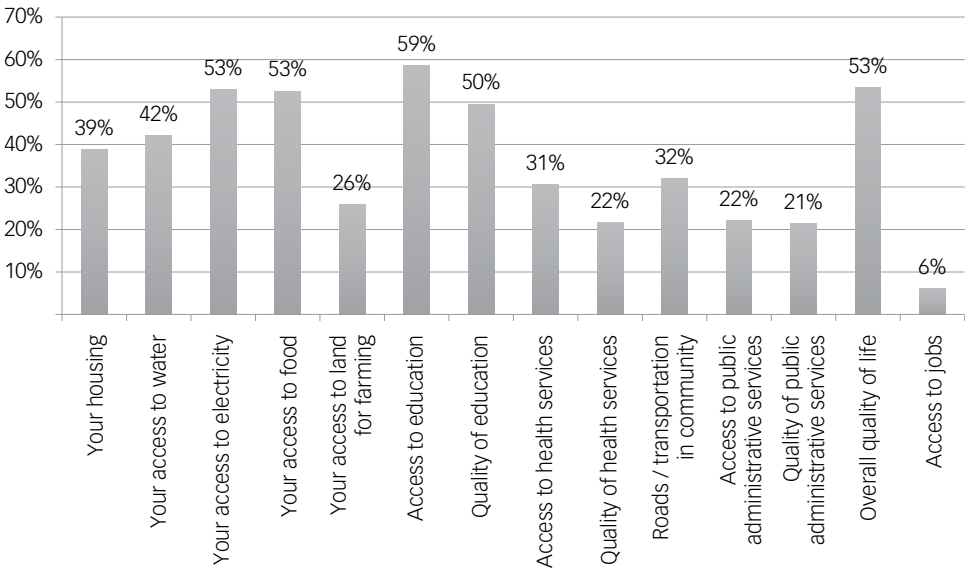
Economic shocks - unexpected or unpredictable event that negatively affected the household economic status - were the most commonly reported problems: 89% of respondents indicated some form of economic shock in the last 12 months, 35% reported a loss of employment, 58% reported lowered income, 28% reported illness of death of a working person, 76% felt there had been a significant increase in price of products, 41% reported the loss of harvest. As far as the number of shocks experienced in the last 12 months, 31% reported having experienced four or more shocks, 24% reported experience of three shocks, 19% reported two shocks and 15% reported one shock.

Figure 13: Self-reported incidence of economic shocks in the last 12 months

Category	Percentage
Any shock experienced	89%
Increase in prices of products	76%
Lowered income	58%
Loss of harvest	41%
Loss of employment	35%
Ilness or death of working person	28%
Other economic problems	14%
Bankruptcy of business	11%
Displacement	5%
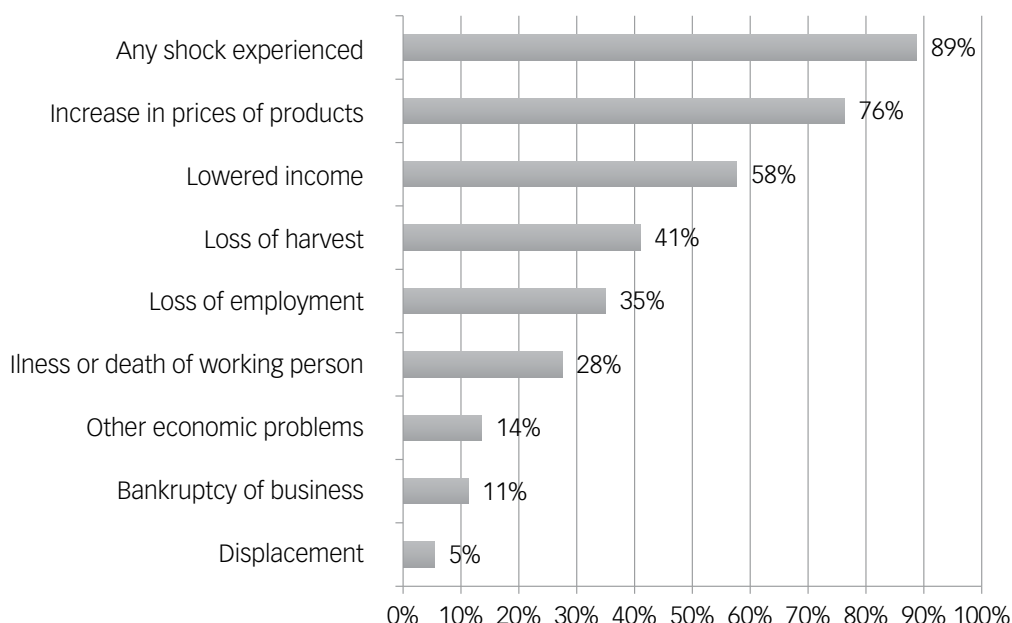
How people responded to these shocks varied. The majority (43%) spent less money on food, health and other essential items, 26% reported doing nothing, 12% sought additional work or another job, and 17% took out loans from family, friends, or neighbors. Less common responses were taking out loans from the bank (5%), selling goods at a market (7%), selling personal items (5%) or taking out loans from different private sources (2%).

When respondents were asked to list what they felt were the most effective means to improve employment and business opportunities in Guatemala, four pathways became evident. The majority of respondents (47%) felt it should be the government who generates sources of employment, 33% felt that more opportunities for employment would exist if private services were easier to access. Some suggested that more opportunities for work would result from the creation of more municipality businesses (21%) and improved education (14%).

When asked directly who was involved in helping them through their economic downturns, most respondents reported turning to friends or family (84%). 8% reported turning to community leaders, 4% went to the church, and 4% indicated they turn to State appointed authorities. More generally, respondents tended to

fend for themselves, when it came to solving economic problems, 67% reported they are principally in charge of addressing these issues, 20% reported that nobody is addressing economic problems, 5% indicated that the city or municipal government was in charge of addressing these issues and 4% indicated that the church was involved. The mayoral offices and the state, however, were largely seen as normally responsible for improving employment and business opportunities.

Box: Information

Access to information and channels of communication are critical in shaping views and opinions on issues of governance and conflicts. Channels and sources of communication and information flows are critical to resilience and contribute to forms of trust, social cohesion and social capital. Media are a primary means for outreach and public education, and media and informed citizens can hold public official accountable for their actions. For most respondents, television is the main source of information (53%), followed by the radio (26%) and other media (21%). Not surprisingly, access to television is strongly related to wealth. A measure of asset ownership showed that relying on television as the main source of information was most prevalent among the high level of asset ownership tertile, compare to those in the low level of asset ownership tertile (12%). Conversely individuals in the low level of asset ownership tertile were significantly more likely to rely on the radio and friends and family (43% and 19% respectively) compared to those in the high level of asset ownership tertile (12% and 2% respectively).

Figure 14: Main source of information
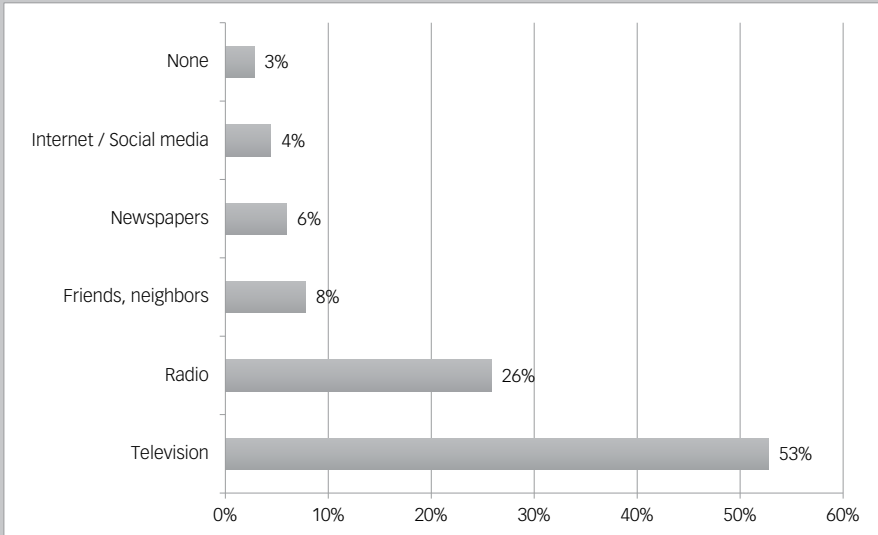
Despite the general accessibility of media, about half the respondents felt little or not all informed about national (52%) and local (51%) politics and about development projects related to the exploitation of natural resources that may affect them (52%). About one third of respondents felt little or not all informed about news in their department (40%), in their locality (32%), or nationally (30%).

Some topics appear to be sensitive for open discussion. Just about one third of respondents felt little or not at all able to talk about corruption without fear. However, the percentage of responders unable to talk openly and without fear about politics was higher (50%) and even more felt they could not talk about what happened during the war (58%). This was especially problematic in areas with experience of the war and on-going presence of police, military and former members of armed groups

Figure 15: Self-reported level of information on selected topic (% little – not at all informed)
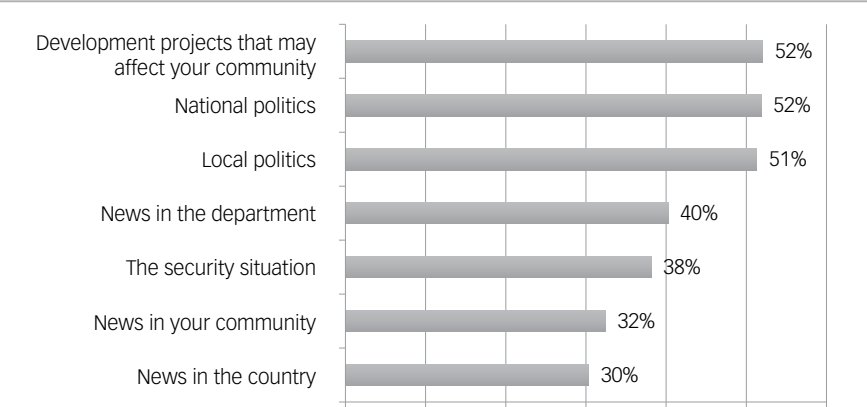
Figure 16: Self-reported level of freedom without fear (% little - not at all free)
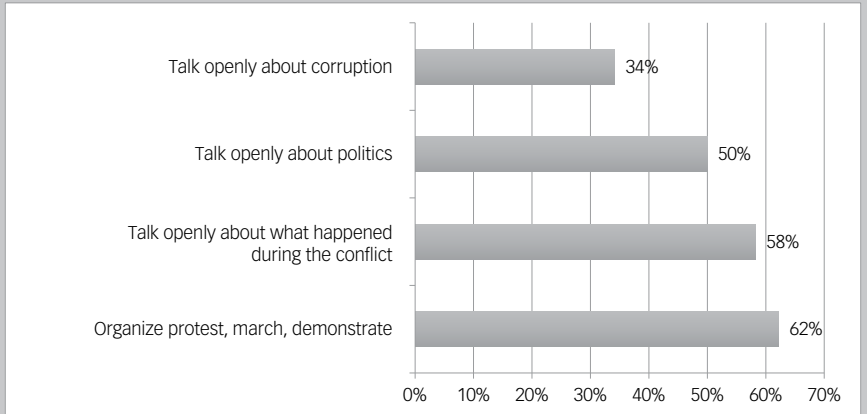
4 Social Cohesion

4.1 Belonging, Inclusion, and Trust

Assessing levels of social cohesion is important when addressing resilience in relation to conflict and peacebuilding. A wide range of studies point to the importance of family and social support in building resilience and community resilience in post-conflict societies. This section examines key dimensions of social cohesion to provide a better understanding of the societal relationships which enable individuals and communities to anticipate, adapt, respond, transform and resolve potential conflicts – in other words, to be more resilient. First, respondents were asked to rank relationships, including relationships with their family (89% good to very good), with their neighbors (83% good to very good), and with the community in general (77% good to very good.)

