

# *Politics and Society*

## *Investigation Reports 2019*



Translation by:  
Dairin Jiménez (Pages 01-150)  
Vanessa Pérez (Pages 151- 301)



Politics and Society Magazine – Investigation Report – 2019 is a publication of the Institute of Political and Social Investigation “Dr. René Eduardo Poitevin Dardón”, of the School of Political Science, San Carlos University of Guatemala. Written resource aimed to professors, students and graduates within the current branch of politics and social investigation; it is an annual publishing, which contains specialized documents about Social Sciences.

**Politics and Society Magazine – Investigation Report – 2019 is a publication of the Institute of Political and Social Investigation, San Carlos University of Guatemala.**

Guatemala: Institute of Political and Social Investigation.

320 P769

Institute of Political and Social Investigation, 1976

Annual

Year 1. edition 2019

Politics and Society – Investigation Reports – 2019 is published by the Institute of Political and Social Investigation “Dr. René Eduardo Poitevin Dardón”, of the School of Political Science. Building M-5, second floor, office 219, Central Campus, zone 12, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

Politics and Society  
**Founded in 1976**



[www.iips.usac.edu.gt](http://www.iips.usac.edu.gt)



IIPS “Dr. René Poitevin Dardón”



@iips\_usac



iips Ciencias Políticas-USAC



[iipsecp@gmail.com](mailto:iipsecp@gmail.com)



iips\_ecp

**Publishing House:**

Editorial  
**Servi  
prensa**

3a. Avenue 14-62, zone 1  
PBX: (502) 2245-8888  
[www.serviprensa.com](http://www.serviprensa.com)

Title Page: Milton R. Juárez A.  
Layout: Elizabeth González

This book was printed in November, 2019.  
This edition consists of 500 copies printed on 80 grams bond paper.

# **Politics and Society Magazine – Investigation Report – 2019**

**Institute of Political and Social Investigation**

**“Dr. René Eduardo Poitevin Dardón”**

School of Political Science  
San Carlos University of Guatemala



**Each author is responsible of the information contained in their articles**



**ISSN: 2518-4733**

Politics and Social Magazine – Research Reports – 2019 is an academic publishing with open access to the information within social field for critical analysis. Contents can be modified and distributed on condition that authors obtain their credit and keep this license for the next project derived from it.





## **San Carlos University of Guatemala Authorities**

**Chancellor:** Murphy Olympto Paiz Recinos

**General Secretary:** Carlos Enrique Valladares Cerezo

### **School of Political Science Board of Directors**

**Principal:** Mike Hangelo Rivera Contreras

**Member I:** Henry Dennys Mira Sandoval

**Member II:** Carmen Olivia Álvarez Bobadilla

**Member III:** Meylin Valeria Montúfar Esquiná

**Member IV:** Karla María Morales Divas

**Member V:** Rodolfo Ernesto García Hidalgo

**Secretary:** Ana Nineth Burgos Méndez

### **IIPS Principal**

MSc. Manuel Rivera y Rivera

### **Editorial Board**

Julio Pinto Soria, Historian

Rogelio Salazar, Philosopher and Writer

Manuel Rivera, Sociologist

Carolina López Taks, Sociologist

Edwin Jahir Dabroy, Political Scientist

Jeanie Herrera, Sociologist

Mario Navarro, Political Scientist

### **Research Team**

Rosaura Raguex Morales

Jorge Aragón González

Karen Arévalo Mejía

Andrea Hernández Guerra

Francisco Simón Francisco

Cenia Marroquín Solís

### **Publisher and Designer**

Milton R. Juárez A.







## *Index*

Presentation.....	9
Reality and Identity of Mayan women at San Carlos University of Guatemala <i>IIPS —Sociological Studies Area—</i> .....	11
From outrage to the show: la plaza 2015 <i>IIPS —Political Studies Area—</i> .....	137
Environmental Management in Guatemala: the dimension of the state and contribution of international cooperation <i>IIPS —International Studies Area —</i> .....	221





## ***Presentation***

With the effort to transfer the processes of inquiry to the academic community, analysis and the Institute of Political and Social Investigation (IIPS by its acronym in Spanish) areas and work teams proposals of the School of Political Science, we start with this Magazine a new exercise that will allow us to register a set of investigation experiences and continuously fulfill with the main objective of our institute.

Consequently, we present, three Investigation Reports which correspond to the areas forming the IIPS backbone.

The first of them, developed by the Area of Sociological Studies, introduce us into the field of higher education and to the impact of it on an important sector of our society: indigenous Mayan woman who have migrated to the city in order to continuing with their university studies.

This investigation was made with the expectation of making visible the construction and/or strengthening of Mayan identity and self-recognition of young

indigenous migrants studying at the University of San Carlos of Guatemala, as well as in order to know the ambivalences generated by university logic in young indigenous migrants: to demonstrate the notion and elements that give meaning to the Mayan identity from the gaze and experience of the young indigenous migrants studying in the USAC, and to return the way or ways in which indigenous migrant women live their university life and to investigate what this logic of indigenous university life responds to.

This research was under the coordination of Master Rosaura Raguex, with the assistance of research assistant Francisco Simón Francisco.

Highlighting one of the many edges that emerged from the popular demonstrations in 2015 following allegations of corruption by senior officials of Government of Guatemala, the second report, developed by the

Area of Political Studies seeks to explain the political and ideological content of 2015 political crisis, based on theory of social representations and the concept of political imaginaries. In addition, this research approach examines the role of political and social actors during the marked period, identified in retrospect, the speeches and positions of main actors during the "situational phase", establishing the implications for social movements and political forces today, in response to the developing scenario for the 2019 electoral process.

The coordination of this research process was carried out by Professor Jorge Aragón in collaboration with Andrea Hernández, research assistant.

The third report focuses on the role of international cooperation in Guatemala, specifically cooperation that is linked to environmental problems. This study was carried out with the purpose of analyzing the impact that has been caused by the implementation of the 2030 agenda in the sector involved on environmental issues in Guatemala and the role played by cooperating agencies (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation –AECID- *[by its acronyms in Spanish]*, Inter-American Development Bank –IDB- among others) that support

local institutions such as the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources –MARN-, Ministry of Energy and Mines –MEM- and the National Coordinator for Disaster Reduction –CONRED-. In addition, researchers from the International Studies Area turned their attention to the actions implemented by the State of Guatemala to optimize the resources obtained through cooperation for the environment.

The coordination of this investigation process was carried out by Bachelor Karen Arévalo, in collaboration with Cenia Marroquín, research assistant.

With all professional research effort, what we share on this occasion is bound to any kind of appreciation that leads to the enrichment of the results that, with responsibility and interest, have been developed by the three areas of study of the *IIPS*.

We thank to the current authorities of the School of Political Science of San Carlos University of Guatemala for their unconditional support and its manifest and strong conviction that our Institute must be a decisive element in revalidation of the academy of social sciences from our Alma Mater and our country.

MSc. Manuel Rivera  
*IIPS-ECP-USAC* Principal  
October, 2019



Politics and Society  
– Investigation Reports – 2019  
Researches/Investigaciones  
ISSN: 2518-4733

**Identity and realities of Mayan women  
at San Carlos University of Guatemala**

*IIPS –Sociological Studies Area–*

## **Introduction**

Mayan identity rather than conception is a resistance and political struggle from Mayan populations, particularly from Mayan women students. At San Carlos University of Guatemala (*USAC by its acronym in Spanish*) the only public university in Guatemala, there is a small replica of historical inequalities and exclusions in the country. This investigation report focuses on the analysis of Mayan women identity that has temporarily or constantly migrated to Central Campus.

Mayan identity is an historical social construct, and it is transmitted with certain particularities according to

socio political, cultural and economic context. Generations of Mayan women and men have tried to redefine their Mayan identity in the midst of an historical racist social structure, whose logic is the constant depriving of identity and its contempt when it manifests itself.

The emphasis was placed on Mayan women who migrate because generally, the realities from their peoples or communities are different from those generated in the city; in this case at *USAC* Central Campus. It is necessary to refer that migration must not only be seen as a necessity, but as a right that defies the historical structures and model of Guatemalan

society, in this case in higher education, where there is an appropriation of critical and deconstructive knowledge by Mayan youth, particularly from women.

This research report is divided into four chapters, each with their respective sub-chapters. In this introductory section, in a roughly way, it raises contextual generalities of student population in the Central Campus USAC. In addition, research methodological references are implemented and also the characterization of the analysis center.

The first chapter makes a theoretical and conceptual analysis of Mayan identity in Guatemala, which seeks to question the homogenization of the term identity. It is emphasized that Mayan identity has been a political identity, transgressing structural political norms in the country. Likewise, it is intended to deconstruct this term because from collective and individual daily realities of Mayan populations, and in this particular case, of Mayan women, the term of identity implies not only a world view of life, but a necessity to remain in history, having a past, a present and projecting a future.

Second chapter discusses, describes and interprets the implications that generate identity in Mayan women at the University. One of the contributions of this section is the description of identity forms and the mechanisms of strengthening and defending that identity against racism, discrimination and several historical and contemporary violences experienced through generations and their impact on young Mayan people, not only in their daily lives but in different spaces such as the academy.

Third chapter refers to the multiple identities in Mayan populations and the contributions made by the University to take awareness of non-Mayan students regarding to Mayan populations. The need for critical and deconstructive dialogues between students, professors and workers of the University regarding the historical inequalities and exclusions of difference, of Mayan and non-Mayan people is underlined.

And finally, in the fourth chapter, two life stories of young Mayan women are made, both of them are *kaqchikel*: Carolina is from Chimaltenango, a student at the Faculty of Agronomy and Engineering; Lesly, is

from San Juan Sacatepéquez, she studied an Associate degree in Intercultural Bilingual Education (*EBI by its acronym in Spanish*) at the Training College of Secondary Education Teachers (*EFPEM by its acronym in Spanish*). The interest in developing these life stories is to place and deepen the notion, in the implications of apprehension and self-recognition as Maya in Mayan women students who have lived all their lives in their villages and who, in deciding to study the University involved re-accommodating, questioning and deconstructing because their reality is disturbed by other realities that deny, silence and strip them of their stories and therefore their origins, but that this, in Lesly's case, has strengthened her and assumed her Mayan identity without fear suffer.

This interpretation and analysis of Mayan identity in women in USAC Central Campus, from their voices and feelings has been one of the contributions that have been achieved thanks to them. This construction and deconstruction of the identity term was the product of openness, sincerity, trust and need to speak of the students who participated. From the discussions between Mayan women, half-breed and/or Ladins and Mayan men, several of the Mayan students questioned themselves the reason why they have

not obtained dialogue spaces and even relief promoted by the University itself. This is a sign that there is a need to deconstruct the ways and senses of doing research not only at the university but also at national level.

Thanks to the collaboration of moderators, colleagues, sisters and friends in the discussion groups: Msc. Victoria Tubin, Ms. Eulalia Jiménez, Ms. Sonia López, Sandra Xinico and Karla Morales. Fascinating contributions and discussions were generated.

Vicenta Reynoso and Sandra Miculax are students of the School of Political Science who are thanked for their support in the transcription of three interviews and two discussion groups.

Likewise, the conversations, meetings and reflections generated around the research with MSc. Victoria Tubin, Dr. Edgar Esquit and MSc. Rigoberto Quemé are also appreciated.

### **Student contextual information at USAC**

The universe of analysis is the Central Campus of *USAC*, covering three areas of professionalization, according to the General Organization Chart of the University:

1. *Area of Health Sciences:*  
the Faculty of Dentistry, Faculty of

Veterinary Medicine and Zootechnic, Faculty of Medical Sciences, School of Psychological sciences and School of Science and Technology of Physical Activity and Sport (*ECTAFIDE* by its acronym in Spanish). In this area, it should be emphasized that the Faculty of Medical Sciences and the School of Psychological Sciences were not addressed for this research because they are located outside the Central Campus.

2. *Humanistic Social Area*: Faculty of Legal and Social Sciences, Faculty of Economic Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, School of Political Science, *EFPEM*, School of History, School of Social Work, School of Communication Sciences, School of Linguistic Sciences and Higher School of Art. In this area, the Higher School of Art was not taken into account because it is located outside the Central Campus.

3. *Technical Area*: Faculty of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Faculty of Agronomy, Faculty of Chemical and Pharmaceutical Science, Guatemala South University Institute of Technology (*ITUGS*), School of Mathematical and Physical Sciences, Maya Institute of Technology for Higher Education (*ITMES*).

Not all academic units were addressed by the few or nearly void Mayan women

in such academic units—according to data from the Statistics Section of USAC Registration and Statistics Office 2017. –

The sample of Mayan women migrant students on the Central Campus was carried out by non-probabilistic sampling, since the total of young Maya were taken those who are migrants, that is, those who travel from their places of origin or villages to the Central Campus. Its provenance was only determined by its participation in the discussion groups.

## Research methodology

For the type and nature of such research work was addressed from the qualitative method, this method allows to understand, apprehend and analyze elements not only objectives but also subjective as is the Maya identity, Maya self-identification or self-recognition. Irene Vasilachis argues that "in terms of methodology, perspectives and strategies, qualitative research is considered to be a comprehensive term that refers to different approaches and orientations" (2006, p. 24), that is, that there is a multiplicity of do qualitative research, though it should be





clarified that this diversity coincides in something common, which is to understand, analyze and interpret social reality, the world from known subjects, in terms of Vasilachis.

So the qualitative method not only seeks and demonstrates tangible realities but also the subjective realities, constructions and apprehensions that make the subjects of reality itself and vice versa, but above all, that gives rise, to what Arfuch stands out, the voice of the other, that "giving the voice to the protagonists is also what insists, in the Social Sciences, on that "return" of (or to) the biographical that for some begins in the seventies as one of the manifestations of the exhaustion of structuralism and its elusiveness of the subject and historicity" (2002, p. 187). It is from this logic that it is necessary to understand and apprehend from the known subjects (Vasilachis, 2006), that their realities are manifested from their words, voices, experiences and experiences. It is necessary to find that Vasilachis, quoting Flick, emphasizes that "among the most important perspectives and schools in qualitative research stand out: 1) the grounded theory, 2) the ethnomethodology and the analysis of the conversation, of discourse and gender, 3) narrative

analysis, 4) objective hermeneutics and sociology of hermeneutic knowledge, 5) phenomenology and analysis of small worlds of life, 6) ethnography, 7) cultural studies, and 8) gender studies".

Pierre Bourdieu (2008) in his reflexive sociology, emphasizes that it is necessary for the cognitive subject to explore the categories that limit thought, question its position, its privilege and interests, prejudices, impulses with respect to analyze empirical objects. The author stresses the need for the researcher to be positioned and to be clear with his research objectives, so that the known subject (Vasilachis, 2006) is the one who is heard, read; therefore it is necessary to deconstruct the terms, the concepts from the concrete realities to address. Faced with this, Bourdieu points out that "society certainly has an objective structure, but it is no less true that it is also composed, decisively, of representation and will..." (2008, p. 32).

According to Knoblauch, Flick and Maeder, "qualitative research is supported and depends on a conception oriented towards meaning, context, interpretation, understanding and reflexivity.

It is therefore his rooting in the interpretative paradigm, non-positivist, that gives unity to qualitative methods" (quoted by Vasilachis, 2006, p. 50).

There is not only one qualitative method but there are several, so there are also various qualitative strategies that are not independent of each other. Qualitative research focuses not only on objective and subjective realities, but also delves into life experiences, and to apprehend them, there are different procedures, techniques and tools for their knowledge and analysis, particularly biographical techniques, which are the ones that allow us to reach directly to the known subject. Among the biographical techniques can be highlighted: life stories, life stories, biographies, autobiographies, expressive documents, narratives, etc. (Vasilachis, 2006).

Based on the previous and the object of the research project, it is proposed to approach methodologically from the qualitative. While Mayan identity has elements that make it noticeable tangible, it also has a subjective constitution, and that this is not necessarily visible, which does not detract from research but rather strengthens it, which for Arfuch (2002)

"the researcher must build a context of intelligibility" (p. 186) from the subjective realities of known subjects. It should be clarified that this research is qualitative, descriptive and interpretative.

Before further describing the research methodology, it is necessary to make known the delimitation of the project, in order to understand the notion and response of techniques and methods adopted in that work.

### **Delimitation of work**

Research work was carried out at San Carlos University of Guatemala Central Campus, which has 10 Faculties and 11 Schools, of these the Faculty of Medicine and the School of Psychology are located in the Metropolitan University Center. Particularly we worked with Mayan university women, no distinction was made in the years they have been studying at the University, nor the type of careers or the Mayan people to which they subscribe because what they are trying to make visible, roughly speaking, is how they live their university life and their Mayan identity within the University, emphasizing their status as Mayan women and migrant.



In this way the following questions arise how do indigenous migrant students build and/or strengthen their Mayan identity in the *USAC*? And, how do they live their college life and what it entails in them and for them to study at the *USAC*?

To achieve this apprehension of the reality of Maya identity of Mayan university women who migrate for studies in the Central Campus *USAC*, the following research techniques and methods are proposed.

## **Research methods and techniques**

Research process was carried out in four phases:

### ***Preparatory Phase***

The research project was raised with the research team of the Institute for Political and Social Research (*IIPS*), some criteria of work and geographical delimitation were defined. They polled and obtained contacts from student Mayan women at the *USAC* Central Campus for discussion groups.

### ***Preparation and validation of instruments***

Four information gathering tools were

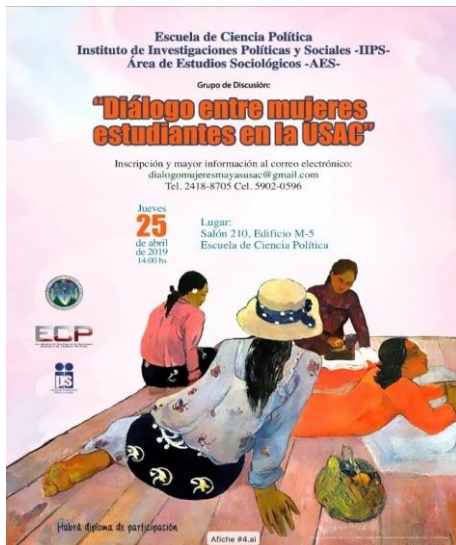
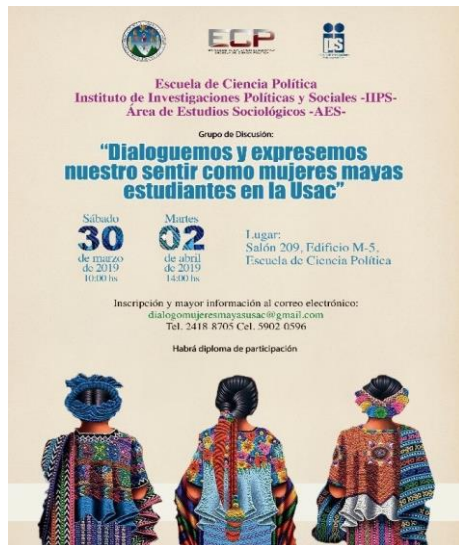
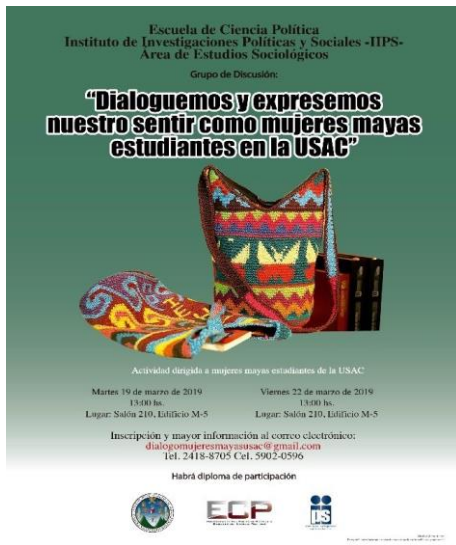
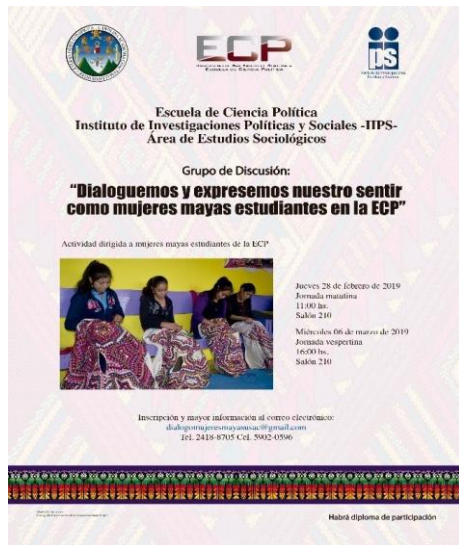
developed: Structured Questionnaire Guide for Discussion Groups with Mayan Women, Structured Questionnaire Guide to the Discussion Group with Mixed/Ladin and Mayan Women. A questionnaire guide to six semi-structured interviews and a semi-structured questionnaire guide for the two life stories.

### ***Preparation and socialization of calls***

The call for Maya, half-breed or Ladin women students at *USAC* for the discussion groups, was done through social networks, website and email of the *IIPS*, and posters of the call were posted in the different academic faculties of the University. The research team of Sociological Studies Area (*AES* by its acronym in Spanish) was responsible for talking to members of Student Associations of some academic units, such as Agronomy, Dentistry, Engineering, *EFPEM*, School of Political Science and the Association of University Students "Oliverio Castañeda de León" (*AEU*) about the activities that would be carried out from the *AES*.

## Image No. 1

### Posters of discussion groups with women students at USAC



Source: IIPS, Sociological Studies Area, 2019.



Only the Association of Engineering Students published the call for the activities on its social networks, particularly on Facebook, activity aimed for students in the Health Sciences Area and Technique. The *AEU* only socialized the call for a discussion group on its social network Instagram. The Agronomy Student Association had posted the call for discussion groups on their Facebook page however for unknown reasons they deleted the post on their page minutes later. The *EFPEM-EBI* Student Association was also contacted for the socialization of the call for such discussion groups, but it was not published on its social networks.

While it is true that the dissemination of calls on social media and in the buildings of academic units was important, however, they were not as effective. Contact and participation of most Mayan students, particularly from the academic units of the Technical Area and Health Sciences, were achieved by the *AES* team's direct invitation strategy for several days, Mayan students who wore their regional clothing were directly addressed outside the faculties, they were asked for their contact and they

were invited to the discussion groups. This strategy was effective, locating and identifying them through their Mayan clothing.

### ***Field research***

**Surveys:** the survey was carried out in the *AEU* "Oliverio Castañeda", also the participation in some activities carried out by the same *AEU*, particularly in the conversation "Let's talk about us with us. The Public University and Indigenous Women", in this activity, some Mayan students for the discussion groups were contacted, however, no more women could be contacted through them, because they did not know many Mayan students in their faculty, from the Technical area, where there are few Mayan women.

**Discussion groups:** nine discussion groups were held with Mayan students, three groups were held at the School of Political Science, at the beginning two had been considered as a pilot phase, however, the students requested to make a third group of discussion with the students who study during in the morning and evening to get to know each other and share their experiences. Two discussion groups with students from the Technical and

Health Area, three discussion groups with students from the Humanistic Social Area and a discussion group with women both mixed and/or Ladinos and Maya

from the three academic areas of the USAC —Humanistic Social Area, Health Sciences area, and Technical Area.

**Image No. 2**  
**Discussion Group with Mayan woman students at USAC**



**Source:** IIPS, Sociological Studies Area, 2019.

A third discussion group had been planned for the Health Sciences and Technical areas, proposed by Pharmacy and Veterinary students, due to academic reasons they were unable to attend to the scheduled groups. But, by academic load, - according to what the students said -, they were not able to organize the

third discussion group in that area.

In two discussion groups of the Humanistic Social Area, two young Mayas (participated in different discussion groups) and a young mestiza woman, an *EFPEM* student participated. Both young Mayan and the young mestiza woman contributed a lot to the



discussion. Initially, discussion groups were planned only for Mayan women, however, it just limited the analysis of Mayan women identity because they are not stranger to social and student interactions and relationships with Mayan and non-Mayan men and non-Mayan women.

**Image No. 3**  
**Discusión Group with Mayan woman student at USAC**



**Source:** IIPS, Sociological Studies Area, 2019.

Regarding to the discussion group with mestizo/Ladino women, at first, it had been proposed that this group should be aimed at mestizo women or Ladino, however, it was reassessed and was suggested that was important to have a discussion with diverse women students in the USAC, and above all because of the interest some Mayan women showed in

dialogue and knowledge of the perspective of other non-Mayan women regarding to identity at the University. There were six assistants, three Mayan women and three mestizo women. The three Mayan women had already participated in previous discussion groups. These students were from Political Science School, Social Work and Pharmacy.



#### Image No. 4

#### Discussion group with half-breed/ladino women students at USAC.



Source: IIPS, Sociological Studies Area, 2019.

The parameters of Mayan students for discussion groups were:

- a) Being a woman and self-identifying as Maya or indigenous
- b) Being a migrant, that is, that the student comes and travels commonly or frequently to her hometown.
- c) Being a USAC college student, particularly from Central Campus.
- d) Being a Mayan "young", according to the United Nations (UN), being young

includes from 15 to 24 years, however, the range varies by country, in the case of Guatemala, the young population is 15 to 29 years old. But in the case of the Mayan university student population in most cases they enter the University late, for several factors (such as economic, social, cultural, distance, etc.) which are involved in their academic training, so age in this case was not precisely a necessary parameter to be met.

*Semi-structured interviews:* From the discussion groups, six Mayan women





were contacted to be interviewed. Three of them from Humanistic Social Area and three from Health Sciences and/or Technical areas. These interviews are not intended to statistically represent the universe of Mayan student women of USAC Central Campus, nor it is intended to generate statistical data to quantify students in each academic unit, nor in the area of studies (Social Humanistic, Health Sciences and/or Technical), since this work gives account of qualitative data, data and information of tangible realities that are internalized and subjective, and also inversely. From these interviews were selected the young women who told their lives histories.

Parameters of Mayan women students interviewed:

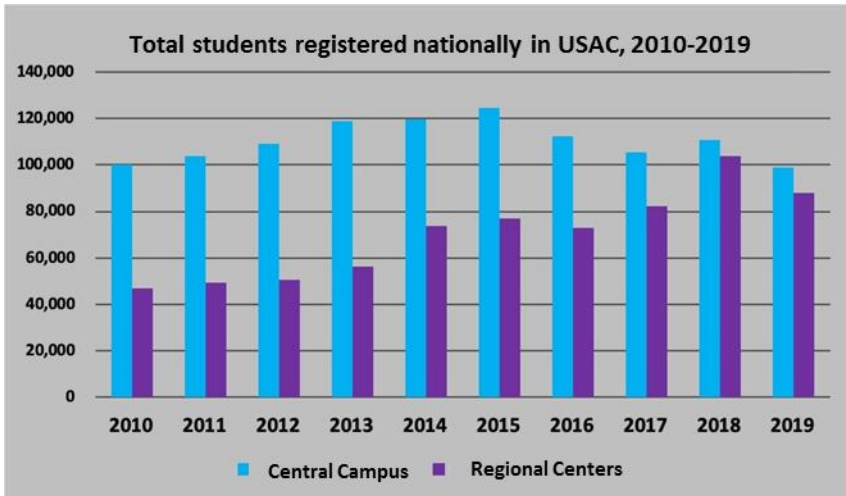
- a) Have participated in the discussion groups
- b) Maya or indigenous self-identification
- c) Being a migrant by academic studies, that is, they commonly travel from their communities by higher education in the capital city.
- d) Availability and openness for the interview.

*Life Stories:* The interview was fundamental to identify the student for her life story, the six students interviewed showed availability and collaboration for any activity that took place from the research project, and however, by time and resources the research team was programmed only for two life stories. Both students self-identify as Maya kaqchikel, from Chimaltenango and San Juan Sacatepéquez.

**General statistical data of USAC**

According to data from the Statistics Section of the Registration and Statistic Office USAC, between the years 2010 to 2015, students enrolled at central campus were increasing. However, as of 2016, the number of students enrolled declined as in 2017; in 2018 it rose, although it was not significant compared to the rise years, and this year, 2019, the total number of students enrolled in the Central Campus dropped dramatically compared to the years of increase in students enrolled. As for student enrolled in Regional Centers, from 2010 to 2015 it was an increase, it had a decline in 2016, rising in 2018, surpassing the years of rise; but in 2019 it declined significantly. See Chart No.1.

**Chart No. 1**



**Source:** Made by Sociological Studies Area –AES- from the data of the Statistic Section of Registration and Statistic Office of USAC, 2018 and 2019—AES—

The growth of students enrolled in the Regional Centers, can be due to the decentralization of public higher education in the country, however, this decentralization was not homogeneous, thus concentrating much of the careers in the Central Campus, particularly those related to the Health Sciences Area and Technical Area. This was one of the observations made by the Mayan women students who participated, highlighting that, in the Regional Centers, apart from not having a variety of career options, they are also not provided with the information.

According to the *USAC* General Organization Chart of 2018, and

statistical data from Statistical Section of the Registration and Statistics Office, 2018, there are 21 Regional Centers at the national level.

According to official data from the Statistics Section of the Department of Registration and Statistics, published in May 2019, at the university's national level, of that year 187,014 students were enrolled, depending on admission category (first semester freshman, regular/re-entry, students pending general and supplementary exams). Of this total, 52.97% are from the Central Campus for example 99,070 students and 47.03% of departmental centers equivalent to 87,944 students. Depending on the



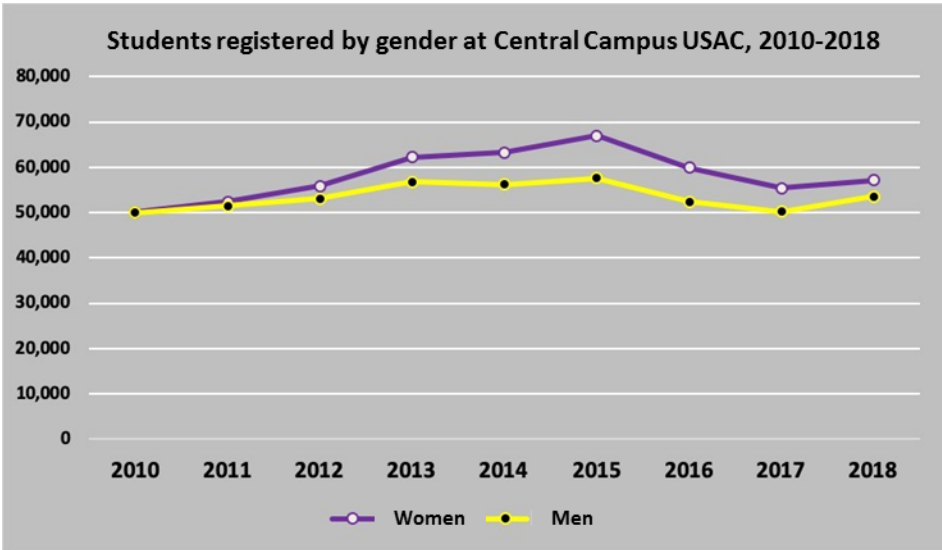
category of admission of students enrolled in the Campus, 9.10% are first semester freshman and 65.36% are re-entry; however, these data are not classified by gender, ethnicity and age.

The total numbers of students enrolled in 2018 were 214,768 students nationwide. Of this figure 110,756 were registered in the Central Campus, thus representing the total, 51.57%, taking into account the Faculty of Medical Sciences, the Schools of Psychological Science and the Higher School of Art. However, this data has not yet been broken down by origin or ethnic affiliation.

From 2010 to 2017, the total number of *USAC* students, nationally and Central Campus, were broken down by gender, ethnicity and age categories. Therefore, for this research work was based on the data for the year of 2017.

In 2017, the total number of students enrolled nationally were 187,976, of this total 56.18% was enrolled in Central Campus, in other words 105,598 students. According to gender, of the total number of students enrolled in the Central Campus, 52.50% are women and 47.50% are men. See Chart No. 2.

**Chart No. 2**



**Source:** Made by Sociological Studies Area –AES– from the data of the Statistic Section of Registration and Statistic Office, USAC, 2018.

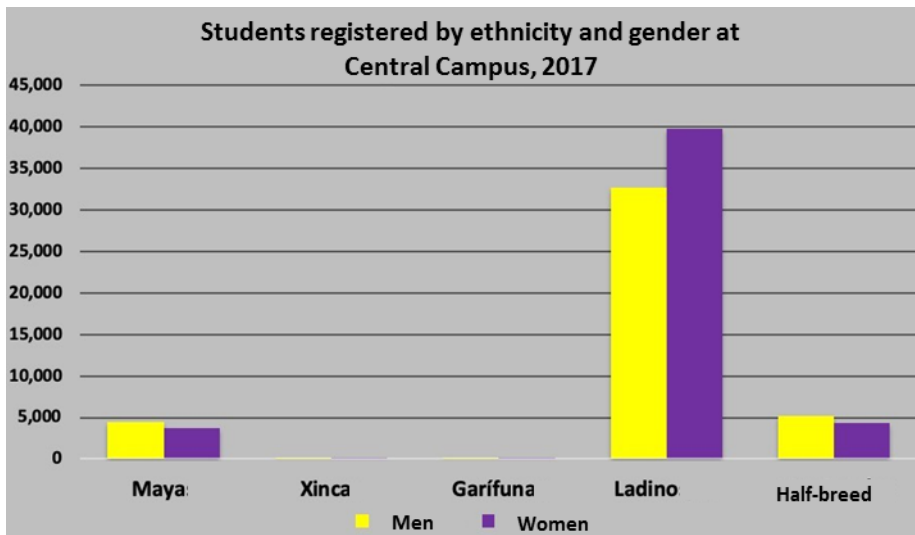
Chart No. 2 did not include 2019 data, because the Department of Registration and Statistics has not published the record of students enrolled this year, according to gender.

Nationally, of the students enrolled in 2017, 11.71% self-identify as Maya, 0.09% as a Xinca, 0.07% as Garífuna, 61.02% as ladino, 7.91% as half-breed and 19.20% who did not identify with any people. At the Central Campus, 4.37% are

identified as Xinca; 0.04% as Garífuna; 38.58% as ladino, 5.04% as half-breed and 8.10% who did not self-identify with any people. See Chart No. 3.

Of the total women students, 52.50%, registered in Central Campus in 2017, 3.55% self-identify as Maya, 0.04% as Xinca, and 0.04% as Garífuna, 37.70% as Ladina, 4.07% as half-breed and 7.10% were not identified with any people.

**Chart No. 3**

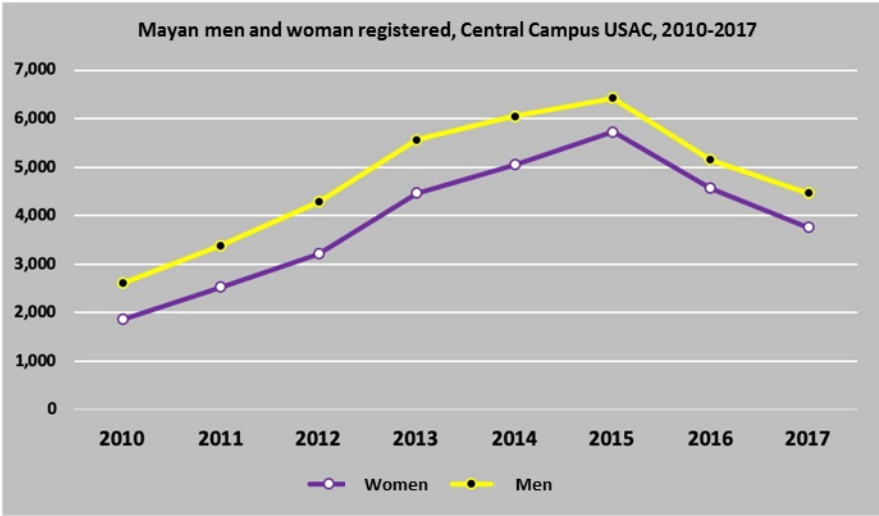


**Source:** Made by Sociological Studies Area –AES- from the data of the Statistic Section of Registration and Statistic Office USAC, 2018.



Access to higher education for Mayan population is reduced, compared to ladino; however, access to higher education has been greater for Mayan men. Although in both, access to higher education has had ascent and decline, but the number of Mayan men in USAC has always been greater than Mayan women. See chart No. 4.

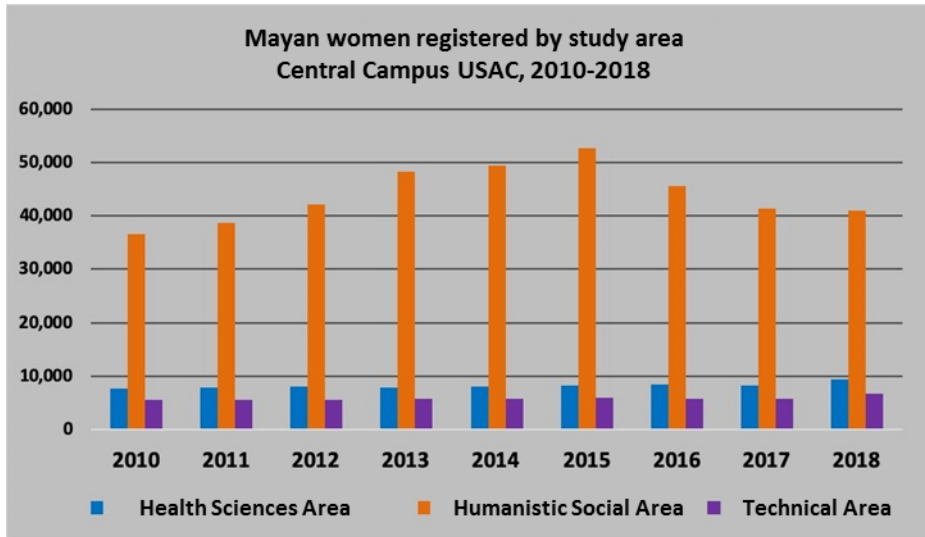
Chart No. 4



**Source:** Developed by the Sociological Studies Area (AES) from data from the Statistics Section of the Department of Registration and Statistics of the USAC, 2018.

This Chart No. 4 makes visible the small number of Mayan women in the academic units of Central Campus, however, this data could increase or decrease as they strengthen their Mayan identity. That is, it could be that during the admissions Mayan students have identified as Maya but in their study process they deny or hide their identity, as later it will be explained. Or, students who had not identified themselves as Maya at the time of their registration but who in the course of their studies they self-identify as Maya or are in search of their identity.

**Chart No. 5**



**Source:** Developed by the Sociological Studies Area (AES) from data from the Statistics Section of the Department of Registration and Statistics of the USAC, 2018 and 2019.

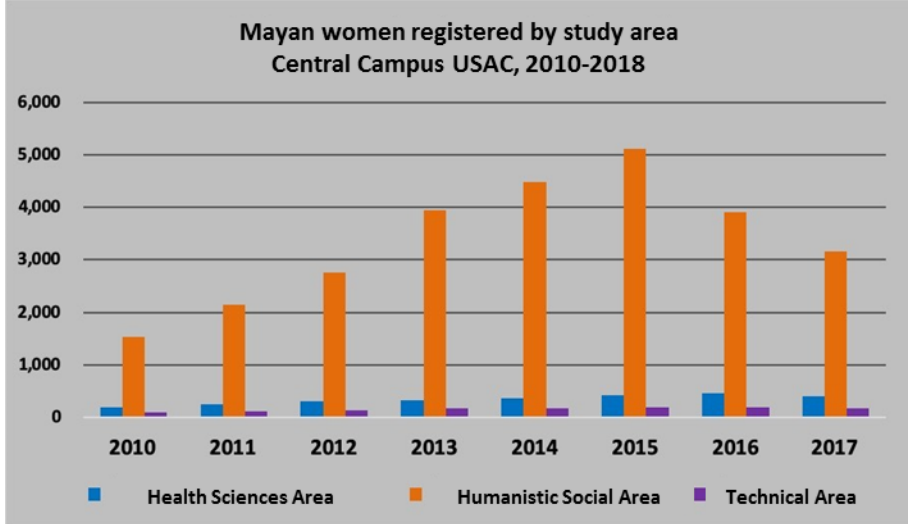
Chart No. 5 highlights the access of women students in distinct academic units in the USAC Central Campus. Most women students are concentrated in the Humanistic Social Area, and well below the total are students from the Health Sciences Area and finally those studying in the Technical Area. This responds not to the inability or interest of students in health and technical careers, but, in the sexist social imagination, in which there is

a construction and differentiation rooted in the population in which women do not have skills or are unfit for such careers. Also adding the high cost to study such careers.

And this differentiation is even more marked in Mayan women, highlighting the disadvantages to them by being Mayan women and being from places outside the capital city of Guatemala. See Chart No. 6.



Chart No. 6



**Source:** Developed by the Sociological Studies Area (AES) from data from the Statistics Section of the Department of Registration and Statistics of the USAC, 2018.

Based on data and statistical tables, beyond posing statistical representativeness, this work reveals this process of Mayan identity in students who migrate for university studies in the Central Campus of *USAC*. Subjectivities and objectivities they live as Mayan women and also being from Mayan peoples or communities outside Guatemala City. Regarding to the information, characteristics and data obtained from students who participated to analyze the Mayan identity of women students in the

Central Campus will be considered.

### Description and characterization of participating Mayan students

From the 9 discussion groups conducted between the months of February, March and April 2019; 49 students participated and supported by 4 Mayan moderators. Of the total participants, 43 were Mayan women, 1 was half-breed woman, 3 ladino women and 2 Mayan men. Chart No. 1.

**Chart No. 1**

**Discussion Groups Participants**

<b>Identity</b>	<b>Participants</b>
Mayan woman	43
Ladino woman	3
Half-breed woman	1
Mayan men	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>

**Source:** Developed by the Sociological Studies Area (AES) from record of participation of the student discussion groups, IIPS, 2019.

**Chart No. 2**

**Languages spoken by the participants during the discussion groups**

<b>Mother Tongue</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Other Languages</b>	<b>Number</b>
Achí	1	<b>Mayan Languages</b>	
Tzutujil	2	Achí — kaqchikel	1
Spanish	18	Kaqchikel	10
K'iche'	5	kaqchikel — Inglés	1
Poqomchi-k'iche'	1	Q'eqchi'	2
Kaqchikel	20	K'iche'	1
Poqomam	2	Tz'utujil	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>16</b>
		<b>Foreign Languages</b>	
		English	2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>

**Source:** Developed by the Sociological Studies Area (AES) from record of participation of the student discussion groups, IIPS, 2019.





Most of the students who participated in the discussion groups confirm that they speak a Mayan language as their mother tongue: 20 students said they speak Kaqchikel, 18 students indicated that their mother tongue was Spanish, of this total, 4 Ladino students and/or half-breed woman their mother tongue is Spanish, 5 students indicated that their mother tongue is K'iche', while two students said that their mother tongue is Tz'utujil and Poqomam, 1 student stressed that her mother tongue is Achi and last, one indicated that Poqomchi and K'iche' are their mother tongues.

It can be relatively inferred that the geographical and economic factor are some indicators that determine the mobility dynamics of Mayan women to the USAC Central Campus. Of those who participated, they mostly come from the departments of Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez and some municipalities of the department of Guatemala, for example, San Juan Sacatepéquez, which are located a relatively short distance from the metropolitan area of Guatemala. Compared to departments in other regions, their participation is reduced. It can be inferred that, by

the distance of the Central Campus, most, choose to study Regional Centers, although they do, but careers that are not necessarily of interest to them.

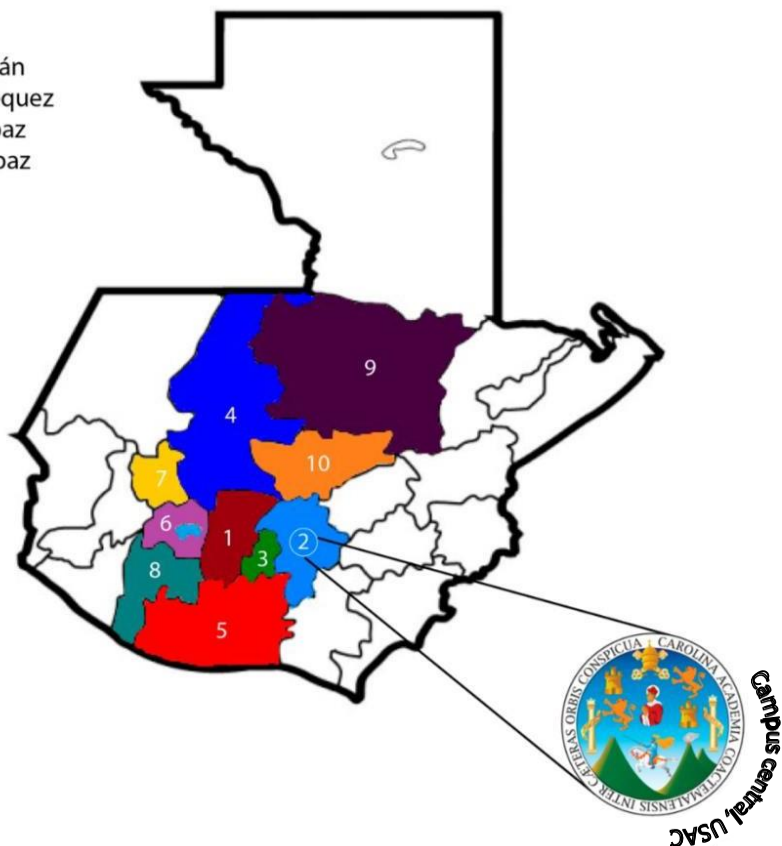
In the "other speaking languages" category, out of 49 students who participated in the discussion groups, 16 students confirm that they speak a Mayan language and 2 students indicate that they speak English, as their second language.

Of all women and men students who participated, 6 have Mayan names and of that total participation, 35 have Mayan surnames. In the research report students were given fictitious names, some were proposed by the students themselves, as in interviews and life stories.

Place of origin, 15 students are from the department of Chimaltenango, 12 students are from Guatemala, 7 students are from Sacatepéquez, 5 students are from Quiché, 2 from Escuintla, 1 student if from Sololá and finally Totoncapán, Suchitepéquez, Alta Verapaz and Baja Verapaz there were only 1 student for each department. See map No. 1.

**Map No. 1**  
**Places of origin of students who**  
**participated in discussion groups**

1. Chimaltenango
2. Guatemala
3. Sacatepéquez
4. Quiché
5. Escuintla
6. Sololá
7. Totonicapán
8. Suchitepéquez
9. Alta Verapaz
10. Baja Verapaz



**Source:** Developed by Sociological Studies Area (AES) from record of participation of the student discussion groups, //PS, 2019.



**Chart No. 3**  
**Academic Units to which participants in the**  
**discussion groups belongs**

<b>Academic Units/careers</b>	
<b>Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and Zootechnic</b>	
Bachelor Degree in Zootechnic	1
<b>Faculty of Agronomy</b>	
Agronomical Engineering in Agricultural Production Systems	1
Agronomical Engineer in Renewable Natural Resources.	1
Engineering in agrarian and forestry Industry	1
<b>Faculty of Chemical and Pharmaceutical Sciences</b>	
Bachelor degree in Biological Chemical	1
Bachelor degree in Biology	2
Bachelor degree in nutrition	2
<b>Faculty of Legal and Social Sciences</b>	
Bachelor degree in Legal and Social Sciences	3
<b>Faculty of Humanities</b>	
Bachelor degree in Natural Sciences and Environmental Education	1
<b>School of Political Sciences</b>	
Bachelor degree International Relations	8
Bachelor degree in Political Science	2
Bachelor degree in Sociology	2
<b>School of Social Work</b>	
Bachelor degree in Social Work	2
<b>School of History</b>	
Bachelor degree in History	1
<b>Training College of Secondary Education Teachers –EFPEM-</b>	
Bachelor degree in Intercultural Bilingual Education with emphasis in Mayan Culture –EBI– (by its acronym in Spanish)	20
Language Learning Center - CALUSAC - (by its acronym in Spanish)	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>

**Source:** Developed by the Sociological Studies Area (AES) from record of participation of the student discussion groups, IIPS, 2019.

## Chapter I

### **Theoretical and conceptual analysis of Mayan identity in Guatemala**

This section seeks to place the notion of Maya identity and self-identification in Guatemala, particularly in the contemporaneity of Mayan women youth. A critical deconstruction of the term is proposed from theoretical contributions, but above all apart from the very realities of Mayan women students of the *USAC*. In other words, in this section dialogues and understanding of the term of identity will be carried out through academic contributions and Mayan daily life.

#### **The Maya identity**

Based on the theoretical and conceptual contributions of Laclau, Bourdieu and other authors mentioned above—in the first part of this paper—it can be noted that the term of Mayan identity obeys to difference and equivalence (Derrida, 1989; Laclau 1993, 1996, 1999, 2004, 2015) not only of objective elements but subjective in the population's identity (Demetrio Cojti, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2018), in this case, concerning to Maya population, however, understanding

and approaching to the notion of identity is impossible without refer and highlight that there is a multiplicity of (re) significance not only academic but also popular about the term of identity, but what makes all these notions converge is precisely the history, the historical context through which Mayan populations have crossed and lived.

This history or the historical contexts of Mayan populations are essential to understand the dynamics and (re) identity constructions in a multicultural and multi-ethnic country, but with a social structure that operates historically under racist and racialistic logic (Casaús, 2019) and that seeks to be invisibility through "Guatemalan democracy".

However, to understand this logic, this work will highlight the notion of Mayan identity for Mayan students in the *USAC*. This work is not intended to give a quantitative reading but rather a qualitative and interpretative contribution to understand the logic of subsistence,



permanence, rebellion, resistance and strengthening of Mayan identity in the students of Central Campus.

### **The notion of Mayan identity**

The importance of highlight the term "Mayan identity" precisely obeys the ways in which Mayan identities are built, deconstructed, rebuilt and strengthened or denied, hidden, etc. in Guatemala's only public university, in this case from Mayan students.

It should be noted that the term referring to being Maya in several Mayan people is *naturalib'*, a category which refers to being natural, that is, the person who is attached to Mother Earth, to the ancestral worldview, to collective, communal and individual daily life. This reflection was highlighted in the discussions among Mayan students.

Meanwhile dominant, indigenous, Mayan and Indian concepts are constituted in the national history. The content of each concept is closely linked to the way in which the state and hegemonic ideas about Guatemala were constructed as national community

over the past two centuries [...] These notions are constructed from hegemonic places and serve to establish and shape government's systems or control over the population. Those are concepts related with the justification and use of violence to contain protest of under-subalternized population. (Esquit, 2014, p. 73)

Identity is not something static, it also cannot be defined in a single way and being homogenized, that is, there is no single conceptualization of this term, because the term of identity encompasses various forms of conceptualizations and different ways of assuming it, in it there is an infinity of manifestations and demands that are not necessarily equivalent — in the term of Ernesto Laclau—, since historical conditions and contexts have been varied, in the case of young women students, they have a notion of identity according to their life lessons, experiences, conditions and livelihoods that has challenged them cultural homogenization, racism and discrimination in the country, especially in different areas which they frequent.

It should be clarified that living

conditions are not what define identity, although they condition it, but, it is the historical consciousness, of its origins and original roots, that cause someone to self-identify and vindicate through objective and subjective cultural elements, that is, "consciousness is nothing but the dialectic of the medium and action" (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 46), but supported, and inculcated in family, community and groups of friendships" etc.

These cultural elements about identity are also political because every historical manifestation that claims its survival and existence in societies, is a political struggle, so it is much more relevant to talk about "historical pluralism" (Segato, 2010), because there is a diversity of histories as native peoples in Latin America, in this case in Guatemala.

In the case of identity, it is a term that implies an empty signifier because several struggles and demands have been assumed and overshadowed within this term, that's why talking about identity in social imaginary implies a cultural identity because the demands and political struggles that the identity implies have been overshadowed, those are the differences that have

been refused or is far from the notion of the term identity, especially in academic and research centers. Resuming Laclau's ideas (2015) about popular identity, he emphasizes that popular identity becomes increasingly complete from an extensive point of view, since it represents a considerable group of demands; but it becomes intensively poorer, because it must be stripped of particular content in order to encompass social demands that are totally heterogeneous to each other. That is: a popular identity functions as a trending empty signifier (p.125).

Mayan identity then breaks with the silence that has promulgated Eurocentric history, homogenizing history. In the case of Mayan women students, their identity has been forged through their family and in some cases through educational authorities (although very minimal); however, it should be clarified that, in families, who transmit and strengthen their identity are mother and father, however, grandmothers and grandparents have taken responsibility in this transmission and it is crucial to highlight, especially the contributions of grandmothers, who are at the core of self-identification and strengthening of Mayan



identity of young woman. The knowledge of grandparents, -this subject will be deepened later-, has been primordial for several Mayan students to feel proud and identified with the Maya; first of all, to return to their roots and elements of identity such as Mayan language and clothing, which in their daily lives, in some cases, in their families had not been transmitted to them, due to the racism and discrimination suffered by their parents in their childhood and youth, and as shelter and protection for their sons and daughters, particularly in schools, they decided not to teach them their mother tongue and wear their Mayan clothing.

Identity is not only an individual construction and identification but also collective-community, based on the inheritances and roots of Mayan native peoples before and after colonization transmitted from generation to generation, particularly through social, political, cultural and economic institutions,

specific of peoples, among others. The ethnic definition of groups is not something impassive but is loaded with conditionings that specify what is possible or impossible for Mayan people in the Guatemalan's case. The minimal meaning that carries the indigenous concept from the voice of dominant groups, entails an historical power and fundamentally in the nationalist imaginary. From the privileged place of many politicians and intellectuals of edestism, indigenous concept is used to take power away from peoples or to legitimize control over the population that integrates it [...] In view of this one may wonder whether the Mayan and indigenous concepts can be used as synonyms, if the answer is positive then Maya becomes a local way of expressing or talking about the indigenous. In this sense it is to give specificity to the concept, but in strict terms or in a structure of domination, the Mayas continue to be explained and treated as minorities. (Esquit, 2014, pp. 76-77).

## Chapter II

### Mayan identity of Women in Higher Education

Identity is built through the articulation of various institutions, their discursive constructions, symbolic and historical, sociopolitical and cultural beliefs transmitted in different ways and through various means, such as through Mayan languages, fabrics, clothing, surnames, accents, individual and collective practices, such as gastronomy, patron saint festivities, fairs, music, poetry, painting, dance, etc., (Discussion groups, 2019).

It is not intended to raise a notion of identity, but rather to make visible that, within the term of Mayan identity there are infinity of conceptions, notions and everyday-community realities in this regard.

While it is true, that the term of identity has been addressed from the academy from social organizations and movements, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international organizations, etc., and from different theoretical and methodological perspectives. However, beyond of want to rise a single conceptualization

of the term Mayan identity, it is emphasized that within this term there are different looks, readings and ways of perceiving, defining and living Mayan identity and self-identification, especially from youth; in this case, from Mayan women, who are mostly those who make visible, give and allow the reading of the original roots, by using their clothing and/ or languages in mostly non-indigenous spaces, such as the *USAC*. In other words, this conception of identity from students reveals the different realities and ways of naming, assuming and living the Mayan identity in mostly non-Maya spaces.

The notion of Mayan identity from the contributions and discussions generated by Mayan university women cannot also be homogenized for the entire Mayan population, however, they are contributions to understand and make visible that identity cannot be defined, assumed and lived in a homogeneous way, but rather, it questions, sums and





contributes to the plurality of ways to identify as Maya in Guatemala and specifically contribute to discussions about conditions and consequences of racist social structures, such as Guatemala, towards the original populations.

Mayan identities of contemporary generations were responding to a) the pre- and post-colonial past, and b) to the contemporary history: pre and post-Internal Armed Conflict, signing of the Peace Agreement, etc. The diverse political and economic crisis that have been generated at national and international level, particularly from the State, have involved racism, genocide and diverse exclusions towards indigenous populations and which have been legalized by a legal framework justified in the social order, thus dissimulating control over the territories, bodies and lives of indigenous peoples (Foucault, 1998). For this reason, in previous lines it is emphasized that Mayan identity, rather than cultural is a political identity, a fight and political vindication, which has involved not only resistance but has also involved actions, proposals and community accompaniment, and one of the examples is Mayan identity itself from youth, in this case from women, who make visible that history and ancient

offspring in academic college spaces like the *USAC*.

The sense of community and collectivity is manifested in students in different academic units of the University, they highlight that being in a mostly non-indigenous space, they feel the need to be together, to seek Mayan allies in the classrooms to face the different inequalities and racism that is lived in the University, by the fact that they are Mayan women —this student dynamic will be addressed in the following sections, but it is inevitable to refer, that the sense of community is also manifested in Mayan students at the university— so it is more feasible for them to work with Maya friends, and thus feel less or face in a better way with the derogatory actions and gestures towards them both outside and inside the university classrooms particularly in the early first years of college.

Mayan identity for students is an identity that has been brought with it since born; it is the representation and recognition of a Mayan civilization and all its knowledge and contributions to humanity. This identity differentiates the rest of the populations and/or identities

since there are modes and ways of perceiving and living the social and community reality of being Maya and it is governed by a worldview of life with norms, principles and values where not only the individual is important but also the community, having relevance all the beings who inhabit Mother Earth and Universe, from this way of seeing the world nature and all its elements are essential parts of life, every life is part of a cosmos, and to recognize and show respect, there are a whole series of activities and ceremonies as an offering and gratitude; these activities are part of *Mayan spirituality*, and their reading can be done through the *Mayan calendar*.

Most of this Mayan knowledge has been transmitted, orally, since by the same process of colonization all this knowledge was denied and discarded, and through mechanisms of resistance and survival of the peoples who could be preserved in their memory such knowledge, thus becoming relevant in this way, the oral transmission of history.

Identity is achieved as history is known; identity is an historical construct, so it cannot be static, since it is constantly changing and mainly when there are ruptures and social

crisis, since in every crisis, revolts, emancipations, etc., societies are not again or have the same order that they had before the crisis (Laclau, 2015), in this sense, Mayan identity has been reconfigured at all sociopolitical, economic, cultural critical moments —generated during the process of colonization and post-colonization— in Guatemala, but, the *nodal point of identity*, in terms of Laclau (2015) is the history of Mayan population itself.

Likewise, the fabrics and the various clothing of Mayan peoples are relevant, because through them is referenced and located to which peoples or communities these colors, fabrics among other, belong or are represented.

The sense of belonging to a territory also contributes to identity, however, not necessarily being outside that territory, identity changes or disappears, but rather, in the case of Mayan women students who migrate for university studies, Mayan identity is gaining greater strength, because being far from its village implies to stop frequenting and to stop doing what in daily life in a village or community is done, for example, market days, fairs, family



and/or neighbors visits, etc., then, it becomes a necessity to travel to your village in order to not to feel outside of that community dynamic.

"My mom and dad have attached to history, they have always said that, by knowing our history we have identity, something much necessary, and then the term Maya, as my dad told us wherever you go, you are Maya [...]" (Discussion group Health Sciences Area and Technical Area, 2019).

"Since I came from Momostenango, my dad always said to me: 'never forget where you come from' [...]" (Discussion Group, Humanistic Social Area, 2019).

When we hang out all together my parents always emphasize to us that we should not forget that we carry a responsibility, as they are both Maya, they say: "we must follow that sequence, that we should not lose it, because then all that our ancestors did was for nothing [...]" (Discussion group Area of Health Sciences and Technical Area, 2019).

Surnames and names also make reference to Mayan identity, Mayan woman students highlight the importance of these identity references, although it does not necessary imply whether or not

having a Mayan surname a person would self-identifies as Maya. These are some of the consequences of racism and structural discrimination in Guatemala towards *the other and another* (see Segato 2010, 2011), since it has generated the denial or rejection of self-identification as Xinca, Garífuna or Maya in the country.

Today, Mayan names at the University have been much more visible and remarkable. In the discussion groups 12% of participants had Mayan names, and among the same woman students there was interest in knowing the meaning of these names so they also expressed joy for knowing and learn from classmates *who have represented and made visible Mayan peoples in academic spaces such as the USAC* through their names and surnames. The re-encounter and coexistence in discussion groups, was for the students the generation and strengthening of emotional ties between them and above all to be even more interested in their experiences by assuming their Mayan identity inside and outside the University.

Some students interviewed emphasized that, from discussion groups, talks and discussions about the identity of Mayan women and the experiences they have had in their lives in maintaining and manifesting their Mayan identity inside

and outside the University has been a necessity that among them they had not socialized or questioned, and which have now been more frequent in their analyses and discussions about it.

Mayan identity is then, a term where multiple conceptions of who and where one is converge, how they represent their original roots and above all the interest of making a millennial population visible. The history and knowledge of the ancestral origins of Mayan people has been fundamental to this identity remain today, it is not only a right but is the manifestation of the life itself of population, since as Rita Segato (2010) indicates:

Custom can be changed and is indeed constantly changed, because the permanence of an entire people does not depend on the repetition of their practices or the immobility of their ideas. We thus release the moorings that underpin identity, without dispensing but referring it to the notion of people, as a historical vector, as a collective agent of an historical project, which is perceived from a common past and also building in a common future, through an internal plot that does not dispense the conflict of interest and

antagonism of ethical sensitivities and political attitudes, but which shares an history. This perspective leads us to survive the expression "one culture" by the expression "one people", living subject of an history in the midst of joints and exchanges that, rather than interculturality, designs inter-historicity. What identifies this collective subject, this people, is not a stable cultural heritage, of fixed contents, but the self-perception that comes from its members to share a common history, which comes from a past and is aimed to a future [...].

### **Elements of identity and their forms of apprehension**

To assume the Mayan identity for many young Mayan women in the *USAC* is to make visible and disseminate a millennial history that can be read in their clothing, fabrics, physical features, accents and especially on the fabrics of the garments of different peoples, gastronomy, festivals and patron saint or communal fairs , land and territory, diverse forms of art, dance and sports such as music, painting, poetry, football, etc., Mayan worldview, spirituality and calendar, customs and values from family and community, stories, legends and Mayan oral



fables among others (Discussion Groups, 2019).

However, carrying and assuming Mayan identity has involved diverse physical, psychological and symbolic violence against Mayans among others. This analysis highlights the significance of some of the objective and subjective elements of Mayan identity for Mayan women students and also what it has involved in them to assume and live their identity in the University. Some of Mayan identity elements were pointed out because these were the ones that they highlighted as an immediate reason for pride, happiness and representation of their ancestors in the University, and because these elements were also for which they feel or felt questioned, observed and excluded in the University, in classrooms, by their classmates, professors and workers of the University (guards, gardeners, cleaning personnel, etc.).

### **Mayan clothing: resistance and ancestral Reading**

Mayan clothing (in women, usually: a) *huipil* or blouse, b) *corte*: which is the skirt tied with a sash. The length of the *corte* and *huipil*, colors and

even the mode of use will depend on the linguistic people which it belongs. This clothing is diverse as the population itself; however, as the students point out, clothing not only refers the village, territory, and the place of origin but also to a whole historical origin, to the history of the original peoples before and after colonization. They also represent daily life through the fabrics, colors of the *huipiles*, *cortes*, sashes, etc. The activities that take place in the villages, the relationship and closeness between Mother Nature, the cosmos, the Mayan weather (read through the Mayan calendar), Mayan days and *nahuaes* are also highlighted in the embroidery, fabrics and colors of Mayan clothing.

Most of the Mayan women students who participated in the discussion groups and interviews emphasized that clothing is part of them, it is what objectively identifies them before other non-Mayan people or populations, which makes them "different" but at the same time it is the one that makes them connect with their past, with their indigenous origins, sharing a similarity between different Mayan populations; while it is true that each mayan population

have particular clothing and colors it does not mean difference but equivalences which conform Mayan population.

I am an indigenous woman, kaqchikel, I identify myself as indigenous by the way I speak, above all I identify myself as an indigenous being, because I always try to make our culture stand out, because I feel that wearing these clothes my culture has a voice, and if I do not use it people would not know who I am [...] I feel that when I wear these clothes, I can say I'm indigenous, I show the culture I have. (ECP Discussion Group, 2019)

There is special clothing for special or important occasions which is only used in such activities or festivities. Some students emphasized that when they went to study for the first time at the University, they chose their special clothing and their favorite colors, since it was to be a special day "the first day of college", as Ixmukané and Lesly manifest:

"During my first days, I wore a costume from San Juan Chamelco, Alta Verapaz [...]"

[...] today I wear my clothes, and I put on the *sanjuanero*, I left my house wearing my *sanjuanero suit*, the clothing of my people, and I said well, it is like that I'm going to represent it and they will look that I am from that

place and that I got so far! The use of different *huipiles* or *cortes* from different peoples does not imply a break with their community or people but rather they creates bonds between communities and peoples even whne they have specific features such as language, gastronomy, clothing, etc. For example, the use of different clothing by young women even without being from these linguistic communities, they generate a link and a re-knowledge and accompaniment between them, breaking paradigms that may exist in the indigenous social imaginary.

In the case of Ixmukané, her mother is kaqchikel and her father q'eqchi, and geographically and linguistically they are from different places, her mother is from Tépán and her father from Cobán, however, coming from geographically different places, Ixmukané identifies herself with both linguistic peoples and wears both the Kaqchikel and q'eqchi costume. Territory becomes part of the identity when it has cultural and political symbolic meanings, so identity is not delimited to the geographical territory but to the territory creator of cohesion and symbolic links and objectives in Mayan populations.

When there are meetings at the School of Biology and I come wearing my regional clothes, so people identify



where I from or which place I am from, you do not necessary need to be born in such place, I was not born in Cobán, I was not born in Tecpan, but I identify myself with both geographically places, I identify a lot because I have many of my childhood memories in these two places, basically of all my childhood, because I always traveled to there, always [...] (Ixmukané, interview, 2019)

The same occur with Ch'umil', for her, beyond the geographical place, what identify her is the entire history of her Mayan roots and which has been transmitted through her mother and father.

I am from here and from there; I have difficulties describing where I come from, because my mother is from Quiché and my father from San Cristóbal, Alta Verapaz, in the end I from both places, I was not born in San Cristóbal, I was born in Guatemala city, but I am registered in San Cristóbal, identity is the way of life and the ability of define who I am, based on what I have learned, what I have been taught and the history of my family since my origin, because I have seen somebody say "ah yes, my parents are indigenous", then there is a gap of identity, who are you then?

if you do not come from your parents? (Ch'umil', Discussion Group, 2019)

Feeling pride and happiness bearing clothing at the university is one of the main emotions that the Mayan students highlighted, especially because for them in clothing *the history of an entire civilization and the whole Mayan worldview can be read*, the bond with Mother Nature and its meaning in their daily life. The majority of Mayan students, from a young age dressed them with Mayan clothing, changing or using other clothes causes them discomfort.

Since I was a little girl, I use my Mayan clothing, my mon is from Mayan origin and my father too, and also all my family, then I would not wear other kind of clothes [...] I really appreciate my clothing cause I like so much wearing it, it is like something very significant for me, because is how I feel assured, it is how I can be casual, because I realized that when I wear my clothing, I feel safe and talk in a confident way, and that all the things I do make me feel self-assured. It is not about I feel weakness wearing other kind of clothes, but it is not the same I do not feel comfortable, so I really value it a lot [...] (Madeline, interview, 2019). To several Maya

studying at university has been a dream and when they are admitted, they feel proud to study in the only public university and above all represent and make their people visible in this academic institution. For that reason, some women students did not doubt whether or not wear their clothing, since they had clarity about who they were and why it was important to be themselves in the university, to understand and admit differences has not been easy for many Maya students, since differences should not be reason for inequality, racism either discrimination, but rather purpose for exchanges and coexistences. The university has generated changes and contributions about the perspective and understanding of social relations and therefore on the historical exclusions to which have been limited and obliged to live the Maya, xinca and garífuna populations in Guatemala. This analysis will be detailed in subsequent sections.

### **Experiences about the use of Mayan clothing at San Carlos University of Guatemala**

The use of Mayan clothing at the University, particularly in the Central Campus varies according to academic units, this analysis is

generated from what is indicated and socialized by Mayan woman students about their identity. According to the distributions of Maya students by area of Central Campus in the *USAC*, in the Humanistic Social Area there are more Mayan women students representing 84% of the total Mayan women in the Central Campus, while an 11% in Health Sciences Area and a 5% in the Technical Area. However, for research purposes these latter Areas are taken or grouped, not only by the number of student but because they differ from the Humanistic Social Area, so much in courses, laboratories, fieldwork, and even theoretical and methodological approach, etc.

### **Racism: record in the human body and mind**

Historical memory is also in the record that bodies make; bodies enunciate, transmit diverse historical and current codes that need to be understood and read in a way how they are situated in history. To understand and analyze bodies as entities that are codified and hierarchical is also to understand the social reality manifested in them, in how societies are built and above all how they are understood. The necessity to talk about bodies makes





us to understand how racism operates and manifest in societies that infringe people from physical features, cultural, etc., how domains operate over them (Foucault, 2000). And that precisely, these bodies, in the case of indigenous populations, are seen as subaltern subjects that cannot express or speak and who are rejected, despised, and unseen, and for that reason they must be recognized (Spivak, 1998). This logic is the one that is intended to break, reading these codifications that have been made to the bodies, especially of Maya women, through the experiences of Maya students. For that reason this section will emphasize about the feeling of women bodies who whether or not wear their Mayan clothes at the university.

Studies about bodies and emotions in social sciences have had a boom especially in countries where dictatorships materialized in genocide, torture, sexual and psychological abuse, etc. (Casaús, 2006, 1998).

As well was indicated above, depending on the careers studied by Mayan women in the USAC the frequency of using their Mayan clothing is marked.

Particularly the Mayan students from Faculties of Technical and Health Area, are forced to wear other clothes such as “pants”, “half-breed clothing” especially when there are laboratories, fieldwork and modules (farms tours, companies, etc., to apply the knowledge of theoretical and practical application to individual and groups) where there are lineaments, requirements, protocols, and obligatory academic standards which women students must fulfil for physical security, academic and professional training.

Before the first laboratory, with Ijá, a friend who was part of the discussion group. We were talking with her about if we could ask about let us wear our regional clothes into the lab, but there was a previous talk –before to enter into the laboratory-, professors said that we could not wear other kinds of clothes, they mentioned skirts or panties, they did not mention Mayan clothing but in a clearly way they said that if we enter in and they did not notice -because they look at us before to enter into lab and check if we wear closed shoes- if we enter in and they did not note it happen, then it was on our own responsibility whatever accident that could happen, then we looked at each other, - cause

if the skin is exposed we can burn and acquire even a type of cancer because the substances that are worked with, the majority of these are carcinogen... there are other volatile substances which are only inhaled... they can be very dangerous <<then we saw at each other and said no, it is better to obey >>[...] The truth is that I did not even have clothes that they asked for because I didn't , I have to bought them, I remember my mom accompanied me to buy some ones and it was so difficult, I didn't even know what size I was [...] and throughout the time it was normal. (Madeline, interview, 2019)

"In Agronomy as in Engineering, for the work that is done there, you have to wear industrial shoes with steel toe, glasses, helmets, that is, I will not go with my typical costume, my clothing, my shoes, it is a matter of adapting" (Carolina, discussion group, 2019). It is suggestive to indicate that the term traditional costume refers to Mayan clothing, but from a derogatory and folkloric logic, which has been normalized by thalf-breed/ladino population and even by the indigenous people, therefore contemporary Mayan costume has been claimed as Mayan clothing from the native peoples, particularly from Mayan women. It is necessary

deconstruction tha youth is assuming, and it is highlighted in some interventions in discussion groups and interviews, where they sometimes use the term "typical costume" but then they rectify and self-correct.