Figure 17: Perception of relationships (% good – very good)
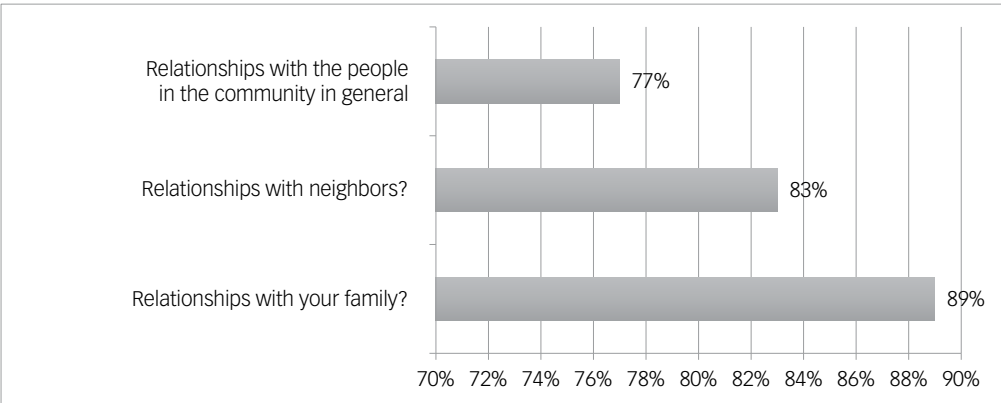
The positive perception of relations within and outside of the family may explain why a high percentage of respondents see the community as ready to organize itself and seek a solution to problems with services (85%). Other data, however, suggest a more complex dynamic in social relations and support. A majority of respondents (72%) indicated that, in their communities and neighborhoods, people are ready to help each other, but 45% of respondents reported that people in their communities and neighborhoods did not trust each other. About half the respondents judge positively the ability of the people in their community to come together to resolve

disputes over natural resources without violence (46%), and about the same percentage (50%) believe that people support each other if they lack income/food. Fewer felt that support is offered or available to them often/all the time.

Figure 18: Support frequency (% often – all the time)
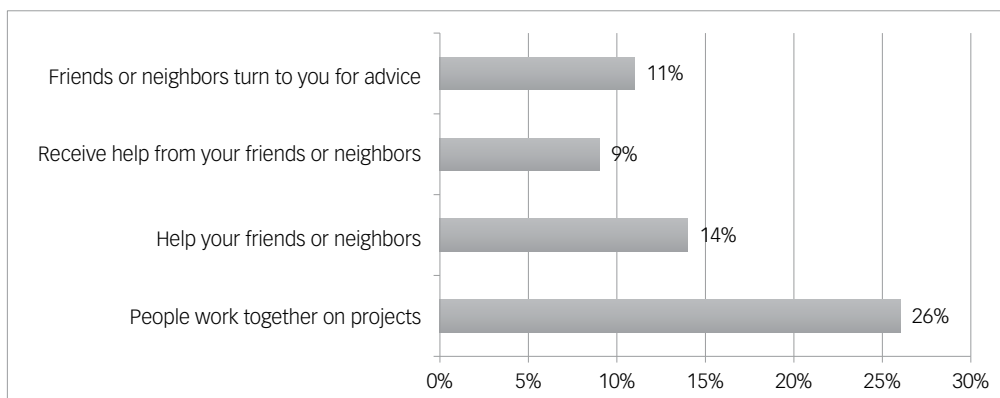
The finding is consistent with other data suggesting that respondents see the community as a whole as having a very limited role in improving life in general, addressing economic problems and disputes over socio-environmental issues and development projects. Only concerning security did organize neighbors pay a role in improving security. Only in relation to security was the organization of neighbors seen to play a key role in improving security. Cocodes were also seen as one of the most legitimate actors contributing to improving life and resolving disputes. However, according to Guatemala scholars, they have limited power and resources.

When considering social distance with other socio-cultural groups, a majority of respondents (about 80% or more) indicated being comfortable living in the same community, going to the same market or church, working together, or sharing food. Respondents, however, were less comfortable with members of other socio-cultural groups for events outside of the public space, including inter-marriage and living in the same house. Nevertheless, few people reported problems and divisions over customs, traditions or religious beliefs: 78% said no such problems existed in their community, 14% mentioned issue over religious beliefs, and 8% mentioned ethnic groups not getting along.

Figure 19: Social distance (% comfortable with other socio-cultural group)

Category	Percentage
Going to the same school as your children	85%
Married someone in your home	64%
Going to the same church	80%
Drinking together	57%
Going to the same market	88%
Working together	85%
Sharing food	81%
Living in the same house	56%
Living in the same neighborhood /municipality	79%
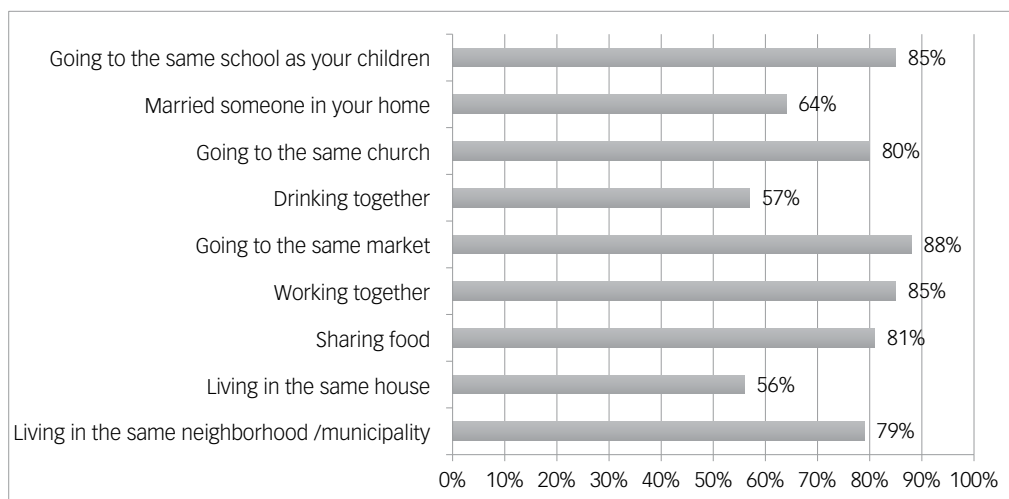
4.2   Civic and Social Participation

The engagement of individuals in public events, groups and associations is an indicator of the existing social capital. According to the survey, 52% of respondents have participated in some form of community meeting in the year prior to the survey, 46% participated in voluntary collective projects and the same percentage participated in cultural and/or recreational events, nearly one third of respondents (30%) participated in community events to improve security in public spaces such as streets and parks, and 30% participated in events to improve or build public works and maintain public spaces.

**Figure 20: Level of participation in selected
public activities in the past year**
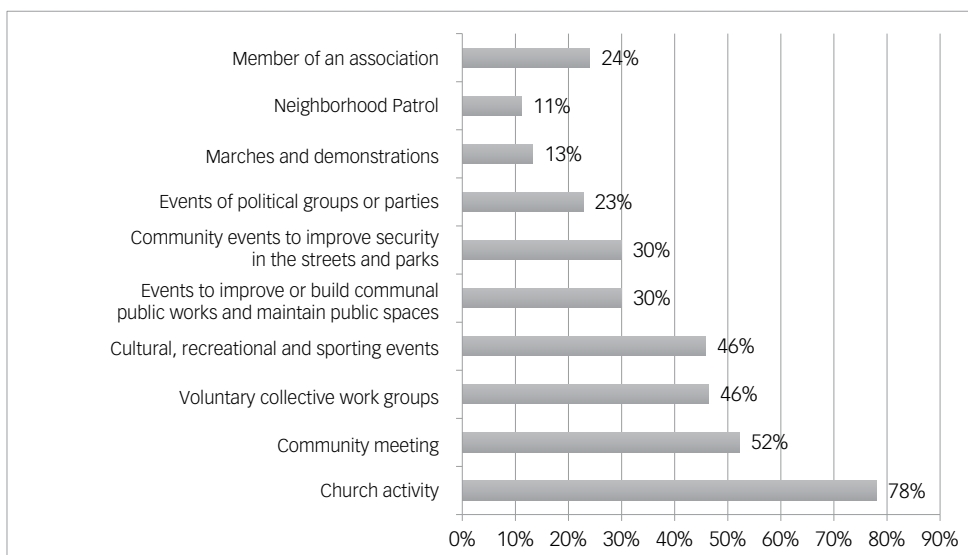
Despite the high level of engagement in community events and activities, however, few respondents recognized formal membership in any organized associations – 76% where members of none, 13% were members of a religious group, and 4% were members of a Cocodes. Arguably, these results suggest a lack of formal institution that support and promote the creation and work of association. It also reflects some reluctance for anyone to be member of a group or association which they may be seen to represent or speak on behalf of.

Box: Exclusion and Wealth

Guatemala has a history of unequal treatment of socio-cultural groups, with indigenous groups being formally recognized for having been historically discriminated against and excluded. The survey examined perception of exclusion and discrimination. While many respondents reported a sense of equality in terms of access to health services, education, justice, or public administrative services, 21% of respondents felt they had experienced some kind of unfair treatment, most often because of their social status (5%), work/occupation (3%), gender (2%), group of origin (2%), and religion (2%). Responses did not differ significantly by gender or group of origin and examining the survey results across key socio-demographic variable suggest that economic divides are the strongest and that poverty represents a significant trap and factor of exclusion.

Respondents were categorized in three socio-economic groups based on the ownership of selected non-productive assets such as a car, motorcycle or motor scooter, MP3 player/radio /cassette player, mobile phone, television, DVD, refrigerator, computer, or washing machine: those with few assets (lowest tertile), those with average amount of assets (medium tertile) and those with the highest number of assets (highest tertile). These asset wealth groups were significantly associated with a number of factors, with the lowest asset group being more likely than the wealthier group to:

- Be more negative about their economic future outlook
- Be overall less informed and more reliant on informal information sources
- Be less able to talk openly without fear on various topics or organize protests
- Be more negative about their access and quality of services
- More likely to be negatively affected by development projects

5   Implications for Resilience

The survey findings outlined in this report yield complex insights into the various dimensions of conflictive situations and resilience in Guatemala. The findings suggest that the social fabric is somewhat limited to a state of co-existence. Collaboration and assistance exist, but it is limited outside of the private space. Relatedly, individuals participate in community activities, but this does not translate into meaningful engagement in the form of membership and involvement in civil society organizations and associations. Yet the meaningful engagement of civilians in public life is necessary considering the ineffectiveness of the state in meeting the demand and needs of its population.

The state was consistently described as lacking an effective role in addressing key needs demands, and expectations of the population on issues that the population largely defined as the duty of the state (e.g. justice, security, improving life…). This has implications for the type of resources and processes people may rely on to be more resilient in relation to conflict and peacebuilding. The dissonance between expectations and what is actually delivered, combined with perception of corruption, is undermining trust in the state and creating opportunities for rupture between the state and the population. The positive news is that the population continues to look up to state institutions to provide key services. For example, deploying more police was seen as a key measure to improve security. However, few thought they were currently fulfilling that protection role, leaving the citizens to fend for themselves, often paralyzed by insecurity. This in turn likely undermines the sense of community and solidarity.

To further examine resilience at the individual level, this survey adopted a standardized self-reported indicator of resiliency: the 10-item Connor-Davidson Resilience (CD-R) scale. Questions on individual, psychological resilience included whether individuals feel able to adapt to change, can deal with whatever comes, can see the humorous side of things, are strengthened by coping with stress, tend to bounce back after illness or hardship, think they can achieve their goals, can focus under pressure, and are not discouraged by failure and other factors found to indicate resiliency. The scale was found to be associated with a number of variables, including:

- Gender

- Level of information and freedom to talk openly

- Social relationships

- Participation in community events and engagement in associations

- Level of assistance received and offered, and level of trust in the community

- Trust in the state

- Contact with authorities

- Sense of security

The fact that a fairly narrowly defined individual assessment of resilience based on mental health and individuals' self-reported capacity to overcome adversity is associated with such a wide range of community level factors explored in this survey validates the broad approach undertaken for this research, and highlights the complex relation between individual and community resilience, and wider institutional and societal resilience within the state. What this suggests is that resilience is interlinked with social cohesion and the effectiveness, legitimacy and good governance of the state.

Chapter 6. Results of the PAR Process: Final Proposals

During the Participatory Action Research process, the actors reflected on the capacities for resilience in the face of socio-environmental conflictive situations, violence and insecurity, and the fragility of public institutions (especially that which is related to corruption) in order to devise proposals for action or, more generally, guidelines that will contribute to transform the situation.

This chapter contains the proposals that emerged during the working group's phase of the PAR process. The proposals cover three main themes: the first addresses socio-environmental conflictive situations by way of the strengthening of institutional capacities for coordination and multi-sectoral participation for the prevention, response, and transformation of agrarian and socio-environmental conflicts. The second proposal addresses those aspects related to insecurity and violence through the support of initiatives for the prevention of violence among youthful populations at the municipal level. The third proposal underscores the importance of social audits at the municipal level as a mechanism to limit corruption.

Proposal for resilience in the face of socio-environmental conflictive situations

This proposal is the result of a political dialogue and a consensus among multiple participants and seeks, from the perspective of resilience, to contribute to the strengthening of the State's institutions and capacities and of society to deal with and prevent agrarian and socio-environmental conflictive situations thereby strengthening democratic governance. The proposal was devised by the Group on Resilience and Peacebuilding and presented to the new government of Guatemala (2016-2020), to the international community, and to different representatives of the private sector and civil society.

Where do we want to go?