Students who were not familiarized to wearing other clothes than their own admit that it has been difficult, but understand that there are academic and professional dynamics that must be fulfil. However, they admit that they prefer to wear their regional clothes and take advantage of the days or times when they do not have laboratory class or fieldwork to arrive dressed in their regional clothing.

The discomfort that generates wearing other clothing in students reflects a whole connection between the body, feelings and history of their peoples. That discomfort could translate into be in the unknown with something unknown—in this case the clothes. Mayan women who since child wear their regional clothing prefer to be seen and known as they are, with their Mayan clothing, that fear is more about to stop being themselves and the disconnection with their original peoples and roots; they are uncomfortable wearing other clothing because there is a social



historical record in the indígena individual-collective memory, likewise and historical record of the multiple disposessions and violence suffered by peoples and particularly indigenous women (Aura Cumes 2014, Emma Chirix 2012), this dispossessing is what causes fear, insecurity, and chiefly discomfort in front of mostly non-indigenous situations and spaces.

In the first and second semester it was only twice a week, then three days when I wore my regional clothes and two days when I didn't, but this semester was Monday to Friday, I had laboratory every day, this year I will not wear much my regional clothes, but now that we just have finished, I can already wear my clothes I feel more comfortable. (Madeline, interview 2019).

Sometimes I do internships in Agronomy and Engineering Faculties, it is not common the days when I wear jeans, cause it is a matter of safety, also because if I wear my regional clothes and if I work with reagents I can damage my body... maybe accidents would not occur, but we can follow the rules given by each faculty, in my case, in Engineering the rules are using industrial shoes, helmet and obviously I have to wear jeans [...]. During elementary school I never

wore uniform, neither in both secondary and high school, the uniform always was Mayan clothes, I just wore jeans during my internships days, until there I started to wear jeans, because since I was child I always wore my regional clothes [...] I feel more confident using my clothes, I like it and I feel more comfortable. (Carolina, interview 2019).

This discomfort they manifest is because they feel strange and unconnected with other clothes than their own, they manifested not to feel as themselves, and however, they understand that was necessary to wear such clothes in laboratories or field tours for self-safety. For some students this change of clothing becomes normal, but not for others, who always wear their regional clothes, that when they leave their classes they change clothes and use their regional clothes again. Such as Carolina highlights:

"I don't feel comfortable, and I don't feel safe, I do not why, maybe because I never have worn pants before. I do not feel well, I feel a little uncomfortable, just like I already want to take this off or sometimes I come in trousers and I also bring my regional clothes, when the practice ends I go to the restroom and change it, then it

is something like “I am already, I am normal”. (Interview, 2019). Whereas for some (although it is relative, since it depends on the case and the context in which students have lived and the spaces they frequent), Mayan woman who do not commonly wear their regional clothes say they do not feel or have discomfort since they are familiar with the use of another clothes (trousers), (opposite case of those woman who since child wore their regional clothes), but also there are Mayan students who prefer not to be known or seen with their Mayan clothes for fear of being discriminated.

Personally my whole life, when I lived in Quiche until I graduated from high school I always wore *corte* and *huipil*. However, when I came to the city, for other situations I assumed that combination of wear the *corte* and *huipil*, sometimes I wore trousers. I have sometimes been questioned that why I have stopped wearing the *corte* and *huipil*, that does not mean that I stop being Mayan woman, because identity is very complex, it is an element, and important factor but it is not the one that determines my identity, then the fact that sometimes I do not wear my clothes that identifies me as k'iche', that does not mean that I do not assume that identity as a k'iche' woman. (Asunción, discussion

group ECP, 2019). I have a lot of experiences, I started here to study, I have always been without regional clothing, and that is true. I have a classmate who wore regional clothing, she is from Sololá, and I had hanged out with her, and she asked me why I did not wear my regional clothes. My parents did not instill me to wear the regional clothing always, since I was child I wore t-shirt and shorts instead of *huipil* and *corte*, for more comfort. When I came to the city I had a bad experience, I usually wore my regional clothes and I lived in zone 21, coming and going on transurbano, when I leave the house I can feel fear that everyone see me walking on the street, on the bus, when my mom and dad call me and without any doubt I always answer in my language. I come across with people from Santiago Atitlán, and I speak with them in our language and I can notice when they feel uncomfortable to speak in our language. (Berta, discussion group, ECP, 2019)

This discomfort felt by Mayan university woman students for wear or not their regional clothing at university is due to the own rejection, discrimination and racism that has historically marked the country, in this case, by the experiences they or their parents have seen, suffered or lived by



identifying themselves as Maya, and above all by wear their regional clothes. To understand this intergenerational dynamic is to know the historical exclusions and racism against Mayan populations, but it also involves knowing the historical forms of resistance and rebellions of such population.

The diverse expressions of racism and exclusion that had experienced woman students make them determine and assume or not their Mayan identity, but also the experiences of discrimination and racism suffered by their parents and grandparents, influence a lot. In other words, the racist structure has passed through several generations and its implications have been varied. Therefore, as women students emphasize, who never or often wear their regional clothing, is not because they do not want or have the habit to wear and talk about it, but because they were not instilled by their parents to wear regional clothes or instilled to speak the Mayan language all this to avoid racism and discrimination wherever they go, especially in the educational field as during the time their parents lived and suffered the same.

Weave? We could not learn it because my mom told us we had to

learn other things, there are a lot of people who weave, we can see them knitting in their house or when we go to visit someone in their house, it is so normal to see them sitting weaving, embroidering, because they also do it, all of this is wonderful. (Florencia, *ECP* interview, 2019)

What my parents always said: “the problem when we were studying ours teachers always said: “stop to being fool at the door and start studying”, they made reference to mother language; we’ll not do the same with our children they will not suffer the same [...] they said. (Discussion Group, 2019).

My experience, during high school I studied in zone 1, I was the first woman who dressed with regional clothes, and since there I started to suffer discrimination and all related to. And even during my second and third year in high school, I came to home and I told my mom “Mom I cannot, this year I’m going to wear my uniform” and she said: “no and no”... I cried in my house because that hurt me, but I said, “Why did they not accept me?” [...] (Discussion Group, 2019)

This decision whether or not to train son or daughter into the Mayan world and worldview, by parents, has

historical colonial and contemporary precedents, the fear that they will be persecuted, marginalized and disappeared, such as during the 36 years of Internal Armed Conflict and what it involved in Mayan population, such as genocide, enforced disappearances, extermination of entire communities, forced exile, etc., these were and are the fears that marked and conditioned several Mayan generations regarding their identity, about living and making it visible in all social atmospheres.

I was born in Tecpán and from a young age I have worn my regional clothing, my mom thought I was going to be a boy, but when she knew that I was a girl she doubted a lot about the use of my regional clothing, first of all for not suffer any kind of discrimination and second due to economy, because in that time she was not well economically to dress with *corte* and *huipil* and also because of discrimination; she was uncertain about it and she did not want that I wore my regional clothing, because she did not now what kind of clothes I was going to use- (Ixmukané, interview, 2019).

"I am originally from *Santa Cruz del Quiché*, but I did not have the opportunity to learn the customs, nor the use of regional clothing, I do not speak the language, and I am looking

for my identity" (Ana Leticia, discussion Group, EBI, 2019). Denial, shame, concealment, etc., assigned to the attitudes of both Mayan women and men students in the University and in society at large, are some of the mechanism of non-indigenous social acceptance to which they have been cornered (translated as options) for "*approval and relationship in the non-indigenous world*" to Mayan youth. This "options" are usually realized depending on the direct or indirect experiences lived by young Mayans regarding to exclusion or acceptance in half-breed or ladino social world, so also by the transmission and protection generated from the Maya family bosom:

"I have a classmate who is from Escuintla, she studies agronomy, but she is ashamed to come with her regional clothing, until now she wears trouser and T-shirt, but she is still ashamed; she did not want anyone to know that she was Pocomam".

"Patricia she considered herself as ladino more than Maya, because in her social networks' publications appear wearing only dresses, trousers [...]"

"I knew she was Maya because the day I came to ask from information in the university, I saw her with her mother, and her mother came wearing regional clothes, otherwise I would not know" (Discussion Group, 2019).



It should be clarified, that stopping the use of clothing does not necessarily mean not identifying as Maya but, regional clothing makes visibility directly to the non-Maya the presence of Mayans in places as the University. As explained above, identity is dynamic, each generations activates, updates and defines it according to its contexts and reality, however, what passes through each generation is the history, the origin or root of its ancestors, is commonly and it makes each population, in this case Maya, identifies and keep its ancestral roots through either objectives and /or subjectively elements shared historically. These are some clarifications that most woman students have at the University who participated in the discussion groups and interviews.

Even though I do not use my regional clothing frequently, I think that fabric tell a story, it is something I like and admire, of how the threads are intertwined and how are formed, then for me it is a relationship with the cosmos, women is life and represents it in Mayan clothes [...] (Discussion Group, 2019).

There are three *Mayan classmates* in class (in italics they are added by the author), but they are not identified as Mayan people, there is one from *Comalapa* and sometimes she comes

to the school, I think she does not identify herself as Mayan woman, beyond that she does not wear her regional clothing, and there is also other classmate who does not wear regional clothes and speak the language neither, but, yes she is very energetic and she identifies herself with her culture, sometimes we go to the fair, and I think that clothes do not mark or define who you are, you can dress how you want, but if you do not know *your identity is like not know the roots of origin, I mean, don't feel part of those roots that is unknown* [...]. (Ixmukané, interview, 2019)

I stand out with my regional clothing, to all the places I have attended, ... due to circumstances, because sometimes I want to attend wearing my regional clothes but I cannot, then I choose to wear other clothes or trouser [...], It is rare for me to say that I'm going to wear trouser when I can use my regional clothes in the University. (Lesly, interview 2019).

For Maya women students who no longer wear their regional clothing, emphasize that the no use of it, does not determine their identity nor the self-knowledge as Maya, since there are a variety of objective and subjective elements which also respond to Mayan identity, as Carolina highlights:

I am not going to include the regional clothing because I don't use it, my mom does, she is weaver; then some of the elements are language, customs and community [...] only Mayan people maintains a community, the people of the city do not have that strongest thing. (Discussion Group, 2019)

In the case of Mayan students from academic units of the Humanistic Social Area of *USAC*, except for field trips in careers such as archaeology, etc., they wear "trouser" instead of their regional clothing. Nevertheless, in the discussion groups between Mayan women students from this social area, stop wearing their regional clothing in the University has been due to the rejection, discrimination, exclusion and racism suffered directly from their classmates in their classrooms, also from some professors and above all because of the harassment of the university workers (security, janitors, gardeners, etc.)

Students from Technical and Health Area also manifested that they were equally suffering racism, discriminations, harassment, etc., nevertheless, because of the type of career and laboratories studied they Are forced to stop wearing their regional clothing, at

least the days when they receive such laboratories or when they have tours or field trips.

### **Racism and discrimination in university students dynamics**

Talking about racism, discrimination and harassment in the *USAC* is a necessity above all to make visible how racism operates in the different academic areas in the Central Campus and the reactions and suffering of students to these inequalities in the academy, especially because before their admission they thought that University was going to be different from other places:

My experience in University is short, I have been here for a short time, in my classroom we are around 80 students of whom with only five persons I relate well [...] with the rest I [...] think maybe due to the career, Social Work, one do not have to be discriminated, but if there is a subjective discrimination such as "oh, what this one is doing here? Or ashj" I feel they think I smell bad or that I don't take a shower [...] (Discussion Group, 2019).

Because of the regional clothing they see us different, I have been draggin conflicts, not just when you enter to the University you expect a good treat, I mean I think you expect related well.





I studied a Humanities career during just one month, my classmates took my bag out of my desk, I say, 'why don't I have the right to study? [...], I have been dragging with family conflicts [...], I just tolerated just one month [...], I don't felt comfortable [...], and I left because I would not last 3 years there and if I continue with the bachelor degree it would be five 5 more years. They also use the Mayan language as jokes, but it hurt me [...] I made the decision to *quit the career* and I think it was the best decision; today I feel good in the new career and it strengthens me. (Discussion Group, 2019)

What is intended to highlight, in this section, is that all Mayan women students when dress their regional clothing they are mostly discriminated and harassed in the USAC. It is necessary to emphasize these forms of discrimination in the University, emphasizing what happens in each of the academic areas in Central Campus, where it has generated not only difficulties to the Mayan students about continued with their studies, but also, in some cases they have had to change career or desert the University.

This is not intend to affirm or generalize that it happens in all academic units, because the

presence of Mayan student is reduced in some units, but precisely because they are minority it is necessary to discuss about the treatment, facilities, opportunity and chiefly acceptance given to indigenous youth in USAC, particularly to Mayan women in the Central Campus. That is, this work is a contribution to critically analyze what happens internally in each academic unit, both from teaching, students and workers relationships (janitors, guards, gardeners, etc.) in the USAC respecting to the cultural diversity, of their rights and historical and contemporary demands.

It is relevant to evince that within the student dynamic in the USAC the harmonic, solidarity and openness social relationships to student cultural diversity are not necessarily generated, it seems that criticism and social sensibility to the historical and marked inequalities in the country, chiefly towards Mayan, Xinca and Garifuna populations, are not implemented by the students population itself, in this particular case by the mestizo and/or ladino. Such as Estela, a student from the agronomy faculty emphasizes: The University is supposed to be an institution that helps to arouse the knowledge with new concepts to understand and incite several

processes, but I also consider that it depends on each and one of us. There are classmates who are very offensive with regional people, for instance, they say that original people are marginalized because they want, or that here in Guatemala land is not a problem, and that Mayan people are not updated [...] (Discussion Group, 2019)

Glances, comments, indifferences, questions, disqualifications, etc., are some of the racist and exclusionist manifestations faced by Mayan students particularly those of first entry in any career, it means these attitudes towards them happen in both the Health Sciences Technical Area and in the Humanistic Social Area where some students have been forced to stop wearing their regional clothes, change career or withdraw from university.

In the case of Humanistic Social Area it should be noticeable that as social science areas seek to analyze and propose solutions to historical inequalities in the country and worldwide, responding to diverse social demands from their social-historical, economic political and cultural contexts, it is expected that during practice students will be more aware of the diverse and marked

inequalities which need to be eradicated in the University itself.

First semesters in the University were hard for me, at its time [...] feeling alone and looking at me as Mayan woman, even, wearing my regional clothing between my classmates, being alone among all of them [...] more than one classmate questioned and looked at me in a different way in class [...] they asked me where are you from?, the other day they asked me if I washed my clothes, and also how many times I take a shower?; Well I hardly had any problems using Spanish language. There is a difference, because as I tell you they looked at me very strange, and in the classes they said “why is she doing here? They did not tell me anything to me but I can notice it, I thought it was normal or they all did the same thing to each other. (Florencia, interview 2019).

Florencia, Maya kaqchikel, student at the Political Science School, when she told about her experience emphasized that has been difficult for her to find classmates who understood her, since she was alone as Maya throughout her career, although she had a friend, but it was in the common area and that fellow was not a regular student.



She also found limitations propounding her thesis about indigenous people because professors whose she received classes told her that it was not her approach, that they could not help her and it was better to change her topic.

In the case of Edelmira, Maya Tzutujil, although she does not wear her regional clothes, she identifies herself as Maya and speaks her language; she has faced with direct and indirect experiences, but one of the hardest experiences was because of her friend, also Maya, she tried to accompanied her, but she couldn't because her friend Ana deserted due to the several exclusions and racism she suffered in the Political Sciences School classes.

My friend from Sololá, was discriminated, I found her crying, because some classmates told her that she was dirty, naive, that she was not allow to comment in the exposition group and only whose wearing formal suit could speak, her formal suit was her regional clothes, and they told she can't participate. Such event marked her life. All my classmate were in good terms with me and I told them that I was from Santiago Atitlán, and I spoke the Tzutujil language, even so they said that I did it to protect and defend her, but she was whiny, because they

had just told her that she only had to wear a formal suit, and that was the discussion. It was so hard that she had to left the school; she said "I have received more harassment than normal, more than a ladino woman could receive out at the street, University, on the bus", and for that reason she quit." (Edelmira, discussion Group, 2019).

In the case of Ixb'ee, who studied at Law School for a few semesters but she quit, she emphasized that during the short time she studied at *USAC* experienced racism both outside and within classes, from some student and professors:

Due to my clothes my classmates said "ey look there comes the Menchú", they said that to me in order to say something offensive. In the first semester I coincided with the assistant of a presidential excomissioner against Discrimination and Racism, we took a course called Guatemala's History; there was a bachelor, who is coauthor of a text that is used in law, she said that Mayans were taken by a flying saucer, and they no longer exist [...] She is coauthor of a book that they forced us to buy because it is used for the exam, I think it should be better to review those texts and books that still are in force in the faculty. (Ixb'ee, Discussion Group, 2019).

The student's comments against Mayan women not only hurt but also disqualify the Maya and its references and contemporary leaders. In other words, in the socio-racist imaginary, commenting on Mayan people with national and international background (such as Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchú) are ways of offence and disqualification about everything related to the Mayan people and chiefly it evidences unacceptability for Mayan women in politics.

These types of comments reflect that being university students not necessarily implies being aware, sequential, inclusive and respectful about cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity, etc. of the country.

There is an historical construction of racism based on the differences, both physical and cultural, as justification for non-acceptance, rejection and exclusion of Mayans in decision making scenarios, especially for Mayan women. For that reason, behind this comment there is a whole structure and operation of racism in society and universities are not indifferent to these manifestations, "*the university is a reflect of Guatemala, but in small*" as one of the Mayan student

said. (Ixb'ee, Discussion Group, 2019).

### **Derogatory and disqualifying glances**

The derogatory and rare glances are one of the ways to disqualify students in class and in the university in general. These weird glances, questioning, rejection and disqualification, in a general way were highlighted constantly in all discussion groups, interviews and life stories. In each disqualification experience, students emphasized how difficult has been for them to continue studying with classmates who do not look at and treat them the same as the rest of the students. Moreover, all of them highlighted that perceive these looks has not been only in the University but also in all spaces that they frequent, where there are a larger mestizo or ladino population. The rare glances that Mayan students mention are different for those perceived in their communities or peoples, these *weird glances show the racism in the University*.

There are small actions that people do unconsciously but still reflect that there is some unacceptability towards us or the taboo of insecurity, because when I come to take the bus



some people stare at me or at my clothes, I don't know if because they like it, or I don't know, is something that they would not do with anyone, but maybe I already got used to it, I did not look at them, but at first I did; I also realized that when I need to get out the bus and I said "at the pharmacy bus stop please" they looked at me [...] these are actions that still reflect certain ideas, but they have not affected me significantly because I do not take it seriously. (Madeline, Pharmacy student. Interview 2019).

Something that happened to me is that some classmates looked at us in a bad way, but well, I think that they do not feel what we feel, so they cannot understand why we wear our regional clothing, sometimes when they make groups and don't choose me is something like "no, she doesn't", but I am with my friend, so I ignore them, it does not affect me when they said these kind of comments. (Estela, Discussion Group, 2019).

There are some classmates that looked depreciative at us and when we come at the courses with our friend we can notice how they think in a derogatory way about origin people and conservation of the Mother Earth resources. They do not have the idea about how we look at it, their worldwide is different from ours, and for that reason they perceive it different.

(Margarita, Discussion Group, 2019).

Here at the School of Political Science, the biggest problem of discriminations is that they limit us to wear our regional clothing in some way or another, because I have an indigenous fellow from 5<sup>th</sup>. Semester she is from Chimaltenango and stopped wearing her regional clothes during 15 days because she was derided, then she wore her clothes again, but she wore it one day and another she didn't, and her possibility to wear her regional clothing was taken away. That is the problem here; everybody looked rare at you, and asked, where are you from? If your wash your clothes [...], if you take a shower or not. (Edelmira, Discussion Group ECP, 2019).

Wearing regional clothes implies that the students are appointed with the name of "María" it is homogenized not only the name but also creates an stereotype about indigenous being, about the spaces and activities that they performs and even how a Maya should be dressed, and the common expression toward the students (Discussion Group, 2019):

"Sht María you dropped the garbage"

"If you are Maya, why do you use a cellphone? Because Mayan people do not use cellphones.

"They use the regional clothing as a

joke and use two braids and that” Is not pleasant, for instance, in the election of indigenous queen they wear the oldest clothes and here they say ‘how beautiful it looks’.

“They look at us as strangers and that is uncomfortable, so many times they called me *María*, when I came to take the exams they always said that”.

“The first experience of *discrimination at the University* I suffered was when I attended to class, a professor told me: ‘excuse me but I’m in class’, so I couldn’t get into the classroom because he was teaching and he did not allow people to enter and ask for money, because they thought I was a beggar”.

Disqualifying gestures, expressions and glances from classmates against Mayan students are deeper when group work has to be done, as Ixkaj emphasizes:

How you feel strange and how you belong strong in that way, you have to be strong by your own abilities; for example, when in a group someone is doing despective gestures, I obviously take it as it’s not tre, because it is really not true, I keep it that way, I don’t take it seriously, as a lie. For instance, I have a fellow that just

yesterday (he does not talk to me, he doesn’t even tell me ‘hey! what is your name? or What are you doing, where are you from?’ he doesn’t aske me totally nothing, he not even say ‘good morning’) he wore a typical shirt of *corte*, then I looked at him and questioned: ‘Do you love my culture or my country, or what is it? Do you really love your culture? So I answer myself: no, because he does not even ask where I come from, however, he wear something that is mine, something that we share. It is very sad and upsetting about these cases because one feel it like something disrespectful. (Discussion Group, 2019)

Traditional clothing so many times is valued or devalued according to the person who wear it, in the case of Mayans, their clothing do not have the value that is given to someone ladino or mestizo who dress with some Mayan clothes, who is admired and praised. As Ixkaj highlighted, regional clothing is not only rejected when Mayan woman wear it, but also the bodies and authors of this fabric production are rejected, that is precisely what several Mayan weaver woman manifest and demand the recognition and respect not only of their authorship of designs and apparel but of a whole historical



legacy originated in front of the accumulation by dispossession. (David Harvey, 2005, 2007), which are new forms of neoliberal expropriation.

Accumulation by dispossession can occur by several ways and its contingent and hazardous *modus operandi*. Thus and all, is omnipresent, regardless of the historical stage, and it accelerates when over-accumulation crises occur in extended reproduction, when there seems no to be other way except devaluation. The inability to accumulate through extended reproduction on a sustainable basis has been accompanied by increasing attempts of accumulation through dispossession. This is the mark of what some call “the new Imperialism”. (Harvey, 2005, p. 100, 115)

The process of neoliberalization has involve a perceptible process of “creative destruction” not only of previously existing frameworks and institutional powers (even challenging traditional forms of state sovereignty) but also of the divisions of work, social relations, social protection areas, technological combinations, ways of life and thought, reproduction activities, links

with land and hearth habits. (Harvey, 2007. p. 9).

This contradiction not only reveals the ignorance of Guatemala’s history and diversity populations who conform it, this ignorance also translates into the non-recognition and non-acceptance people’s plurality and all manifestation and expression elements in an stratified society not only by classes but ethnicity and gender. But also is the no-acceptance and recognition of an indigenous past, it means, since the non-Maya (Mestizo and/or ladino) population there is a denial to know their origin. Guzmán Böckler emphasizes that “in the depths of ladino consciousness, the Indian is inevitably present, but in the way of a collective, recriminate and threatening shadow” (2009, p. 108).

Mayan Originating roots in half-breed and/or ladino populations have been tried to be erase, the story that was highlighted in the previous pages is what the non-Maya population do not have it in mind. The denial of their origin has marked structural racism in this country. For that reason, it is not surprising that the term Ladino is used more in this country, otherwise from the rest of Latin American countries, where the term mestizo makes reference to the non-

indigenous or black populations, but who know their origin was because of the miscegenation process not only of cultures, but also bodies, worldwide of life and a whole web of sociopolitical structure in the continent. Instead, in Guatemala, this legacy, this originate history seems to have been erased from the ladino population consciousness, assuming it as ladina which is not linked with the original history. This lack of consciousness about its history has been one of the disposessions that such Mayan populations have suffered but it has consciously assumed not to belong on the *indigenous or black side*.

There is a cross-world of mixed races as whitening, ideologically constructed as the abduction of non-white blood in the whiteness and its cooptation in the process of successive dilution of black and Indian track in the whitened Creole world of the continent. And there is a cross-world of opposite sense, which we could call *blackening*: of the contribution of non-white blood in demographic reconstruction process. These two definitions are truly ideological, since the biology of both is the same and correspond, of course, to opposite historical

projects. In the second project mixed races begin to reformulate as the non-white exploration, during centuries of clandestineness cutting inside and through the white blood, until it reemerge in the present of its prolonged concealment in wide process people re-emergence witnessed by the continent. Thus, half-breed people come to perceive that they bring the Indian history within them. (Segato, 2010).

### Exclusion in working groups

Mayan women at the University represent a low percentage in USAC Central Campus. Recognition among them, most of the time, is given through their clothing, and sometimes, although reduced, by the language, last names or place of origin.

The biggest difficulties Mayan students have faced in their academic units, especially in their classrooms, is the exclusion by their classmates. By Identifying and assuming themselves as Maya they have been discriminated in many ways, for instance the non-acceptance or exclusion in working or tasks groups. This dynamic is perceived and heavily confronted during the first years of university.





It is crucial to emphasize that at this student stage (freshman student) is where Mayan students generate alternatives of permanence in their career, looking for alliances and accompaniment among Mayan women, which have been accomplishable by the self-recognition as Maya between themselves. It means, assuming identity and making it visible in the University, especially by the use of their regional clothing, it makes that Mayan woman recognize themselves and be allied to face such exclusions in class. This dynamic of discrimination and racism in classrooms are manifested in the distrust, disqualification and chiefly exclusion of Mayan students in working or study groups. There is a construction in the socio-student imaginary where students can be seen, particularly Mayan women (who make visible their Mayan identity with objective elements such as their clothing), such as *silly, unable, mentally deficient, inferior, dirty, ugly, etc.*

I feel like we usually are in a disadvantage situation, with the fact of wearing Mayan clothing from the beginning. There was racism against our ancestors, it is an structural process that comes from the colony,

Spaniards said “white people are good, and the others are bad, you are useless, just to work”, this way of thinking is deeply implanted and also the importance of family, because they said to their children “you are the best” and to us they said “you are the worst”. (Ijá, Discussion Group, 2019).

Ijá, a student of the Faculty of Pharmacy makes reference to the marked difference and historical disqualification imposed in the social imaginary, where the white always will be the best and the rest will be the non-accepted difference. This acquired strength and a heyday in the family, since it is one of the institutions where these racist differences will be forged, in the case of half-breed or ladino side; and in the case of Mayan families, it is assimilated that these pattern “are so”, that black and Indio are bad, moreover a fear is adopted when not being able to fit in and be rejected in this hegemonic white logic.

### **Mecanisms for permanence of Mayan student at the USAC**

Mechanisms of permanence are efforts and attempts that Mayan woman do to remain as students in

the University, however, for experiences and training, education in their culture and worldwide, and accompaniment that they have received from different spaces, particularly from family, which has influenced in a good way so they can live, transit and face diverse exclusion and racism ways in the University, and they further strengthen their identity and carry with them the political and cultural elements which identified them as Maya, specifically the Mayan clothing, or well, they decided (obliged) not to identifying themselves as Maya and /or dissimulate or hide their indigenous identity; and worst left or desert their university studies.

### **Demonstration of Mayan students' proficiency and abilities in class**

Mayan students when they assume their identity are forced to show their proficiency, abilities and intelligence in classroom in front of their half-breed and/or ladino classmates and sometimes to their professors. This demonstration of intelligence and ability has led them to generate alternatives and mechanisms of survival in academic field about perform in the best way not only in

exams but in all the works and tasks inside and outside of class. Obtain a good grade has been one of the demonstrations before their classmates; it has been a mechanism of defense and recognition of their abilities and responsibilities before the students and professor who stereotype them and not as competence for the best grades. They admit don't like to be thinking about show how capable they are because that is not the idea of being in University, but, is the only way to be respected and included in works made inside or outside class.

My experience as student in my first semester in the *USAC*, during high school I always wore *corte*, however I also had the opportunity to wear skirt, but my parents said no, so I said ("they only bought me a sweater and I always wore *corte*") it is the same in the University, I hadn't any problem, because I always have in mind that people maybe think about me as someone with less capabilities due to my clothing, then I came prepared for everything, so when I entered and I met other girls who also wore their regional clothing, we became friends, but I realized that many people did not trust us, I always have been responsible, very



responsible, I do all the task assigned, I tried to do the best I can. When I were admitted [...] professors said, 'groups of ten', we were three, we said 'well, we are three, somebody else?' all my classmates had already groups and we were there, the ones who were left, with us. Then what I did [...], because I was the coordinator group, was encourage them and I said 'we have to show that we are smart, and then our classmates are not going to ignore us anymore. (Madeline, Pharmacy student. Discussion Group, 2019).

I think we as Maya from any town should empower ourselves about the situation we face and we must show that we are not different intellectually in front of other groups, I feel for example in my classroom the only thing that differentiates me is my Mayan clothing, but each of us have experienced different situations. (Catalina, Discussion Group, 2019).

There are stereotypes that mark student's relationships and from these several discriminations and exclusion are generated to the Mayan women in classrooms, as Ijá, said: From the stereotypes, visuali-

zed in Mayan clothing, for them, what is happening? When they say 'make groups of ten', one is left alone, simply by wear regional clothes. Stereotypes for us mean that we are silly, lazy, that we do not know how to speak, that we are useless; and such stereotypes limited us, we face a situation of disadvantages, but over time we also demonstrate capability. (Discussion Group, 2019).

After some years at University, Mayan students said that meeting and having both indigenous and non-indigenous friends, they no longer pay attention to these attitudes of disrespect and denial in student work circles, although, it does not stop to disappoint them that in the University they have to experience and learn to live with racism.

### **Aliances and sorority among Maya women**

One of the strategies that have strengthened Mayan women in their academic units, particularly when they are few, is the alliance. Seeing their clothing and accompanying them, above all, in the first years of University has been one of the

strengths that they stand out and value, because they acquire security and courage in team-friendships. See that they are a minority in class and the majority are indifferent and exclude them from working group, they gather themselves to do homework not only to obtain better grades but to be respected like the rest of students.

We felt the exclusion in these spaces and I think that being in a group or couples helps to minimize that pressure, at the beginning it helped us because we identified us as Mayan woman and we said 'here, nobody is going to tell us what we cannot do or what we can do' so that give us security and we cannot feel discrimination, the bad glances, such kind of things regularly experienced. I think that is common in the University, I have seen or I have stayed in some activities and I can see the glances, like what is she doing here?, but I still feel good, I am listening to the discourse and I do not pay attention to them, it's time to go through it and live a life outside our community, environment, and coexistences that we commonly have in a village,

Which are *different in the University* (Ijá, Discussion Group, 2019).

In my faculty, in the second and third year, with some Mayan woman we were sitting around the table when someone else came with us and said "I have seen you around here, we would like to be with you, cause is very difficult being Mayan woman and be accepted in different groups; others talk about the same and you about their clothing, what kind of food we eat, the way we live, that kind of things". Then it is like open a new space to Mayan women who did not wear regional clothing, because we said 'let's use it, let's wear tennis, I don't' know, everything combine with our Mayan clothing' [...] (Ijá, Discussion Group, 2019).

The alliances not only strengthen Mayan students but also raise awareness to the woman who do not wear o have tried not to use their regional clothing due to the fear of being rejected or discriminated in the faculty. Likewise, they break the more established paradigms about how should dress Mayan woman since they combine their clothing with garments or accessories, as in



the case of Ijá to combine any kind of shoes with her clothing. That way of breaking with the established and challenge the social imaginary itself to the Mayan youth not only preserve their roots but also evidence it in different ways.

When is made friendships or groups in the faculty, Mayan students said they feel safe and have no fear for being excluded. Although, not all of them have experienced the same because they have had to be alone in class, courses and their career, particularly in Technical and Health academic units, they have had to strengthen themselves, basically through their family and friends from different academic units.

I was the only in the first year, at the beginning my classes where at S12 building, I was the only one, and I thought I was going to experience the same as middle school, but in a short time it was happening. I was looking for allies but little by little one have to look opportunities, how in biology class there are some else who wear their clothing, not every day but one classmate wears it every day, I like it because there are more people who wear their regional clothing in nutrition and biology class, but in chemical class there is just one girl who wear her clothing, I

admired her, because she can do it [...] In the first years there are classmates who in their conversations say “you look Indian” and when I am around they say “shhhh shut up, don’t say that” [...] (Ixmukané, interview, 2019).

When student show their skills and intelligence, the non-maya classmates perspective change about them, and just for that they include them into working or study groups, but it only happen when they already know the grades their Mayan classmates have had in their classes: “ahh she can”, “hey, lend me your notebook”. Likewise they are pending for how many points Mayan students have: “I saw that all of them looked at my exam, when grades were given, and it feels like ‘if your grades are good, yes you can’ [...] “when the professor called me and I receive my exam, they tried to see my grades” (Discussion Group, 2019).

This change of attitude is given precisely by convenience, according to what is highlighted for some Mayan students “*they choose me because they know I’m responsible and I do my job*”. And also admit that some classmates included them into their groups, not assigning difficult tasks just the easiest ones to do, and not even choose them as

coordinator working group; it does not mean to create bonds of friendships, according to what Mayan students have stated.

“I remember when working groups were made and they included me in, however, they assigned me the easiest task, I do not remember what it was, but it wasn’t difficult and I thought, why not? I felt like maybe they thought I couldn’t do it” (Discussion Group, 2019).

They already trust in me, and said “ok yes, choose her, she works, contributes, and has good grades, ohh! Yes she can, then choose her” I felt included in a group, however there is no a sincere friendships because they only choose me by the fact that I can contribute, maybe I’m not the best, but I try to show that Mayan women can do that. It was my process, but I consider if I did not do that way, I would have worked alone, I don’t know how it would be now, because telling the truth professors assign a lot of homework and tasks; but it is so relevant to demonstrate our abilities, not to denigrate somebody but by the fact that we are Mayans and we need to fight, because historically it has been so. Unfortunately it has to be like that, so that we can do is to stand out in such spaces.

(Madeline, interview, 2019). As indicated above, as well as there are diverse ways to assume Mayan identity, there is also mechanisms, reactions, actions and positioning in front of several exclusions and racism that Mayan woman faced in the University. As Ixmucané, Kotzij and Kikotemal point out:

If they discriminate me, I don’t care; I’m used to that treatment. There are moments in life when you react. When I feel that I can’t go on, I get courage because we are thinking beings just like them. During the courses it has always happened to me, when I get into the classroom all of them look at me if I am well dressed, I don’t know, they look at me from head to toe, it always happens to me, well, it has always happened to me, but I prefer ignore them... I have learned how to treat people, I am not looking to be friends, and it is just for respect. (Kikotemal, Discussion Group, 2019)

The truth is that I’m not a person who cares about that kind of actions, but it was difficult the change from school to university; it is very curious what they say: ‘there are always more indigenous people in the School of History’, it could be but there are just two girls who wear the



traditional clothing. (Kotzji, Discussion Group, 2019).

I study in the morning and I have seen how they treat people who wear traditional clothing. One day I wore my traditional clothing and a classmate said to me 'oh please, you would not have dresses like this, because now I can no longer speak to you', and I said 'so, don't do it' (Edelmira, Discussion Group ECP, 2019).

Analyzing Mayan students' stories regarding to mechanism of defense and permanence at university and the reactions of half-breed and/or ladino students in terms of Segato (2010), that right to the difference is generated but without real or true inclusion because it is done for specific purposes and interests keeping the distinction of otherness as someone inferior, for that reason it is essential to change the stories where the plots and origin of a group or people in this case half-breed or ladino comes from the otherness, knowing and assuming it would generate not inclusion but recognition and coexistence with diverse peoples.