For the Group on Resilience and Peacebuilding, this proposal aims to **strengthen democratic governance**, meaning the stability of the political system in support of social harmony among the citizenry and the operation of the institutions as a necessary condition for the maintenance of a balance among all factors that interact in a society and which enhance productivity, development, and social peace within a framework of the rule of law.

The Working Group determined that governance faces the following threats in terms of socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations:

- A low capacity for a comprehensive response by public institutions in the face of social conflictive situations.
- A closing of spaces for dialogue and agreement.
- Unsatisfied social needs.
- Limited or no action to prevent conflictive situations and violence.

At the same time, the Group identified the following trigger-mechanisms of the crisis in governance that the country faces:

- Poor quality or lack of information combined with disinformation.
- Inadequate and ill-timed use of the security forces.
- Lack of legitimate spaces for dialogue among parties.
- Negative precedents among the population that create a predisposition to reject investment projects.

Current socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations

The threats and trigger-mechanisms mentioned previously are expressions of the current socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations:

- 1,429 agrarian conflicts have been registered in the Secretariat for Agrarian Issues (*Secretaría de Asuntos Agrarios*) up November 2015. These conflicts are characterized mainly for occurring over the entire country and include disputes over rights, conflicts involving property lines or boundaries, and the legalization of land ownership.

- In addition, between 2008 and 2014 there has been a significant increase of conflicts in the energy and electricity sectors which include conflicts over energy generation (linked to hydroelectric plants) and transmission and distribution of electricity.

- With regards to the resource extraction sector, there are currently five extractive industries in operation. Still, conflicts in the electric and mining sectors have risen from latent and medium level conflictive situations to high level conflictive situations. These conflicts are characterized by the involvement of large groups of people and by intense media coverage, thus affecting governance in the country.

- The areas that are affected by these conflicts coincide with those territories with the highest levels of poverty, which are also territories that contain the largest amount of natural resources in the country.

The Group on Resilience and Peacebuilding determined that there is a high **level of risk** that all of these conflictive situations might pick up as a threat to governance during the first months of 2016. This level was confirmed by the National Survey on Resilience and Peacebuilding conducted by Interpeace and Harvard University, which showed that in all those sites where there are projects linked to the exploitation of natural resources (including extensive farming), one-half of them have experienced an increase in conflicts.

For these reasons, the Group on Resilience and Peacebuilding believes it important to take advantage of the opportunity presented by a new government to make a contribution aimed at supporting the efforts of a new approach to conflictive situations and thereby help to achieve social peace, all of this on the basis of our multi-sectoral nature and after more than eight months of dialogue and reflection.

Current situation of the institutions of government that are charged with resolving conflictive situations

There exists in Guatemala an institutional framework that, from different perspectives, aims to address conflicts through the following executive offices:

Institutions with a specific mandate	**Response to agrarian conflicts**	Secretariat of Agrarian Issues (Secretaría de Asuntos Agrarios - SAA)
		Land Fund (Fondo de Tierras - Fontierras)
		Public Records Office (Registro de Información Catastral - RIC)
	Response to socio-environmental conflicts	Ministry of Mines and Energy (Ministerio de Energía y Minas - MEM)
		Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources (Ministerio de Ambiente y Recursos Naturales - MARN)
Institutions with a wide-ranging mandate	**Response to a diversity of conflicts**	Presidential Coordinating Commission for Policy of the Executive Branch for Human Rights (Comisión Presidencial Coordinadora de la Política del Ejecutivo en materia de Derechos Humanos - COPREDEH)
		National System for Dialogue (Sistema Nacional de Diálogo - SND)
Institutions with a constitutional mandate to oversee human rights and promote mediation		Human Rights Advocate (Procurador de los Derechos Humanos - PDH)

Institutions with no specific mandate but which intervene in conflicts	1. Ofice for the Control of State Land Reserves (Oficina de Control de Reservas Territoriales del Estado – OCRET) 2. National Council of Protected Areas (Consejo Nacional de Áreas Protegidas – CONAP) 3. National Forest Institute (Instituto Nacional de Bosques – INAB) 4. Authority for the Sustainable Management of the Amatitlán Watershed and Lake (Autoridad para el manejo sostenible de la Cuenca y del lago de Amatitlán – AMSA) 5. National Advocate General (Procurador General de la Nación – PGN) 6. General Property Registry (Registro General de la Propiedad – RGP) 7. Office of State Assets (Dirección de Bienes del Estado – DBE) 8. Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Food Supplies (Ministerio de Agricultura, Ganadería y Alimentación – MAGA) 9. National Geographic Institute (Instituto Geográfico Nacional – IGN) 10. Secretariat for Executive Coordination of the President of the Republic (Secretaría de Coordinación Ejecutiva de la Presidencia – SCEP) 11. General Secretariat of the Presidency (Secretaría General de la Presidencia – SGP) 12. Ministry of Government (Ministerio de Gobernación – MINGOB) 13. Interinstitutional Technical Coordinating State Office for Addressing Social Conflictive Situations (Coordinadora interinstitucional técnica del Estado para la atención de la conflictividad social – CITAC) 14. Ministry of National Defence (Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional – MDN) 15. System of Development Councils (Sistema de Consejos de Desarrollo) 16. Departmental governorships (Gobernaciones departamentales) 17. Municipal mayors (Alcaldías Municipales)

It is estimated that the budgetary assignation for conflictive situations is approximately 352.9 million quetzales (excluding the amount assigned to MARN and MEM because it is not possible to calculate how much of their budget is set aside for conflictive situations).

During the last eight months of discussion and reflection, the Group on Resilience and Peacebuilding determined that the levels of coordination among institutions are more often the result of shared interests of officials in the field than a formal commitment to their institutional mandate.

The current institutional commitment to conflicts is focused primarily on responses to specific cases of conflict through actions such as:

- Meetings at the basic level to seek arrangements by means of dialogue
- Processes of mediation and negotiation
- Technical, methodological, and legal assistance
- Technical processes
- Response to crises

Regardless of the efforts made by institutions, the following limitations are evident:

- Absence of a high-level administrative and coordinating structure
- Limited spaces for political dialogue that which, in most cases, are put into operation when the conflict has already reached a level of a crisis in governance
- Limitations on the effective participation of social and entrepreneurial sectors
- Lack of an inter-institutional and sectoral perspective
- Negative cost-benefit relationship
- Absence of an democratically established and operational early warning system
- Absence of effective inter-institutional linkages that complement each other

Proposal of the Group on Resilience and Peacebuilding

Strengthen and coordinate institutions for the prevention and involvement in conflictive situations by means of a co-ordinating body

This body would be of a national and multi-sectoral character, directly under the office of the President of the Republic and responsible for coordinating the actions of the appropriate dependencies of the executive branch, municipalities, and other decentralized and autonomous bodies. Its main purpose would be to:

- Develop actions to strengthen institutions by reviewing and adjusting the mandates and roles of the institutions that intervene in socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations;

- Define lines of institutional and multi-sectoral linkage and coordination of the national to the local levels which would be reflected in local actions, in the involvement, management, resolution, and prevention of conflictive situations, thereby avoiding duplication of roles and improving the efficient use of public funds.

The international community and the office of the human rights advocate would be invited as observers and supervisors to assure the observance of human rights.

The overall objective of this body is to improve the culture of peace and the nation's development by strengthening and coordinating the institutions of the State that address and prevent socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations in Guatemala. Its objectives are:

- Respond to transformational resilience.

- Achieve the conciliation of interests.

- Promote actions to prevent conflictive situations.

- Generate confidence.

- Create conditions for inter-institutional coordination for the prevention, support, management, and resolution of high impact conflicts.

- Contribute to the strengthening of those institutions that are mandated to become involved in conflictive situations.

This coordinating body would be set up under law by modifying executive order 125-2914 that set up the Presidential Commission for Dialogue.

The structure of this body would be as follows:
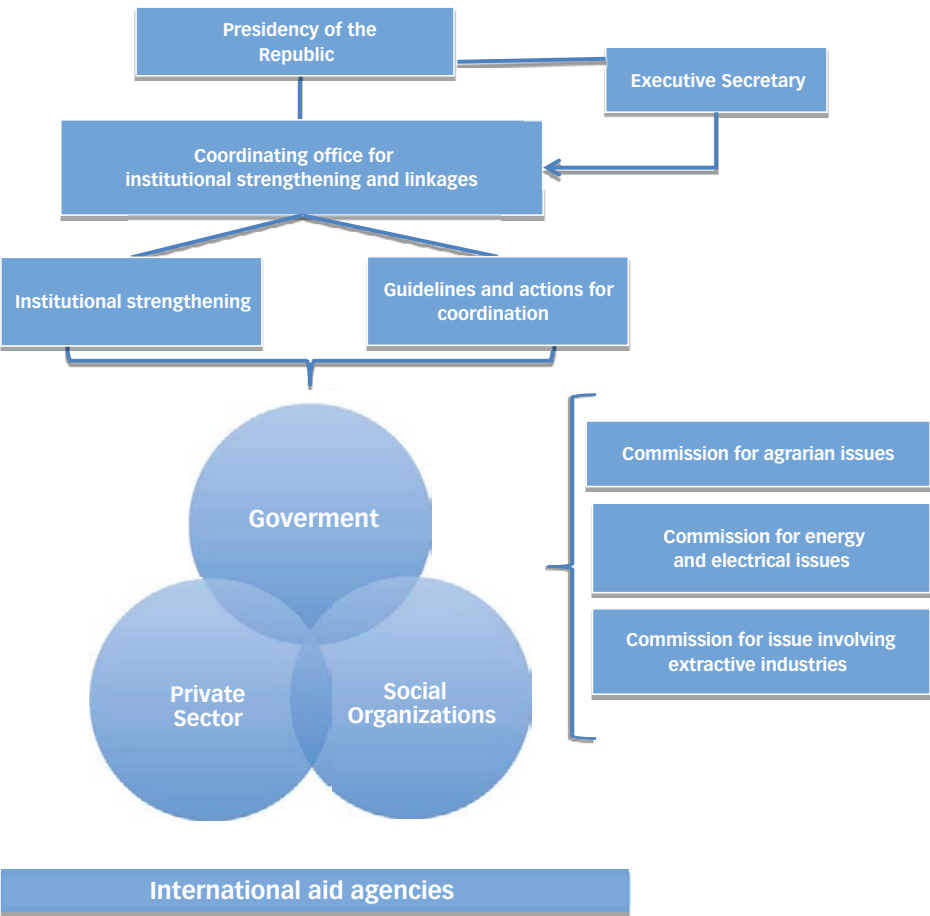
Institutional strengthening and linking

1. **Strengthening** of institutions that currently address conflictive situations.

2. Define the process to adjust the mandate and roles of the State's institutions that address and manage socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations to assure that their interventions are complementary.

3. Focus on prevention by taking into account the capacities for resilience as expressed in **the values of respect for life, peace, justice, and harmony**.

4. Establishment of an effective and efficient mechanism for **inter-institutional coordination** (as a body involved in consultations, discussions, and proposal design but not executive).

5. Define processes for adjustment of mandates and roles (analytic and juridical process) of the State's institutions that prevent, address, and manage socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations.

6. Citizen participation in multi-sectoral high level initiatives to provide **legitimacy and sustainability of agreements and commitments** necessary to achieve democratic governance.

7. Support for the effective implementation of **public policies** to address the issues.

8. Contribute to **transparency and efficiency** of the use of public resources.

9. Review and propose expanded coverage and strengthen initiatives in those regions, departments, and municipalities in which there are high levels of conflict.

10. Define coordination procedures of mandated offices with those at the local level that intervene in conflicts, such as: departmental governorships, ministries, mayors' offices, commissions of CODEDES and COMUDES that address conflictive situations.

11. State institutions that invest public funds in development and social issues must seek to complement their interventions.

Implementation scheme

1 CREATE PREPARATORY COMMISSION
- Appointment of presidential representative
- Technical and political support by the Group on Resilience and Peace Building
- Commission meets and works for two months

2 FIRST SESSION OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION
- Participation of government officials representing institutions that look into socio-environmental and agrarian conflictive situations, under the direction of the President
- Political summons by the President

3 OPERATIVE ACTIONS
- Agenda
- Issues
- Methodologies
- Rules
- Qualifications for posts
- Paths for strengthening and coordination
- Action plan
- Financial requirements and their disbursal

4 SEATING OF THE COORDINATING BODY
- Modification of the executive order
- Appointment of an executive secretary
- Amount and allocation of budget
- Appointment of team

Estimated cost of the operation of coordinating body

The operation of the coordinating body will require the creation of a team made up of:

- An executive secretary
- Technical, administrative, and support personnel
- Office supplies
- Equipment and technology
- Transport facilities

The estimated cost of operation of the coordinating body during 2016 is 3.7 million quetzales.

It is suggested that the coordinating body receive additional complementary funding from international aid agencies in support of the objectives set out by the Government to oversee the peaceful resolution of conflictive situations and the strengthening and coordination of institutions charged with responding to conflictive situations and social investment and development, as well as guaranteeing democratic governance.

Proposal on resilience in the face of insecurity and violence

The working group faced a challenge when addressing the situation of insecurity and violence from a resilience perspective because there are few sources that address them in such a manner. However, the results of consultation phase of the Resilience and Peacebuilding project provided a sufficiently valid foundation upon which to reflect.

One of the key questions the group posed was: *What type of resilience for what type of violence?* In other words, a clear definition is required of the expressions of violence and criminality in the face of which the capacities for resilience in society can be identified. Thus, the following expressions were listed:

Sources of violence and insecurity

- Mafias and organized crime within the State.
- Presence of drug trafficking in many regions of the country.
- Unregulated night patrols.
- Consumption of drugs, alcohol, and carrying of firearms.

A basic agreement reached by the working group was that one of the principal structural causes of violence is the fragility of the State's institutions and, as a consequence, the lack of effective security policies.

In the face of this situation, the areas that merit attention to strengthen capacities for resilience include the implementation of policies oriented towards the protection of life and a reduction of unemployment. Similarly, the role of the State must be defined in the regulation of the security councils, the crime prevention commissions, the security commissions and the COCODES. This requires institutional transformations that include an exam of the operation and the legislation concerning the security forces as well as public spending in this area.

Nonetheless, the positive experiences from the perspective of resilience must be identified in terms of how they strengthen capacities for resilience, such as those initiatives that encourage people to lodge complaints about criminal violence and to recover the social fabric and the public spaces necessary for harmonious living.

The preceding assumes a critical review of the role of the citizenry and its varied organizational forms for the prevention of violence, both: a) to revisit the experiences that under the group's criteria did not resolve the problem but, on the contrary, exacerbated it, as has been the case of night patrols; and b) to study the experiences that allow for a perspective aimed at the transformation of the problem.

The discussion over resilience in the face of insecurity and violence evidenced that, as opposed to other forms of conflictive situations where opposing groups compete for the same resource, it is difficult to detect divergences among individuals over the consequences of insecurity and violence. The debate over these issues does not refer to their specific expressions but, instead, to the form in which they are dealt with by the State as well as by the citizenry itself.

The summary document describes a wide range of actions that the citizenry has implemented to deal with the situation of insecurity and violence that they live with. In the working group, the discussions underscored that silence and fear, night patrols, and the privatization of security services were conceived as reactions that are rooted in history (specifically that of repression and conflict in the country), culture ("it's part of Guatemalans' nature"), and psychology ("values and behaviours that are acquired in the home").

These actions were seen as negative from the point of view that – even though they were reactions to the problem – they employed violent or passive means that ended up compounding the phenomenon. The first proposals put forward by the group aimed to seek resilient alternatives to reduce the negative effects of these reactions, for example, by implementing measures to educate and inform that would elevate collective self-esteem, strengthen citizenship, and counter apathy in the face of communal problems.

Night patrolling was one of the most debated issues and which raised most concern within the group. In fact, the results of the survey showed a high level of citizen participation in this type of community actions. Examples of this situation are the vigilante groups in San Juan Sacatepéquez or various parts of Zone 18 of the city of Guatemala. The most important controversy over this issue centred on the discretional nature under which these groups operate and the little or no regulation over them by the State. Another wake-up call was the variety of organizational forms that are involved, directly or indirectly, in the prevention of violence and the security of their groups, neighbourhoods, or communities. Among those mentioned were: COCODES, indigenous authorities, neighbourhood committees (*Comités Únicos de Barrio*) security commissions, commissions for the prevention of violence, and committees of organized neighbours.

In the case of the privatization of security services, reference was made to the hiring of private security firms for the protection of residential areas, which the group considered a lessening of the State's responsibilities (some of those present described it as a "de facto extraterritoriality") as well as a weakening of social bonds among the inhabitants of condominiums and private housing developments.

In spite of all of this, one of the elements of continuity between the findings of the consultation phase and the reflections within the working group was the fragility of the State, especially its institutional weakness in confronting violence and insecurity as well as corruption.

In response to this, the group decided to put together a concrete proposal to provide follow-up for their work which aims to strengthen capacities for resilience, especially among young people at the municipal level. This topic was selected as a starting point to address the complex situation of insecurity and violence from a perspective of resilience. The decision to focus on action at the communal level and among young people was taken in response to inputs from the discussion about resilience that emphasize the importance of communal social bonds and the capacity for transformation among young people.

Proposal for youth, peace culture, and violence prevention

The working group identified the various resilience strategies, both negative as well as positive, that have emerged as a result of the propagation of violence and the heightened perception of insecurity: fear and silence, the organization of community vigilante patrols, the search for private security and other forms of social organizations to counter the expansion of crime and violence.

However, the group also identified the potential for resilience of community organizations and the active participation of young people as mechanisms to improve prevention and strengthen communal cohesion. Young people have demonstrated capacities for resilience in terms of the creation of meeting spaces and social interactions of a cultural and festive character that promote the development of strong alternative group identities to those generated by groups linked to violent activities. One condition for strengthening preventive activities is the recovery of public spaces that have been lost as a result of citizen fear and the indifference of public institutions. The working group concluded that the prevention of violence

based on the strengthening of the capacities for resilience will contribute to the reconstruction of the social fabric that has been damaged by violence and a negative social dynamic fuelled by criminal activities.

General objective:

Promote culture of peace initiatives by the active participation of adolescents, young people, and communal leaders as a strategy for the prevention of violence at the municipal level.

Specific objectives:

1. **Educate** adolescents, young people, and communal leaders in the values and the culture of peace and identities to prevent violence.

2. **Promote citizen participation** by means of high-impact social, cultural, and educational actions that will improve communal social harmony, strengthen citizenship, and expand the social fabric.

3. **Support actions to recover public spaces for the citizenry** through cultural, social, and festive initiatives implemented by adolescents and young people.

Methodology

This proposal brings together components designed to promote a culture of peace and citizenship and the recovery and use of public spaces as the basis for the prevention of violence at the municipal level. The methodology seeks to set up participatory processes with different actors interested in the reduction and the prevention of violence in each municipality.

The methodology also looks to complement the participatory perspective with a perspective on resilience and peacebuilding on the basis of a culture and identity of peace, support for citizenship, and the strengthening of public spaces.

This methodological strategy seeks to use resilience to grow the social fabric and social cohesion both in horizontal terms and in vertical terms between the State and the rest of society in order to exert influence in the debates about the government's agenda.

The main actions to be implemented include:

- Diagnosis of the situation and outline of the social, environmental, and cultural actors and initiatives, among others, to bring together efforts in each one of the municipalities as well as studies on the situation of violence and insecurity that will allow identification of capacities for resilience among the population.

- **Inter-institutional coordination** and presentation of the proposal to the municipal authorities.

- **Creation of alliances** and signature of agreements to assist the municipalities.

- **Bringing together and sensitize** local social organizations, churches, communal leaders, and young people in the municipalities where interventions will take place.

- Training of **adolescents and young people** and communal leaders who will head the initiative.

- Establishment of an agenda for actions to recover public spaces.

- Establishment of multi-sectoral commitments for the maintenance of the recovered public spaces and the sustainability of cultural and festive activities for young people.

Proposal for resilience in the face of the fragility of public institutions

As a result of the national crisis that began in April 2015, the National Group decided to include the issues of corruption in the political system and the precarious institutional situation within the analysis of the capacities for resilience in Guatemalan society. It was also decided to set up one working group to analyze the social protest in reaction to the corruption of the political system as an expression of the transformative capacity of the society and set down options for resilience in the conjuncture that would allow for long-term structural transformations.

The components of the institutional crisis were outlined during the various phases of the Resilience and Peacebuilding process (exploration, consultation, and working groups) and were written into the *Summary Document of the Consultation Phase*. In this sense, during the consultation phase the fragility of public institutions was pointed out (core issue 1 of the working groups) as well as the underdevelopment of the technical, administrative and/or financial capacities of the institutions of the

State to carry out their legal mandate for which they were created and thereby satisfy the demands placed upon them by the citizenry. One of the contributions of these reflections was to associate fragility with the limited capacity to resists the influence of factors that push institutions in the direction of private and personal gain above the public good, such as corruption and patronage.

As a structural problem of the country, the fragility of public institutions is expressed in:

1) The lack of capacity to respond adequately in accordance with their mandate; and

2) the lack of capacity to resists corruption or patronage.

It is true that both aspects are directly linked to each other, but for the citizens consulted the second one is more relevant because it is considered to be the principal cause of the inefficiency and incapacity of institutions to respond to the needs of the citizenry. For those consulted in the eleven departments and the six sectors, the principal institutions that reflect the greatest debilities are those involved in the judicial and security systems such as the National Civilian Police (PNC), the attorney's office, and the courts. This perception is expressed in three areas: limited geographical coverage, excessive bureaucracy when cases need follow-up, and little capacity to resolve those problems they have to deal with. In addition, people consulted underlined the precariousness of the health system, which was considered deficient due to the lack of materiel and trained personnel, as well as negligence of the staff.

The weakness of public institutions was also associated by the participants with high levels of "politicization", that is, the intervention by interested political parties in the structure of the State and the municipalities. Its main expressions are patronage, influence peddling, limited investment in municipalities where the political opposition is electorally strong, abuses of authority, the concentration of power, and the lack recognized representation of the elected authorities.

Corruption was identified as the principal mechanism that allows for patronage via appointments to posts in government, contracts with the State, preferences in the judicial system, and protection of illegal activities including organized crime. These elements were considered by the participants in the consultation and the working groups as obstacles for the transformation of the living conditions of the people.

The consultation phase also included questions that asked the participants to define the priorities that would contribute to strengthen the capacities for resilience in

society. In this sense, the priorities mentioned to overcome the fragility of public institutions included the need to address:

1. The use of the State for purposes of patronage, especially with reference to the design, allocation, and distribution of the budget as well as the mechanisms for its oversight.

2. Fiscal reform and public expenditure.

3. Reforms of the system of political parties, especially with reference to the financing of political parties, very expensive electoral campaigns, and the use of public monies by political parties.

4. Reform of the electoral law and the law of political parties.

5. Design of policies against corruption and tax evasion.

6. Role of the Development Councils in support of their communities or as allies of political parties and the government.

7. Current legislation on the civil service and the development councils.

All these issues were the basis for the two working groups to address their effects on the two specific topics of the process: insecurity and violence and socio-environmental conflicts. For group 1 (insecurity and violence), corruption within the security forces, especially in the police, is the main cause not only of the inefficiency of the police but also of its infiltration by criminal groups. Corruption was also associated with the lack of capacities by the State to demand compliance of existing regulations of socio-environmental matters, which in turn contributes to conflicts between society and the State.

In addition, the groups affirmed that corruption not only damages the State and society by allowing the undue use of public resources but is also one of the prime factors of social discontent and resistance to compliance of citizens' obligations, such as the payment of taxes and respect for the law and its procedures.

Even though both the consultation phase as well as the working groups agreed on the principle of respect for sectoral differences, the PAR process has documented that beyond the different positions with regards to the two specific topics (insecurity and violence and socio-environmental conflicts), it is possible to identify intersectoral coincidences about the current conditions of the structure of the State and the need to discuss the ways in which it can be transformed in order to overcome corruption and patronage.

The crisis conjuncture and the structural perspective

On the basis of the elements mentioned previously, it is possible to affirm that, from the perspective of the Resilience and Peacebuilding process, the elements of the current institutional crisis were identified as structural aspects of the conflictive situation in the country. In that sense, the crisis is not one without precedents of a social or institutional nature. On the contrary, the crisis is the extreme expression of multiple underlying conflicts in the society in which specific factors, such as the investigations of the attorney's office and the CICIG, act as triggers of social discontent. In this sense, the corruption of public officials became a sort of "glue" which mobilized massive numbers of citizens. In the context of an electoral process marked by the discredit of the principal candidates, citizens' demands expanded to include deeper institutional reforms – that is, structural – as was detected by Interpeace in the Resilience and Peacebuilding process.

Under this perspective, the crisis was considered one more expression of conflictive situations in society that evidenced the priority that the struggle against corruption and patronage has for social transformations and peace. For that reason, the National Group of the process determined that the crisis represents an opportunity for addressing deep-lying aspects of the social structure that in other circumstances would not be feasible.

Resilience in times of institutional crisis

In operational terms, resilience has been defined in the working groups as the capacity that people, groups, communities, and societies have to confront or countenance adverse situations, in which their individual and/or collective interests are affected but which create sustainable alternatives that will allow them to overcome those situations and transform conflicts into collective opportunities. The process has emphasized the identification of capacities in society to transform both structural adversities as well as the immediate ones in non-violent and cooperative ways.