It is necessary to emphasize that the use of the traditional clothing in Mayan youth at university involves a whole series of actions and attitudes

of racism against them, and that in the Social Sciences Careers these actions are more noticeable than in technical and health careers, not because there are less racism in the latter, but there are different dynamics and rules which limit and justify the use of Mayan clothing, that is not the case in the Social Sciences, therefore, it is necessary to raise awareness and make visible that racism and harassment happen in all university areas especially in Social Sciences areas and check what kinds of alternatives, proposals and actions the university generates, especially the academic units, in front of these structural inequalities such as historical racism and discrimination that has denied the indigenous, the Maya, the black, the "other" in this country. This reality of inequalities is experienced, manifested and reproduced in an institution that generates knowledge.

## **Sexual Harassment and Violence at USAC**

In general the status of women in Guatemala has historically been subject to a colonial patriarchy which not only places her in small spaces but ignores them as actors and subjects of law. However, the status of the Mayan, garífuna or

xinca woman women is below of the half-breed and/or ladino women; about them – the others – there are other readings, treatments, espaces and conditions that allows and justify the different types of violence.

One of the adjoining mechanisms of racism and discrimination against Mayan women, as it has been since the colony, is sexual harassment. In the discussion groups and socialization of Mayan women experiences in the USAC, they indicate that sexual harassment in the Central Campus against them has been daily and on a large scale, particularly from university workers, such as surveillance agents, masons, service and maintenance managers, etc. They emphasized that have been victims of sexual harassment from professors and students, however it is less than what it is received from service and maintenance workers, among others from the university.

Workers who are cleaning or sweeping, think they have the right to call us “my love”, and also say “Hey, come here India, come here”, I think that is the greatest discrimination I have felt and experienced in the university. (Lucía, ECP Discussion Group, 2019).

Harassment and sexual violence is another factor that affects emotionally, psychologically and physically to Mayan students, and it is one of the racist and discriminatory manifestations and actions that most influence and force to Mayan women to stop wearing their traditional clothing in the university.

Sexual harassment to Mayan women not occurs in the same ways or intensity as non-Mayan women. The harassment that Mayan women suffer denigrates them not only because they are women but for the reason that they are Maya, it seems that wearing their regional clothing exposed them and gives men the right to harass them, no matter if there is a public or academic area as university. This way of perceive and acting on the women's bodies especially Mayans in the University, equally by both half-breed/ladino and Mayan men, in the realization and symbolization of *modern colony patriarchy and colonialist gender*. (Segato, 2010).

I have a friend who dressed with *corte*, sometimes she does not wear it, when she come dressed with her *corte* people whistle her, they annoy her, and when she wear trouser they no longer do it, so from us –Mayan peoples- why we don't respect each





among us (Juana, CCSS Discussion Group, 2019).

In Elsa's case, the harassment she suffered at the university was so intense and constantly, then she was forced to decide no longer wear her traditional clothing in such place.

"When I started the university I dressed with my traditional clothes, but workers intimidate us and my greatest problem is that I suffered harassment in buses here in the University, and has been so hard for me. I got to a situation where I no longer wanted to take the bus, I said my mom 'no, I don't want anymore', and it makes me feel so bad. Now I do not dress anymore with my clothing in the Political Science School, but in my house I do, because that how my parents taught me and it is part of my culture." (Elsa, ECP Discussion Group, 2019).

In general, there is a coincidence to say that there is a racist imaginary that considers that "people more susceptible and vulnerable to being discriminated are indigenous people, it must be normal because they are inferior" (Lucrecia, Discussion Group, 2019).

Some women also stated that they have suffered daily harassment as if they were rare beings, "Attend to the

school has been so difficult for me as Mayan women, because they looked at me in an strange way, and questioned me, flattered me, and created a stereotype of folklore on me" (Florencia, ECP Discussion Group, 2019).

Elvia's case, is just one of many contemporary dispossession experiences about identity; it is the active example of how colonial racism operates and persists, racism that deprive women of their freedoms and symbolic and material identities, of not feel themselves in the freedom to be who they are. In colonial times they were collective grouping to face with the multiple violence and abuses to which they were subjected. (Aura Cumes, 2014; Emma Chirix, 2012; Gladys Tzul, 2016) For that reason, contemporary youth replicate that collective grouping; its sense not necessary is transmitted speaking about it but performing and acting.

## **Mayan languages and worldwide**

Mayan worldwide is the way to perceive; feel and live life taking into account all nature and living beings in individual, collective-community daily life. The Mayan worldwide for Mayan students is about all ways of treatment and coexistence with

Mother Nature, all living beings who inhabit it, people of the village, the relationship and connection with the cosmos, the universe and with all the dimensions of life and times that exist. For them Mayan worldwide is a whole network of social, natural, energetic and so on norms that unify every living being among them, and which are read and lived in different ways, for example: it is read through the Mayan calendar, it is thanked and offered through Mayan ceremonies, the times and lunar and solar positions, in the skin, clothing, works, on earth, etc. All of these forms of manifest the diverse ways of life are apprehended and keeping through the Mayan language.

Language is one of the most vital elements for symbolic and material transmission of culture, worldwide of life, daily and native practices, in the case of Mayan people. Language more than a means of transmission of a whole millennial worldwide, is the manifestation and expression itself of an historical feeling of the Mayan populations. Language is the manifestation of identity, it is identity itself.

Stop talking about Mayan language involves not only the loss of understanding of Mayan world but

also the disconnection and discontinuation of the original history, given not only *from past but present and for a future* (Rita Segato, 2010) only in this form an history can be build and without a language transmission history would not be possible.

For Mayan students who participated in the discussion groups, interviews and life stories, stated that language is one of the primary and essential for the establishment of identity and history itself, that history is nothing more than all transmissions made in both written and orally, through practices, works, art, etc.

In my case I did not grow up in my village, but we assist to each party at San Pedro Sacatepéquez, we made all the parties there, with all my family, I spoke Mayan language and my parents too, they always insisted us not to stop speaking our language, my grandparents always did. All these was a cultural wealth from them, they always transmitted their traditions, teachings, respect for nature, my grandfather has a lot of lands, he sowed trees, fruits, he also take care of nature, that is something that we preserve in family, we like to seed. (Clara, ECP Discussion Group, 2019)

Mayan language is an example of the historical resistance of populations



about deny breaking with history, multiple knowledge and know-how. All Mayan students who participated emphasized the need to speak and recover the Mayan languages, even when some of them did not speak their mother language, and in some cases even wearing their clothing, however they decided and looked for how to learn Mayan language, because consider that they are part of the ancestral cultural hearth, it is a door which connects with a whole series of stories and life logic from ancestors for new generations.

### **Grandparents and the strengthening of Mayan identity**

Mayan identity is a transmission that is made and mainly strengthens in the family, according to Mayan students. However, not all of them had the same strengthening and transmission about Mayan identity elements (subjective and objective elements) from their parents due to the contemporary context in Guatemala's history marked by 36 years of Internal Armed Conflict, a subject which will be addressed in the following section.

The rescue of historical memory and Mayan identity is in the hands of

Mayan grandparents according to what Mayan students emphasized. Grandparents have been a key for today youth, and that they manifest in their academic, artistic, etc. productions, origins, history and elements that identify Mayan people in the country.

Most of Mayan women stated that both coexistence and memories they have from their grandparents especially from grandmothers, have influenced in apprehension and strengthening of their Mayan identity. "It is necessary to emphasize that in a structure or nuclear Mayan family the figure of grandparents is important and also is part of such structure, it has relevance in the transmission and strengthening of identity through oral stories, symbolic and material inheritances, as discussion groups" students emphasized.

It should also be noted in the case of Mayan women, their grandmothers were who forged their identity, specifically ones who did not have "*the right to learn the Mayan language as mother language*" through their parents, due to the fear that their daughters would be rejected and suffered racism and discriminations as they did.

Memories and stories of grandparents transmitted to the students' parents also influenced their decision of stop teaching the language or dress their daughters with traditional clothing; it doesn't mean that their grandparents have not transmitted their identity to their parents assume it, but it was because of violence context in which they grew up and that caused the break the transmission of Mayan identity elements

Several students stated that their grandmothers were the main focus of their self-recognition, the use of their clothing and speak the language is what they remember the most (in cases were grandparents have already died). During childhood when they went out to play and went to say hello to their grandparents, or try to go with them to the market or frequent it to see them because in some cases grandmothers had stands in the market, going to the fairs or parties of the village, whether or not they live in their houses. Closeness with grandmothers has been a source of knowledge and strength for Mayan students.

Then there is a central contribution grandparents made in youth, especially in their education,

transmission, training and self-recognition as Maya. Being able to live and learn with grandparents has been one of immediate actions that reactivates and return the history to youth about their Mayan identity roots. In the particular students' case, they emphasized they grandmothers were and are the essential link to know themselves and become aware about what they can do and what they are, learning their identity, keeping and raise awareness of it in all its fields and social spaces.

It is essential to rescue these ways of reviving and return history, since it is a form to generate Maya social cohesion and for strengthening of Mayan people. Highlighting itself the *return of history*. (Segato, 2010).

### **Internal Armed Conflict: implications in post-conflict generations.**

Internal Armed Conflict (1960- 1996) in Guatemala, was one of the most bloodiest historical facts the country has faced, were 36 years which marked the entire indigenous population in Guatemala, and today the consequences of multiple violations of human rights of Mayan



populations.

According to the Commission of Historical Clarification (*CEH* by its acronym in Spanish), of the total of massacres, 95% were perpetrated between 1978 and 1984. In this period a 90% of the massacres registered by the *CEH* occurred in Quiché (52%), Huehuetenango (14%), Chimaltenango (10%), Alta Verapaz (9%) and Baja Verapaz (4%) and 97% victims of all arbitrary executions perpetrated in massacres died during armed conflict period.

In this ways, dead people were concentrated in Mayan populations, being the K'iche's most affected, having suffered 25% of the arbitrary executions in massacres, followed by the Kaqchikel (14%), the Ixil (13%), the Q'eqchi'e (11%), the Achí (8%), the Mam (6%) and the Chuj (5%). A 7% of executed victims in massacres were Ladinos (*CEH*, 2012).

It is estimated that approximately 250,000 were victims, from them more than 45,000 are still missing, one million of internal displaced people and 150,000 refugees in Mexico particularly. 430 villages were completely eliminated from the map and it was registered a total of 667 massacres, where 93% (626) victims were perpetrated by state agents, where abuses committed by

the Army, in individual acts and in some cases where also participated the Civil Self-defense Patrol (*PAC* by its acronyms in Spanish), military commissioners, the dead squads or other state security forces integrant; 3% were perpetrated by the *guerrilla* and 4% by non-identified people or groups. 8% of the victims were Maya and 17% were ladino. (Dewer-Plana, p. 6, 2006)

It is important to site and comprehend Mayan identity from this part of its contemporary Guatemalan history. Internal Armed Conflict, marked Mayan populations, families; the suffered violence were generated on multiple scales of life, in the daily micro-spaces (Yagenova, 2019) of Mayan populations, it means in both individually, collective and community level (see *AVANCSO*, 2017).

Violent transgressions reconfigured how to assume identity and how transmit it to later generations at best; in other cases in families was no longer speaking about Mayan identity. However, nowadays, according to the students' interventions and contributions, youth consciousness and particularly from grandparents as was stated in the previous section,

were the key to the *return of history and memory* (Segato 2010) to youth. Likewise, some parents throughout the time changed their minds and have resumed their identity, resigned it not only for them but to their daughters, particularly from Mayan men, as Ijá pointed out “it is difficult that a man identify himself, my mom told me that my dad until married her, six years later he identified as Maya, because he never wear regional clothing” (Discussion Group, 2019).

Manifestation of identity is different from men and women, since mostly of them do not wear traditional clothing as their daily dress, except in some places, but mostly there are older people who wear it, for example in Chichicastenango and Sololá.

Ijá, emphasize to analyze something necessary and essential about how identity in men was and is more difficult to externalize and in some cases to assume it. This is one topic that is necessary to be deepened in future investigations and analyses about men Maya identity.

It is necessary to point out and highlight that Internal Armed Conflict is not more than a manifestation and a real, conscious and reflective

Expression of a racial, colonial and patriarchy domination system prevailed since colonial times.

The use and transmission of Mayan languages in contemporary generations has been discontinuous, there has been a rupture due to the diverse assimilationist, repressive and genocide policies promoted in different social spaces, but particularly from the State, and contemporary during 36 years of Internal Armed Conflict as mentioned before. But what happened during colonization and invasion process where native population generated a mechanism to preserve part of their worldwide of life, and specifically it has been the case of pre and post Internal Armed Conflict generations, and that today, in the case of university Mayan women who have looked, interfered and found in familiar history their Mayan identity, and it goes beyond of the objective expression of identity as Ixmukané emphasize:

Identity is more than clothing and language, you have to feel and be it, because I can wear my clothing and speak the language, but if you do not identify yourself with some aspect, you do not feel your own



destiny, so wearing your clothing or speak your languages is useless. I do not discard that speak a Mayan language or wear traditional clothing, strengthen anyone identities, because each of us have an individual, familiar, etc., aspect, in my case there are two languages, Q'eqchi from my father which he teach, write and speak so good and my mother can understand it but she can't speak or write it, and in the context in which we grew up, my siblings, during the 80's, at that time my parents did not teach us the language due to the fear about the situation living in the country, they did not want us to suffer discrimination, especially for me being women, I do not know if my mom wore the clothing, but finally I did. (Interview, 2019)

Since the process of colonization and diverse marginal policies that homogenize and make no visible different socio-cultural, political and economic expressions, in Guatemala, not only has generated diverse asymmetric social relations based on physical-cultural "inferiority" (Segato, 2010) but also has been assimilated and transmitted to generation of generation. For that reason for some Mayan women assume Maya

Indigenous or black identity in Guatemala is totally to accept daily racism and discrimination, that is identity is seen as a synonym of courage because to accept Mayan origin means suffering, as Clara emphasized "Youth need so much courage to accept what they are and that is hard at the moment" (ECP, Discussion Group, 2019)

For some youth women assume identity is not a challenge but empowerment, the only way to resist, keep and ensure original history, not as a legacy but as something own to delegate to other generations.

"I am Maya I have an ancestral legacy, I identify myself as kaqchikel because it is the spoken language and define us as linguistics community". (Vilma, ECP, Discussion Group, 2019).

"I am indigenous because I always have been characterized by kaqchikel language, it has instilled me cultural values (Elsa, interview, 2019).

Assuming Mayan identity as courage is a category that refers to immediate consequences they can suffer by identify themselves as Maya, this act of bravery more than encourage and strengthen, identity, questioned,

interpret and make it weak; because from now a preconception of what being Maya in this country means has been generated, it is not bad to know historical consequences that young people faced by identify themselves as Maya, but of the malicious, negative and hesitant sense behind this term. It is contrary to identity as appropriation of an historical legacy which looks assume the historical origin of a millennial culture, as an essence that gives sense to the being.

### **Meaning and importance of migrate for university studies**

Migrating is a right, but in Guatemalan context, migration has been an option that forces several populations to leave their villages due to the various needs and unsatisfactory demands that governments and the State itself have not resolved. In the case of Mayan young people migration for studies or education toward Guatemala city is precisely because there is a marked centralization from study centers, particularly from public university, although there are Regional Centers in the country's departments but there are not a

diversification of careers in such centers as those in Central Campus. For that reason, migration by higher education, in this case has been one of the student populations demands which has not been analyzed by competent authorities.

The decision to travel from their villages to the city involves several experiences and process not only in their academic life but also in all areas and social circles as Mayan women stated. In some cases due to the distance Mayan women have not decided to live temporarily in the city and return to their villages while they do not attend to university, for example, travel on weekends. Other, due to the proximity of their villages such as Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez, Escuintla, etc., have decided to travel every day; however it involve many difficulties as transport, harassment and sexual violence in buses, on the streets, etc.

"I have stopped to study because was difficult to have money for internet, there has research works where I needed to use it. That part was hard for me, when I left at 20:00 or 20:15 pm; I barely could leave from university, which was my problem at Political Science School" (Kikotemal, ECP Discussion Group, 2019).





For Florencia, suffer and bear all discrimination and harassment experiences and all kinds of violence was due of the desire to finish the University. Bringing that achievement to her family because she knew what she was going to face when she started university, besides her family told her not to study a social degree because it was dangerous, especially because her dad militated in social spaces and was kidnapped and disappeared throughout Internal Armed Conflict. Her mother has lived with the fear that something bad could happen to her daughters, however, Florencia when she was a child was interested in politics, indigenous people's rights and in all social movements. Now she feels so happy to have all the knowledge she has, to frequent and contribute in social criticism and analysis spaces. She expects to get a degree of International Relations and continue her studies but primarily find answers about her missing father during the 80's.

My mom asked if I wanted to travel every day, and I said yes because I wanted to change my life, it was so hard. I used to come home at 9:30 pm, even asking for a ride to anyone, all this during one year, and then when I meet my classmates

and some of them stayed after work or to study, we looked for a way to pay a ride, it was so hard, because it cost up to Q50.00 or Q60.00 each ride. For me coming to university was pure gold [...]" (Florencia, interview, 2019).

The student's priority regarding to university is higher to any kind of limitations faced in their way, such as ones generated by the migration of people to other space such as the Guatemala City. For some of them the term city is synonym of exclusion, discrimination, racism due to diverse populations needs coming from other Guatemala's departments, but also is synonym of cultural openness, art, and social consciousness, since being embedded in social dynamic of capital city marked by a social stratification of class, ethnic and gender; it has generated in several young women to take critical positions on it, about establishing and holding their Mayan worldview, their identity and all related to their historical ancestral roots. As Pierre Bourdieu (2008) said "art and science change meaning and value depending on a managing or subordinated role they play" (p.86)

Although it should be emphasized that this critic and conscious notions of social reality from young people, in this case Mayan women is because they have had and accessed to means for critical consciousness, as instance. Since the “chance to access to diverse ways of power also varies as the different indices of inherited cultural and social capital.” (Bourdieu, 2008, p.106)

*USAC* as an institution that strengthens identity of Mayan women students, beyond of racism expressions suffered daily in such academic institution; the University also is and has been an institution which has contributed in criticism, analysis and proposals to eradicate racism in social relationships, as an example are all productions from several investigation centers such as the Institute of Interethnic Studies *IDEI* (by its acronyms in Spanish), University Institute for Women

*IUMUSAC* (by its acronym in Spanish), Folkloric Studies Center *CEFOL* (by its acronym in Spanish) among others. Likewise, some academic units where has been looked and deepen in such unequal and exclusionary social historical relations through the study program, however, much are still to construct and strengthen.

In the case of *EFPEM* it is a clear example that university careers as Associate degree in Intercultural Bilingual Education (*EBI*) has generated not only awareness in Mayan women and men students, but also in half-breed and ladino about the historical deconstruction of genre and ethnic social relationships.

Professors have been essential to the strengthening and self-recognition of Mayan identity in young people at university. (Discussion Group, 2019).



## Chapter III

### Mayan youth and Contemporary Identities

Mayan youth and contemporary identities are a reflection that emerges from Mayan men and half-breed and/or ladino women regarding to the feelings and situation of Mayan women in the USAC. The participation of half-breed and/or ladino Mayan women and men was minimal in the discussion groups, it was significant to have other readings about how assume and perceive Mayan identity among Mayan, half-breed and/or ladino women and men who are aware and are critics of their own reality.

As stated above, it is necessary to deepen about how men assume Mayan identity in different academic and non-academic social spaces, specifically how they live and face racism and discrimination. Since, in Social Sciences studies little has focused on this subject. It is essential to consider such social realities since racism and discrimination against Mayan women can't be understood without have analytical reference and criticism from Mayan men about

Racism they live and suffer daily, especially when talking about racism in social-academic imaginary Mayan women are always involved as subjects for whom talks are about, taking away their voice as direct subjects and actors who are suffered racism, but particularly the omission of rebellion they have generated in response and way out to several racism expressions in their social spaces.

In the case of the analysis and discussion about racism from Mayan men, they always refered in third person to Mayan women, it means that their discussion are focused on racism against Mayan women, classmates and/or friends; such analysis is necessary in men, especially about having critical consciousness but especially about racism against all Mayan women and classmates, however it is not enough, because a little or nothing is talking about the racism they suffer in an direct or indirect way, as well as Mayan youth of sexual diversity.

This observation was demonstrated in discussion group where Mayan Young students participated, however, the need to listen their daily experiences by assuming their Mayan identity in Guatemalan society was emphasized. In the same way, it is essential to indicate that Mayan classmates and half-breed and/or ladino woman and men have contributed with the strengthening of Mayan women's identity in the University. This chapter was presented as Mayan youth and contemporary identities because identity is not something singular but multiple and it is acquired and strengthened in many ways.

In the case of young Mayan people, to assume their Mayan identity has been part of a whole individual and collective historical process and resume some identity elements as daily use such as the clothing, has generated questioning and transgressions to the established socio-cultural order, as Fernando emphasize, - one of Mayan participants in discussion groups:

When I come to the University with my hat, here I don't care what they say; it is like the incitement you make to the system, and when I

am in my community it's the same although it feels a little more, because when I wear my hat people look at me as saying, "what happen with you?" Likewise my classmates tell me "you look fool and ridiculous" (2019).

Identity is constructed through time, both in easy and hard times. There are always positives although in many cases to assume identity also involves denial (Falla, 2010), as the cases stated in the previous chapter. For being accepted, for example in the student dynamic some young people denied part of their identity, to assume the identity of *sancarlita* young student. But is worth to mention these are other identity categories which in some cases are temporary, which throughout the time Mayan students ignore and assume other to identify them.

To be clear about the notion of identity, it is essential to forward to the Laclau's ideas (1993, 1996, 2002, 2004, 2015) about the empty and floating signifiers, since to define the term identity is impossible because there are different and multiple definitions, concepts and notions about it as well as diverse ways to assume it, however,



several definitions and ways to assume identity are applied as models to others, which in theory and practice should contain all these diverse forms and conceptions of identity. But it does not happen in reality, some definitions of identity are overlap to others, some make it visible and others give diverse interpretations of it, etc. For that reason, it is essential to make a *conceptual history* (Kosellek, 1993) to understand what concepts and terms really means, especially what social, political and historical concepts responds or try to responds. In this way to accept identity from contemporary youth is also understand its sociohistorical context.

In the case of Mayan identity notion, as described before, it is a reconstruction that involves the historical reconstruction of Guatemala's Mayan population. Conceptualizing and defining Mayan identity is a daring and a big responsibility, nevertheless, it is a re-signification and rebellion towards colonial concepts which have defined the identity of native people, as Kosellek (1993) emphasized "the fight for the adequate "concepts"

reach social and political reality [...] concepts not only serve to conceive the facts of such and such way, but they are projected to the future" (pp.110-11)

## **Sexual diversity and Mayan identity**

It is necessary to emphasize sexual diversity in Mayan population, although not any discussion group highlights this topic, but there are realities which are not visible in the production and academic analysis and not in social reality, but in this student case in the *USAC*.

The university has been a space where several identities bring together, where young people become critical aware and being in a space where the inequalities and social exclusion by class, genre and ethnic are reflected and reproduced, which are deepen more not only in critic but also the actions or possible actions they can implement about it.

Talking about sexual diversity nationwide is still seeing as distrust, disqualification, denial and even hate. The same happen in Mayan populations but if it is Reading from a non.-indigenous logic. Since

historical readings have been made about Mayan populations ways of life from external perspectives which do not perceive social Mayan reality.

Understanding how diverse social dynamics and sexual Mayan diversity coexistence is also essential deepen in identities from Mayan youth.

The expression of emotions and feelings in men is not allowed in societies, but such expressions and feeling manifestations are generated “in secret”. In the case of Mayan men it is more questioned, especially when they assume their Mayan identity, but these identities can’t be seen contradictory since they are socially constructed. It means to think that Mayan identity is external to gender identity is contradict the original worldview, since identity not only is collective but also individual, both complement each other. However, in Guatemalan’s structure and social system identity is made as of denial of *other*, as well as gender, where men are the contrast of being a woman.

In the construction of male domination there are socio-cultural

patterns, norms and values that they must learn. One of these patterns is the denial and prohibition of emotions, effectiveness, failures, weakness, ‘men are limited in the field of emotions, they should not show affectivity, and that represent masculinity’. Not being what they are causes pain and suffering. Due to an ideology and socialization agencies their human side have been removed (Chirix, 2008, pp.91,92).

Mayan Young people’s interests and manifestations about their Mayan identity vindication and gender, particularly from sexual diversity, open new ways to address critically social reality and especially make visible diverse exclusions to which young people are addressed who infringe the order and social norms in this country.

It is worth to emphasize that Maya identity of people-history is acquired when we born and is manifested and developed according to the individual and collective growing and its outreach and assertiveness is taken when you are conscious of it, with it others identities are manifested such as gender, class, etc.



## **Appropriation of Mayan identity as an historical awareness in half-breed youth**

Mayan identity is acquired when you grow up and when you train in it. But also it can be shared and acquired through the awareness of native people history. In the case of non-Maya young students can be an awareness to assume and self-identified themselves as Maya, but also to understand its sense and meaning for Mayan population, to understand it as an historical construct of people, community, and individualities. By raising and contextualize the importance of recognition and acceptance of Mayan identity, Mayans are going to place it in their historical origins.

Just by the knowledge of the population's history, in this case half-breed and/or ladino this acceptance will be the opening to recognition, respect and approval of diverse people in Guatemala. The pursuit of half-breed and/or ladino population history is in native and afro descendants people history in Guatemala, their reality is crossed and also emerged by the history of people denied as Maya, Garífuna or Xinca.

The interest to accept denied people in the country's history, assuming the need of deconstruct their thinking and actions to a dignified respect of native and afro descendants populations has been a path generated and promoted from half-breed and/or ladino population areas, although these have been minimums contributions they have generated consciousness in strategical spaces, such as the academy, arts, music, media, etc.; as well as contributions made by Mayan women and men in spaces as before mentioned. In this way has been generated and opening to that critical consciousness and proactive regarding to colonial social structure.

This analysis is made from what Mayan students stated, where some of them emphasized that their half-breed and/or ladino classmates has been an important part to remain in the University, not desert or change their career study, and/or manifest their identity without any fear.

Mayan women students said that not having friends or Mayan people in

in their class, they have meet half-breed and /or ladino strong friendship and they have been “lifesavers” at hard times especially when they are victims of racism in ordinary spaces. As Carolina, an Agronomy and Engineering student said, made reference to her half-breed/ladino friends, “as students those bad comments affects us psychologically, but when we hear good comments these help to keep us going, and to continue *wearing our clothing*” (2019, Interview)

It should be clarified, that not all university’s classmates are open-minded and with critical consciousness. Mayan women, particularly students from other departments, who from their own perspective and experiences think that non-Mayan students from the countryside are more critics and aware about inequalities and exclusions to what Mayan people have been positioned and maintained. Besides, the majority of half-breed/ladino friendships they share similar ways and customs of life, for example, to bring lunch and *tortillas* wrapped in napkins and eat in group, to visit the fairs, parties of their villages, eat food from their region, etc.

Katherine is a half-breed student of an Associate degree in intercultural Bilingual Education *EFPEM, USAC*. She admits not be Maya, or be born into a Mayan family, but it does not limit her to identify herself with Mayan culture more than her culture as half-breed. Her friendships are Maya and half-breed. She questions historical inequalities towards Mayan populations, especially against women. But assuming Mayan identity as her own, she has received questionings and discriminations because in the social imaginary, being half-breed or ladino and identify as Maya is like to downgrade her social status and assume less importance.

I have identified a little more with the Kaqchikel Mayan culture because is the one which I share and learned the language, it has motivated me to identity myself as Maya Kaqchikel [...] it is an important step in my life because a lot of people asked me, ‘why are you learning that? Why did you study this career? Why are you Kaqchikel? When would you have better opportunities?’

*I felt discrimination with these questions, and that transformation I have done in my life has made me*





able to identify myself as Maya Kaqchikel, and also by the coexistence and contact with these people. (Katherine. Discussion Group 2019)

Katherine's experience, is a good example that only by returning the history of their ancestors (Segato, 2010, 1999) to half-breed populations, consciousness is taken to deconstruct exclusive and racist daily life, but for it, there must be means, such as cultural capital, institutions, etc. (Bourdieu, 2001, 2008). In other words, in the case of university student populations accede to Mayan knowledges for example, through languages, professorships, courses, university graduates, postgraduate careers, etc., is one of many ways of coexistence and learning about diverse cultures and people in Guatemala. In this way, the privileges of non-Maya populations could be deconstructed and questioned again about Maya, Garífuna and Xinca populations.

At university, (going back to the previous example) Mayan languages in several academic units more than a real necessity for students it has been taken as a requirement to finish a university career, in others academic units Mayan languages simply do not appear in its requirements. In other words, if within the University, academic and critical consciousness are not promoted, if new critical perspectives and real and daily incorporation of knowledges of Maya, *Garífuna* and *Xinca* populations are not generated in study programs, it is unlikely that half-breed or ladino students incorporate it in their daily reality and future professional participation in the society.

As Elsa's case, Maya Kaqchikel, and her friend Marlee, half-breed, both of them studied the same university career at Political Science School, they physically and emotionally encourage each other. Marlee is respectful and shows interest in Elsa's culture and way of life.

## Chapter IV

### Life Stories



Source: IIPS, Psychological Study Area, 2019.

#### Carolina Vásquez: life story

Carolina Vásquez, Maya kaqchikel, was born on August 29, 1998 in *San Andrés Itzapa, Chimaltenango*. She is the eldest of six siblings, was the first granddaughter in her family and is the only who study in the Agronomy and Engineering Faculty of *USAC*. Her parents are teachers, her mom is retired.

From a young age Carolina and her sisters were dressed with the

traditional clothing from their village. She said that her first blouse was made by her mother, she remember it because it was a gift, and she wanted to wear it all the time. She speaks Kaqchikel language, even though it was not her mother language, but she has tried to improve the Mayan language. Of her siblings, she is the only who speaks Kaqchikel, she is trying to encourage them to learn it. She learned it from her father, because when she was at 5<sup>th</sup> grade he was his teacher.



Source: Carolina Vásquez' foto album, 2019.

Their parents had not taught or told them about Mayan worldview because their parents were not interested that their children learn and grow up under Mayan world vision, especially speaking kaqchikel language, due to what they have suffered during their childhood, and they did not want their children experienced the same or worst discriminations. In this stage her family were evangelicals, but then they stopped going to church, during that time her dad began working at the Kaqchikel Foundation in Chimaltenango, there his Mayan worldview knowledges were deepen, then both mom and dad decided to transfer this knowledge

to their children; now they regret not taught them the Kaqchikel language as mother tongue.

The change in attitude about Mayan worldview was so great in Carolina's parents because their last daughters were called with Mayan names, *Ix'kotsi'j*, *Ix'mucané* and *Ix'chu-mi'l*, there are names that appear in the *Popol Wuj*. Their parents emphasized that they must wear, respect and honor all millennial history to which they are attached.

***First daughter and granddaughter of the family.***

I'm the oldest, also the first

granddaughter, I was raised in a large family, because in the house where we live, my four uncles (dad's brothers) live, being the first baby girl in the family I was accepted and the most of my uncles took care of me [...] I grew up with my father's mother she was looking out for me that's what photographs show. I was two years and seven months when my brother Miguel born and I was 4 years when my second brother Israel also born, and from that time I grew up with my grandmother; and since I was little I have worn my Mayan clothing [...] my mom says that when I was a child, I did not wanted to wear my clothing so then my mom hid all my overalls, pants, trousers [...] so I had to wear my Mayan clothing. I think after all I got used to dress like that, it was something good about my mom.

Since a young age I always went out with my grandmother wherever she went and wanted, I was always with her, she is the best for me [...], we always went to bring firewood or we visited one of her sisters who lived in a village [...] it was so funny, she always visit her brother too. I was raised with my grandmother because my mom worked all day, my dad too, they are teacher, at first my dad had a job, I remember that when I was a

child he worked at a Foundation called Kaqchikel, he went to work too early, at 4:00 am and came back until midnight or 10:00 pm, those days were rarely when he came back at 7:00 pm.

And my mom always was working half a day until afternoon; went to my grandmother's house was an habit because she lives near our house, during mornings I always was with her, I grew up with her.

We also visited my mother's mother, Anita Salas, sometimes on weekends. She lived in the center of *San Andrés Itzapa*, near to the park. She always brought me little toys [...] those simple things, sometimes you missed until now. She died because of cancer, it affected me so much, and I stayed away from my classmates I got sick for a while because I miss her a lot.

During my childhood, I always remember I had everything I wanted, they never denied me something, and I always had toys. When my parents were in financial problems, my aunt (my mom's sister) she took me for a walk and we most of the time played together, and even we went to fairs, that's why I like fairs because it always bring me good memories.



I had a photograph where I am in a Ferris wheel with her, she always took me to all these activities, she

ever choose me instead my brothers, because they were always with my mom.



Source: IIPS, Sociological Study Area, 2019.

I also went with my grandmother Regina; every Tuesday I remember woke up early, because she used to go these days to the market, there in *Itzapa* Tuesdays and Sundays are market's days. So every Tuesday I woke up early, I did it since and during all elementary school [...], I remember my mom told me "if you want to go out, you have to help here in the house", we finished to breakfast and I washed the dishes, and well, my mom never allow me to go out with trousers, or pants, I always wore my *corte* and my *huipil*, she ever dressed me and made me

two braids on my hair, I was carrying a little hamper, which my aunt gave me, to go to the market, I ever did. My grandmother always invited me to a cup of *atol blanco* (a drink made with corn), I regularly bought an avocado toast. When it was time for fairs, she always took me there or sometimes we were there every day of the week, she constantly bought me toy dishes, mud toys which are traditional at *Itzapa* fairs, and we also bought sweets. My grandmother always bought me a little straw basket, then little pots, small watering cans, and one censer, little cups [...]



We played with toy dishes and drank atol with my siblings [...] they accepted the games I suggested.

With my mom's dad, I began to share with him until when I attended to secondary school, I hardly spoke with him because he had stayed away from everyone since my grandmother died, and it affected him a lot, he got away from the family. He is not able to walk, so I began to visit him. One day I had a homework about asking a grandfather something, and he knows a lot of histories [...] he started to telling me diverse stories and that is how [...], I visit him each eight or fifteenth days, when I have time, and now I spent a lot of time with him, he is a great person. But before that when I went to visit my grandmother I hardly spoke with him because he was working in the field, he is a farmer, he has been a farmer all his life, my grandmother too, even though she stayed in the house, she sold things at the market, I just wanted to visit her –with my other grandmother-, I did it just for her, because I love saw where she was selling things, always smiling despite of the problems she

had, because my grandfather drank a lot of alcohol, and sometimes he hurt her; however I never saw her sadness, she always motivated me, my grandmother Anita..

My father's parents are farmers too, I hardly spent time with my grandfather, I just say hello, I know he is at home. We have played the game *lotería* in the fair with him when we were younger, but it was just my grandmother intention, she tried to involve us to spent time with him.



**Source:** Carolina Vásquez's Photo Ambum, 2019.



With my dad, we went to play out at the street, he look for stones and put them as a goal, we always have balls in the house [...] I hardly played dolls or toy dishes [...], we played with little cars toys, marbles, *and spinning tops*, time before we saw children playing those games that I used to play when I was younger.

I always have everything, clothes, shoes, and even we have been updated in technology thanks to my dad, when Discman were launched he brought us one of it, he brought us movies too. When he was a trainee at *Cocales*, he ever brought us fruits, even at night he tried to wake up us or sometimes we waited awake for him, because we already knew where he was going.

My dad is an active person, he always brings us together, and my mom is very quiet, strict, and demanding about doing tasks. Once we wanted to go out, but I think they did not have enough Money for that, so they did a family activity with costumes then we were all afternoon playing it.

My parents always have looked ways we do not notice family's financial

problems, more in that time because my brother got sick of meningitis, so one of my uncles made an loan to my dad, it was a critical time where my parents did not have enough incomes, because all money they earned was to pay the loan, it was quite money. By that time, my dad was a tailor and gave some training at the National Literacy Committee *CONALFA* (*by its acronyms in Spanish*), my mom did not work, and I did not ask her, why?