From this perspective, the National Group seeks to identify the capacities that have made possible a massive and non-violent mobilization in a society characterized by fear and indifference towards political matters. Guatemalan society had not experimented such levels of unified citizen mobilization in the entire democratic era since the end of the war. On the contrary, the few protests that had occurred were characterized by being sectoral and violent.

This crisis gave rise to a public debate and citizen concern about overcoming the legacy of corruption and weakness of the political system that the incomplete post-war processes of transformations and democratization left behind in society. This activism, which has brought together wide sectors traditionally apathetic to citizen mobilization, represents an opportunity to identify capacities of resilience, both implicit in social processes as well as in specific expressions described as "moments of resilience."

Implicit resilience was observed in citizen capacities in the face of structural, long-term problems, that is, resilience towards conflictive situations (fragility of public institutions and socioeconomic fragility). At the same time, the consultation and the working groups identified capacities for resilience in the form of concrete expressions in the face of conflictive situations (insecurity and violence and socio-environmental conflicts) that take shape in the form of communal organizations, historic social protest, indifference, and a search for sectoral alliances both to find alternative forms of subsistence and protection as well as demanding improvements in the quality of life from the State.

On the other hand, the "moments of resilience" are those specific expressions – unpredictable and spontaneous – that emerge as a result of an accumulative effect that resilience has in societies. What is critical in these situations is to understand their trigger mechanisms, in other words, the factors that produce resilient reactions.

From this perspective, the social mobilization that began in Guatemala, spontaneous and unexpected, was triggered principally by the investigations published by the attorney's office and the CICIG that awoke social indignation because of the excessive abuse of public power in various spheres of government. From the perspective of the Working Group, a characteristic feature of this crisis is an "outrage by third parties", that is, indignation as a result of awareness that the precariousness of public services is less attributable to a lack of resources than to excessive corruption among government authorities that directly affects those most vulnerable in the population.

On this basis, the National Group seeks to define a road map for reforms that, within the opportunity offered by the crisis, can lay the foundations for deeper transformations within society. This also means identifying, on the one hand, the trigger mechanisms of citizen mobilization and, on the other, the transformations that the crisis has already laid bare, such as:

1. Multi-sectoral collective action.

2. A rejection of violence in social protests.

3. Overcoming historical differences among social groups.

4. The use of public spaces as a stage for exercising citizen rights.

5. Participation of social groups traditionally apathetic towards politics.

Given that attention during the crisis has been focused on the structure of the State and the relations of patronage and corruption that have overwhelmed it, one of the key questions has been: *What is the role of the State in facilitating or hindering the development of resilient capacities and actions in society?* That explains why both the reflections and the actions of the National Group have focused on the capacities for resilience in the face of the problems created by the current structure of the State, on the one hand, and the capacities for resilience to transform those structures, on the other. Both aspects are necessary conditions to promote specific changes in the fields of insecurity and justice as well as socio-environmental conflictive situations.

The Resilience and Peacebuilding group agreed that the proposal related to the fragility of public institutions, specifically in the case of corruption, should be developed by using the existing capacities within the participant organizations of the process. In this sense, the Group decided that the territorial presence of the Network of Enabling Groups (*Red de Grupos Gestores*) provided an adequate platform to implement the proposal at the municipal level.

Proposal for resilience and social audit at the municipal level

General objective

Strengthen the resilient capacities for social audits in the face of corruption at the local level.

Specific objectives:

1. Create 10 departmental spaces of citizen dialogue for social audits.

2. Create processes of citizen education on the topic of social audits.

3. Participatory design of awareness-building campaigns against corruption based on learning experiences of social audit reports.

4. Set up a network of municipalities to fight corruption.

Methodological strategy

Interpeace supports participatory spaces for social dialogues that involve all key actors of society in processes of discussion and reflection to bring about consensus that leads to ownership of proposed solutions. These processes combine different methods that range from capacity building to monitoring and summarizing experiences. A key feature of the participatory methodology is that the processes are steered by those involved and it is they who define the most appropriate strategy for their own contexts. For this reason, the experience of networks developed by the Enabling Groups (*Grupos Gestores*) lays the foundation for convening local actors in each department that have established bonds of trust around a shared interest in strengthening their capacities to benefit their own communities.

This proposal looks to develop capacities for social audits against corruption at the municipal level by local groups convened by the Enabling Groups in order to influence and sensitize a larger part of the local population.

The methodology proposed will be carried out in the following phases:

1. **Training the trainers**. A group of 10 facilitators will be identified and selected from the Enabling Groups in the departments of Quetzaltenango, Sacatepéquez, Suchitepéquez, Zacapa, San Marcos, Escuintla, Chimaltenango, Izabal, Alta-Baja Verapaz, and Petén. These facilitators will be trained to replicate training processes in their departments. The training will include topics relative to techniques and strategies of social audits, legal advice, participatory dialogue processes, inventory of actors, and institutional and social diagnoses. When the training is over, each facilitator will put together a map of actors and an institutional and social diagnosis of their territory in order to begin the political process of convening a social dialogue and training its participants.

2. **Training in social audits**. On the basis of the map of local actors and institutional and social diagnoses, a group of 25 multi-sectoral local actors will be convened in each of the selected departments to begin the training in social audits. This process aims to develop technical capacities among the participants that will allow for the implementation of social audit actions.

3. **Multi-sectoral departmental social dialogues**. Once formed, each multi-sectoral departmental group will begin the process of social dialogue aimed at implementing social audit actions. Social audits are not only a technical process of overseeing governmental actions but also a political process based on the establishment of trust and legitimacy among the participants because it is they who design the priorities, actions, and strategies that best fit their needs. This will lead to ownership of the process by the participants which, in turn, assures sustainability of the processes and their continuation beyond the time frame of the project. One of the mechanisms to strengthen social dialogue for social audits is the establishment of alliances with public institutions that can provide support. For this reason, and as part of this phase, alliances can be expected with the attorney's office (*Ministerio Público*) and the judicial branch of government to assist in the training of local capacities on topics such as audits, transparency, judicial actions in cases of corruption, citizen complaints, and access to public information.

4. **Teaching and awareness-raising campaigns**. One of the results of the social dialogue will be the preparation, validation, and public presentation of social audit reports. By using participatory teaching techniques, these reports will be presented in an accessible format that can be communicated efficiently to the population in each department. In order to achieve this objective, the will be converted into citizen awareness-raising campaigns, designed and validated

under participatory schemes by the multi-sectoral groups involved in the social dialogue. The participatory character of the and the design of the awareness-raising campaign are essential to provide context for these initiatives. It is local actors who know the social, cultural, and identity context that are necessary for the success of the awareness-raising actions.

5. **Network of municipalities against corruption at the municipal level**. The establishment of networks has proven its effectiveness as a tool for strengthening collaborative efforts, the exchange of experiences, and the expansion of processes to other territories. Once an acceptable level of cohesion of the multi-sectoral groups in the departments has been reached and the first results of the social audits have been incorporated into awareness-raising campaigns, a network of departments can be established that will assure the continuity of the process as well as strengthening the alliances with the General Attorney's office and the judicial branch. This network will constitute a citizen base in support of the multiple efforts aimed at strengthening public institutions charged with audits, investigations, and the rule of law. The network will be responsible, at the same time, for defining a strategy for the sustainability of the results of this project.

Chapter 7. Resilience and peacebuilding in Guatemala: reflections on key elements

One of the principal objectives of the project "Resilience and Peacebuilding: Framework for an analysis of resilience" implemented by Interpeace was to create inputs for the debate on resilience and peacebuilding as expressed by local actors who met in participatory processes of collective reflection. The value added of this methodological proposal lay in that the inputs were generated within the specific nature of each context and acquired legitimacy as derived from the participation, appropriation, and action of the participants themselves.

This chapter presents the principal contributions to the debate on resilience and peacebuilding that have been generated by the process in Guatemala. The findings express the experience and perspective of the process, especially with regards to the manner in which the concept of resilience is understood and appropriated by local actors, its adaptation for action, and its potential as a tool for transformation.

Although the concept of resilience is used ever more frequently in varied disciplinary fields, it had not yet been applied in a participatory fashion as a framework for analysis in peacebuilding, which is an innovative characteristic of this initiative. In this sense, the Guatemalan case was an opportunity to identify the contribution of a resilience perspective for peacebuilding within a context in which the time frame since the end of the armed conflict allows for an analysis of the challenges which society faces as a consequence of incomplete post-conflict and democratization processes. The specificity and applicability of the resilience perspective, as defined by academia and international aid agencies, was subjected to debate and participatory reflection by national actors, their interests, needs, and expectations, all of this within a complex political fabric that is characteristic of a society convulsed by multiple conflicts and by the fragility of its institutions when it attempts to confront them.

Resilience in the face of conflict, resilience for peacebuilding. Part of the international academic debate has to do with the question of whether one is resilient *to something* or resilient *for something*. Thence, the debate on whether one is resilient in the face of conflict or whether one is resilient for peacebuilding.

The experience of Guatemala demonstrates that this debate is not exclusive but complementary, that is, it represents two levels of the same process. With regards to peacebuilding, resilience cannot be understood as an attribute or quality inherent to individuals or societies independently of their context. Resilience is understood as a set of capacities and actions that make sense y are manifest in relation to a specific conflict. One is resilient to conflict when it generates negative conditions that threaten life and the well-being of a society. The traditional perspective on resilience, understood as an attribute or quality to overcome an external shock, does not provide the necessary elements to understand resilience in the face of conflict in view of the fact that it is part of the set of social relations, of daily interaction among individuals and their relation with institutions. Conflict is not an external event but part of the social fabric. For this reason, resilience for peacebuilding requires the strengthening of capacities and actions aimed at overcoming and transforming the unfavourable conditions for peace, understood as the process by which people transform peacefully those conflicts which are part and parcel of social relations.

Another area of interest in this debate is the role played by resilience in the existing relationship among conflict, State fragility, and peacebuilding. The process in Guatemala evidenced that peacebuilding requires the identification of the set of capacities for resilience that are the result of public institutions that are unable to transform conflicts which are inherent in social relations. There are effects generated by the fragility of the State that do not lead necessarily to conflicts, which brings to mind an outlook on resilience from the perspective of development. In terms of peacebuilding, the relevance of a resilience outlook is found in its relation with violent, or potentially violent, effects that are generated by the fragility of the State: insecurity, criminality, a lack of access to justice, and impunity. To be resilient in the face of conflict via nonviolent resources is the necessary condition of resilience for peacebuilding.

Resilience in the face of conflict, resilience to conflictive situations. From the beginning of the Resilience and Peacebuilding process in Guatemala, participants identified the difference between conflictive situations and conflicts as a determining factor for the viability of the resilience perspective. Conflictive situations are understood to mean those structural and long-term causes that underlie situations of poverty, inequality, injustice, and corruption that are characteristic of the country. Conflicts, on other hand, are the specific expressions of social tensions generated by conflictive situations. Conflictive situations are a condition and conflicts are a situation. The relevance of this difference is found in that the traditional perspective on resilience refers to the capacity to overcome a specific situation or an adverse effect and return to or conserve the original situation of the individuals and their

environment. With reference to peacebuilding, this perspective does not allow the causes of conflict, i.e. conflictive situations, to be addressed, but only their adverse effects. Guatemalan society is affected by the persistence of patterns of exclusion, inequality, and abuse of power that were not overcome at the end of the internal armed conflict nor by the processes of post-conflict and democratic reform. For this reason, resilience for peacebuilding cannot be limited to overcoming specific conflicts but must, in addition, be geared to the transformation of the structural causes of conflict. Otherwise, from the perspective of the participants, resilience will only be contributing to a perpetual state of acceptance without achieving transformations.

Absorption and adaptation, but for transformation. Existing literature insists on identifying different types of resilience: absorption, adaptation, and transformation. The experience in Guatemala demonstrated that this debate, albeit interesting from an academic point of view, did not allow for a resilience perspective to be put into action. The discussion is, in the first place, symbolic: absorbing and adapting to conflict belittles the transforming objective that peacebuilding requires. However, the argument is also practical: the political and social mobilization needed to transform the conflictive conditions generated by the disparities in power which are typical of an unequal society cannot be limited to absorbing and adapting to the structural causes of the conflicts. During the process in Guatemala, it became evident that actions of absorption and adaptation within the debate on resilience for peacebuilding only reinforced a passive and resigned attitude. Once it was accepted that the resilience perspective should lead to action, transformation became the essential component of the process. Contrary to an academic research project that seeks to explain a given reality without attempting to transform it, Participatory Action Research (PAR), which was the methodology employed during the process, seeks to enhance the will to change and to mobilize the social group through collective reflection. For this reason, resilience for peacebuilding was equated with the strengthening of existing capacities among the population to transform the causes of conflicts that affect them. In this sense, from the perspective of people who confront conflict, absorption and adaptation can only be understood as transitory phases given that what people aspire to is that resilience should be transformative.

Linked to the above, resilience has been understood in academic literature and in international interventions as a perspective which is different from the notion of resistance. The Guatemalan experience demonstrates that social practices geared to survival in highly violent conditions, such as those experienced during the internal armed conflict, or to overcoming repressive social practices typical of patriarchy and social inequality, have produced attitudes, practices, and discourses that are at

the basis of survival and transformation of important sectors in society. Regardless of the symbolic importance of the discourses of resistance, we concluded that this does not imply transformation and for that reason the debate defined a sequence in which resistance leads to transformative resilience.

Resilience locally and nationally. The transfer of the concept of resilience from the field of the disciplines that study it on an individual level to the field of the social disciplines involved the challenge of identifying the expressions of resilience at the different levels of social organization. In this sense, interventions based on the notion of resilience have been focused in its expressions at the communal level and much less so at the national level. The experience of the process of Resilience and Peacebuilding in Guatemala revealed resilience in its multiple levels. At the communal level, resilience was more visible through a multiplicity of examples that underscored the importance of the communal social fabric as well as the formal and informal communal organization and participation. When transferred to the national level through the PAR methodology, these inputs opened up a debate on the links that allow for a relation between the communal and the national. In this respect, resilience at the national level took form as a result of the proposals put forth by the National Group, which look to improve the institutional channels for mediation that would allow for transformations at the national institutional level that would, in turn, have an impact on local dynamics.

Resilience in a national context depends on the integration of vertical and horizontal spaces in society. The vertical space refers to actions that aim to transform the institutional nature of the State in order to reduce the distance that separates it from local dynamics. The horizontal space refers to the integration among diverse actors in society. Resilience at the national level refers to the dynamics of social cohesion that are a result of the compression of the vertical and horizontal spaces, that is, within society and between society and its authorities. The capacity of the participants of the process to be represented, to influence, and to communicate was understood to be a resilient capacity to the extent that collective action acquired a multi-sectoral character. The capacity of social actors to identify common ground for action, together with an acceptance of ideological and sectoral differences, was considered by the participants themselves as a resilient capacity in the face of a highly polarized social and political context. A necessary difference to understand resilience at this level is that the national level is not synonymous with the central level (institutional and geographic). Thus, resilience at the national level means the capacity of representative actors of diverse social sectors to act collectively in order to transform the factors that place obstacles in the way of the integration of the vertical space of social cohesion.

To come together around resilience. One of the outcomes of a resilience perspective in peacebuilding is its capacity to summon people. After decades of exhaustion produced by dialogues with no concrete results and excessive discussions to identify conflicts without proposing solutions, ameliorating crisis situations, or addressing their causes, a resilience perspective allowed social actors previously confronted to come together to discuss capacities and actions to face and transform the conflicts that affected them. Those participating in the process recognized that the country faces difficult challenges, but they also acknowledged multiple expressions of what people do to confront adverse situations. The resilience perspective revived the importance of a multi-sectoral dialogue by underscoring and strengthening the proactive aspects of society instead of a perception of passivity and pessimism. The traditional use of dialogue to discuss problems and their causes tends to place the social sectors in a defensive posture. A resilience perspective allowed for an assessment of the efforts of each sector to overcome and transform the negative effects of conflict and, thereby, create an arena for a meeting of minds necessary to bridge differences and promote dialogue. It is unlikely that polarized social sectors will discover common ground about the causes of conflict or the necessary motivation to engage in dialogue; however, none of the sectors will be in disagreement about the efforts that all people make to improve their conditions and, on the basis of that recognition, to value dialogue as a tool to reach common objectives.

Positive and negative resilience. Within the prevailing discourse, resilience is conceived as an attribute or a positive quality; in other words, it is assumed that people, when seeking to overcome an adverse situation, do not generate an effect that is detrimental to themselves or to other individuals, that is, a negative effect. The consultation phase, on the contrary, identified a number of social capacities that, depending on the circumstances and the problem that is faced, ended up in actions that were detrimental to the social group. The experience in Guatemala showed that capacities for resilience in society depend on a series of contextual factors that produce actions that are beneficial or detrimental to the social group. The most eloquent example of this is the capacity to organize vigilante actions in order to overcome a situation of violence and insecurity, thereby reinforcing patterns of collective violence in society.

From a peacebuilding perspective, the unique character and recognition of negative and positive resilience are key elements. An intervention cannot ignore that the very capacities that have been strengthened for positive ends can, under certain circumstances, produce negative results. The contextualization of the notion of resilience is fundamental for this distinction and for achieving a balance among the factors that need to be strengthened in order to stimulate resilience that will help

transform conflicts by non-violent means and, in addition, block or diminish the influence of factors that make resilience operate to the detriment of the social group or increase conflict and violence.

Regardless of the programmatic and analytic importance of the preceding, the working group of the process decided to focus on the value of resilience in its positive attributes. This was predicated, above all else, on the fact that the political process of dialogue was possible thanks to the interest generated by the resilience perspective and the emphasis on the positive aspects of the concept. This situation required an approach to the process on two complementary levels: a practical level aimed at action and with a strong component of social dialogue in the midst of a highly polarized political environment. At this level, resilience and its positive effects are fundamental tools for creating consensus. The other level is analytical, which aims to generate knowledge about the topic and its corresponding debate among participating actors. At this level, it was necessary to identify the factors that allow the capacities for resilience to produce actions that weaken the social group, that is, in negative resilience.

Resilience for peacebuilding is not in itself positive or negative. In any case, it is a matter of identifying those contextual factors that shape the capacities for resilience that drive actions with positive or negative effects on society.

Formal and informal aspects of resilience. In this analysis, the meaning of formal and informal refers to the existence of norms and their publicly recognized observance, be they written (legal/formal) or implicit (informal). This relation is not necessarily contradictory or exclusionary. On the contrary, its relational dynamics are characteristic of the hybrid nature of political and social systems.

In Guatemala, the formality of institutions stands in contrast to the informality of the relationship between these and the citizenry. For most of the population, formal institutions (police, courts of law, ministries, political parties, central and municipal governments) are perceived as one of the principal causes of the multiple problems that the population must face (corruption, bad quality of public services, limited access to justice, etc.), which in turn explain why informality (illegal economies, delinquency, patronage, etc.) has become a compensatory, resilient mechanism. In addition, the hybrid character of the social and political systems is expressed also in the existing difference between expectations (normative or as aspirations) and social practices.

For example, citizen participation in Guatemala is not expressed in the formal adscription of citizens to the varied spaces for participation that exist in the

communal or national arenas. However, informal participation is visible, that which happens without involving a formally recognized membership. In similar terms, citizens formally recognize that corruption should not be condoned in any of its manifestations. However, as a social practice, the advantages of corruption to facilitate concrete aspects of daily life are recognized. Similarly, the police are considered to be one of the principal sources of insecurity, either because of corruption and links to crime within the institution itself or because of their inefficiency. In this situation, the main informal response in the face of insecurity is the organization of neighbourhood watch committees and nightly patrols. However, the people formally expect that insecurity will be reduced as a result of a greater police presence.

Resilience occurs mostly in the context of informal contexts as social practices that are recognized by all those individuals who benefit from them but which have not acquired an explicit, formal recognition. Even though these social practices are embedded in the capacities which individuals develop within their communal and familial environments, this does not exclude the fact that formal institutions – the State in its entirety – are charged by citizens' expectations to provide solutions.

A resilience perspective requires a high level of adaptation and flexibility in the face of specific contextual characteristics. As a matter of principle, social conflict is expressed at different levels as a reflection of the complexities of a given society. A resilience perspective contributes to peacebuilding by allowing for the identification of a common denominator in those different levels of complexity: transformative actions in the face of adversity. The capacities for resilience of a population vary according to the nature of the context. In countries characterized by a hybrid political and social system, the formal and informal duality of its institutions and the existing gap between social practices and expectations (norms) are part of the framework for analysis and intervention for peacebuilding under a resilience perspective.

From a concept to a process. The Resilience and Peacebuilding project was designed to support and legitimize the resilience perspective as expressed in the voices of the local actors in those countries where the perspective was implemented. This meant subjecting the ways in which resilience is understood by academia and the international community to the test of local collective reflection. By means of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, we worked to generate sufficient evidence via collective reflection to question or confirm the existing premises of the international debate.

There are a variety of ways to generate a process of collective reflection. For example, traditional academic research is characterized by employing focus groups to extract information that afterwards produces results that are hardly ever shared with the

local actors. On the other hand there is participatory research that involves a variety of groups in the process in a more active fashion to generate knowledge. And then there is Participatory Action Research (PAR), in which groups of individuals directly involved in the problems faced by society generate knowledge for transformative actions. In the case of Guatemala, PAR included the organization of a collective action process for transformation, based on shared, reflexive, and confirmed knowledge and which involved a series of challenges so that the notion of resilience changed from a foreign and vague concept to become the force that generated interest in a process of social change.

As has been discussed in this chapter, the Guatemalan experience showed that resilience creates a number of opportunities for peacebuilding. Nonetheless, in order for those opportunities to be translated into transformative actions, one must take into account the value of a participatory, inclusive, and legitimate process that has been duly appropriated by local actors.

The notion of resilience was addressed in Guatemala by three methodological processes: consultations, multi-sectoral dialogues, and political influence. The consultation involved focus groups, interviews, and a survey to identify the resilience perspective in the voice of local actors. The consultation made it possible to adapt the concept from its abstract dimension to another closer to the reality of the people who live in the different regions of the country. At the same time, it allowed for political conditions that supported a broadly-based process of multi-sectoral discussions.

The multi-sectoral dialogue phase brought together key political and social actors to discuss the ways in which people identify their capacities of resilience. This provided an opportunity to begin a dual process: an increase in knowledge and the mobilization of individual wills to engage in action. The National Group, a multi-sectoral body, confirmed its willingness to support this effort under the condition that the discussion about resilience should seek to promote transformative actions, that is, to strengthen the attractiveness of the resilience perspective in order to bring together diverse social sectors around a common objective. The National Group then decided to organize working groups that engaged in a discussion during eight months on the meaning of resilience in Guatemala and, above all, they defined its practical application through collective action. This decision was the first example of appropriation of the process, which was possible thanks to the combination of multi-sectoral inclusion and active participation.

The third phase, that of political influence, suggests that the participants of the process act collectively in support of the implementation of the proposals which,

as a result of the PAR process, must be technically solid and politically legitimate. Nonetheless, one of the basic questions of this type of process is: *"What evidences the legitimacy of the resulting proposals and of the actors who have been delegated to promote them"?* The Guatemalan case allows us to state that the legitimacy of the process lies in its explicit and defined delegation of a mandate that reflects the participatory and inclusive nature of the proposals that emerged from a multi-sectoral consensus.

An example of the above is how the participants in the working groups, who represent multiple social sectors (some of them at odds with others), decided after the debate to advance a series of proposals which were only technically valid after all participants had expressed their agreement with their contents. Once having arrived at this juncture, the group decided on its joint strategy for political influence in support of its proposals. To that effect, members of the group were formally delegated to present the proposals. This example shows how legitimacy emerges out of a context of political action, clearly defined by the group, where everything that is said or done within it represents the voice of all participants in the process. Any action outside of this context is understood by the group itself as illegitimate. The legitimacy of the proposals makes it easy for the public authorities to adopt them given the multi-sectoral support that they enjoy. In addition, the participatory inclusion of multiple key sectors implies a political pact that transcends the implementation of the proposals and allows for a greater degree of transformation of the relations between the State and society from a perspective of resilience.

Appropriation and legitimacy are two qualities that are mutually dependent within the processes. It is possible for a process to be appropriated but if it is not inclusive and participatory then it is not legitimate. On the other hand, a process can only be legitimate if it has been appropriated previously by local actors who recognize the participatory and inclusive nature of the process. In Guatemala, the Resilience and Peacebuilding process has been appropriated from the moment that the group decided to continue its efforts in spite of the fact that the project that started it all had already ended and to seek the sustainability and implementation of its proposals through the unified action of the participants in the group.

That is how resilience was transformed from a distant and vague concept into a process of social transformation driven by a multi-sectoral group that discovered in collective action its best resilient capacities.