I was ten when my sister *Ix'kotzi'* born, she was a baby, it was something very sad [...] I don't know, or maybe happy... It was funny, because when they bothered me they said, 'if the baby is a girl, you are not going to be the favorite anymore' or 'if it's a girl your parents are not going to love you anymore', I was a child, so those comments hurt me [...]

When I was seven years, we never stopped to attend to the evangelical church, after that, my dad was submerged into Mayan worldview and that's why they didn't gave us Mayan names because he did not understand such world enough.

When my sister was born, my dad taught us all the knowledge he was learning, for that reason my sister is called *Ix'kotzij Kab'Awij'*, I think my dad found it at the oldest Popol Wuj, and her name means Double Vision Flower; and my other sister is called Gabriela Ixmukané.

### ***My identity knitted my own huipil***

My mom made me a blouse with little pearls, it was my favorite because I liked it, when my mom washed it and when it was already dry I wore it, I didn't care. My mom can embroider; she made me my first blouse.

I really enjoyed to play, when I was in sixth grade of primary school, I still went out to play with my Friends, during fifth and sixth grade I had more freedom, I went to the rivers, where rivers were still clean, we went to swim or play with my friend, I still talk to one of them because we are neighbors. At my friend's grandmother house, there was a medlar tree and my friend climbed the tree and cut some fruits and almost every night we ate them.

It was so fun. My dad, seeing that,

said 'no, you have to learn some profession because you are growing up, and you get more responsibility' and I said that I didn't want to learn anything.

It was the closing ceremony of sixth grade, my dad took me for a walk at San Antonio Aguascalientes; there is well known because their people made those marked *hupiles*, those so beautiful, there they sell a lot of threads, people combine its colors, it is an amazing place. I choose blue color, not because it was my favorite or liked it. Then my dad told me "well, you are going to go with your aunt to learn how made *hupiles*, you have to go every day, you have to follow your aunt's schedule".

My aunt *Romelia* worked as nurse; sometimes I visited her during the mornings and I came back to home in the afternoons, I always got there by walking from my house to hers, it wasn't far away, but at my age I felt such walk very tired. She is very strict teaching, and always said me 'you have to do it well, to learn it well, bring a pencil, your notebook, write it down everything you forget or what you want to do [...] if you want to do a sash, this is done like





Source: IIPS, Sociological Study Area, 2019.

this, if you want to do a *huipil* this is done like this'; it was an amazing experience, my aunt has loved me so much since I was a child she always has given me gifts [...] my aunt Romelia is my mother's sister, she encourage me to go every day to her house to learn knitting art.

That year I made a *huipil* and well, I learned to make many designs, several *huipiles'* figures, I gave that *huipil* to my mom. I think I was 12 or 11 years [...]. I am the only one in the family who has had the privilege of that transmission of knowledge, my dad's sister also knit. My two aunts wanted to teach my cousins

how to knit, but they did not like it.

My aunt Romelia said that my great-grandmother taught her, but she was always interested about it, you have to use a warp to make the loom, you have to weave, so my aunt did it to learn (they didn't have resources to buy threads or materials!) she said that when she was younger she brought two reeds and planted them on the ground, and says that she rolled a lot of ropes and made a loom, she began to learn like this, so then seeing my great-grandmother –because she knitted, although I don't know who taught her it, my aunt was interested about it, my great-grandmother used

to sell corn and bought threads for my aunt, and taught her how to weave, she also bought her weaving sticks, material, she still conserved them and are like a relic, something special for her.

When she tell her story I feel like [...], I want to teach it to my sisters, but I am here all day so I don't have enough time to teach them, and also my little sister is getting interest on it because she say 'I want to learn and do that', my sisters are growing up almost at the same time [...] they have worn Mayan clothing during all their lives.

I think what influenced me was that I started to make my own clothes because since there I began to do more research about how or why they did it. My dad told me the story that during colonization times Mayan women needed to express and they did not know how, so they express all their feeling through clothes, the *huipil*. It touched me so much and made me want to identify myself with clothes, it was about the design, and how textile was made, because all of this is related with the Mayan calendar, the amount of threads that

are used, why certain sticks are used, all of this was explained by my aunt, my dad also did it, and understand these stories touched me because my clothes have a meaning, has a why, a purpose, and I am proud about what I do, all of this would be simple for another culture but for me it is invaluable and now I know why.

### ***We knew our stories, and that's how we learned our culture***

I was five and a half years old when I began elementary school I started from first grade and I didn't course kindergarten, I had an amazing experience I still remember it, my mom couldn't took me to the school so my uncle did it (he always took me to the school) I remember that day because I had a lot of emotions, I was scared, curious and happy, and my uncle said to me "if you cry, I'm going to tell your mom not to dress with your clothes (my favorite blouse)", and I said "I have to learn", I was so curious.

During all elementary school years, I never wore uniform; I just wore pants in sport class and even for the



Antorcha (*the independence torch run*) I dressed with my Mayan clothing, because I did not feel comfortable wearing pants or other kinds of clothes. At school dressed with uniform was not mandatory, I just had to wear sweater and I felt comfortable with it.

The school was near to my house, I was in that school since first to third grade. I had the best teacher during those grades, she is Maya but she does not wear Mayan clothing, she wear trousers, she's married with a ladino man, I think that's why she does not wear her clothing. I didn't knew where to sit, and I remember that some classmate said me "come here", and they pointed to me and said "sit here, I'm scared too" [...] I wasn't friendly at that time, during all elementary school, I hardly spoke with someone, I was a quiet person.

I used to say my mom everything I did, what teachers taught me and even at elementary school I was too responsible, I just come to my house and I began homework, then I went out to play with some friends, I think I was more adapted with them rather than with my classmates, I do not

understand why, because we did the same games, but it was different, maybe because they made groups, which is hard for me because I like to get along with everyone and when I saw groups I didn't do anything and stayed quiet.

Third grade was the hardest for me because my grandmother Ana passed away, it affected me so much, I changed school and went to a private one with my siblings. I regretted because in that school they accept children with family's problems, so such child have grew up together and I was the new one, my mom worked there but just in the afternoons, and I studied in the mornings. I didn't adapt to it, I didn't have any friends or spent time with anyone, I just get along with my siblings and their classmates.

Fourth grades was also hard for me, the teacher had preference to certain persons. I made group's works but just that, I did not spend time with my classmates.

Then during fifth grade my dad got a job's opportunity at my first school, and I came back where I studied before, I came there and everyone looked at me as a stranger

my dad was my teacher during fifth and sixth grade, he taught me Kaqchikel language, he always has spoken it since he was a kid, but he wasn't interested on it, that's why we never learned such language, first because he believed if we learn it we will be discriminated at school, because he grew up with that opinion, he even had a teacher who beat him just because he spoke Kaqchikel, I thought that's why my father was not interested on it, it was something prohibit here in Guatemala they just have to speak Spanish, so then my dad began to teach us Spanish, until at the school he taught us Kaqchikel and he did it well because he worked at Kaqchikel Foundation and learned a lot about Mayan worldview since then he changed his mind and way of being.

My siblings didn't speak Kaqchikel, I do it with my parents and express all to them, and I even scold my sibling in Kaqchikel [...], I tried to teach and instill them the language, but it is complicated with them, first because my second brother has a close relationship with a ladino girl, so

sometimes I asked him, "and when you get married, what are you going to teach his children? What identity they're going to have?", because it is something confusing, my brother would have strengthened his Mayan identity but his wife would not like his identity, that is something I always argue with them, and even they get angry because I said that, but I am the only one who speak Kaqchikel with them [...], I speak, write and sometimes read in Kaqchikel, my dad bought me poetry in that language so I spent time reading it.

I think my father learned Mayan worldview and started teach us about *nahuales*, Mayan ceremonies, the meaning and importance of our lives, even he taught us to respect Mother Nature, we did not understand at the beginning, but when he started instilling all to us, that is something we accepted and it is something amazing, we learned a lot of things, we knew new histories, about how several things happen and a lot of information he gave us, and that is why we have learned about our culture.



### ***I thought there was no other stage in study***

At the beginning of January, my parents talked with me (because according to me I was not continued with my studies, I thought there was no other stage to study, I believed that the last one was sixth grade), they told me “you are going to study at the school where your mom is working”, where I studied fourth grade, I had hard times there, and I didn’t feel comfortable to study there. My parents didn’t give me a choice, they said “you have to go, willingly or not, if not, do what you want, look for a job, or you are going to knit, you have to do something”, I didn’t understand why they did it, but now I realized they just were taking care of me.

At the school I always dressed with Mayan clothing, I just bought a sweater and sport uniform, there at secondary school I met a girl called Lesly, I adapted to her quickly because she also wore her Mayan clothing, I said “she’s my culture, I can get along with her so well”, we were standard-bearers of our class; I spent a lot of time in my home, I read a lot of books, studied quite a lot, I was very studious at that time.

During secondary school I had many teachers, and there were several Mayan teachers.

My sister Ixmucané was born when I was in ninth grade. In that time my parents already asked me about what study career I was going to choose, but the truth was that I didn’t want to study teaching, I said “no, I don’t like to be the same, because all my cousins, parents, aunts and uncles have studied teaching, so it was like a tradition in my family that all women studied it”, but at that time teaching careers was not available and my parents told me “well you have to choose something that benefits you”, I didn’t want to study teaching, I did not like it and I said “I don’t want to do what my cousins do” [...], I only have a cousin who is teacher, she worked teaching, and she’s ending her law degree, she’s the only one, but the others just graduated from high school and got married, they are not working, they do not do anything just stay at their houses; I didn’t want that.

I remember that one day I was in class (ninth grade) then some young people came in to promote the institution where I studied and I liked it, and caught my attention because

it was related to Mayan worldview and I said “this is the study career I want”, that same day I told my dad “hey, this is the career I want to study and I don’t want teaching, not even a high school teaching career, I don’t want that, I chose this (*Industrial Expert in Food Processing*).

So my parents talked with me and said “hey, we want you to involve at any field”, my dad told me “I know you’re able to do anything, and if you want to study there, so I will give you the opportunity, but you have to finish it, I don’t wanted you with a boyfriend and then not finish the career, I don’t want it for you”, “you’re the first granddaughter and the only woman who is started her path”, “never forget your Mayan clothing” [...].

My dad gave me the opportunity to choose my career, but in that time we got news, my mother was pregnant, but unfortunately the baby was not born, the baby died, she was called Ixchumil’, it was heartbreaking for my mom, I noticed a change in my mom she was like depressed, sad, I don’t know [...], then more news my mom had fibroids in her womb, she was so depressed because she had fear

about surgery wouldn’t go well, it was like a pause for me, I was afraid to study a new career during the whole day, although my mom told me “you have to go on”, I was afraid because if the surgery fail I would have to take care of all, I mean, my family, because I’m the oldest, I was a bit scared, but my mom was there, the surgery went well.

High school was a complicated stage, maybe good because I had a lot of experiences, my thoughts changed. The institute was in *Patzicía, Chimaltenango*, near to the park. The first day of high school I went alone, my parents said “I was old, and I have to learn how to do thing alone because they will not be there forever so you have to learn how to develop in life”. I was afraid about how to please people, what I have to do? Those things made me feel bad, when I saw my classmates I said ‘at least someone known here’ [...], we were twenty, a classmate came up and said, “where are you from?, I’m from Itzapa and she too”, so I started to talk [...], they were friendly, it was totally a different world to what I already lived in elementary and secondary school, because classmates took us into account at any situation or in groups works, we became good friends



it was like my second family, there were just five men in my class, Rudy, Antonio, Héctor, David and Mauricio, my best friends.



Source: Carolina Vásquez, Photo Album 2019.

I met a person who was studying eleventh grade of high school, and I started to go out with him, sometimes he visited me and my parents scolded me, they said “you’re beginning your studies, and that’s what we didn’t want, and said a lot of things like that”, so for that reason I got away from him.

Another experience that causes me panic was my first day of professional practice, I began it since tenth grade, I studied during fifteen days and then I practice other fifteen days. My professional practice was an amazing experience because I learned to do all the processes, and even my boss, the coordinator who was there gave me the laboratory keys so I could control everything, also with the other worker at the botanical garden I learned how to do organic fertilizers, dehydrated, I saw greenhouses, so I went into depth with field work, I never regret about it because I liked to learn. We were to give several trainings, the last one was my final grade of the year, I had to give one in Nahualá I prepared all my academic material, the boss was surprised because he didn’t know that I speak Kaqchikel, and when I was there in that community, most of the woman there did not speak Spanish, so I began speaking in Kaqchikel. He complimented me and said “if one day the company starts to grow or produce again, I will not have any doubt to call you and offer you a job position” [...], I had and amazing experience.

My parents always had been proud of me, because I have always tried to be aware of my activities, since high school I started to do my things alone, I got used to do those things alone. I know how to solve any issue or situation, and when I already solved them, I told my parents about them. Yes, I was so responsible, I was not interested being standard-bearer but I was among the best students.

The eleventh grade of high school was a complicated process, it was by semesters, the first one was about professional practice in a company and the second one was about made a community analysis. During the first semester a lot of things happened, I did my practice in Tecpán; I had to go alone, I looked solutions to cross the forest road alone. My parents never accompanied me, I always crossed it alone, during all the years; I learned so much thing on each area, there was just work and work, and at the same time learn and ask. I dressed with my Mayan clothing, but to getting there I had to wear trouser, that's why I started to wear trousers, because of the norms and safety of the place.

During the end of professional practice I had a heartbreaking experience because one of my classmates passed away, It was painful, every day I remember him it affected me because he always was there for me, helping and encouraging me, he said "hey, we have to be the best students, I know you can do it, me too, I want to support you, we will finish and graduate".

I was in practice when my classmates called me and said he passed away. He was practicing at the city, in a laboratory and I don't know why, I knew some issues he had, but I think he killed himself, when I heard it I feel so sad, I couldn't avoid his death, it was so sad and heartbreaking. It affected me so much I went to the class and cried, he sat next to me. When we came back to the institute to show our project, you can feel the difference about his presence, it was like a group separation between classmates.





During high school I had a person who helped me, I began a relationship with him, and he was at the last grade when I was in eleventh grade at the same institute. It causes me afraid because my parents didn't know about him, he was my first boyfriend.

The last year of high school, I became irresponsible with works, I leave expositions at the last minute, and the teachers noticed that and they scolded me. The final project presentation all my classmates did products innovation; I was the only one who did a research paper "*Re-isolation of Microbiological Strains*". My parents didn't attend because they have to take care of a property deed. From fifteen students just five were chosen for the award of the presented project.

At my graduation, my parents were surprised because they didn't know I had boyfriend, they knew it until that day.

The institute motto was "learning by doing", so then I reflected, I had the knowledges and now I have to implemented them and that's why I liked agribusiness, so when I decided to study at high school, I thought I have to create my own company, but first I have to learn all

about it, more than the knowledges I already have, I didn't want to study just high school I wanted to continue my studies, so then I started looking for information about an industrial engineering.

*My boyfriend*, is a very jealous person, he was no longer studied, he was just working, he said if I studied at the university I wouldn't spent time with him [...], it was like if he didn't want that I continue study, he wanted me to work and study on weekends, and he was going to study on weekends too. I did not like to be under someone commands, I liked to be free, I do things that I enjoy to do until achieve them, my dad also told me he was going to support me [...], thanks to all the experiences I had during three years of professional practice, I got a job offer, so I began to work in December.

When I began my university exams, I was a little scared to break up with my boyfriend, but then I spoke with my mother and she said "you must to study; you don't have to do what your boyfriend want, you have to be free and take your own decisions, he has to understand that you are going to study there; your dad is going to help you"

So she encouraged me to continue my admission process to the faculty, so then, I graduated from high school, I said good bye to my classmates, I am the only one who continued with university studies. This new change was completely different, so I broke up with my boyfriend, since there I had been alone.

The first time I came to the University was to ask for vocational test. My dad accompanied me because I didn't know where the bus stops were.

I was accepted in the Faculty of Agronomy, when I came to the university it was something different, the first induction week I couldn't attend the first day but until the second one, and it also was difficult because I didn't know anyone but I met a girl from Itzapa, and she introduced me with more friends, I met Carmen, Cristina, Flor, Mafer [...].

Last year I became irresponsible, I didn't attend to class regularly, I spent time with my friend Francis, and we both regretted about do that. We went to lunch or we went to her house, we hang out together, we did

other activities, and due that, I had an accident and I broke my feet, so I couldn't continue my studies that year, my parents were disappointed with me because I lied to them, they thought I was at the university but it wasn't true. I was delayed one university year; my dad told me if I want continue my studies or not, they didn't want to help me anymore, I think that were two deceptions in my family because my brother Israel, the third one, was studying high school and he didn't pass the semester, he couldn't repeat it again because the school changed the study program, so then, both my brother and I were looking for a job.

The only friend I had from Itzapa went to the United States; he graduated from high school and also had family issues, then he left, he encouraged me and said "here, in USA life is not easy, they kill us, they humiliate us, and do bad things to us, I want you to become a successful woman, I want the best for you [...], I know that your parents threaten you that they won't help you anymore but they will not do anything, they are going to continue helping with your studies".



Every time I remember that, I think maybe it happened because I wanted to experience new things, my mom said people influence us, but no, they never forced me to do something but it was my decision, it took my attention and I had no control over it.

Thanks to my parents I continued my studies, they understood me, and my grandmother scolded me too. I hardly coexisted with my cousin but one day she came with me and told me “hey, of all the cousins I have, you’re the only one I admire [...], I know you are delayed one year but don’t give up, if your parents support you, go ahead, don’t work, a job is good but first study and then you are going to have a better job opportunity” [...] and that motivated me to continue at the University”.

I talked with my parents, I apologized, but they didn’t trust in me for what I did last year, for lying to them. I became a better person by the end of December until now, I have different attitudes, and I began to coexist more with my family because I hardly stayed at home,

Sometimes I was out of home during weeks, they noticed my effort to change, so then my dad said “I know you’re going to change [...], you are going to continue your studies, I just want to see your courses and schedule because I’m going to control your time”. That’s why I started again this year, and the true is that I don’t do anything of the activities I did before, now I have a better communication with my family, because I had lost it before.

*When I went out and didn’t attend to class*, I dressed with trousers and left behind my Mayan clothing, my parents thought it was because fieldwork, then they got it. This year they say “now you’re going to study” bothering me, because I wear my Mayan clothing.

My mom always motivate me about using my clothing *corte*, and *huipil* [...], the true is that my mom is the person who I admire the most, she had experienced worst situations

I have learned my lesson; during twenty years my whole life has been full of happiness, sadness, crazy stuff and more. If I can achieve all my dreams, if I graduate from

University I hope to travel and visit Japan, go to fairs and to an anime convention. I also think about share my life with someone, as my dad says ‘it is necessary to share your life with someone special, because it is like a life complement, having child [...], in a short time I want to travel, graduate from University, being a businesswoman and implement all what I learned until now.

### Lesly Ixq’nil: life story

Lesly Ixq’nil, Maya kaqchikel from *San Juan Sacatepéquez* of Guatemala department, she’s 21 years old, student of an Associate degree in Intercultural Bilingual Education at *EFPEM* of San Carlos University of Guatemala. She is the oldest child and third granddaughter of the family. Her brother Manuel a student of an Associate degree in education specialized in Mathematics and Physics at *USAC*, her sister Cindy is still studying at elementary school. Her mother work selling breakfasts at *San Juan Sacatepéquez* and her father work at *Las Flores* cemetery as a warehouse head.

Her father’s mother Eugenia live close to her house and her mother’s father live just a few houses away, Lesly can occasionally see them. Her



**Source:** Lesly Ixq’nil’s Photo Album, 2019.

grandmother Agustina passed away when Lesly was twelve years old and her dad’s father Ernesto passed away when she was 15 years old.

Lesly and her family live in a house where they share the yard with her uncle and aunt (both her dad’s siblings), it means that the house is divided into three families. The yard is the meeting place of the family; there Lesly grew up playing with her cousins.



Source: Lesly Ixq'nil's Photo Album 2019.

Lesly wore Mayan clothing since child but she also wore trousers or dresses, they gave her the opportunity to choose how she wants to dress. Both her mother and father didn't speak Kaqchikel language, which reflect the no transmission of language from her family, in the case of her mother (Carmen), her parents' job was limited so Carmen didn't learn Mayan language. Lesly's father (Víctor) his father didn't want his children to learn Kaqchikel because he said it will be for nothing. Lesly does not know kaqchikel perfectly

but she is learning it. During elementary and secondary school she wore uniform, since a young age she suffered discrimination, she preferred not to wear her Mayan clothing because they questioned her (especially in class) and she didn't know what to say. She began to be aware of her Mayan identity due to both familiar and student experiences, however, was at the University where Lesly strengthen her Mayan identity.

### ***Childhood and familiar responsibilities***

When I was child my mom told me that I had to help in the kitchen, I hated be there, it was what I dislike the most about my childhood, I didn't even walk near the kitchen because I already knew what my mother say me to do, that's why I prefer being out running, jumping, playing with my cousins o doing something, and my mom said "those games are just for boys, girls have to help in the house, washing, cooking (making tortillas)", so I told her I want to be a boy and then I went out to play. But throughout the time I like cooking and I'm thanked with mi mom by her insistence, she said something that attracted me to the kitchen like "if you come, I'll give you something I have here".

*When I was a child*, I had a choleric temper, I got angry so fast, I fought about everything, I loved that feeling when I won all the fights, I enjoyed fighting with my brother and sister. We live here since I born, in *San Juan Sacatepequez*, the property is

divided into three parts, there is my house, my uncle's house and my aunt's house, but all the houses are linked with the yard, it was our meeting place with my cousins, we live there together, we have been a united family.



**Source:** Lesly Ixq'nil's Photo Album, 2019.

My parents told me that they began to dress me with Mayan clothing until I was two years and a half, the first *sanjuanero* dress I wore was a gift from my grandmother Agustina my mom's mother, it was the best for me, my first Mayan clothing, she also gave me a pair of silver earrings, I still have my *huipil* and

and the *sash*. I loved the first *huipil* my grandmother gave me, but that dress was only to go to the church or a party, otherwise I didn't wear it. My grandmother Eugenia, made me two blouses one purple and other was sky blue color. I still have them; I enjoyed wearing both blouses [...].



My mother always told me that it was my clothing and I must to wear it, on the other hand my father said “look at this dress, do you like it? Look at this trouser, or that blouse”, so then I think I had the opportunity to choose between both options, I prefer one more than another because sometimes I wore dress, my parents got married in church when I was seven, because before I was born, they just got married by the registry office, my dad told me to wear a dress he bought for me [...], I wore my dress to play like princess with a crown, I always had the freedom of say no about my clothes, but my mom always said “wore this, I bought you a blouse, a *corte*”, she loved to dress us alike, she bought a *corte* and gave me one for me, she ordered to make a blouse for her and one for me, and both dressed identical wherever we went. So, it was beautiful memories about my childhood, my mom instilled me to wear Mayan clothing.

When my mom got married she went to live at my dad's house, with her mother in law, so my grandmother Lived with my grandfather, but we lived one kilometer away from their

house. We visited them almost every day at afternoons when we left the school. I appreciate my mom and dad's parents because I lived with them in different ways and spaces, but we always coexisted together. My mom's mother was called Agustina, and my dad's mother Eugenia. I didn't like both names; my dad's mom said that is not good to give a baby a grandparents name because it is like to impose something about that person, so my grandmother told my dad to look for different names they like, so this will give to a new baby their own identity, from the beginning”.

I hardly copied something from my grandmothers, anyone of them is a weaver, and I love waist loom weaving, so it is as my grandmother said “you are creating your own identity from what you like to do”, my grandmother made blouses with flowers but it does not interested me. My grandmother Eugenia said that nobody in her family was a weaver; they worked as farmers, all her grandparents, her grandmothers put on their *mecapal* (a band used across forehead to carry objects in their back), their hampers and they went early to see the cornfield and bean

plants, sometimes my mom went to check the planting while her daughters stayed at home and cooked the lunch for her. My mom's father remembered that his mother's sister (his aunt) was a weaver. My mom's mother also planted corn, beans, herbs, and then they sold them, my family always worked in agriculture trade.

I discovered a weaving course so I began it last year [...], they said "weaving is related to our life, it has to pass through the *K'ux* (heart), it is where threads pass, our hearts, but it not always pass in a direct direction but sometimes it pulled other threads to an incorrect one, so that is how our life works, we have to be in harmony to our thread pass correctly and our life works well". I was surprised, our teacher suggested us to visit a woman who was weaving, when we were looking at her, she asked me if I want to try, so I said yes, it was the first time I did it and felt like a shiver running inside of me [...], I felt like if I was a

professional doing that. I told my mom I will continue to attend the course "I feel here is my place, this is for me", so she told me okay. I started to attend the courses every Sunday and we had to buy all the material. So I went to the market and bought a lot of weaving sticks, I have twenty of them in different sizes.

I felt that all of this was my destiny and during my practice I made just napkins because we had to pay to the trainers, at that time I didn't have a job so I dropped out of the course. I began looking for a weaver and I found one, she was my neighbor, I asked her if she wanted to train me, so she said "I'm glad you asked me, I always wanted to teach my granddaughters but they said weaving is not for them, I feel if I train someone he or she is going to remember me forever, is sad for me that my granddaughters don't want to learn it but I'm happy you choose me, you will never forget me". I remember that one day she started to cry, it was very touching and I cried to [...].





**Adolescence: rebelliousness and search for identity**

My mom's mother Agustina, passed away eight years ago, because of cancer [...], I remember she was at the *Antigua* Hospital, she called her sons and said she wanted to stay at her house, that all was alright, they did that, she stayed at her house just two days, then she died [...].

My mom, before she got married, she sold food and *tortillas*, my dad worked in a furniture shop. They got married just by the registry office, and then one year later I was born, after two years my brother was born. At that time I began walking, from a young age I attended to my therapy treatments because I couldn't wear any shoe but I had to use special steel-toe boot to be able to walk, I wore it during five years, my mom had to visit the doctor and take me, so my grandmother Eugenia should go and carry my brother or me, we all went to the treatments.

I was about eight years old when my sister Cindy was born; my parents already got married in church. I asked to my mom "Why didn't they get married at once? My mom says they got married just by the registry office because it was easy to break

the commitment, instead by the church it wasn't allow, if you got married in church the commitment is forever, for all your life, that is why they decided just get married by registry office, so we were born in a stable home and until everything was well, they decided to get married in church.

I feel that I have a good communication with my brother, because we were raised together, my birthday is on September 19 and my brother celebrates it on September 17, so since he was born my parents celebrate our birthdays together. We had everything my parents could give us. When my sister was born, I felt so bad, because I was a child, my mom had a surgery ten days after of a cesarean; she has to be in bed for a long time due to she carried heavy things before which complicated her health. At that time I felt sadness in my heart because my mom loved more to my sister than me, I remember I told my mom that I did not want to talk with her because she had another baby girl [...].

I remember when I was 12 years old, my mom was so angry with my

dad about something bad he did, so I said “mom” and I began to speak, then they said “shup up, all of this is your fault, if you were not born our lives would be different”. It was heartbreaking and marked me so much which made me a rebel person at that time.

*I told* my grandmother Agustina about it, I thought she would be my refuge but not, she did not help me, that was why I didn’t want to talk with her during some time; I remember when she was on her deathbed she wanted to see us, all of us were there in her room and everyone were close to her but I was not, all of them said goodbye to her and I was the last one, she said to me “I appreciate you so much, I would have liked sharing with you everything I know, what I couldn’t did with my sons but the time is over, you will have to discover it and change it, I’m so proud of you wherever you go [...], could you hug me?”, I said no, and then I left her room but I came back and hugged her and said “I love you too”.



**Source:** Lesly Ixq’nil’s Photo Album, 2019.

It was a time to liberate me, she said “I forgive you”, but I said that the one who has to apologize was me and not her because in my follies I did not talk to her, I didn’t want to see her. I didn’t know how to value her, she had a lot of things to give and teach me and I didn’t want because at that time of my life I did not know my identity, I didn’t knew who I was, I was not able to identify myself as now I do, and I think all of this was a process that if she should had been with me



everything would have been easier, I think I did not value her and I now have to face my life alone.

During two years my mom didn't exist for me, my dad supported her on what she said before. It began when I was 12 years old and finished when I was 15 years; my mom told me "we are going to celebrate your 15<sup>th</sup> birthday", I didn't want it but my aunt convinced me, so well, the birthday party preparations made us to see sense and be together again. All this suffering was with my mom which made us to strengthen our relationship and now we trust each other, instead of my dad he was detached like "well, it is not my problem, I'm not going to solve it", we never asked for forgiveness to him, but although we still talk, the confidence was broken with him... After a long time we went to counseling together but it was so difficult after a long time we forgive each other, we were able to overcome it.

### ***I felt ashamed about who I was***

Then came a time when I felt ashamed to say Maya, almost all the people don't say Maya but indigenous, people asked me, are

You indigenous? I said, "No, I don't"; then, why do you dress like that? I said, "Because it's cute and expensive", it was my way of thinking, and because all the times they offended me and my clothing [...] I did not understand that it was racism. I also discriminated myself; I didn't have identity, because when they said, why she dresses like that? I said: "I don't know why my parents wanted it, but when I get a job and have money I will change and I'm not be the same anymore, but no now", it happened to me when I was in secondary school, because in elementary school I wore a skirt as uniform, it was cheap, but my parents said, why don't you wear *corte*?, I said, "no, I prefer to wear the skirt" [...]. I studied at *San Juan Sacatepéquez* center, except during elementary school, it was located behind the church.

In elementary school wearing the uniform was obligated, there were Mayan girls like me and their parents said, "you have to wear a skirt, blouse, sweater, knee socks and shoes, that is you uniform", It was rarely the family who said "my daughter is not going to wear a skirt" then they obligated their daughters to wear their Mayan clothing, and everyone wore colorful clothes

because of their parents. There was a teacher who said “you are not wearing the uniform, so you’re not allowed to enter in mi class” and my classmate said, “my mom said I’m not going to wear a skirt, because it shows my legs and I don’t have to do that” and the teacher said, “so well, tell you mom to come and talk with me, if not, don’t get in”. From elementary school wearing the uniform was a rule, so since there so many girls ceased to wear their Mayan clothing. Elementary school was only for girls, some of them wore their Mayan clothing but others who have it, didn’t want to wear it.



**Fuente:** Álbum fotográfico de Lesly Ixq'nil, 2019.

We were almost nine years old with my friends, we were studying in third grade, we loved to go to a friend’s house, she was half-breed and had a lot of toys, a beautiful yard, and even though she was known as wealthy girl, she didn’t demonstrate it, she was humble and loved play with us, she said “hey, look that trouser does not fit me anymore, so I’m going to give it to you” [...] she gave us a trouser, a sweater, a blouse, and her parents said “if you want to give it then do it, we are going to buy you more”, and it also instilled some mates to wear trousers and their occasionally wear

their Mayan clothes. The first three months of secondary school you have to wear particular clothes, but the first day of class I wore my Mayan clothing, I fell down and I got my clothes dirty, and I wanted to cry, because instead my classmates helped me they laughed at me and said “she’s a fool, she wanted to cry, she wanted her mommy” I felt so ashamed, so they next day I dressed with skirt, blouse, knee socks and sweater, it was cold [...], when we had some activities I asked myself “Do I dress with *corte* or trousers, what should I do? So then I asked my friends, how are you



going to dress? some of them said they will dress with *corte* but others said trousers, so we voted for an option and the winner will be our outfit the next day” but over time I understood that Mayan clothing was my identity.

I decided to wear my Mayan clothing in eighth grade; one teacher said “I loved Mayan clothes, look at my bag, it is made of an old *corte* someone gave me, how I would like to wear such beautiful clothing, that them were mine, but it’s belong to someone else I just took it borrowed it as mine”, she always said her reflections and said “if you have one, wear it, do not be ashamed, I’m here to admire you” [...], so I said “I’m going to wear my blouse because my teacher is going to flattered me”, she influenced me. I have all this culture and I am rejecting it, so I accepted it “I am Maya” and that made me change. On Fridays we could dress with particular clothes but we had to pay Q1.00, then I said “I’m going to spent my money because I want to dress my clothing”, some classmates said to me “you look ugly”, and I think “they called me ugly but the teacher called me ‘pretty’ and said what matters is what you feel”.

During ninth grade I said “Why do I

give importance to what they tell me? Why Do I let it affect me? In secondary school there is psychologist, and I said to her: “I really appreciate to talk with you; please don’t give me counseling because it scares me”, but therapy influenced me to feeling good with myself.

I wanted to study the education for home career to become a teacher, my parents told me it was okay, they were going to support me, we looked for schools where to study at the city, they were not convinced because they did not want I travel every day, then they accepted; I had a problem with my study documents in secondary school, and when I went to the Institute at the city they told me that there were not more places [...] so my mom told me “You should study even if it is for an elementary teacher”, I said no, because I do not like spent time with children, but she said “if you don’t study now, then your dad is not going to help you the next year”, so I said “okay, I’m going to do the admission test if I approve it I will study there” [...]. Then I went for the results and the teacher told me “I did not like your drawings but I loved your story, you’re not going to be a handicrafts teacher but you’re going to use your imagination to teach, and it

is so good, congratulations, here is the registration form". Now as a teacher I'm with my children (students), they came at 8:30 am and leave at 11:00 am, that time is so special with my students. I worked in a Catholic School belonging to nuns. I always wore my Mayan clothing, today we have the sport class and I say to my students that no matter how you are dress, you can do everything. Students do not have some uniform just an school apron and mine identified me as a teacher, at work they told us "you can choose the design or color you want, or wear it just in white color, do what you want" so I told my friend to draw a little girl and a boy wearing Mayan clothing on my school apron, my students love it. One of the nuns of the school is from San Pedro Sacatepéquez, her mom speak Kaqchikel and she did not instill her sons this language, she said to them "don't speak it because someone if going to discriminate you", she the nun know some words and said "I can't wear my clothes which identified me, when I made my vows as a nun I committed myself to dress like that", her mom nor wear her Mayan clothing, she wears dress, and she also speaks Kaqchikel.

She tell me "we are going to strengthen our students teaching them the language not all the time because they will not understand us but we are going to start with some words", she also says "if you want to dress with Mayan clothing and give the sport class wearing it, it is okay" she gives me the freedom of choice and she also tell me "someday you are going to lend me your Mayan clothing and I'm going to dress like that". At school those girls who wear *corte* and it fell off, the nuns said "show me how you dress it" and I show them using mine how they have to do it. Now we're happy because the school changed of principal, and they do not restrict us.

When my mom dressed me, she said "let's go to dress you, raise your hands, you have to take the top of *corte* and then turn it to [...] it is size up like this, it doesn't have lines here, so you have to calculate it", or she put it on the bed or floor and said "put it here, from this tile to that one then you fold it in that tile", she taught me [...] I laid down on the floor and rolled it in my body, it took me almost 30 minutes to put on my *corte* [...], it was all a learning, then I learned, I was seven or six years old. My grandmother also said to me "you're going to learn how to wear it, you have to put it here and tighten it", it was so difficult for me, but now it took me less than five minutes.

***“You are going to graduate and then you have to decide what to do with your life”***

*My parents were so proud of me when I graduated from high school. All my mom's nieces already have sons, they are little older than me, one is 22 years old and she has two kids, it is the same with the oldest one who has two or three sons, they had them when they were in a young age. So my uncles told my parents that my study was a waste of time, because their daughters went to school and after a time they got pregnant, and my parents just were going to waste time and money [...]. So I told my mom that it will not happen to me, that I knew what I wanted, so they told me they're going to support me and not disappointed them. I remember so well when I said my mom I was going to graduate, she was so excited. When graduation's party was held at my house, my parents told me “we are so proud you did not disappoint us” I didn't know they were going to give me a graduation ring, my dad took it out and gave it to my mom then she put it in my finger [...], since there I decided to study at university.*



Source: Lesly Ixq'nil' Photo Album 2019.

From my mom's family no one of the women continued study neither men did, because they said “well, you are older and already studied high school, now look for a job and have a family”, so from my mom's family I'm the first granddaughter who is studying at university, also from my dad's family. It is a pleasure for me to say ‘I'm studying at university’, and is too sad that my uncles, my mom's siblings say it is a waste of time, or that a woman study is not useful, and is better to learn how to made *tortillas* and work in a *tortillas*

stand, or to sell something in the market, just because “I’m older, and I’m studying, I have to look for a husband, because their daughter at my age already had children [...]”. I have a totally different perspective, and the last thing I want at this stage of my life is to have children, what I really want is continuing my studies and strengthen my knowledges through the university.

My uncles and aunts from my dad’s family said they are so happy, they expect I continue with my studies, that it is a complicated process; and as my uncle who studied just until high school said ‘if you have the chance, don not miss it’ because he would have liked continuing his studies at the university.

When I graduated from high school, well, when I was studying the last year, I wanted to study other career in high school because my dream was being a teacher for education for home, my mom told me ‘no, look for other options’. A high school teacher told me to study an Associate degree in Education at the university and then I would take some cooking, sewing, handcraft courses, etc., but what really matter was to study at the university

because “that will open up new doors for you, study at the university will give you the opportunity for being a teacher in secondary or high schools, it is going to help you”, she said.

My boyfriend, at that time, he was studying at the Faculty of Agronomy, he told me “if you’re at the university [...] I’m going to help you”, he helped me a lot and said to me “you have to do that, you have to take this exam, o you have to do this [...]”, but then I was discourage because I had a lot of work to do, I felt I had a lot of pressure because of my high school midterms. I graduated in 2016, in 2007 I told my boyfriend “this year I’m going to do the process to study in the University”, and he told me: “let’s go to generate the slip and to pay it [...]”. I come to home that night and I told my parents “I’m going to study at *San Carlos*”, they thought it was a joke, and I told them it wasn’t, “see it, I already paid”.

I was thinking, what I’m going to study?, so I started to see and read the most common careers, Psychology, Engineering, Agronomy, all of that [...], I said “no, there is nothing here for me”, until one day my dad’s cousin who was





studying at Humanities Faculty told me “You should go to Humanities Faculty, there are good associate degrees”, so I started looking for careers, I found an option where said Bilingual Education, then I investigated and said “I already know what to study”.

During the registration process to be accepted in the University, I went on my own to take the admission exams but sometimes my dad drove me there on his motorcycle, occasionally he waited for me or sometimes I came home on my own, I said “well, now I know the road to university, I’m going to go there alone”. My mom has never been in the university, I have asked her many times to visit it but she always gave me an excuse and we never had a chance to do it.

The results for admission exams were given on my birthday day. I got successful tests and I was so happy because I did it in the first chance. My brother finished high school last year and now he had planned to waste a year without study but I told him that I was going to help him with money, and things he would need to keep his studies, and he does not waste a year as I did. My parents had already talked about helping us until

high school [...]. My brother is studying an associate degree in education specialized in Physics and Mathematics, I’m so proud of him and me because we are more family members who study in the University.

I have two cousins who are studying their first year of high school, so I told them “well, when you finish it then you have to study at the university and I will help you and informed you about registration process, admission texts [...] you can also study in the University [...]”.

My family always knew about university but they never talked about continuing study there after finish high school, they just said “well, after you finish high school, you have to decide what to do with your life”. One day I went with my friend to an activity held in the city, so we decided to go and know the university, the university students were on vacations, they were not studying there; we met a great world and I told my friend, “Well, someday we will study here”, and she said “yes, you will be here but as a street vendor”, she was joking. And well I’ll be here to study and not to sell, but she told me “no, I feel that university is not for me”, she’s not studying because she’s the oldest and she

has to work with her parents and help her siblings.

***“Because of my Mayan clothing he thought I was going to ask for money”***

I attended to university for free courses on Saturdays during the year; I did not start the university yet. The course was about “knowing my self-esteem”, when I came here at the first time was unpleasant because the teacher thought I was asking money and he said “excuse me, I’m not going to let you in and ask for money”, and I felt unwelcome, it was depressing for me just because my Mayan clothing he thought that, but I was there to take the course. Then I said “the next day I’m going to dress trouser” and I did it, I came there and the difference was “come in please, sit down”, he didn’t say it before, so I decided wear trouser. My mom told me, “Why are you dressed like that? Do not do that, put on your Mayan clothing”. Then I left my house wearing my Mayan clothing and when I came to university I put in my trousers, to avoid suffering. And then I said, “Why I’m doing this? Why I’m changing myself? So next day I dressed with my traditional clothing and if he ask me if I want to sell something I’m going to say, yes [...], I remember I came there and the

professor said, are you a student in this course? He just stared at me, and I said, yes, then he said “come in”; but it was so disgusting that I said “no, it will not make me give up, or I do not want to study here”, but it was like “I will continue my studies and show him I’m studying at the university and I will go so far.

In the common area of the Associate degree in Intercultural Bilingual Education -*EBI*-, there was a professor who said “because of the *EBI*’s students came late, they have to sit at back”, it was not true, it was because we were waiting outside to enter his class until previous class finished; so it was like “okay, guys of economic accounting course (*the other associate degree*), my guys come in please”, most of them wore trousers, just a few wore Mayan clothing, so it was “*EBI*’s students at back I think there is room where to stand up” but my classmates said “no, excuse me”, “no, I’m going to sit up front” “there is a place, so I’m going to sit here”, “no, stay here we have to be strong, do not sit at back”, but others said “no, let’s go at back because they were already here”, then I said, “well, Should I stay here or not? [...]. Those have been experiences which have helped me strengthen, even the



contact with *EBI*'s classmates, seeing how they are doing their transformation process has helped me with my own process.

A classmate has a bad experience when she went to the restroom to make up; one girl looked at her and said "look at this indigenous, she is making up", my classmate turned to her and said "hey, respect me because I'm not doing anything against you so you are insulting me that way". Some students think that Mayan people do not have the right to look beautiful. They had made us feel inferior but it was something we do not care anymore, well, in my case it does not affect me that they talk about me, but racism and discrimination is always there.

### ***"The University strengthened my identity"***

I thought university was just for half-breed or ladino people and that is not true, anyone who feel able to study there can do it, it was I liked the most that university if for everyone.

For the first university day, during all the week I was thinking about "how I'm going to dress me?" I remember I

wore my Mayan clothing, the *Sanjuanero*, my village's costume, and I said "well, I'm going to represent my people, so people would notice I'm from there and that I'm here in the university".

I remember I left my house at 4:40 am, when I came at the university there was a friend who was from San Raymundo, she was going to study Chemical Biology, it was so nice when I saw her, and I said "I'm so happy she is here" that day was so nice. We all who study Intercultural Bilingual Education -*EBI*- stay together, I was surprised to see a lot of girls wearing their Mayan clothing, there were also bachelors, teachers and professors who wear their clothing, I felt like in home "because we dressed our Mayan clothing"

My courses finished at 3:00 pm, they told us about a gratitude ceremony, I have never been in one, and such feeling like "well, should I be here, or should I leave, what should I do?" so I said "I'm going to stay", I thought I was linked and connected with the sacred fire. So I said "I have so much to learn, so much to know about it".

Each one of the professors with everything they do or say has helped me to develop my *identity*, and each one of them fills an empty space inside me with their teachings. Who has influenced me deeply in the university is Alicia because of her character and way of dressing [...]. I took a course “Education and Popular Communication” with her. I felt so proud to study in the University, and said “hey, I’m so proud wherever I go”, to go to work and said that I’m so proud, some mothers ask to me, Miss, why are you always dress like this? I say “because it is my identity and I’m so proud of that”, so they say “that is so good, someday my daughter would say that”.

I thought that my identity would have been interrupted and I would needed it, it is like a puzzle, I see it that way, I think that each process, each thing give me a piece to form my puzzle, which is my life my identity, so then, I think I’m on the middle of the puzzle and I still need the other half. I’m still in the process of complete my identity puzzle.

My mom said she has noticed little changes on me, but feel those have been great and immense changes, but everyone can see it in a different

way, even my friends have told me “I really like your way of thinking now”, and I said, “well, is that all?”, I mean “that my identity is more than that”, each of you just see a part of it, and that part is what I’m improving, and that part too [...], then everyone can see a different part which is forming my identity.

My parents said that each of us is a different world, and everyone knows what to do with their life, they do not say it as identity, but they say “everyone is free to do whatever they want with their lives and go wherever their destination take them”, so it has helped me with my Mayan clothing “this is my costume and you have to choose if you take it or not”.

It is amazing to me that *non-Mayan people are studying Intercultural Bilingual Education*, a classmate told that her family questioned her about, why she wanted to be involved with indigenous people?, and she felt so offended even though when she was not Maya, she even discussed with her family, then they told her it was a joke, but she told them not to do that kind of jokes because there are people who felt offended, she being no Maya was



offended with the comments of her family.

I think that non-Mayan people have taken our identity as theirs, as a classmate said that she was sad because she did not feel that half-breed and ladino culture were her identity, so she wanted to investigate through *EBI*, her Mayan roots. They say “I feel that I not have culture, and I do not belong from any place”, for that reason they are looking and asking to know who they are.

### ***Short Review of Carolina and Lesly's life stories***

Even though Carolina and Lesly had different stories and family context, they share several similarities. Being the oldest daughter in the family has involved assuming responsibilities, not because they are forced by their parents but because they see indispensable their support and participation. In Carolinas' case, she is concerned because her siblings identify themselves with their native roots, and learn and value what their parents had transmitted to them. The Kaqchikel was not their mother language, but she learned it in the school by her dad, likewise she is

looking for her brothers and sisters speak kaqchikel too.

In the Lesly's case, her concern is about her brother and sisters will continue to study, work for Lesly has been essential and achieves to study in the University. Her family does not prioritize the university studies, but work does. Her parents neither instilled them the Kaqchikel language, they do not speak it; Lesly is trying to learn it with her classmates.

The Mayan clothing is essential for both Carolina and Lesly, which generated doubt and interest about their identity, however, for Carolina, the Mayan clothing was a direct bound which helped to strengthen her identity as Maya. She learned it from her dad, because for her it was necessary to learn and do something as she grew up, her mother is a weaver, but who taught her to weave was her aunt, her mom's sister. Her great grandmother was who taught her aunt to weave.

For Carolina the weave was the basis to attach her history and self-identity as Mayan woman. In the Lesly's case weave was for her a

search of meaning and comprehension about who she was, but the meaning and strengthening of her identity was built through several experiences of racism and discrimination she suffered especially in educational places.

In both cases grandmothers has been the essential part about learning their history and life comprehension.

Both –Carolina and Lesly- live in their villages; they are from a large family because is not just mom, dad and children, but also uncles, aunts, cousins, grandmothers and grandfathers. They have received the support of their families but also they are models for their families, especially for her cousins, because they are the first ones who study at the USAC as women, daughters, granddaughters and nieces.

As the oldest daughters and granddaughter in the Carolina's case has involved being ideal enough and responsible not to disappoint their parents confidence. In the Lesly's case, she is not the oldest granddaughter but she is the oldest sister which requires being responsible enough with her studies. Both of them emphasized that of all their cousins, they were the only

ones who continued their studies, they do not want to be like them, be a mother at an early age and without a job related to what they studied. Carolina and Lesly feel the familiar and social pressure due to the transgression and breaking of social stereotypes.

At the university both have suffered discrimination and racism from professors and students, however it did not limit them to continue studying, not to stop wearing their Mayan clothing. Although they questioned themselves these marked differences in the University. In Carolina's case, she was interested about the student experiences and ways of life from some half-breed or ladino classmates, but she admits these life experiences generated a disorder in her familiar and academic life.

These are some of the student's life experiences which several young people live in the University, however, they are not always strengthen their identities, these experiences make them rethink not only their life condition but their own reality.

The patron saint festivities, fairs of their villages are part of their Mayan identity. These are time to share



with family staying together and share. For Carolina, I remember the moments shared with her grandparents especially her childhood. For Lesly, I am part of her family customs but also friendships.

Lesly's family life story has generated criticism and reflection regarding to have a family at an early age. It is not between her priorities, otherwise Carolina, who considers the importance of a family it corresponds according to each family condition. The courtship experience has been different on each other, but the freedom and independence for them is the main thing, and example of this is to have decided to continue studying even with the limits and conditions they had such as their courtship, family, etc.

The need to deconstruct the Maya and non-Maya thinking is essential to the recognition and respect of the "other people" in all social environments. Pierre Bourdieu (2002) emphasizes that:

In a determined social education, legitimate culture, it means, culture endowed of dominant legitimacy, is nothing more than dominant cultural

arbitrariness, as long as its objective truth of cultural and dominant arbitrariness is unknown. (p. 39)

Knowing the history of peoples makes us aware not only of their roots but also to know how to place historically and in an appropriate way their fights and social causes. It is exactly what the University has generated especially in some academic units regarding to recognition and respect of diversity of Mayan peoples in the country and thereby the university.

### ***Concluding Thoughts and Recommendations***

Mayan identity is defined according to the personal, familiar, collective and community life's track record of the Mayan young people. Identity is a need to maintain the memory and roots of grandparents (who were the pre- and post-colonial generations) in daily life, for that reason it is difficult to reduce it into one or more objectives and/or subjective elements. There is an inherent need in young Mayan people to speak and express not only their feelings but also their actions, proposals, projects, etc., about personal and collective life.

Mayan Language is one of the elements of Mayan identity; it is the one that has linked contemporary Mayan populations with their roots. Language has contributed and maintains the transmission of original knowledges to the contemporary generations, especially through oral heritage. Language has been one of the resistance, rebellion and permanence pillar or the original knowledges in Guatemala, especially because most Mayan people do not write it but they just speak it.

Preserving the language was a demonstration of resistance of grandparents during colonial process and which remain (contemporaneously) after diverse policies of genocide, assimilation, “becoming ladino”, “Hispanicization”, etc., which are implemented and promoted by Guatemalan State. This reality has been experienced by most of Mayan families in Guatemala, the student’s thoughts and their contributions on it make visible the significance of diverse policies of assimilation and “inclusion” have had without belong to Maya, Garífuna and Xinca native peoples in the country.

Violence is going through the majority of young people in Guatemala, especially Mayan people, who besides of several social exclusions they suffered; they had also suffered racism from the diverse assimilated and standardized violence in society and even in some Mayan families.

In this country the violence against Mayan identity has been historical, the Internal Armed Conflict was the nearest reference of violence and racism and it has had several implications in contemporary native youth, however, there have been questions and especially recognitions about their origin to replace and bring into discussion and into the practice the cultural and political visibility of Mayan identity.

Mayan clothing is not only an element of identity, but it places and reads out Mayan identity through weaves, colors, embroideries, figures, etc. It also shows native peoples history as well as the expressions of Mayan women at present. The use of Mayan clothing is instilled since childhood and in some cases throughout adolescence and adulthood. But it is probably that the use of Mayan clothing remain in Mayan women (in this case, students)





When it is instilled since childhood, but during the life path the use of Mayan clothing could change due to the diverse experiences Mayan women suffered, for example racism, discriminations, family breakdown, violence, harassment, etc.

Mayan clothing is part of the collective-community, familiar and individual identity, but in front of non-Mayan population it could be an indicator of underdevelopment, incapacity, ignorance, poverty, unhappiness, lack of beauty and intelligence, among others and it is made visible in classrooms especially groups of work. Exclusions is embodied toward Mayan women when works, expositions, researches are done in their classrooms groups; and to continue studying their career they must to show their academic skills and intelligence to be included into work groups. These Mayan skills and intelligence are cause of doubt and questioning also from some professors especially when students wore their Mayan clothing.

Before these exclusions experienced by Mayan women, they have

generated mechanism of resistance and permanence into classrooms such as sorority among Mayan women, recognition and accompaniment, work and study groups between them. But not in all academic units Mayan woman can find some allies, particularly in the Health Sciences and Technical Area where there are a minimal number of Mayan students for that reason some students give up, and other change their career and/or of faculty; and the few one who decided to continue are forced to hide their identity, other denied it or try to forget it, but also there are other who maintain their identity and strengthen it and made visible it with proud, reason and impulse in the University.

At the academic units of Health Sciences and Technical Areas, the no use of Mayan clothing is due to safety rules of the laboratory, fieldwork, etc., done by students; it means there is a regulation by student safety. However, students emphasize that when professors notice they are Mayans, they doubt

about their capabilities in managing of laboratory tools, dangerous and volatile substances, etc.

In the case of the academic units of the Humanistic Social Area, students who decide to stop wearing their Mayan clothing is due to racism, discrimination, harassment and several violence they experienced in classrooms, into the faculty, in the University and in buses. It should be emphasized that both Mayan women of the Humanistic Social Area as well as the student from Health and Technical Area are victims of racism, discrimination, harassment, etc., by students, professors and university workers.

Stopping using Mayan clothing for most Mayan student, especially those who wear it since their childhood, it involves discomfort and insecurity because they can not feel other clothes as part of them, and their indigenous roots and memory are endangered. There is also cause of discomfort and insecurity for some student to wear their Mayan clothing in the University or mostly in non-indigenous places. These experiences happen because students body has impregnate all the multiple violence suffered by

Mayan women, as well as the historical colonial and contemporary dispossession also experienced by them. For instance, the fear and insecurity to manifest and make evidence Mayan identity is highlighted, about what Internal Armed Conflict caused to Mayan populations and is still evidenced in these younger generations.

Mayan women are more harassed than half-breed or ladino women in the University, especially by USAC workers. Vulnerability to which they are subjected is due to the use of their Mayan clothing. Some students have changed their Mayan clothing by trousers or dresses and the difference is evidenced, not only by social treatment but also in access to certain public services, as education; and they are conscious that is does not give them a guarantee for their inclusion and total acceptance in student groups, for instance.

Being rejected and excluded by non-Mayan students, in some cases Mayan women stop wearing their traditional clothing as an obligatory alternative, but they notice that is not like this because clothing is just part of their identity, because their history,



their roots, people, and family remain intact.

The admission to the University has reaffirmed, questioned, doubted, denied, suppressed etc., the Mayan student's identity. Nevertheless, it is essential to highlight that the University has also generated them, consciousness, has given them the opportunity to talk about themselves and their origins deconstructing them to strengthen their Mayan identity. Professors have been part of this process constructed by Mayan women student, especially starting with academic, professional and teaching Mayan and non-Mayan contributions, which have been contextualized with ethnic, cultural and genre relevance the needs and demands of students and general population.

The friendship life cycle that Mayan students coming to have or form, keep them emotionally and physically especially when they are excluded.

Most of students who no longer or sometimes wear their Mayan clothing highlight with impetus the Mayan language as an essential element of Mayan identity. Which mean those who wear they traditional clothing also stand out

their language as a supporter, and that identity is not defined from one subjective and/or objective element but there are a plurality and multiplicity ways to attach and manifest identity which are no necessary contradicted but complemented, reinforced and boosted.

Racism and discrimination are not strangers to socio-academic relationships between professors; Mayan students emphasize they have evidenced racism and discrimination by non-Mayan professors against Mayan professors especially to Mayan women.

Historically the University has assumed responsibility to solve several demands and social struggles. However, talking about indigenous people (nationally majority population) it even not has deepen or contributed to such populations can incorporate their needs, struggles and demands into socio-academic activities promoted, executed, proposed and projected by the only public University,

The University as diversity itself has had projects and work schedules which have contributed in a minimal way, to the deconstruction of an academic and professional training

that do not longer responds to students and general society demands and needs.

The university careers, associate degrees or bachelors relevant to indigenous people and of gender, strengthen identities, in this case, Mayan identity in the university, but is has been implemented only in some areas, for example at Humanistic Social Area (in a minimal range) and not so much or almost nothing at Health Sciences and Technological Area.

An associate or a bachelor degree in Intercultural Bilingual Education of the Training College of Secondary Education Teachers - *EFPEM* – is a contribution and effort made at *USAC* particularly regarding to native people demands, especially from students, but such has been reduced only in this area, it is necessary that this cultural, academic, social, ghistorical, etc., relevance will be implemented at central campus and nationally.

Regarding about identity should not be a form of discomfort, however in Guatemalan society talking about Mayan identity is cause of disdain, dispossession, fear, shame, and even offence. For that reason it is

necessary do this conversations not only with Mayan women, but also half-breed and/or ladino, Garífunas and Xíncas women and men, because in this ways stereotypes and thoughts are deconstructed. Critical coexistence between diverse Maya, Garífuna, Xínca, and half-breed and ladino populations is an urgent necessity, especially in the only public university in Guatemala.

To ensure that the University responds to several realities and social demands it is essential to generates contributions not only academic but also real and critical analysis about diverse current problems of the country for the benefit of the population. It is important to generate the social critic analysis and training for professors, administrative personnel and other workers such as cleaning and service staff, etc., placed and contextualized from native people approach, of genre, sexual diversity, rurality, urbanity, among others. Furthermore, it must be provided with all financial resources, means and funds enough to implement projects, internal and international work schedules, by what it is urgent to request the 5% budget that constitutionally corresponds to *USAC*



## References

- Arfuch, L. (2002). *El espacio biográfico. Dilemas de la subjetividad contemporánea*. Chapter. 6: El espacio biográfico en las ciencias sociales (pp.177-202).
- AVANCSO. (2017). "La violencia de antes está adelante...", *Mujeres indígenas: su relación con la violencia dy "las justicias"*. Investigation Book No. 29. Guatemala: AVANCSO.
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (2001). *La reproducción: elementos para una Teoría del Sistema de Enseñanza*. Madrid, Spain: Popular.
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (2008). *Los herederos: los estudiantes y la cultura*. México: XXI Century.
- Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (2008). *Una invitación a la Sociología reflexiva*. Buenos Aires: XXI Century.
- Bourdieu, P. (2008). *Homo academicus*. Buenos Aires: XXI Century.
- Casaús, M. (1998). *La metamorfosis del racismo en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Publishing House: Cholsamaj.
- Casaús, M. & Hurtado, A. (2006). *Diagnóstico del racismo en Guatemala: investigación interdisciplinaria y participativa para una política integral por la convivencia y la eliminación del racismo*. Volumen III. Prácticas discriminatorias y construcción colectiva de conceptos. Guatemala: Publishing House: Serviprensa, S.A.
- Casaús, M. (2019). *Racismo, genocidio y memoria*. Guatemala: F&G Editores.
- Chirix, E (2008). *Una aproximación sociológica a la sexualidad kaqchikel de hoy*. Guatemala: FLACSO.
- Chirix, E. (2012). *Dos generaciones de mujeres mayas: disciplinas corporales en el internado Instituto Indígena Nuestra Señora del Socorro*. Jalisco: CIESAS.
- Cojtí, D. (1991). *La configuración del pensamiento político del Pueblo Maya*. Guatemala: Association of Mayan Writers of Guatemala.
- Cojtí, D. (1994). *La universidad contra los mayas*, en: Breton, A. & Arnould, J. (1994). *Los mayas: la pasión por los antepasados, el deseo de perdurar*. México: Publishing House Grijalbo.

- Cojtí, D. (1997). *Ri maya' moloj pa iximulew*. El movimiento maya (en Guatemala). Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Cojtí, D. (2018). *Problemas actuales de la identidad Nacional Guatemalteca*. Retrieved from: [https://nanopdf.com/download/problemas-actuales-academico\\_pdf#](https://nanopdf.com/download/problemas-actuales-academico_pdf#)
- Derrida, J. (1989). *La escritura y la diferencia*. Barcelona: Publishing House Anthropos.
- Dewey-Plana, M. (2006). *La verdad bajo la tierra Guatemala, el genocidio silenciado*. Spain: Art Blume, S.L.
- Directorate General of Administration, Registration and Statistic Office - USAC. (2018). *Avance estadístico No. 02-2018. Registered students by academic unit according to ethnic self-affiliation. Academic Year, 2010-2017*. Retrieved from: [https://registro.usac.edu.gt/formularios\\_rye/AvanceEstad02\\_2018.pdf](https://registro.usac.edu.gt/formularios_rye/AvanceEstad02_2018.pdf)
- Directorate General of Administration, De-Registration and Statistic Office - USAC. (2018). *Total of registered students by academic unit and career, according to entrance and sex category, academic year 2018*. Retrieved from: [https://registro.usac.edu.gt/formulario\\_s\\_rye/POficialINSCRITO2018.pdf](https://registro.usac.edu.gt/formulario_s_rye/POficialINSCRITO2018.pdf)
- Directorate General of Administration, Registration and Statistic Office- USAC. (2019). *Total of students registered by academic unit and career, according to entrance category, academic year 2019*. Retrieved from: [https://registro.usac.edu.gt/formularios\\_rye/INSCRITOS2019.pdf](https://registro.usac.edu.gt/formularios_rye/INSCRITOS2019.pdf)
- Organizational Development Department. (2018). *General Organizational Table of USAC*. Guatemala: USAC. Retrieved from: <http://ddo.usac.edu.gt/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Organograma-General-USAC-Julio-2019.jpg>
- Esquit, E. (2014). Debate entre ser indio, maya e indígena en Guatemala. En *Interculturalidad y Multiculturalismo. Realidades e Ilusiones*. Magazine No. 24, año 19, December 2013. Guatemala: IDEI.
- Falla, R. (2010). *Alicia: Explorando la identidad de una joven maya Ixcán, Guatemala*. Guatemala: University Publishing House.
- Foucault, M. (1999). *Estrategias de poder*. Barcelona, Spain: Publishing House Paidós.
- Guzmán-Böckler, C. & Herbert, J. L. (1970). *Guatemala: una interpretación histórico-social*. México: XXI Century.
- Harvey, D. (2007). *Breve historia del neoliberalismo*. Madrid: Akal
- Harvey, D. (2005). *El nuevo imperialismo: acumulación por desposesión*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Hurtado, A. (2006). *Estilos de prejuicio en la población universitaria*



- guatemalteca: análisis comparado en cuatro universidades. En Diagnóstico del racismo en Guatemala: investigación interdisciplinaria y participativa para una política integral por la convivencia y la eliminación del racismo. Volumen III. Prácticas discriminatorias y construcción colectiva de conceptos. Guatemala: Serviprensa, S.A.
- Hurtado, A. (2007). *Las Mayas de Kaqla: la renegociación de la identidad maya en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Instituto de Lingüística y Educación de la University Rafael Landívar.
- Koselleck, R. (1993). *Historia conceptual e historia social*. En Futuro Pasado. Para una semántica de los tiempos históricos (p. 105-126). Barcelona: Paidós.
- Laclau, E. (1993). Discurso. *Revista Topos y Tropos* (1).
- Laclau, E. (1996). *Emancipación y diferencia*. Buenos Aires: Ariel.
- Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1999). *Nuevas reflexiones sobre la revolución en nuestro tiempo*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.
- Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (2004). *Hegemonía y estrategia socialista: hacia una radicalización de la democracia*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Laclau, E. (2005). *Populismo: ¿qué hay en el nombre?* En Arfuch, L. (2005). *Pensar este tiempo: espacios, afectos, pertenencias*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Laclau, E. (2015). *La razón populista*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Segato, R. (2010). *Género y Colonialidad: en busca de claves de lectura y de un vocabulario estratégico descolonial*. En Bidaseca, K. (2010). *Feminismos y Poscolonialidad: descolonizando el feminismo desde y en América Latina* (pp. 17-47). Buenos Aires: Publishing House Godot.
- Segato, R. et. al. (2010). *Raza y racismo*. En Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales "Crítica y Emancipación" (pp. 11-124). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Spivak, G. (2003). *¿Puede hablar el subalterno?* En Revista Colombiana de Antropología (pp. 297-364). Bogotá, Colombia: Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History.
- Tzul, G. (2016). *Sistemas de Gobierno Comunal Indígena: Mujeres y tramas de parentesco en Chuimeq'ena'*. Sociedad Comunitaria de Estudios Estratégicos y Centro de Investigación y Pluralismo Jurídico Tz'ikin. Guatemala, Publishing House Maya Wuj.

Vasilachis, I (2006). *La investigación cualitativa. Estrategias de investigación cualitativa*. Barcelona: Gedisa.

### **Discussion Groups**

Mayan women students of Political Sciences School, USAC. (28/02 & 06/03 de 2019). *Discussion Group "Discuss and Express our feelings as Mayan women students at the ECP"*. Guatemala: (A. E. Sociológicos-IIPS).

Mayan women students at the Health and Technical Area, USAC. (19 & 22/03 de 2019). *Discussion Groups "Discuss and Express our feelings as Mayan women students at the USAC"*. Guatemala: (A. E. Sociológicos-IIPS).

Mayan women students at the Humanistic and Social Area, USAC. (30/03 & 02/04 de 2019). *Discussion Group "Discuss and express our feelings as Mayan women at the USAC"*. Guatemala: (A. E. Sociológicos-IIPS).

Women students of USAC. (29/04 de 2019). *Discussion Group "Dialogue between women students at the*

*USAC"*. Guatemala: (A. E. Sociológicos-IIPS).

### **Interviewed Students**

1. Carolina Vásquez, maya k'aqchikel, student at the Agronomy and Engineering Faculty, USAC.
2. Lesly Ixq'anil, maya k'aqchikel, student at the Training College of Secondary Education Teachers USAC.
3. Madeline Simón, maya k'qchikel, student at the Pharmacy Faculty, USAC.
4. Florencia López, maya k'aqchikel, student at the Political Science School, USAC.
5. Elsa Ixcoy, maya k'aqchikel, student at the Political Science School, USAC.
6. Ixmukané Cojtí, maya q'eqchí-kaqchikel, student at the Pharmacy Faculty, USAC.

### **Photographic References**

Sociological Study Area —AES—.

Lesly Ixq'anil.

Carolina Vásquez.





## *Acronyms and Abbreviations (by its initials in Spanish)*

<b>AES</b>	Sociological Study Area
<b>AEU</b>	Association of University Students
<b>CC.SS</b>	Social Sciences
<b>CEH</b>	Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico
<b>CONALFA</b>	National Literacy Committee
<b>EBI</b>	Intercultural Bilingual Education
<b>ECP</b>	Political Science School
<b>EFPEM</b>	Training College of Secondary Education Teachers
<b>ECTAFIDE</b>	School of Science and Technology of Physical Activity and Sport
<b>IDEI</b>	Institute of Interethnic Studies
<b>IIPS</b>	Institute of Political and Social Research
<b>IUMUSAC</b>	University Institute for Women
<b>ITEMS</b>	MayaTechnological Institute of Higher Education
<b>ITUGS</b>	University Institute of Technology Guatemala South
<b>ONG's</b>	Non-governmental Organizations
<b>ONU</b>	United Nations
<b>PAC</b>	Civilian Self-Defense Patrols
<b>USAC</b>	San Carlos University of Guatemala





Politics and Society  
 –Investigation Reports– 2019  
 Researches/Investigaciones  
 ISSN: 2518-4733

## From outrage to spectacle: *la plaza 2015*

*IIPS –Politics Study Areas–*

*“(...) the real is produced from minuaturne cells, matrices,  
 memory and a model of comissions – and from there it can be  
 produced indefinitely.*

*It has not rational identity by not being tested in any  
 ideal or negative process. It is not more than something  
 operative not even real since nothing imaginary involves it.*

*It is hyper-real, the product of a radiant sinthesis of  
 combinatory models in a hyperspace withouth atmosphere”.*

*Jean Baudrillard. Cultura y simulacro, 1978.*

## Introduction

Due to the publishing of the article “Political imaginary of the citizen protest of 2005 in Guatemala: from the symbolic to the specific” (IIPS, 2018), the Political Studies Area AEP initiated an investigation in order to explore about the socio-historical events occurred in Guatemala in 2015. Such investigation provides to the readers a theoretical and referential essay which outlined a look about the situation and social proceses generated regarding to what the national and international media called “*La Plaza* in 2015”

The objective provinding to society a response from the academy about one of the recent and more significant political events for Guatemalan people, is hidden to such intellectual entrepreneurship, which, even in the past years, it continues giving rise to conjectures and interpretative hypothesis which examine its mytcal nature, although its legitimacy too. Such investigation practiced an interpretative proposal about “*La Plaza*” events, linked to the invention of an outrage imaginary and citizen protests as referential point, evocation and representation of political fields in Guatemala.

Intencionally, the traditional view of civic culture studies was not continued, which privileged the quantitative variable and investigates around the quantitative measure of the citizen participation into public interest matters, the government, the support to the system and the situational studies, scenarios and political prospective, which have consolidated their dominant tendencies at social sciences such as in the influential journalistic narrative. Instead, the exposition was supported in the concept of political imaginaries; the invention of the symbolic, political representation and construction of myths, rituals, expectations, memories and speeches were the central focus, in the sense offer by Landi, talking about “cultural plot of politics” (cited in Echegoyen, 2003, p. 40).

*AEP* considered the need to continue with the investigation about the events related with citizens protests of 2015, valuing a serie of hypothesis: since those which positioned “la Plaza” as a disruptive phenomenon, unifier of wills (supposition that still remain as part of a social imaginary **established**)

Even the opinions aimed to denounce the 2015 events as part of a continental strategy, aimed to provoke a popular dissapointment and a citizen protest controlled through media manipulation, the use of social media and microblogging in political function.

All of this with the purpose to redirect the attention of public opinion towards specific objectives: generates citizen consensuses against government of the moment, facilitates a “change of direction” and promotes a sense into the populations about that phenomenon was a genuine and espontaneous movement, massive, but urban. It gives the posibility to rethink the citizen protest, as imaginary and as hyper-real product, in the sense proposed by Baudrillard, inasmuch as its symbolic construction took place in social media its preferential place of origin, putting into effect a whole simulation strategy derived from a politic of counterfit truth (post-truth)

This investigation raised the need to value the ideological products and citizens demands which were compromised during 2015 with special focus on the analysis of the



speech of outrage spokespersons, social groups especially those called “emerging” through the technique of semistructured interview. It also includes the opinion of recognized experts, prominent national journalist and bloggers. Thus, the theoretical assumptions raised were confronted in a combination of hemerographic techniques and semistructured interviews. On one side, the team work developed a timeline of the most relevant politics events between April and August 2015; with the purpose of portray the political process and most important events within the conjuncture level as well as within the wide political scene. On the other hand, some groups who participated into “*la Plaza*” events were contacted and they contributed with a retrospective point of view about their participation, with the serenity of the distance.

A total of 13 interviews were developed during the investigation process, generating approximately 15 recording hours. Transcriptions will be published individually and in parallel way on this investigation paper in a book format, in which the reader would

would appreciate the positions expressed by interviewers, to those who participated we appreciate their time and willingness to collaborate with this investigation. Likewise, the research team makes noticeable their gratitude to scientist Samuel Sánchez, student of Sociology Career in our Alma Mater, who participated in the transcription process of four interviews.

### Methodological Note

After the publication of the article “Political imaginary of citizen protests of 2015 in Guatemala: from the symbolic to the specific” (*IIPS*, 2018), *AEP* planned a next work phase, which was developed during the academic year 01/2019. Its principal objective was to investigate about ideological implications of political nexus of 2015, beginning from the content of political and ideological test into the social protests of that year. In this sense the investigation presented made an inspection of social participant actors in those mentioned events, with especial interest in the opinions of emerging groups, looking for new interpretations related with political construction.

### a) Objectives

- Explain the political and ideological content of 2015 political crisis with the main basis of social representation theory and political imaginary concept.
- Examine the role of political and social protagonists throughout the period stated.
- Identify in retrospective, the speeches and positions of main protagonist during the “situational phase”.
- Setting implications for social movement and political forces at the present time, as a response to the scenario under development for the 2019 electoral process.
- What is the tangible extent of citizen demands?
- Which were the modalities of social protests?
- What is the contemporary electoral scene referring to forces and protagonists who participated in the 2019 electoral process and how they have collected the proposals derived from “*La plaza*” 2015?
- Which is the origin, structure, proposal and ideology of the new political groups for 2019 electoral process? Which one of these political groups was really originated from *la Plaza*?