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Annexes:
Participants in consultation phase, national group and working groups

Departamental consultation phase

No.	Name	Organization
1	Ada Tello	Consejo Nacional de áreas protegidas (Conap)
2	Alex Hernández Ochaeta	Secretaria de planificación y programación de la Presidencia (Segeplan)
3	Alex Laccin	Representante del Viceministerio del Deporte
4	Alfredo Marroquín	Gobernación Departamental
5	Alicia Florencio	Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena (Demi)
6	Alma López	Programa Nexus-USAID
7	Ana de Jesús Suchite	Organización de mujeres
8	Ana Felisa Chaclán	Individual
9	Angelina Perdonomo	Ministerio de Educación de Guatemala (Mineduc)
10	Astrid Linares	Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos (Copredeh)
11	Bernardo Pirique Pérez	Coordinadora de Sociedad Civil Organizada
12	Berta Santos	Delegada Organizaciones de Mujeres
13	Brenda Barrios	Instituto de defensa publica penal (Idpp)
14	Brenda Ramos	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)

15	Carlos Guillermo	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
16	Carlos Méndez	Copij-OSAR Colectivo de protagonismo infanto juvenil (Copij), Observatorio en salud sexual y reproductiva (Osar)
17	Catalino Monzón	Asociación coordinadora marquense Madre Tierra Nan To Otx (Acomnat)
18	Cecilia Aguirre	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
19	Cecilia Córdova	Municipalidad de Jalapa
20	Celso Calel Veliz	Organización Coincidir por y con la niñez, adolescencia y juventud (Coincidir) y Red de Jóvenes de Alta Verapaz (Rojav) (Rojav)
21	Christian Rax Cho	Comisión de Prevención de Violencia Intrafamiliar, contra la Mujer, Niñez y Adolescencia , Cobán (Cejav)
22	Circe Cordón	Ministerio de ambiente y recursos naturales (Marn)
23	Claudia Marileny	Mesa de concertación
24	Clemencia Ramírez	Instituto Nacional de Estadistica (INE)
25	Cleotilde Cú Caal	Sociedad civil
26	Cleysin Walgen	Gobernación departamental
27	Cristina Figueroa	Asociacion de jóvenes para el desarrollo y rescate social (Ajoder)
28	Cristina Pablo	Mesa de concertación de excelencia profesional
29	Dina Godoy	Mesa de concertación solidaria niño ONG
30	Eddy Chicas	Huehuevisión
31	Edward Posadas	Consejo Nacional de Juventud (Conjuve)

32	Elmer Sandoval	Asociación de desarrollo las Viñas (Asoviñas)
33	Elsa Lisbeth Duarte	Sociedad civil
34	Emilia Arana	Comité Ejecutivo de Justicia de Huehuetenango (Cejh)
35	Erick Melgar Padilla	Brigada de Paracaidista
36	Erixón Magdiel Contreras	Área de salud de Jalapa/Jurídico
37	Esperanza López	Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos (Copredeh)
38	Etelbina Estrada	Secretaria Presidencial de la Mujer (Seprem)
39	Eva Cabrera	Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (Inap)
40	Fernando Castillo	Ministerio de ambiente y recursos naturales (Marn)
41	Fernando González	Registro de Información Catastral (RIC)
42	Floridalma Rodríguez	Asociación de servicios comunitarios de salud (Asecsa)
43	Francisca Calel	Consejo Comunitario de Desarrollo (Cocode)
44	Francisco Caal	Representante de pueblos indígenas Qeqchi
45	Fredy Ramírez	Cuarta Brigada del Ejército
46	Frisdy Lissbeth	Red de organizaciones de mujeres indígenas por la salud (Redmisar)
47	Gari Chocaoj	Coincidir
48	Gerson Castañeda	Secretaria de coordinación ejecutiva de la presidencia (Scep)
49	Gregorio Ramírez	Unidad de prevención contra la violencia del Ministerio de Gobernación (Upcv/Mingob)
50	Gudiel Rodríguez	Secretaría de Inteligencia del Estado

51	Guinder Lopreto	Instituto de Fomento Municipal (Infom)
52	Haroldo Gúzman	Ministerio de Gobernación
53	Héctor Navarro	Cooperativa IXTAGEL
54	Helen Méndez	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
55	Ingrid Portillo	Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (Usac)
56	Ingrid Sierra	Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena (Demi)
57	Isabel Orozco	Secretaria de planificación y programación de la Presidencia (Segeplan)
58	Iván García	Secretaria de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)
59	Jackelyn Agustín	Sociedad civil
60	Jacobo Batz	Secretaria de planificación y programación de la Presidencia (Segeplan)
61	Jeannethe Ochoa	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
62	Jennifer Morales	Asociación integral juvenil corazón de oriente con apoyo al migrante (Asijucam)
63	Jenny Martini	Observatorio de salud reproductiva (Osar)
64	Jesús González	Cooperativa El Canzuelo
65	Jesús Hernández	Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)
66	Jorge Balbin	Prensa Canal 16 TV
67	Jorge Lucas	Gobernación Departamental
68	Jorge Mario Coy	Pastoral Social
69	Jorge Suárez	Asociación de desarrollo integral para el Occidente (Adipo)

70	José Gómez	Centro de reportes informativos de Guatemala (Cerigua)
71	José María Paz Mejía	Representante de las cooperativas en el Consejo de desarrollo departamental
72	José Sánchez	Organización Agentes de Cambio
73	Juan Alfredo Ramos	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
74	Juan Antonio de León	CDP
75	Juan Gilac	Asociación de jóvenes para el desarrollo y rescate social (Ajoder)
76	Julián Quixchán	Delegado del Consejo Nacional de Juventud en Petén
77	Julio Pisquiy	Centro Universitario del Norte (Cunor)
78	Karin Linares	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
79	Katherine Rodas	Servicio Cívico
80	Klely Martínez	La Super 99 (radio local)
81	Leslie Muralles	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
82	Lidia González	Representante de los Pueblos Indígenas ante el Consejo Departamental de Desarrollo de Alta Verapaz
83	Lilian Orozco	Red de organizaciones de mujeres indígenas por la salud (Redmisar)
84	Luis Carranza	Consejo de Desarrollo Departamental (Codede)
85	Luis Chacón Canté	Asociación Vista Hermosa
86	Luis Chávez	Movimiento cooperativista
87	Luis Francisco Barquín	Mesa asociación estudiantil

88	Luis Meza	Secretaria de planificación y programación de la Presidencia (Segeplan)
89	Luis Perdono	Consejo Nacional de la Juventud (Conjuve)
90	Luis Salvatierra	Secretaria de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)
91	Lupe Saú Vásquez	Asociación de jóvenes para el desarrollo y rescate social (Ajoder)
92	Manuel López	Secretaria de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)
93	Manuel Ordoñez	Secretaria de Asuntos Agrarios de Suroccidente (SAA)
94	Manuel Zunigab	Frente Petenero
95	Marco Pereira	Gobernación Departamental
96	Margarita Méndez	Representante de Pueblos Indígenas ante el Consejo de desarrollo departamental
97	Margot Drummond	Ministerio Público
98	María Consuelo Alvarado	Secretaria Presidencial de la Mujer (Seprem)
99	María Elvira Yat	Centro josefino de animación vocacional (Cejav)
100	María Orbelina López	Secretaria Presidencial de la Mujer (Seprem)
101	María Xol	Centro Ak`Yu´Am
102	Mario Samayoa	Secretaria de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)
103	Mario Villatoro	Ministerio de ambiente y recursos naturales (Marn)
104	Marlen Ayala	Secretaria de planificación y programación de la Presidencia (Segeplan)
105	Marlon Javier	Individual
106	Mateo Choc	Mesa concertación
107	Matías Gutiérrez	Asociación Ajbatz´EQ

108	Maximiliano López	Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos (Copredeh)
109	Mayra Arévalo	SECONREA
110	Miguel Ángel Acevedo	Fondo de desarrollo social (Fodes)
111	Miguel Ángel Balan	Mercy Corps
112	Miguel Ángel Paniagua	Asociación de jóvenes para el desarrollo y rescate social (Ajoder)
113	Miriam Chaclán	Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena (Demi)
114	Miriam Judith Juárez	Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos (Copredeh)
115	Mirza del Carmen Rosales	Ministerio de Educación (Mineduc)
116	Mynor Aldana	Secretaria de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)
117	Nehemías González	Consejo nacional de áreas protegidas (Conap)
118	Nelson Linares	Asociación de desarrollo las Viñas (Asoviñas)
119	Nery Noé López	Individual
120	Noé Navarro	Ministerio de Gobernación
121	Nora Leiva Narciso	Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos (Copredeh)
122	Norma Gómez	Oficina nacional de la Mujer del Ministerio de Trabajo (Onam-Mintrab)
123	Norma Ramírez	Ministerio de Educación
124	Odilia Morales	asociación de bienestar de la familia (Aprofam)
125	Olga Esperanza Mó	Red de Jóvenes de Alta Verapaz (Rojav)
126	Olmar Guzmán Trujillo	Mesa de concertación
127	Oswaldo Chayax Tesucún	Asociación solidaria de acción y propuesta de Petén (Asapp)
128	Oswaldo Osorio	Comisión cultural Muni-Quiché

129	Paula Cano	Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos (Copredeh)
130	Ramiro Asabá	Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería (Maga)
131	Raquel Guillen García	Mesa concertación
132	Raúl Jiménez	Unidad de Prevención contra la violencia de Petén (Upcv-Petén)
133	Rebeca Marisol Ek Chayax	Asociación solidaria de acción y propuesta de Petén (Asapp)
134	Reina Galindo	Oficina municipal de la mujer de Teculután (OMM)
135	René Juárez	Sindicato del mercado de Zacapa
136	Reyna Judith López	Dirección Departamental de educación Guatemala Norte (Dideduc)
137	Roberto Alvarado	asociación de amigos del desarrollo y la paz de Alta Verapaz (ADP)
138	Roger Ramírez	asociación integral juvenil corazón de oriente con apoyo al migrante (Asijucam)
139	Rolando Gómez	Mesa de concertación
140	Rolando Gómez Caal	Mesa de concertación de los Acuerdos de Paz
141	Romeo Suárez	Cámara de Comercio
142	Rosa García	Integrante de organización 48 cantones de Totonicapán
143	Rosa Gómez	Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena (Demi)
144	Rosa Onelia Leonardo	La otra cooperativa de Petén
145	Rosalia Curruchich	Consejo comunitario de desarrollo de Vista Hermosa
146	Rosibel Méndez	Ministerio de ambiente y recursos naturales (Marn)
147	Rubén Coy Coy	Pastoral Social, Iglesia Católica

148	Rufina López	Red de organizaciones de mujeres indígenas por la salud (Redmisar)
149	Salvador Yanes	Valores-Iglesia evangélica
150	Samai Velásquez	Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena (Demi)
151	Sara Martínez	Organizaciones de mujeres
152	Sergio Pérez de Luca	Comisión Civil Unidos por San Benito
153	Susana López	Pastoral de la Tierra de la Iglesia Católica
154	Timoteo Chacai	Sindicato del mercado de Zacapa
155	Timoteo Hernández	Frente petenero
156	Vanesa Guillermo	Sociedad civil
157	Víctor Boiton	Ministerio Público
158	Víctor Chaclán	Ministerio de ambiente y recursos naturales (Marn)
159	Víctor Hugo Damián	Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos (Copredeh)
160	Víctor Inosente Xol	Asociacion de servicios comunitarios de salud (Asecsa)
161	Víctor Larios	Ajquij
162	Víctor Palacios	ADEJUH
163	Víctor Román	Comisión civil unidos por San Benito
164	Vilma Ordoñez	Universidad del Valle de Guatemala
165	Wilfredo Barrios	Registro de información catastral del Polochic
166	William Castillo	Consejo comunitario de desarrollo
167	Wilson Duarte	Gobernación Departamental
168	Wilver Orozco	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)
169	Yango Rivas	Sociedad civil
170	Yanni Aldana	Servicio Cívico del Consejo Nacional de Juventud

No.	Name	Organization
171	Yolanda López	Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena (Demi)
172	Zullhy García.	Viceministerio de Gobernación

Sectorial consultation phase

No.	Name	Organization
1	Abigail Contreras	Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala -VER
2	Alejandro del Águila	Escuela de Historia, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala
3	Ana Cristina Campos	Asoación para la Promoción de la Libertad y Desarrollo Sostenible (ALDS)
4	Ana Noemí	Asociación Grupo Integral de Mujeres Sanjuaneras (AGIMS)
5	Andrea Godínez	Revista digital Brújula
6	Branley Guerra	GUATE GRAFF (Graffitti Studio)
7	Celeste Cono	Juventud de la Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (JURNG)
8	César Chajón	Escuela de Ciencias dela Comunicación Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (USAC-ECC)
9	Claudia Canastuj	Asociación Comisión Nacional de Acción por la Niñez, la Juventud y la Familia(ACONANI) / Educación
10	Claudia Solares	Organización Nacional Mujeres en Superación (OMES)
11	Consuelo Reyes	Save the Children
12	Cristina Chiquín	Grupo de Mujeres Ixchel
13	Dafne Retana	Asociación de Generadores con Energía Renovable (AGER)