### b) Questions asked

- Which were the forces and protagonists involved in the 2015 crisis in Guatemala?
- Which is the specific ideological content of citizen demands?

### c) Delimitation of Temporary space

In this case, the construction of the subject matter which refers to the symbolic evocation of the political event and its established representations. We appreciate in “*La Plaza 2015*” concepts (preferably widespread by the media) a series of meanings, values and attitudes concentrated around “being” a



citizen and that demand an exemplary representation of public practice, involving individual dimension, but also to other politician, following the lacanian postulate “the other always be”. The days of 2015 protests arise from an inadequacy plaintiff, causing a collective problem regarding to political spectacle, which contributes decisively to the construction of the symbol “*La Plaza*” (*ECAP –by its acronym in Spanish*), 1999, p. 230). In its established function, “*La Plaza*” is a term that does not put into stake the subject (which demands the cessation of corruption) and implicitly to the Other, the responsible of the problem. In any case this conceptual symbiosis does not leave aside the interactions between the real and the imaginary. For its part, referring to the “space” where the event subject matter occurred (*la Plaza de la Constitución*),

For its part, making reference to the “space” where the event-study matter took place (*La Plaza de la Constitución*), we mention to its symbolic function, but also territorial. In any case, “*La Plaza*” suggests a physical place that modify on its allegorical resignification. It is important to emphasize that the symbolic space was addressed at the

beginning of this research paper (IIPS, 2018). Finally the temporal dimension, to which the term “*La Plaza*” refers, is circumscribed to the action undertaken between April and August of this year, in as much as the interest of symbolic content of the demand associated with its temporal field.

Regarding to its epistemic delimitation, the term “*La Plaza*” dialectically articulates its physical-territorial character with its synchronic condition. It pretends to signify a break regarding to citizen responsibility and politics in public matters. Validate and legitimate any political or ideological position is not part of this investigation. However, it is known that the term “*La Plaza 2015*” make reference to a kind of “citizen awaken” in Guatemala.

In this sense, our investigation visualizes the concept as an expression of what Fair (2009) pointed out as a return to the “unrest in culture”, remembering the well-known work of Sigmund Freud, 1930, as much as our time is characterized by a globalization, overconsumption, the post-truth and individualism. In short, because of the fall of meta-narrative and the search for sense.

Thus, “*La Plaza*” can visualises itself as a social “symthom” and the citizen demands as path to the fullness of political enjoyment, a version of the lacanian “pure enjoyment” that will never be achieved, since its established function is mythical in character. (Appleton, 2016, p. 92).

#### d) **Methodological Route**

Regarding to the methodological route, the team work considred the existence of two great epictemic paradigms: quantitative and qualitative (See Chart No. 1). Following the sense of the Directorate General for Research – *DIGI* – (by its acronym in Spanish) from our Alma Máter, the qualitative paradigm according to Herrera (2017) is characterized by:

- Explore the social processes that underlie human interactions.
- Describing situations, events, people, iterations, behaviors and its manifestations.
- Collecting data equals to getting the narrative of memories, events or situations constructing an ordinary knowledge or about events.
- Using the data collection without numerical measure to discover or improve research questiones.
- Do not limit to an inflexible estrategy which only considers the measurable and external aspect of phenomena.
- Usually, do not prove hypothesis since they are generated during the process, and they are concretized according to study data and results.
- Investigate in a flexible ways and work among events and thier interpretations, among answers and the theory development.
- Supporting in the interpretative perspective of human actions meanings and its institutions.



**Chart No. 1**  
**Qualitative Paradigm and Quantitative Paradigm**

Qualitative Paradigm	Quantitative Paradigm
<i>Qualitative Methods</i>	<i>Quantitative Methods</i>
Phenomenology and Comprehension	Logical Positivism
Naturalistic observation, without control.	Pervasive and controlled measurement
"Subjective"	"Objective"
From inside the data	From outside the data
Exploratory, inductive, descriptive	Confirmatory, inferencial, deductive
Process Oriented	Result Oriented
"Substantial and extensive" Data	"Stable and repeatable" Data
Not general	General
Holistic	Particular
Dynamic Reality	Static Reality

**Source:** Bautista, E (2007). Qualitative and quantitative investigation in social work. Análisis y construcción de modelos teóricos de tres casos prácticos en Trabajo Social.

**e) Methodology, Techniques and tools**

Due to this is an investigation following a qualittive paradigm, semiestructured interviews were proposed in the process, in order to know the opinion of different citizen sectors and identify relevant positions and speeches. In this ways, it was consider the need to continue the conceptual joint of social representations theory and specifically to the imaginary group concept. For that purpose, an strategy design supported in semiestructured interview was

discussed, which are divided in three: consultant groups. (See Chart No. 3).

In order to keep coherence between proposed objectives and expected results, people to interview were divided into three groups, according to the following chart which, does not correspond to any type of hierarchical connection:

**Group of scholars.** In this group was sought to know the scholars' perception about 2015 events. The criterion considered was the type of journalist and academic publications developed by the interviewer.

With the collaboration of:

1. Édgar Gutiérrez
2. Mario Roberto Morales
3. Simona Yagenova

Group of generators of public opinion. In this group media personalities come together who have generated explanations disseminated in media and social networks. It interviewed at:

1. Phillip Chicola
2. Martín Rodríguez Pellecer
3. Gloria Álvarez
4. Rodrigo Polo

Social organizations group. For this level social activist were selected from some organization participating in “La Plaza 2015” protests. Whereas there were several organization which conform the movement it was difficult to interview all of them, consequently the number were reduced and interviews were requested to:

1. Justicia Ya
2. University General Coordinator (conformed by Landivarianos, AEU, Acción UVG).
3. Guatemalan University Union (UUGT by its acronym in Spanish)

4. Otra Guatemala Ya
5. Hagámonos el Paro.
6. La Batucada del Pueblo
7. Carlos Bianchi
- f) Fieldwork strategy

Fieldwork strategy was the main methodological strategy in this second part of the investigation. This effort was established as basic action to obtain information in a direct way with social organizations, generators of public opinion, and of course, the group of scholars. Such activity was considered necessary, since in the first release of this investigation (IIPS, 2018) a synthesis was included about the emerging participants of “La Plaza” which contributed an approximately of general character, product of bibliographic and hemerographic reviews which outlined a future direct approachment with the groups.

The consultation to the scholars was formulated with the objective to expand the explanatory direction of the investigation. Starting from generated questions, its vision and reading of political process were asked, with the chance of create an academic and political dialogue and its result was highly enlightening.

On the other hand the generators of public opinión and social communicators also were considered in the study due to they are essential agents in these situations, on which informative function is the key in the creation of imaginaries. The interviews were developed during March and April, a total of 13 interviews with different modalities: personal interviews (11), videoconference interview (1), and interview by e-mail (1). (See chart No. 2)

The investigation followed up on intelectual dimensions proposed by Castoriadis for social imaginary studies.

In keeping with the lacanian interpretation, about the imaginary, symbolic and real, Castoriadis suggest the imagined and concrete dimensions, like desire realization and social aspirations which have a place in the psychic world of individuals but which become concrete into objects or everyday customs. Although it is similar to the notion of ideology in Althusser, the concept of imaginary in Castoriadis refers us to an exchange of great richness between concious and unconscious. For that reason, this research paper did not follow the interpretation track proposed by the political culture studies, which referring to Echegoye (2003) we can consider it hegemonic today.

**Chart No. 2**  
**Developing the fieldwork strategy**

Interview Group	Place of Implementation	Months of Implementation	Interview Mode
Social Organization Group	IIPS Meeting Room (3) Guatemala City Coffee Shoop (3)	March (5) April (1)	6 in person interview
Group of generators of Public opinion	Nómada Office (1) Guatemala City Coffee Shoop (2) Vía Skype (1)	March (3) April (1)	3 in person 1 videoconference
Scholars Group	USAC Central Campus (1) FLACSO Guatemala (1) Vía Gmail (1)	April (3)	2 in person 1 vía e-mail

Source: IIPS, Political Studies Area, 2019.

## Chapter I

### Between spectacle and outrage: incubation of “contained anger”

Recent history shows us that the political class has resorted to series of strategies to manage its public image, in order to consolidate its hegemony. In the “democratic era”, it is a fact that the manipulation and instrumentalization of the masses are practical that displaced the ideological and electoral competition on equal terms, as valid procedures of a healthy democracy. Thus, politics in Guatemala is reduced to a kind of spectacle aimed to conquer, keeping and expanding the sphere of control, continuing with the classic scheme proposed by Maquiavelo in his famous work “The Prince”. In this particular case, we value the representation of the Pérez-Baldetti presidential binomial from a symbolic perspective, in accordance with the plan stated at the article published in the Politics and Society Magazine number 55 (IIPS, 2018), whose explanatory main subject is supported by the social representation theory and the concept of imaginary groups. A theoretical side that provides a novel look around legal actions against the executive branch headlines in 2015 and its historical correlation, the citizen movements of outrage. Everything seems to indicate that both antagonistic forces have a conditional relationship, however, there are several questions to be resolved.

#### ***Guatemala: a bureaucratic – democratic state?***

The transition stage to the democracy, begun in Guatemala towards the first half of the eighties of the previous century, has been the backdrop for the rise and fall of a significant number of political parties, process that became the formation of extreme multi party system. To be precise, we could qualify the previous by saying that Guatemala has gradually embraced a system that formally seems to be several political parties, but which has a clear inclination towards centrism. Thus, political parties not matter their ideological affiliation, tend to generate alliances that converge on centrism-political right options which in their tropical version, translate into a conjugation of conservative traditions, militarism and repressive policies, covert or explicit, of “hard-handed”.

In this regard, a study conducted by Peláez Almengor (2001) about the perception that corporate groups

have about political parties during the years “the generalship” (1970s of the twentieth century) and the transition to democracy, ensures that the weakness of the systems was due in a large part to the lack of institutionalization of the political organization, whose political game

was reduced to determine which of all could best represent the interest of the oligarchy. Undoubtedly, this function established the basis of the heritage of our day (Reyes, 1998), as well as the phenomenon of co-optation and capture of the state (Waxenecker, 2019).

### Image No. 1

#### ***Plaza de la Constitución*, the day of the National Strike August, 27 2015**



**Photography:** Jorge Aragón, 2015.

The roots of the bureaucratic-authoritarian tradition in Guatemala are long history. To illustrate this situation, Rouquié (1994, p. 111) remind us that from the turbulent 70s years until the Constitution enactment of 1985, all government were represented by military, with exception of the period of the Bachelor Julio César Méndez Montenegro (1966-1970). During these years the partisan ideological spectrum was completely reduced, giving raise to the creation of a facade democracy, according to Solórzano Martínez (1983). In words of Torres-Rivas (2010, p. 142) the authoritarian stage of the developing State was discuss. From this perspective, the obligatory questions turns out to be, how far did this corporate state scheme change after the establishment of the democratic model, towards the first half of the 80s of the past century?

Within this logic it should be noted that the options of centrism-political left continued to be reduced, being their participation in a modest way, not able to articulate massive electorate wills. Some political parties have gone so far as to disappear because they are unable to achieve significant representation among the electorate. To a large

extent, this have been about the unequal financing of political parties, the “original sin” of the electorate system of Guatemala, which favored over many years the “democracy”. That is, without guaranties of equality and equitable access to political game, any electoral system that is democratic can subsist as such. Sooner or later, it will move towards its corrupted counterpart.

That political system has managed to remain without great changes or significant threats, forming a legal culture, functional for the reproduction of consensus and conditions that ensure the maintenance of the institutional order, guaranteed by the 1985 Constitution. In this way the genuine democratic processes postulated juridically, collide against a dynamic historical exclusion that leaves a very limited margin to authentic social participation (Arriola y Rodas, 1998).

The previus does not imply that the Guatemalan political system has been exempt from questioning since its turn towards the democracy since the beginnings of the past century, an aspect that is noted with the intermittent irruption of political events that have culminated with

conservative legalistic restorations, which have achieved circumstantial consensus in favor of the dominance of a democratic-bureaucratic order. These restorations have been constituted as triggering for the production of symbols and representations capable of generating type of “minimum consensus” able to maintain the reproduction of the system, between traditional elites and extra-legal parallel powers.

According to Torres-Rivas (2010, p. 143) the post-conflict democratic subsidiary state generated new configurations of power, social forces of interest, as well as new ideas of material and symbolic culture, which were obliged to muster balances of power. The basis of this type of state is based on a depleted and unequal society unable to reconcile the latent inter-ethnic conflict where the free-market discourse and the minimum State tried with little success to become into its dominant ideology.

Today, while other political parties speak about post-neo-liberalism, Guatemala is recognized as a failed state. Its legitimacy has been in permanence questioning and has only managed to maintain coherence through legalistic restorations,

populism and political fetishism. Politics as a banal spectacle accept the signifier more than the meaning and give raise to atrophy such as the simulation of the “people” needs, the fascination of electoral show or the permissiveness of corruption. It is no coincidence that the current Guatemalan president “who in 2011 changed his real name to his artistic alter ego for electoral purposes” has as last profession of comedian and film and televisión actor.

According Bourdieu (2000), we could say that this contradictory bureaucratic-democratic state becomes “Central bank of symbolic capital”, in its search for consolidation. Citing as example of the previous the political crisis of 1993 which is preceded by an ephemeral alliance of conservative parties, it was resolved by institutional means, although without significant changes in the hegemonic configuration of economic elites (Álvarez, 1999), much less questioning the historical influence and authority of the northern neighbor, hegemonic since 1930 (López, 1996). Obviously that such crisis was followed by a conservative restoration process

that leads the presidency to the former magistrate of conscience, Bs.Ramiro de León Carpio, promoted a constitutional amendment as the government first action.

At that time 37 articles of the Magna Carta were reformed with a modest citizen participation, where was highlighted an abstention of more than 85%. Among the matters to amend the presidential terms was reduced to four years, the elimination of confidential expenditures, the abolition of the Supreme Court of Justice and the election of new representatives to the Legislative Branch. In this way the “*serranazo*” one of the Guatemalan political spectacles for excellence, it was rather a temporary displacement of the holders of power, political class, responsible of the origin of nation vices and issues. Among them it is the corruption.

During the course of democratic life, the organization of public opinion has been effected on the basis of a demagogic management in matters of public interest in social practices as well as within its symbolic representations. Thus, the speech against the corruption of the state has overlapped with the economic

inequality conditioned realities such as poverty (7 out of 10 Guatemalans currently live in that condition), chronic malnutrition, lack of acces to decent housing in urban means, the inefficient distribution of municipal services, health and education, and in general the lack of opportunities, a matter that oblige hundreds of compatriots to migrate year after year by economic reasons, related with the lack of job opportunities. Certainly the speech for the fight against corruption fulfills a unifying function among civil society organizations and occupies important spaces between the media and political parties.

The party institutions have failed in their articulate and representative function of the general interest during the phase called “*the transition*” so its offers are not coherents with the results of the public service. This has caused that the social deficits provoke disruption into democracy. Regarding to quantitative clarifications in the key style of *The Economist*, we can properly talk about complete and imperfect democracies, hybrid and authoritarian regimes. On that



spectrum, Guatemala's political history of the last 40 years can be identified as a hybrid regime with authoritarian characteristics. Under such conditions only a legal symbolic regime has allowed the permanence of this political system.

### ***Democracy, structural adjustment and globalization***

Recounting the socioeconomic history of the 20th century we can assure that, despite the introduction of certain reforms aimed at capitalism modernization( as the creation of social security or work code), Guatemala never fully adopted the principles of the welfare State, which had a great period of apogee in the Latin American region. Subsequently, the industrialization model by import institution had a weak articulation around the Central American common market. Even though this formula of regionalization propitiated a modest economic growth, this did not improve the living conditions on the population, nor did it stimulate balanced growth of urban centers for the Guatemalan case.

As a result of the previous information, the country has nowadays a macrocephalic territorial model, due to the permanence of a constant concentration of economic

function, but also policies. That reality does not escape either, the fact that territorial planning during the internal war was strongly conditioned by the counterinsurgency fight, which led the country to important community ruptures and deterritorialization processes. (Aragón, 2008)

With the irruption of neoliberalism in Guatemala around 1983 from the diversification of agricultural production and the fall of export production in international markets, gradually the country entered a slow process of a policy adoption of structural adjustment, destined to deregulate the economy. Actions that had a relative success for society (Peláez Almengor, 2001), but they managed to consolidate significantly the influence of financial oligarchy associated with the banking and service sector, in the bulk of the national economy.

Thus, social and policies processes of the transition to democracy and the abandonment of authoritarianism accompanied with important reforms at the economic level. Such actions displaced the influence of traditional oligarchic sectors, as are the agrarian and, or a lesser extent, the industrial, as a result that the social expectations around the democratic

formula, collided against economic import models, and Guatemala and the rest of Latin Americans countries adapted with different rhythms. With this the social relations of production were modified, and the consumption habits too, amid imposed schemes by globalization, essentially economic phenomenon, although unquestionable cultural consequences. Every four years the political parties have presented a wide range of solutions that do not find application in practice, limiting the exercise power to a reserved matter to the economic elites that control the parties and the political class. Definitely, it is a scheme that gives rise to a wide questioning of the democratic system and that no en few occasions has become in a clamor to instituting new orders, either through refundational demands in the form of a constituent assembly, or, through reforms that contribute to governance. Talking about Fonseca (2018), is about refundational projects “from below” or “from above”, that take place as consequences of hegemonic crises, which have been resolved normally

through conservative restructuring that, in some way or another, perpetuate the viability of the regime. In that stage, most communication media have not tried nor have they been consolidated as “fourth power”. Following business agendas have been determining factors to specify the reproduction of consensus and discourses that articulate wills favorable to the hegemonic management of the public res, supporting or disqualifying, according to your own interests, to governments without a country project and, definitely, without political ethics. In Guatemala we can talk about clans corporate that make use of parties in their function of simple electoral vehicles, not representative of the interests of society. The media, in this context, also have had an important role in terms of symbolic production in around politics and what is political.

### **From the imaginary of peace to struggle against corruption**

In the conditions above described, it is not strange that the Guatemalan state has continued operating under a loot logic politician, despite efforts to transit towards democracy.

Good parts of those efforts were directed towards the concretion of the signing of peace in 1996. However, the relevant objections to the project of the Agreements de Paz (Flores, 1997), said event had the potential to influence transformations of political transcendence, being one of the events most important of the second half of the Guatemalan 20th century, in terms of the spectacle of politics.

Although it was a new missed opportunity, it should be noted that the Peace Accords favored novel social practices and experiences of organization within civil society, which had already adjusted to new management scenarios since the conjuncture of 1993. Amid the uncertainty that involved the result of popular consultation 1999 - where citizens rejected the proposal for constitutional reforms directly derived of the Agreements (Zepeda, 2000 -, the previous decade started with a movement politician around its consolidation as "State Agreements". Along with the lack of consensus for concretion of the Fiscal Pact, without a doubt some that event involved erosion of the "imaginary" built around of the peace process. The Peace Accords involved renewal of the political system, historical opportunity, and search for consensus.

They were sublimated to the level of desired society, as well, sabotaged and disqualified by traditional groups of power. Part of that social drive towards search of justice, groups related to defending human rights and political activism started to reclaim a higher incidence in decision-making processes. to experience of the Society Assembly Civil in the decade of the years ninety of the previous century, was followed by other types of consensus instances.

Such was the case of the Guatemala Forum that emerged on August 8, 2002 as a pressure group that brought together to different national sectors represented by notable citizens, CACIF, academic sectors, activists of human rights, and representatives of the small and medium business, feminist organizations, among others. They're intention was to influence the decision-making processes around the struggle against corruption (USAC, 2002). Both are excellent examples of (re) foundation projects, in sense evoked by Fonseca (2018). Around that and other social "clubs" and politicians, the fight against corruption began to take shape.

**Image Number 2**  
**Student Organization in the National Strike**  
**August 27th 27 2015**



**Photography by:** Jorge Aragón, 2015.

Thus, during the first years of previous decade, talk began of processes that could put democracy in question and the recent transition that involved the signing of the peace treaty. One of those processes concerned the corruption as a consequence of State capture phenomenon. The organized civil society concern was that the Guatemalan state will become controlled by parallel powers, through electoral and legal institutional mechanisms.

as well as bribery and purchase of wills. With this, it would be possible for criminal groups will use State institutions to carry out financial laundering operations of money through private banking, facilitate the action of drug trafficking in the territory, control customs to encourage smuggling, continue conditioning the performance of volatile political parties and generally seize key structures of the State, for the benefit of crime organize

Various experts on security issues and various civil society groups indicated the need to cope opportunely to such a scenario, formulating a creation of a commission to investigate the existence of structures parallel. Following the subscription of an agreement between the Organization of United Nations (UN) and the State from Guatemala, the proposal of the creation of an inquiry commission of illegal bodies and clandestine devices of security, specifically on January 7, 2003.

Initially, the assumption that supported the creation of a commission of such nature rested in that, under the war, criminal groups they had acted with total impunity, in both, political repression, psychological violence and as in State hijacking, and a formation of a corporatist scheme, which used public resources for decades for his own benefit. In those years, a consensus prevailed tacit among civil society in the sense that these clandestine groups had not ceased their criminal activities after the signing of the peace. It is more, it was thought that the transition to democracy had meant its consolidation like big influence structure on the state. The

turning point for creation of said international entity, occurred after dissolution of the United Nations Mission in Guatemala, MINUGUA, body that accompanied the peace process and the compliance with the Agreements between January 1997 and December 2004, although it is well known that the UN found directly involved in peace talks since the nineties. It was until 12 December 2006 that the State of Guatemala signed an agreement for creation of a commission with a more specific mandate, focused on judicial investigations around corruption and the fight against impunity. That way, consolidation democratic became a factor of minor, subordinate to corruption problem that without downplaying it, it was placed as the center of the political agendas of social groups, the media and of course business chamber.

### ***Ascent of the Political Party "Patriota": obscenity and political tartufism***

In 2011 the electorate leaned in the second round, for the option that offered strong opposition to criminality and state corruption.

This was how the retired General's project Otto Pérez Molina and the Bachelor, Roxana Baldetti rose with the electoral victory over its antagonist, Dr. Manuel Baldizón. A participation of 60% empowered citizens to exercise suffrage, served to give some legitimacy to Pérez Molina, who obtained 53.74% of support, on the 46.26% obtained for his opponent. As a whole, democracy as a form of government had little legitimacy. According to the measurements made by Latin America Barometer, social perception of democracy was equivalent to just 36% in 2011, ten points less than the previous year (Latin America Barometer Corporation, 2011, p. 29).

All in all, the citizenry chose for first time to a military man as president in full democratic era. It should be noted that the participation of presidential binomial in political issues had already gained some notoriety. On the one hand, Pérez Molina had a visible activity as a strategist counterinsurgent during the Guatemalan war. Later, he played a key role in the defenestration of engineer Jorge Serrano in 1993. Subsequently, participated in negotiations between the government and the armed insurgency, being

known as one of the "Generals of peace". In 2001 he founded the Patriot Party, being its first general secretary. He declined his presidential candidacy to support the Bachelor, Oscar Berger on his election route in 2003, going on to form part of his government cabinet as Security Commissioner and Defense, once elected president, position he held for a short period to then occupy a seat parliamentary, place he had obtained by popular vote.

In the other hand, Ms. Roxana Baldetti began his political activity by under the government of the engineer Jorge Serrano, between 1990 and 1993, serving as Sub Secretary of Public Relations of the Presidency of the Republic. She gained some notoriety on the occasion of the institutional crisis of May 1993, specifically in the censorship to the press and control of the information that media were spreading about "serranazo". Later it went on to form part of the group of image consultants of the Guatemalan Republican Front, subsequently joining the Great National Alliance, where she obtained a parliamentary seat in the 2003 elections.



### Image Number 3

#### Manifestations of the National Stoppage day, 2015



Photography by: Jorge Aragón, 2015.

In 2007 she was elected again as a deputy, this time for the Party Patriot, group that lost in the second electoral round against the National Unit of Hope UNE of the engineer Álvaro Colom. From the Congress of the Republic she constituted an important counterweight to the action of the UNE. In 2012 she became the first woman to occupy the position of vice president, an opportunity for fostering changes in mentality regarding the situation of women and family, which was lost due to his ambition personal.

Once in possession of their charges, soon the new rulers were involved in

situations of mispend public resources and unfortunate statements. Perez Molina, against the interests of The United States assured that the best way to fight drug trafficking in the Central American region, was promoting the legalization of drugs, something that was rejected by the American government. In the other hand, Baldetti was denounced in the media communication for excessive and unnecessary expenses (like buying gifts for friends or family close to her), and as well as his inaccurate assertions to the Mexican president

Enrique Peña Nieto, made for justify their megalomania.

The image of the rulers began to be teased and attacked, especially on social networks. Baldetti's case was more notorious, because his political image began to fall into disrepute, because for many mistakes. It's remembered the unfortunate situation lived during the presentation of the II report government, when the vice-president claimed to have been the victim of a personal attack by two young women. Maneuver that public opinion described as self-sabotage, although in his opportunity Juan Carlos Monzón, private secretary and Baldetti's political operator, assured that the attack was real and that the intellectual author was Karlos de León, who turned himself in to the authorities in March 2019.

Until then, the actions of the Vice President had not passed of being seen as part of the political folklore. But the case of the Lake of Amatitlán in March 2015 was something that caused unrest and controversy among the citizens, because it was clearly an orchestrated scam by Baldetti Elías. By then, Joe Biden, Vice President of the United States had already interviewed with Pérez Molina and the

Leaders of El Salvador and Honduras, being the central theme of the meeting, the Central America migratory wave and the fight against corruption. All this within the framework of the help that Obama administration had offered for the north triangle, the Alliance for Prosperity. Help, that in the case of Guatemala, was conditioned to action of the CICIG in the identification and dismantling of criminal structures of corruption and facilities that government could provide for the fight against impunity.

But the detonating for citizen outrage occurred on April 26 2015 (See Figure No. 4), when CICIG and the Public Ministry organized a press conference in which they pointed to the private secretary of the vice presidency, the captain (r) Juan Carlos Monzón, of being the brain of a customs fraud operation. The worn out Baldetti's image before the public opinion was conjugated with the evidence provided by research entities judicial, leading to a popular generalized discontent, which had extensive media coverage of communication as well as an important information traffic in already consolidated social networks a call made to arrange through such means to demand resignation by Baldetti Elías was enough to start a series of protests,





which took place in the Plaza de la Constitución but they spread to other departments, replicating the event, even outside of Guatemala.

In this context, the image of Baldetti went from mockery in networks social to be object of citizen outrage, her resignation was an object pursued by public opinion. Even some positions they referred to the phenomenon as a sort of "political lynching" based on the dehumanization of the figure of the Vice President in networks social and media, perhaps as a defensive strategy in favor of Pérez Molina (Álvarez, 2017).

The truth of the case is that social networks they became an essential complement of information spread by the traditional media which, meanwhile, they were favoring another type of fight, in this case, business hegemonic type. Such way that citizen protests of 2015 and the petition for resignation of the rulers of the Patriot Party, are events that also allowed to understand the game of interests of the media, giving way to another factor influencing the invention of that collective imaginary articulated around citizen outrage: social networks.

## Chapter II

### **The citizen's square or the construction of a collective imaginary**

In a must-read work for young generations, Annie Le Brun (2004) ensures that the (globalized) world contemporary, presents us with an interesting paradox: The new information technologies are a form of seduction that away from freedom, insofar they bring us closer to censorship. Since publication from the aforementioned book to this day, the West got used to using those technologies that fascinate us with its promise of cultural flow, they offer knowledge practically unlimited, provide the possibility of immediate communication in real time and, moreover, they put us before an overflow of information that, apparently, guarantee one possibility of access to the other and its intimacy, putting into play the "space biographical". Following Lacan, the internet is another opportunity to make way for crafting of desire that, at the same time, serves us as guidance by providing a sense of reality and belonging. In addition to enriching it and, in certain extremes, supplant it, it is (hyper) virtual reality serves as censorship, which it is not based on prohibition but on excess.

An information excess, that penalizes the morally acceptable, the civically viable, politically correct. Penalizes the morally acceptable, the civically viable, and politically correct. Are we in the presence of a social order where the power resides in the one who has the knowledge or who controls what we can know? In this section we discuss three hypotheses around the protests of 2015 in Guatemala, based on interviews with social groups participating, communicators, intellectuals and bloggers, in a search to elucidate that imaginary of outrage.

Between April and August 2015 the Guatemalan political system experienced it's crisis of deepest representation of the democratic era. As an effect of criminal complaints formulated by the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala, representatives of the Executive Body, General Otto Pérez Molina and the Bachelor Ms. Roxana Baldetti Elías, they felt exposed before the national and international public opinion as part of a customs fraud network that, under the State



protection of, has operated for decades in detriment of scarce public resources. In a lagging country with historical social deficits, this situation was derived in social protests of discontent and social rejection, stimulating broad participation traditional social actors and emerging, as well as formation of numerous social groups summoned through virtual social networks being the outrage citizen its common denominator. Of course, among the outrage and the way the crisis was resolved it is still appropriate to raise questions about the national politician process, in function of underline prospective scenarios. Undoubtedly, there are issues to deepen that require an intellectual effort to clarify conditions that favored such citizen protest, practically unpublished in a country used to violence, silence and forgetting in political matters.

And it is that 2015 was an atypical year already that for the second time in recent Guatemalan history, a presidential binomial was separated from the public function before ending the mandate for which they were popularly elected. Having the opportunity to lead the nation to prosperity and inclusion, the rulers opted for the unjust enrichment, resulting in outrage, social disapproval and the jail. Something similar

happened in 1993, with occasion of institutional breakdown caused by the engineer Jorge Serrano in his attempt to win to the parliament that was not aligned to his interests. That crisis was resolved through institutional solutions they did not involve questioning background to the democratic regime. Rather, it is remembered as an event that gave the opportunity of looking for a solution that ended for symbolically strengthening the regime. The second time, in 2015, the solution to the crisis also required a parliamentary process, which was preceded by disapproval and moral sanction of society, upon the denunciation of the rulers as the head of a parallel structure to the State, dedicated to fraud tax and bribery: "The Line".

In common, both processes have the virtue of having been resolved by legalistic solutions although there are profound differences in so far as the duration of each situation and their social participation. In 1993 the great antagonists of *serranismo* were the media, upon which the censorship fell. Undoubtedly, in 2015 journalistic work was also decisive in the gestation of indignation, although e

**Image Number 4**  
**Social Organizations in National Stoppage**  
**August 27th. 2015**



**Photography by:** Jorge Aragón, 2015.

Also, both events have in common that they gave rise to the putting in practice citizenship model that, by disapproving of government management, satirize and sanction it, they built an I-other, an ideal, an imaginary around what should be civic participation of society

in matters of public interest. In others words it's about collective invention of an imaginary of defense of a "democratic" order and a historical "Citizen responsibility". The Civil Society assembly was the result of the "serranazo". In 2015, "the Line" gave rise to "La plaza"

In 2015 the complaints provided by the MP and the CICIG (see Figure No. 5) they overflowed the indignation of the society (read, class population urban mean), causing reactions from widespread disapproval to the public administration of the Patriot Party, it was already in decline. Nevertheless, we must take into account that in 2015 a phenomenon happened in Guatemala unpublished informational where media and networks social aligned in search of the same objective, in this case, the exit from the presidential binomial.

That factor caused a break, a interruption regarding logic traditional communicational of a political nature for Guatemala, country where democratic exercise and responsibility citizen are reduced aspects to the act of voting every four years. What happened then in 2015 so that a part of the urban middle class show fury (although in an orderly manner) their discontent, reaching the extreme to form virtual social groups, since important calls were elaborated? In order to contribute to the social explanations around such an important question, this section offers three explanatory hypotheses, which are derived from the interpretation of

the results of the field work developed within the framework of our investigation.

### ***La Plaza as a simulation***

Consulted about it, groups as Justice Now (then Renounce Now) and Let's help us, they insist that the 2015 protests were spontaneous actions without planning, which were directed towards demanding resignation of rulers, moved directly for the information of the press, but gathered in the social networks. Social networks became a space for deliberation and a meeting where the real is transformed into a product of a decision conscious, which were under cover of tweets. Thus, the material become residual, insofar that the social networks were the place where the decisions that guided to the subsequent social practice. The reality as a simulation, following the sense of Baudrillard (1978). The social groups that were formed around the virtual calls were mostly young outraged by the documented situation in the press. The communication with each other preferably occurred through social networks. Thus, groups like Despierta Huehue, VOS Xela, resign now Escuintla, resign now Xela, resign now Cobán, were the first to settle

outside the metropolitan region. Many of the interviewees insisted in which each of its activities were self-financed. But others claim that at some point were offered some kind of financial support, especially to through non-governmental organizations. In other cases, occurred solidarity, through the donation of instruments in a private form to the collective La Batucada from town. Similar criteria could be seen among university student organizations, which arise soon, although they become an important role. In social networks a situation was built in keeping quiet was seen as coward complicity.

### ***La Plaza as a hostage***

Another reflective nucleus shared by a minority group of interviewees refers to social media as a simple catalyst of extraterritorial decisions, largely due to geostrategic interests in Central America. Thus, the protests of La Plaza were a peripheral phenomenon, a necessary counterpart to endow with some legitimacy the decisions taken at the political center. It is say, a hostage (Baudrillard, 1978). In that sense, we speak openly about role of the United States in Guatemala, which exceeds the obvious

performance from Ambassador Todd Robinson, who personified the figure of Joe Biden, American Vice President at that time.

Once the resignation of Baldetti, Pérez Molina gave a lecture press in which the main protagonist was Robinson, who took over the presidential podium. Without question, at that moment, the figure of the ambassador enjoyed greater legitimacy than the president, causing an imaginary displacement. The protesters did not express any concern about it.

In this way, social groups and outraged citizens without no ideological affiliation or politics, by meeting at the 20 peaceful demonstrations developed during 2015, they served as a factor of legitimating to a political process that they never had control of. In fact it's supposed that some groups are received some type of financing or material aid and that the underlying claim was always bring about changes, but not structural transformations. Thus, it was necessary to "inoculate" the population with the virus fighting against corruption, in such a way that "ange contained" always made part of the strategies

of traditional hegemonic group. This assumption is based too on the dissolution of "La Plaza" in the following years, because certain kinds of protests against the President Jimmy Morales Cabrera, didn't achieve accessions seen in 2015 against Pérez and Baldetti. It gives an artificial sense, sweetened character, of the "La plaza" protests.

### ***La Plaza as a conservative restoration***

A criterion around the 2015 protests points towards the overflow of feelings of outrage that germinated throughout the presidential term of Pérez-Baldetti binomial, by mistakes and excesses in exercise power. However, once Baldetti's resignation was achieved, collectives didn't find points of meeting around concrete demands. On the one hand, it is understood that the financing report of political parties of CICIG, they didn't get enough social support to provoke widespread discontent. On the other hand, it could not materialize either the postponement of the electoral event, since there are no ideal conditions for its realization. These factors were unable to sustain an absolute renewal of parties and

the "political class". Actually by appealing to a legalistic exit was favored a conservative solution.

In such a way that the events of 2015 encouraged, just as it has happened at other times, a media turmoil, an angry citizenship and a solution within the institutional scheme, despite the fact that there were voices demanding formation of another constituent power and the founding of a new constitutional regime. While citizen participation had the potential to achieve fundamental changes, nothing was done. Instead of, they continued with the consigned in the Constitution of the 1985.

Again, we are faced with a legal solution for a political problem, because there did not exist among the participants levels of political consciousness capable of articulating consensus. Neither, were social leaderships, that is verified because there were nonexistence of political groups claiming the demands of "La plaza" in the next electoral event. The juncture of 2015 closed with the celebration of general elections, where the Bachelor Jimmy Morales Cabrera was victorious, representative of a traditional military order and conservative.