14	Darwin Santos	Asociación de Estudiantes de Ingeniería Alejandro Cotí (AEI USAC)
15	David Martínez	Trasciende
16	Diego De León	Asociación de Estudiantes de Ingeniería Alejandro Cotí (AEI USAC)
17	Domingo Álvarez	Comunidades de Población en Resistencia (CPR-Sierra)
18	Domingo Choc	Red Nacional de Organizaciones de Jóvenes Mayas (RENOJ)
19	Eduardo Rodas	Partido TODOS
20	Estuardo Tuche	Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios para la Democracia Social (Instituto Demos)
21	Evelyn Fuentes	Ciudad Mezquital
22	Fidelia Chávez	Centro de Apoyo de las Trabajadoras de Casa Particular (CENTRACAP)
23	Gaura Galan	Organización Nacional Mujeres en Superación (OMES)
24	Gerardo Méndez	Save the Children
25	Gladis R. Santos	Organización Nacional Mujeres en Superación (OMES)
26	Gustavo García	Asociación Cristiana de Jóvenes/Young Men's Christian Association (ACJ – YMCA)
27	Hemy Cortez	Sociedad para el Desarrollo de la Juventud (SODEJU)
28	Hogla Sánchez	Asociación Cristiana de Jóvenes/Young Men's Christian Association (ACJ – YMCA)
29	Jakelin Cueyar	Red Guatemalteca Mujeres Positivas en Acción (Red MPA)
30	Javier Reyes	Plataformas de paz urbana/American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

31	José Cuc	Red Nacional de Organizaciones de Jóvenes Mayas (RENOJ)
32	José Gaitán	Coordinadora Juventud por Guatemala (CJG)
33	Joseline Velásquez	Jóvenes sin censura de la Asociación Pro Bienestar de la Familia (APROFAM)
34	Josué Lopéz	Jóvenes por la vida
35	Juan Coromac	Asociación Comisión Nacional de Acción por la Niñez, la Juventud y la Familia(ACONANI) y Movimiento social para la paz en Guatemala (MSEPEG)
36	Juan Pablo Bonilla	Jóvenes Iberoamericanos
37	Juan Pedro Muñoz	Jóvenes Iberoamericanos
38	Julio Villatoro	Unidad Ingeniería Facultad de Ingeniería Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (FIUSAC)
39	Jurgen Ramírez	Unidad Ingeniería Facultad de Ingeniería Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (FIUSAC)
40	Karen Mendizábal	Igualdad
41	Karen Ramos	Mujeres pintando el mundo
42	Karlah Sierra	Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala -VER
43	Kimberly Calderón	Save the Children
44	Linda Carrera	Mujeres pintando el mundo
45	Linsleyd Tillit	Alas de Mariposa
46	Liza Noriega	Revista digital Brújula
47	Lorena G. Guerra A.	Colectivo Artesana
48	Lorena Robles	Alas de Mariposa
49	Lucas Ché Ical	Consejo Nacional de Educación Maya (CNEM)
50	Luis Gómez	Trasciende

51	Ma. Del Carmen Pérez	Organización Nacional Mujeres en Superación (OMES)
52	Magaly Dávila	Colectivo Vida Independiente
53	Manuel Boc	Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios para la Democracia Social (Instituto Demos)
54	Marcela Dubón	Voces de mujeres/Red Agentes de cambio
55	María Carolina Simón	Asociación Grupo Integral de Mujeres Sanjuaneras (AGIMS)
56	María Dolores Marroquín	Voces de Mujeres
57	María Eugenia Rivera	Cámara del Agro
58	María Luisa Méndez	Paz Joven Guatemala
59	Mateo Luchas Alonzo	Pop Noj
60	Miriam Camas	Plataformas de paz urbana/American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
61	Mónica de León	Colectivo Arrancacebollas
62	Nely Paola Oliva	Colectivo Arrancacebollas
63	Orlando Aguilar	PSU
64	Óscar Tobar	Partido Libertad Democrática (LIDER)
65	Otto Zeissig	Partido TODOS
66	Rebeca L.	Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres (GGM)
67	Rita López Villatoro	Asociación de Escuela de Historia
68	Rodrigo Maegli	Gremial de Industrias Extractivas (GREMIEXT)
69	Rosa Delia Galicia	Asociación de Mujeres Empleadas y Desempleadas Unidas Contra la Violencia (AMUCV)
70	Sandra Morán	Colectivo Artesana
71	Sandra Patzán	Asociación Grupo Integral de Mujeres Sanjuaneras (AGIMS)

72	Sindy Valdés	Ciudad Mezquital
73	Sócrates Tejaxun	INCIDE- Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (USAC)
74	Sonia Gabriel	INCIDE- Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (USAC)
75	Sophia Juárez D.	Colectivo Vida Independiente
76	Vivian Chivalan	Asociación Pro Bienestar de la Familia (APROFAM)
77	Vladimir Santos	Asociación de Estudiantes de Ingeniería Alejandro Cotí (AEI USAC)
78	Walter Chacón	Fundación del Azúcar (FUNDAZUCAR)
79	William Mas	PSU
80	William Siebenhor	Ciudad Mezquital
81	Yessi Monzón	Red Alternativa

Meeting list:
National group and working groups

TYPE OF MEETING	AMOUNT	DETAIL
Grupo Nacional	1	19 de febrero 2015
Grupo de Trabajo	25	23 reuniones en año 2015 y 2 reuniones en año 2016
Petit Comité	9	
Presentación de propuesta	11	1. UNE 2. ALDS 3. GREMIAL INDUSTRIAS EXTRACTIVAS 4. VICEPRESIDENTE ELECTO 5. DIPUTADA FCN-NACION 6. BRITISH COUNCIL 7. DIPUTADA FCN-NACION 8. GIZ 9. Comisión de diálogo y descentralización 9. GIZ-PNUD 10. Comisión de diálogo y descentralización
Foro y logística para foro	4	Mes de julio 2015
Publicación libro	1	10 de marzo 2016
TOTAL	51	

Participants in working groups

National group and working groups			
No.	Name	Organization	Sector
1.	Cristhians Castillo	Instituto de Problemas Nacionales de la Universidad de San Carlos (IPNUSAC)	Academic
2.	Walter Menchú	Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales (CIEN)	
3.	Zaira Lainez C.	Instituto de Transformación de Conflictos para la Construcción de la Paz en Guatemala (INTRAPAZ)	

National group and working groups			
No.	Name	Organization	Sector
4.	Anayté Guardado	Asociación de Generadores con Energía Renovable (AGER)	Business
5.	Andrés Botrán	Ingenio Santa Ana	
6.	Carmen Lucía Salguero	Fundación para el Desarrollo de Guatemala (FUNDESA)	
7.	Catherina Campo	Cámara de la Industria	
8.	Cecilia Dougherty	Fundación Carlos F. Novella	
9.	Claudia Pérez	Cámara de la Industria	
10.	Cristina Campos	Asociación para la Promoción de la Libertad y Desarrollo Sostenible (ALDS)	
11.	Dafne Retana	Asociación de Generadores con Energía Renovable (AGER)	
12.	Eduardo Aguirre	Cementos Progreso (CEMPRO)	
13.	German Sandoval	Fundación Carlos F. Novella	
14.	Hans Peter	Cámara del Agro	
15.	Leslie Figueroa	Asociación de Generadores con Energía Renovable (AGER)	
16.	María Garrido	Asociación para la Promoción de la Libertad y Desarrollo Sostenible (ALDS)	
17.	María Regina Méndez	Gremial de Industrias Extractivas (GREMIEXT)	
18.	Rodolfo Muñoz	Cámara de Seguridad de Guatemala	
19.	Rodrigo Maegli	Gremial de Industrias Extractivas (GREMIEXT)	
20.	Romeo Alvarado	Estudio de Abogacía y Notariado	
21.	Víctor Ayala	Fundación Carlos F. Novella	

National group and working groups			
No.	Name	Organization	Sector
22.	Alexander Sandoval Portillo	Registro de Información Catastral de Guatemala (RIC)	State
23.	Ana Esmeralda García	Secretaría de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)	
24.	Antonio Montufar	Comisión Presidencial coordinadora de la Política del Ejecutivo en materia de Derechos Humanos (COPREDEH)	
25.	Axel López Anzueto	Secretario de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)	
26.	Eddy García	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)	
27.	Francisco Guaré	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)	
28.	María Eugenia Mijangos	Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE)	
29.	Mario Minera	Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos (PDH)	
30.	Norman Martínez	Sub Secretario de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)	
31.	Sara Palma	Registro de Información Catastral de Guatemala (RIC)	
32.	Walter Enríquez	Secretaría de Asuntos Agrarios (SAA)	
33.	Ivanova María Ancheta	Ex Vice-ministra de Energía y Minas / Gestión Sostenible	State/ Civil society

National group and working groups			
No.	Name	Organization	Sector
35.	Antonio Oxlaj	Comité Campesino del Altiplano (CCDA)	Indigenous people-farmers
39.	Domingo Álvarez	Comunidades de Población en Resistencia (CPR-Sierra)	
34.	Domingo Hernández	Asociación Maya Ukux Be	
36.	Elvis Morales	Comité Campesino del Altiplano (CCDA)	
37.	José Rodríguez	Comité Campesino del Altiplano (CCDA)	
38.	Leocadio Juracán	Comité Campesino del Altiplano (CCDA)	
40.	Sergio Funes	Centro de Investigaciones para el desarrollo y la paz (CEIDEPAZ) /ADRI	

National group and working groups			
No.	Name	Organization	Sector
43.	Alejandro Aguirre	Coordinadora de ONG´s y Cooperativas (CONGCOOP)	Civil Society
51.	Ana María de Klein	Madres Angustiadas	
46.	Carlos Arenas	Familiares y Amigos contra la Delincuencia y el Secuestro (FADS) / Grupos Gestores	
47.	Carmen Rosa de León	Instituto de Enseñanza Para el Desarrollo Sostenible (IEPADES)	
54.	Claudia Samayoa	Unidad de Defensores de Derechos Humanos (UDEFEGUA)	
53.	Diego Marroquín	Movimiento Cívico Nacional (MCN)	
48.	Emerson Rodríguez	Instituto de Enseñanza Para el Desarrollo Sostenible (IEPADES)	
44.	Fredy Herrarte	Coordinadora de ONG´s y Cooperativas (CONGCOOP)	
45.	Helmer Velásquez	Coordinadora de ONG´s y Cooperativas (CONGCOOP)	
42.	Iduvina Hernández	Asociación para el Estudio y Promoción de la Seguridad en Democracia (SEDEM)	
49.	Maribel Carrera	Instituto de Enseñanza Para el Desarrollo Sostenible (IEPADES)	
55.	Maya Alvarado	Unión Nacional de Mujeres Guatemaltecas (UNAMG)	
52.	Michèle de Leal	Madres Angustiadas	
50.	Nicolás Reanda	Instituto de Enseñanza Para el Desarrollo Sostenible (IEPADES)	
41.	Raquel Vásquez	Alianza de Mujeres Rurales	

National group and working groups			
No.	Name	Organization	Sector
56.	María del Carmen Aceña	Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales (CIEN)	Civil Society / Business
57.	Amílcar Pop	Diputado al Congreso de la República Partido WINAQ	Political
58.	Carlos Barreda	Diputado al Congreso de la República Partido Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE)	
59.	Nineth Montenegro	Diputada al Congreso Partido Encuentro por Guatemala	
60.	Oscar Figueroa	Partido Libertad Democrática (LIDER)	
61.	Oscar Tobar	Partido Libertad Democrática (LIDER)	
62.	Paola Rivera	Partido Encuentro por Guatemala	
63.	Patricia Camposeco	Partido Unionista	
64.	Roberto Villeda	Partido Unionista	
65.	Siomara Tribouillier	Partido Unionista	
66.	Valentín Gramajo	Diputado al Congreso Partido Patriota	
67.	Ronald Solis	Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala (ODHAG)	Religious / Human Rights

interpeace

The experience accumulated by Interpeace over more than twenty years of working in conflictive zones in five continents underlines the need to better understand the specific challenges of peacebuilding in each context and improve operational strategies by adapting them to each specific case. This requires that attention not only be focused on the negative aspects of conflicts that lead to violence but also to identify existing capacities in society to overcome situations of conflict and violence so that strategies devised to transform conflicts do not only address causes and trigger-mechanisms of conflicts but also the strengthening of existing capacities of different social groups and institutions to face them collaboratively.

Interpeace implemented the "Frameworks for Assessing Resilience" project as a process to explore the mechanisms by which people face conflictive situations that affect them. Under this project, Interpeace seeks to address the contribution of the resilience perspective to peacebuilding on the basis of those principles and values which are fundamental to the organization: wide-based participation of actors involved in the problem, listening to their voice, and their ownership appropriation of the processes as a basis for the legitimacy and sustainability necessary for the consolidation of peace.

In the specific case of Guatemala, the objective of this process was to provide national actors with a conceptual and action framework that, on the basis of a participatory identification of the forms in which resilience is expressed in our society, allowed us to identify the existing capacities in society to transform conflicts in nonviolent ways and, thereby, enhance them.