## Chapter III

### Discussion of interview results

#### About the interviewees

**Image Number 3**  
**Details of each interview conducted**

Group of interviewees	Name	Modality	Place and date of realization	Interview Duration
Group of social organizations	1. Carlos Adolfo Alemán of Unión Universitaria Guatemalteca (UUGT)	Personal Interview	Meeting room IIPS/USAC. Wednesday, March 6th-2019	1.8 hours
	2. Gabriel Wer of Justicia Ya	Personal interview	Patsy Avenida Reforma, zona 9. Thursday, March 7th-2019	0.8 hours
	3. Brenda Lara of Hagámonos El Paro	Personal interview	San Martín restaurant San Cristobal. Saturday, March 9th-2019	1.82 hours
	4. Bachelor.Luis Velásquez, student of la Escuela de Ciencia Política in 2015	Personal interview	Meeting room IIPS/USAC. Tuesday, March 12th-2019	1.1 hours
	5. Brenda Hernández and Isabel Saravia of La Batucada del Pueblo.	Personal interview	El Cafetalito zona 1. Tuesday, March 12th-2019	1.4 hours
	6. Carlos Bianchi, Student of la Escuela de Ciencia Política in 2015	Personal interview	Meeting room IIPS/USAC.Monday, April 8th-2019	1.25 hours
Group of Academics	1. M.Sc Simona Yagenova	Personal interview	Building of Flacso Guatemala , Zone 10. Wednesday, April 3rd-2019	1 hora
	2. Dr. Mario Roberto Morales	Personal interview	DIGED, Rectoría USAC basement. Monday, April 8th-2019	1 hora
	3. M. Sc Édgar Gutiérrez	Interview via email	Via email. Monday, April 29th-2019	

Contine...



Group of interviewees	Name	Modality	Place and date of realization	Interview duration
Group of generators of public opinion	1. M. Sc Gloria Álvarez	Video conference interview	On Skype. Tuesday March 19th-2019	0.5 hours
	2. Rodrigo Polo	Personal interview	In Café Barista of Miraflores. Thursday, March 21st-2019	1.7 hours
	3. M. Sc Phillip Chicola	Personal interview	In Café Barista of zone 14. Friday, March 22nd-2019	0.8 hours
	4. M. Sc Martín Rodríguez	Personal interview	Meeting room IIPS/USAC. Tuesday, March 12th-2019	0.5 hours

**Source:** IIPS, Area of Political Studies, 2019.

**Note:** The interviews were carried out by the research team and, to the extent possible, it was tried that both members of the Area, participate in carrying it out. Not all interview requests were successfully received, for which 13 of the 16 interviews were conducted, and there was included to one person that was not in the social group organizations. As a total there were approximately 14 hours of recording, of the total of interviews carried out.

## Synthesis of interviews

Interviews conducted during months of March and April 2019 were very enriching and allowed visualize different perspectives of La plaza 2015. A diversity of views of the political process and crisis of representation of that year, allowed to draw conclusions about to the construction of the imaginary collective politician, the scope and limitations of the protest, the achievements, mistakes and social organizational experiences among other series of important ideas. This information complements substantially the documentary research.

Since the interviewee who directed a collective and participated in protests of 2015 - and also in the later ones in 2016 and 2017, until the communicator who documented what happened, encouraged the debate on social networks and shared his perspectives of what was caused, through microblogging. And of course the academic that from the outside although in occasions from within he interpreted what happened, generated hypotheses, immediate scenarios and, in future ones, recommendations from an intellectual speech.

Postures were different and even opposing. Both, between groups of

interviewees and people. Each individual, from their perspective, related their experience and reading that they did of the process what, for them it was certainly clearer with the pass of the time. The further they went of peaceful protests from 2015, the interpretation was clearer that they could make of the process. Of course, many of the interpretations they made of what happened between April and September of 2015 still remain, but impressions around the political scene from Guatemala, they were clearer over time.

Attending to the stated objectives initially the questionnaires used were differentiated, in order to get the most accurate information possible from experience of the interviewee in this social process. From that analysis, in the questionnaire aimed at academics and generators of public opinion, it was sought that experts contribute with their interpretations about La Plaza "from outside", let's say from the critical analysis that they've been able to make of the event in later years. Clarifications were intended on the construction of

the imaginary political, meanings given to the event and the slogans used, historical lessons, actors, the citizen demands and achievements.

With the questionnaire for social organizations it was intended to address social organizational experiences around La Plaza and meet, from first hand - until some of the main actors how were originated urban movements represented, the partnership process or union of interests with others organizations, the modalities of used protest, wins and obstacles faced, personal and collective meanings given to their intervention in demonstrations and to the main slogans used, the stance regarding the celebration of elections in September from 2015 as well as their later experiences.

Of course that the instrument applied was designed in such a way that it was possible to guide the conversation towards new questions. In some interviews the questions no coincide and, therefore, the information provided around the process was varied.

The following is a synthesis of each interview.

## Group of Social Organizations

### a) Carlos Adolfo Alemán representative of Unión Universitaria Guatemalteca (UUGT)

#### ***“Corrupt governors got used to the calm”***

In his interview he argued that the organization that was leaded started at the end of 2014 and at the beginning of 2015, with young people who, discarded of their participation in political parties, decided to organize as a project to disseminate interuniversity academic activities, but that soon was introduced to the social demonstrations of 2015.

In his words, his participation began in this way:

[...] it started on Facebook, with Gabriel and all that people of Renuncia Ya at that moment, started out as merely nobody took it seriously, nor us as organizers took it in seriously. It started as an "go and take your saucepan to La Plaza », from there we saw that there were a hundred, two hundred, five hundred, a thousand, fifteen thousand, forty thousand and we

Thought that could not happen. It was a concatenation of important facts, that I believe that success of La Plaza at that time was because we all knew that corruption existed but a number of facts were managed to make them visible (Alemán, 2019).

*"The past generation couldn't rebel before Lucas García or Ríos Montt, or a guerilla. The corrupt ruler got used to the calm and there were many events that never manifested. So why is so special this generation? Which is connected, they could see evidence of corruption on their phone that outraged them, they went out to the streets and there was full respect of their rights" (Alemán, 2019).*

He considered that no one believed that the call would work in networks, even the organizers themselves, but it worked because the corruption was materialized in assets and concrete events. In his words "Corruption was a bad smell that everyone felt, but did not know precisely where did it come from until that day" (Alemán, 2019). All this, added to the hospital crises, the treatment for Amatitlán's Lake, and the citizen awakening called by social

networks and the media communication produced the series of 2015 social protests.

In his opinion, the objective of UUGT was not only to manifest but also submit pressure documents before legal instances such as legal protection, preliminary hearing, and initiatives of law, among others. Thus, after the events of 2015, they proceeded to consolidate as a formal organization with legal personality, statutes, bank account, NIT (tax identification number in Guatemala), board of directors and, generally, an organized body.

They did their best to stay in force and therefore ensured that they didn't offered a single address to young people, because they did not want to turn a "predictable" organization like others tried to form politically young people to provide them resources and have an academic letter, not a political one still less ideological. They dedicated to do political events with lawyers and other organizations, to do public inspection and technique tables.

We always had a different approach, although we participate actively in the demonstrations the approach of UGGT was more than Congress, let's do pressure in it,

let's do such document, let's put pressure on magistrates together with Justicia Ya, I am a citizen, let's raise the Voice, at that moment it was aligned also Youth for Guate and there also arises another group that was the Student General Coordinator, the CEUG [by its initials in Spanish]. We were saying, the demonstrations are good, but what happens next? We gave us that "split" but in a friendly way because in the spaces of political pressure we were always figured and in La Plaza spaces they figured. It was like a healthy balance and that's how it happened (Alemán, 2019).

How UUGT agreed on that the elections were celebrated and then continued their course, and this is where they collide with other social organizations that they do manifest by the slogan:

There the first clashes occurred well we, did not believe or we didn't participate in that part of the protest because that was already a slogan of Justice Ya, some parts of the CEUG, so then no. Unlike, we wanted debugging, "not saying, there are no people "and we said, but that is not the way how you are you going to debug the political system without elections? the congress or how?

We instead of "In these conditions we have no elections" with institutions that helped us to organize activities, we held meetings to take the first steps to what was called the reforms to the Sector Justice (Alemán, 2019).

On the claim that young people starred in the movement and that politicians "messed with the wrong generation", he claimed he was agree with it, since the last generation could not manifest for the paranoia of survival. To his judgment the corrupt ruler will was very used to the calm and the youthful awakening was what starred and led to the success of La Plaza.

"The past generation lost a impressive amount of leaders and exponents, for those losses the last generation lived in fear. They believed that with that generation the fears and lags were going to be past towards this, but fortunately not, and there is the slogan "(Alemán, 2019).

On the association of interests with other organizations considers that it was easy at the beginning, because the interests were common, demanding the resignation of the rulers, for which he had contact with Justicia Ya, CEUG and others youth organizations. Nevertheless, in some forms of protest and specific demands

they did not agree, which is why eventually they drifted apart.

## **b) Gabriel Wer representative of Justicia Ya**

***"That Saturday I went to La Plaza and I didn't know what to do"***

In his interview he gave details about the intervention of the organization in those protests, which was in two stages. An initial stage as *Renuncia Ya* and a later stage like *Justice Ya*. In both stages there were the same members who led out the actions. *Renuncia Ya*, is originates between indignation, spontaneity and coincidence with others people, who shared on social networks their interests in doing something before the series of corruption allegations presented by CICIG and the Public Ministry.

Regarding his direct intervention he related how the incorporation took place in the movement of *Renuncia Ya*, started by a Guatemalan woman of 53 years old:

Lucia Mendizábal, who was a friend from my mom, created the event on Facebook and proceeded to add to the people who were in a group of discussion that we had. That

same day on my personal Facebook I put the following: "It can't be that we are like this and that we are not doing anything »she reads it and adds me as organizer directly of the event without telling me a word and I get a notification that said "you were added as administrator »and then the message that said "I saw your portal from Facebook and you must join to the movement » (Wer, 2019).

In summary, he considered that the beginnings of the protests were about an outrage shared by the sum of acts of corruption. Roxana Baldetti resigns on May 8th, just before the second massive demonstration called on may 16th, and that's when the first decisions in the collective initiated what they had preferred not to name themselves as something because they didn't know whether to do it or not, since she had already waived. Some people inside of the group claimed that they had to do it and go for the resignation of the president, because it was impossible that he was not involved.

After Roxanas Baldetti's resignation , which occurs before the second demonstration on may 16th and it would be the biggest of 2015 and it was one where La Plaza was filled, it

was achieved move to demonstrations in others countries.

*"It was where the straw that breaks the camel's back to me, honestly it wasn't a conscious decision to say I go to protest and in fact I didn't know, that saturday I arrived at La Plaza and I did not know what to do. Even La Batucada arises from that, all looking at us, to decide what do we do? Nobody wanted to grab the baton to speak or grab the microphone and nobody wanted to be part of it" (Wer, 2019).*

In this first stage they didn't call themselves as collectives because, in their words "back then, it was in an individual way that we were driving this, with the only ones we had a meeting were students from the University of San Carlos and identified as Usac Es Pueblo. "

The name of Justice Already came later to the second demonstration of the 7 people who participated the 4 youngest decided continue and the three older ones decided that they don't wanted to go continue and there is an internal struggle because of that, "long discussions and very stressful, especially, we decided to leave Renuncia Ya and that is over, to create Justica Ya,

which have been integrated by more participants and currently are 21 people who work voluntarily (Wer, 2019).

About the generational topics and youth claimed they were not considered a "youth collective" and it bothered them to call them as such. Questioned about it, he claimed:

We have not identified ourselves as such because we believed that this was not an age nor generational but something quite wide. And second, that of the "generation wrong", I remember that someone brought a poster to La Plaza [...] we never published it, since we knew that Renuncia Ya didn't born of a youth proposal. Justicia Ya was a proposal of young people but it wasn't a young initiative. Obviously we are a young country but that's circumstantial and not because it is a young country the mobilizations occurred (Wer, 2019).

In summary, he considers that youthful participation in his opinion was circumstantial, it was not the correlation of youth what determined the broad impulse of social protests.

The interviewee also spoke about

the plans of *Justicia Ya* later to 2015. He reported that at the end of that year they did a brief internal exercise on the main problems from Guatemala and saw that these are concentrated on three ones: 1) the Justice system; 2) the electoral system, 3) the economic system.

And aware that they couldn't cover everything, or give an answer to everything, they decided to choose only to work around the first and the second. Because they felt so overwhelmed, because, about the recent Jimmy Morales' choice, arrived messages to Facebook and Twitter denouncing things and requesting to pronounce on such issues, for which they restructured their objectives and limited the topics of interest to them thereafter. Now, there are 21 volunteers who are part of the team Justicia Ya those who are working in a rotary way, choosing roles to decide who can do something and if they count with over time to it.

Regarding the position they maintained on holding elections in 2015 he stated:

My position was that I did not want elections because it was very confused and there was too much tension. The audios from Baldizón were coming out and it was too much. And the

collective's stance was that each who defends his position because we never came to an agreement and that was one of the first things that we agreed at that time that when we couldn't decide something we would not assume any position in favor or against, since which is also a posture in certain cases (Wer, 2019).

**c) Brenda Lara from  
*Hagámonos El Paro***

***“They told me: a strike? jare you crazy! There is not an articulation for that”***

*“That we had all the collectives. They didn't want that protests got out Saturdays afternoon. It is not possible to lift up more than what we allow ourselves to lift up, that was the lecture that I did about the attitude of the groups that were leading the call” (Lara, 2019)*

In the long dialogue held with Brenda Lara the interviewee detailed experiences of the group that formed Hagámonos El Paro, as well as her participation in the protests of 2015, her experiences, triumphs and disappointments experienced.

She explained that the movement was created with three or four initial people who presented the proposal to do a National Stoppage to the Assembly of "La Plaza" groups that gathered in the Red House of the Historic Center from Guatemala. In that Assembly, the managers articulated them with other groups that also had small actions and they decided to put the name of *Hagámonos El Paro*.

Soon, they began to receive external attacks for this "threat of stoppage", since the media presented it as a violent act that could happen and that according with the organizers, it would not be like that. Even legal protection from CACIF arrived, death threats on social networks, etc.

In her words:

One of the members of "groups youth "and that had a link with us, sent me to say there was an injunction, that were taking legal action against me for having been the face of the movement. It was Sunday and the strike would be on Thursday. So then we had to change the idea because we knew that anyway we didn't have the joint that they were watching,



something demonized at once. Then it would be a poll. Yes, somehow the traffic was slow anyway and we wanted to take into account the opinion of those who were not in La Plaza (Lara, 2019).

The National Stoppage would not come until later months, but from her point of view it was something manipulated and not directly articulated by this original group nor with the same intentions. When I was questioned about the exact moment of disarticulation or separation of interests from others collectives, she stated that at the beginning they all agreed with the same demands. In their words "when the situation was just "to do a little noise." When serious slogans have already been taken we were disagree"(Lara, 2019).

Lara considers that many groups who participated in the peaceful protests ones pushed the reforms to the LEPP—which was the priority at the time and the beginning of all this with CICIG. Also deduces that:

The Platform for reform from the USAC State that gathered in the Auditorium was such a show for the organizers, because for us it was something seriously [...]

that division that started arise was when the reforms were coming to the LEPP, which was the Stoppage slogan. It was very difficult to convince the Rector to agreed to take out San Carlos University, which was the bigger force then (Lara, 2019).

Some of the main positions of Lara were that the departure of Otto Pérez Molina and Roxana Baldetti were not enough for Guatemala in 2015, for which she was questioned what they had to do? What did the country need at that time?

She claimed that the proposal was to make a provisional government, not a transitional one, but agreed by an Assembly where representatives will be invited of each sector. Even from CACIF, such as the Platform of the San Carlos, but in a formal level. "A space where were most of the sectors represented, choose a provisional government of all sectors not only from CACIF and make the reforms necessary to have a legitimate process with real proposals, not of joke "(Lara, 2019).

About the generational character of protests Lara considers that La Plaza was not directly driven by young and that the slogan «they got with the wrong generation » it was something

built, something note even was it own and it was only used to legitimize the protest as something youth. In her words:

*"I realized that there were many organizations not listed. But they work a lot, they are in Permanent Assembly, and they do not be fooled. It is so that that a leader told me «we did not enter to the stoppage, because that is organized by the Embassy ». And I said "please come in." And they denied. They are organizations that were outside just watching and laughing, surely from everyone because they have decades experiences and ancestral wisdom [...] "(Lara, 2019)*

The leaders were bigger, youths were used. Why? Precisely because of the reason we were talking. Young people don't bring convictions, ideologies, they don't have nothing as a background. Then it is lie, it is a slogan, it is only a photo that media started to reproduce so that all people will appropriate it and only a few did. We don't take it into account (Lara, 2019).

**d) Bachelor. Luis Velásquez,  
Political Science Student,  
2015**

***"Not even a crisis as the one of  
2015 can be a new start of the  
whole authoritarian and  
conservative culture"***

He claimed that generally is considered as part of the student movement in 2015 but really he did not have such a visible role until the end of 2015 and during 2016 (in 2015 he participated in the student movement Acción Crítica).

His participation occurs for first time as part of the School of Political Science when he came out to the mobilizations "close to May 22nd movement that never took strength, structure nor division of functions, it just was an idea and was led by Carlos Bianchi and then had two or three meetings with Mario Roberto Morales who gave his impression of the demonstrations in the framework

*"A causal relationship arises between 2015 and the recovery of the AEU but in any case it is not an embryonic moment. We didn't say let's use the social protests to recover the AEU, but that occurs on the way. It is kind of cause and effect." (Velásquez, 2019)*

of the "Alianza para la Prosperidad " (Velásquez, 2019).

However, he doesn't consider that it was an important organization nor visible in matters of La Plaza, not even within the movement sancarlista. Previously they linked more to the work of Usac Es Pueblo and the General Coordinator of University Students (CEUG- by its Spanish initials) as Representative of Acción Crítica.

He considers 2015 to be a watershed of the repositioning of the social movements, especially the student, indigenous and peasant ones, whose agenda had been primarily structural before conjectural demands represented by urban social organizations with presence in networks that, until today, have continued their work as Justicia Ya, CEUG and many of those groups already participate in political parties.

Questioned about the most important political event of the year 2015, Velásquez attributes it to the National Stoppage from August 27, 2015:

Because they had been talking a lot of stop the country, to give it an

ultimatum to the president, practically from day one, it was said let's do a national stoppage and there were many rumors, but practically it finally arises from the impudence of the last Pérez Molina's conference press of national chain where he says that he will not resign, that was a fortuitous event to provoke the stoppage (Velásquez, 2019).

He find it very valuable that people, spontaneously, decided to take a day to not attend work and provoke that those who organize the economic activity of the country had to back off on a decision already taken from not supporting the National Stoppage, and decided to join.

*"The most paradigmatic of the year 2015 is the National Stoppage. Let them know that those who exercise power that from time to time they have to turn to see people because someday they may lose their hegemony. And the multiple stops of local businesses that day no was the United States calling them to tell them to stop, but it was a genuine way of not participating". (Velásquez.*

He Considers that the actors of La Plaza were *Justicia Ya, Usac Es*

*Pueblo, La Batucada del Pueblo, CEUG* and civil society organizations like the Myrna Mack Foundation, the chapter of International Transparency called Acción Ciudadana, and the Christian democrats who reinterpreted their role within the political system. Also he considered crucial the social activity in other departments as in Quetzaltenango for example. And Voz, in Antigua Guatemala, where the "No Te Toca" was born.

Finally, when reflecting on the historical lessons left by events of 2015 to Guatemalans and politicians he considers that:

Politicians can no longer be so shameless, Guatemalan society were implemented a conviction that you have to start with sanitation of the state and maybe we don't have even a reformist structural thought, but there is a notion that nothing can change if you don't start with cleaning and politicians learned to be careful [...]. It is possible that in the polls will be reflected some changes in political culture, although it is difficult, because nor such as an important crisis like 2015 can do a new start of all an authoritarian and conservative culture (Velásquez, 2019).

**e) Brenda Hernández and Isabel Saravia representatives of *La Batucada del Pueblo***

***"Let the CICIG stay, thieves go to jail"***

In the interview with the representatives from *La Batucada del Pueblo*, both explained what was the process of forming this organization. They detailed what emerged from a call inside social networks with other urban movements that already had an antecedent, from actions of performance and poetry reading that emerge since the end of 2012 and during 2013.

With this group of poets, artists, academics with whom they had previous participation, arises an immediate call for the Monday after the 16th April where the scandal news arises.

Brenda Hernández detailed:

That Monday at noon we join, all these people we met around 50 people, and also with a group of CCDA who were already in the National Palace off to the side they were doing other types of demands that had to do with their historical struggles of problems of land. So that for us

meant something very particular because obviously there was a fusion of historical demands they have to do with structural problems from Guatemala, like with these specific conjectural demands, which is from the presence of CICIG and our urban struggles (Hernández and Saravia, 2019).

*"The next day other young were integrated, and came to us other utensils of the task: a plastic bowl those to wash clothes was ours first kind of ... drum, and another young man who came up with a kind of metal thermos and with that we started to generating some rhythms. Wednesday night we had the slogan «Baldetti, You bastard, you are a thief. AND already for Thursday one of: «Otto... you're going to go to prison »." (Hernández & Saravia, 2019)*

Both interviewees detailed that from the first day they decided to participate in the protests they took kitchen utensils and that started to make noise. On that day they decided they would do noise every day throughout the week, both in the half a day as in the late afternoon, to coincide with the people who,

because of his working hours, they could join us, and began to position slogans.

About the positioning of slogans they detailed that they were changing from week to week. Some slogans were gathered even before the protests of Saturdays and agreed what would they be using according to the conjuncture of the week and upon arrival at La Plaza and they had the elaborate slogan: "also in the process of saying the slogan is improving, they are changing, they are polished so that rhyme, or impact, because the idea is precisely, to permeate the imaginary and impact it, be able to synthesize and that have political content" (Hernández and Saravia, 2019).

They also claimed that they tried to "Fight against monopoly monster of communication" that according them exercise their perfect dictatorship function which is why they think it was a challenge to synthesize in a couple of words the political content that the conjuncture demanded, and it was a challenge that "ordinary people get some of the message." Likewise, they detailed that there were slogans that even emerged from the same people who came with their posters to La Plaza.

About specific slogans such as "In these conditions we do not want elections »detailed that this was a phrase that emerged in La Cuerda, the feminist newspaper:

There were the persons, arriving to the conclusion that this was a disgrace. And one of the companions who were also one of the original members in La Batucada with another person was playing with words and it was transferred: «In these conditions we don't want elections », which was welcomed by them because it was actually their feel, and it was positioned (Hernández and Saravia, 2019).

*"From day one, I pulled a frying pan and that started doing a little noise. In that day we decided what we were going to do noise every day for all week both at noon and in the late afternoon by the people who worked. The first slogan that I remember saying something like: "Let the CICIG stay, thieves go to jail" (Hernández and Saravia, 2019).*

Finally they pointed out:

I hold management accountable of the University of San Carlos de Guatemala in that moment, to the rector for not have had the arrests that history demanded to held the

platform of state reform. To have thrown that overboard at such a critical moment, so necessary for history of the country, contributed to deepen the crisis and bring us to that cliff of elections from 2015 that have us in these conditions. That's very unfortunate (Hernández and Saravia, 2019).

**f) Carlos Bianchi, Political Science School Student, 2015**

**"I woke up with the idea of saying no, we have to do something"**

In his interview he related how he was carried out his participation from the School of Political Science of the University Of San Carlos De Guatemala, how the first questions arose to the authenticity of the movement, how "suspensions" arose that the sancarlista and national



movement had been co-opted. Finally, he related the disenchantment that they would not achieved nothing beyond the resignation of both rulers.

He explained that his participation was spontaneously, almost immediately when the case was announced La Linea and his wish was to bring the School of Political Science together as one to come out to demonstrate. He considers that at the end they achieved concatenate aspects and key factors regarding the participation of the School. One of them was the set of support points they had, at that time the Association of Students, and Dr. Marcio Palacios. They managed to get out to the first demonstration which, from his point of view, was taken. "This movement called Usac Es Pueblo (UEP) took an initiative that wasn't his, that's why it was from the beginning delegitimized" (Bianchi, 2019).

He claimed that many people in the University tried to democratize that movement and that there are testimonies of that:

What emerge were units rising academics, as ECP, genuinely that day because we didn't have communication before. But that Saturday we were all ready and we started, and we saw there

were History and others, but what was our surprise that when everyone arrived in front of rectory there was a poster up front that said "Usac Es Pueblo" and from that moment Guatemalan journalism took it like that all of us who came behind were UEP and it was a lie because they took over, it was a group of ten people probably (Bianchi, 2019).

To this experience at the University de San Carlos adds the following:

In that attempt to democratize UEP we talk to leaders. I particularly spoke several times with Mynor Alonzo. He invited me here several times to tell me why I didn't trusted him, and I said it didn't was that I didn't trust him, but I considered the issue was to democratize it, and they never opened it, that's why at the end it failure and even they were out of all that process of AEU change (Bianchi, 2019).

In the achievements he affirms who managed to go out to the demonstrations representing the Political Science School and on the other hand a request was made to the General Attorney and Head of the Public Ministry Thelma Aldana, that the

last consequences would be reached with investigations. From his point of view, "if there is a person that was not valued is the Dr. Mario Roberto Morales who had a spectacular hit, like a drone he completely isolated himself and saw everything from outside. He clearly said, like a prophet, what was going to happen, that is absolutely nothing".

*"I remember the news and I woke up with the idea of saying "no, we have to do something". So that day in the morning I came and told my colleagues: Look boys, we can't keep quiet that's impossible, we have to wake up". From there it starts an inclination to participate. We committed a series of errors, I was moving something, but I was not very consistent at the beginning. "(Bianchi, 2019)*

He also considers that another achievements of the student movement overall were those changes coming from the external that we were living from corruption and decanted in the change of the AEU, because many university characters who participated changed that situation which was a great contribution in that sense, because people started to see inside.

On his prospects of La Plaza in general, he considers that it was a kind of "controlled chaos" handled in every way. Something that was not immediately perceived but that started spinning when they already participated and saw those dynamics. In his words: "It hurts a lot, because there are people that don't see it, but what is there is a reconfiguration precisely of these power groups, among some group that hasn't had power within them, let's call him Dionysus Gutiérrez "(Bianchi, 2019). Also he explained that there were features of censorship coming from everywhere: "from the romantics who thought they have to do a "horizontalization" when we didn't even have organization" (Bianchi, 2019).

Finally, he reflected on "the great winner of La Plaza", considering that were these great foreign interests the biggest beneficiaries:

I do not see in the internal what could we win but they did because they have managed to stabilize society in function to their interests and there they are involved in the same conflicts that we have today: CICIG, Thelma Aldana, Sandra Torres, and Jimmy Morales. These situations to call attention



towards other things. Nobody talks about hospitals, schools, the general insecurity of the lack of opportunities we have in this country (Bianchi, 2019).

## Academic Groups

### a) M.Sc Simona Yagenova

***"This type of situation like that of 2015 is not repeated in the history of countries, are particular products of accumulation of outrage ... "***

The interviewee emphasized on the meanings awarded to the event of La Plaza 2015. She stated that we should ask how La Plaza was possible, in its reading as imaginary and as representation. At her opinion, it was about youth, urban middle class and university students who made an occupation of public space so systematic.

From her perspectives, La Plaza is encounters and disagreements, democratic efforts that converge on a ideal of society, where they participated left forces, business sector and other groups.

*"We live in deep moment of systemic crisis and dispute about the immediate future of our country. La plaza leaves learning, confluences and opportunities that should be examined in the light of the last three years and empower themselves. " (Yagenova, 2019)*

One of them was the meeting that convened on behalf of the Popular Assembly in the stadium that allowed us to meet with everything ancestral. In her opinion, the delivery of the flower and the Daniel Pascual's speech were crucial events, a window to historical memory and a student movement of the seventies, of the indigenous people and historical memory of necessity.

On the other hand, the National Stoppage of 27 August seemed essential. In addition, she points out that the social opposition to the initial CACIF decision of not supporting the strike was no small matter. They were like 387 businesses that closed that day. Encounter and disagreement, that was perceived at the beginning among certain forces that wanted to take La Plaza who didn't want the speech, blankets and other forces who wanted a Plaza "politically more correct".

From her point of view, La Plaza leaves legacy, new urban organizational experiences, leaves the way for another kind of politics and in that sense, invites young people who want to occupy a space. Also, leave the recovery of the AEU that although it is part of a process that is coming from time of various ways it was enhanced with this situation. Also, leaves the meeting among college students that form the CEUG where even the Francisco Marroquín University participated, an event that for her was very significant.

In her words:

It is very interesting to see what left La Plaza in terms of weave urban social later when that youth bursts in urban diverse. It has for a side the collectives that arise in that crisis with resistance, with small but symbolic actions, has precisely the emergency of the group Semilla, as a middle class of young progressives who see this crisis and they just rectify the needs to build a political instrument from other logic, from a democratic left perspective. That is allowing the very slow reconstitution of more politicized urban auto weaves with higher interests of

be able to express themselves politically (Yagenova, 2019).

On the other hand, she considers that the social more traditional movements started in 2015 with many more fears, mistrust and lower expectations maybe from the other groups because it was extended what was behind. "Because it was understood that it was a dispute between capital factions and it was very difficult with the strength they had, to take advantage of the conjuncture for other political things" (Yagenova, 2019).

Reflecting on the historical lessons that left this event, she considers that they gave a message to the dominant class in this country like an alert voice and a warning. However:

The response of the dominant class and its operators was the acceleration of spurious rearrangements and closure of spaces, including the expulsion of the CICIG. It is not accidental, the protagonism that acquired the most radical expressions on the right against human rights, the UN system, the CICIG, the pro-justice movement and subordination in the international branch to the imperial policy of the USA. This throwback is not accidental, is the answer of those who always have dominated this country when their privileges and

domination system are threatened. (Yagenova, 2019).

*"La Plaza is to breaking into a average lower class that historically looked with a lot of prejudice mobilization. A middle class sheltered in their survival economy, in their social rise, a very alienated middle class and alienated in terms of forms of life and a middle class without referents neither political nor progressive. "* (Yagenova, 2019)

Another historical lessons that left the political event especially to the middle class was the need to re-politicize, the possibility to get up, fight more and claim their vital and crucial role especially because it's the middle class the one that always have voted conservatively in favor of the military, ex military, or very conservative political options .

Finally, she considered that La Plaza could be taken to another place but the electoral process cut it off, redirected it, there were no political consensus and use of the situation in 2015 and from there they fragmented perspectives and slogans. The electoral issue, marked the situation and had negative consequences,

because in electoral season could have been enhance in a better way everything that movement.

## b) Dr. Mario Roberto Morales

***" In 2015 Guatemala used as a pilot plan for America Latin, region in which destabilizes states under the moralist motto of the fight against corruption"***

In his interview the academic presented the interpretation he has made to the political event in question of the first weeks of demonstration 2015, which for him it was not more than just implementing something called La Plaza. Mario Roberto Morales dedicated several pages of reflection about this political process in different media, both electronic and printed during 2015 and the following months.

At the beginning of the interview He explained that the political event most important of 2015 wasn't the series of protests, but the causal political event that triggered these protests and which in his point of view was the repeated arrival of Joe's Biden in Guatemala, the Vice President of United States at that time. "He came expressly to order

Pérez Molina to extend the CICIG's mandate two more years [...] and when Biden demanded to Pérez Molina, «he said no" (Morales 2019). Which, in his opinion, was the trigger of the scenario of the case la Línea and that would trigger the rest of political events of that year.

*"to have Awareness is not enough to face everyone of the problems, and of course La Plaza did not provide it because there was no political formation, there was nothing. I think it will be history. And what made me feel sad was that people even in 2016 was already referring to that process, to that past — immediate, of a few months ago— with nostalgia no? With nostalgia of old people. "*  
(Morales, 2019)

According to the interpretation that this academic has given to La Plaza, this was about putting it practice in Guatemala of certain tactics of war of the fifth generation which already had been implemented in the old Soviet republics in 2000, which is the tactic of the revolution of colors combined with Soft coup d'état and with the fight against corruption. According to this interpretation, the scheme of this strategy is due to Gene Sharp who in his book

The Dictatorship of Democracy, he explained how to cause a soft coup d'état to governments communists and soviets the moment.

"That's why my articles were refuted 2015, because the revolution color is a revolution for regimes disaffected to the United States and Pérez Molina was a CIA agent they said, here was a staging of the revolution combination of color with the soft coup d'état " (Morales, 2019). In this sense, Guatemala was used as a pilot plan for Latin America, the region that destabilized states under the moralistic slogan of the fight against corruption. And added:

The soft coup d'état is to tell to the president, we have established a corruption case, you decide whether we expose it or if you do what we ask you to do. After that the coup d'état is done, whether if he leaves or not, that's not their problem, or when he leaves, but the coup is done. That was put into practice here and it worked, it was a success so three or four months then they applied it to Cristina Kirchner in Argentina and after Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, and they have tried to apply it to Evo Morales in Bolivia (Morales, 2019).

Therefore, the academic considers that the mobilizations of 2015 did not caused the resignation of Pérez Molina and that the color revolution works to "legitimize" a coup and not to make it seem like it really is. And he highlights:

This sounds like if I disqualify completely mobilizations and it is not like that. I know there were very well intentioned people, people who believed in that then they were disappointed. People that even took on those mobilizations a level of consciousness that they didn't have, but it's a level of consciousness quite small, in relation to what is needed to become a political fighter (Morales, 2019).

Regarding the "historical lessons" that left this political event of La Plaza he stated that he is not sure how much can leave to the politicians in Guatemala, since in the first place are not politicians but operators of private interests and that, on the contrary, instead of learning a "historical lesson" they took advantage of the event "feeding the version sweetened la Plaza like if that was the way" (Morales, 2019).

Finally, when reflecting on the

electoral context and about the system of political parties in Guatemala he explained that he considers that current politicians parties are part of a Democratic Party of United States develops in Guatemala a geopolitical plan that divides interests of the local oligarchy in politicians parties. He asserted:

Semilla is not exception, nor convergence, nor any of them, well they lined up through the International Cooperation — because they are all "foes" — with the "Dionisist wing" of the oligarchy that represents the interest of Obama, from the American arms industry. And the others went with Trump who [...] with that nationalism of Make America great again wants to return to a certain productive nationalism [...] I'm not saying that Trump is better than Obama or the other way around, only you have to see the interests, and are such interests that reflect in the participation of oligarchy (Morales, 2019).

In such a way elections held in Guatemala in 2019, from the academic's interpretation was "The right against the right. The ultra-right, expressed in all right traditional

classical parties and the moderate right represented by all the parties, supposedly of the left ” (Morales, 2019).

### c) M. Sc Édgar Gutiérrez

#### ***“La Plaza 2015 was a necessary factor, but not enough”***

The academic who made a publication entitled the citizen plaza actors and contexts of the political crisis of 2015 as part of the Institute of National Problems of the San Carlos University (IPNUSAC by its initials in spanish) exposed in the interview made some reflections.

Considers that the most important political event of 2015 was the series of sustained mobilizations during twenty consecutive weeks which culminated in late august, after which on September 2nd resigned the President Otto Pérez Molina. Since his point of view such mobilizations recover indispensable legitimacy to the work of the MP and CICIG directed to dismantle illicit political, economic networks and they also had the characteristic of being spontaneous, self-convened, unstructured neither organizational nor political program.

zone" (I don't care what happens in politics or society) and finally came out of very long reflux of 30 years (Gutiérrez, 2019).

About the motivations that drove to overcome the “very long ebb of thirty years” considers that:

*“Plaza 2015 was able to launch government exercising its right to resistance for protection and defense of their rights and guarantees, recognized in the article 45 of the Political Constitution of the Republic. The central actors were civilians. Nor the military nor the police forces, how happened with other movements and inflections of situations during our almost 200 years of republican history ”. (Gutiérrez. 2019)*

The spring that activated the outrage and mobilization of society was the cynicism of the rulers of their corrupt businesses, in particular the episode of the “magic water” (lake of Amatitlán) that promoted at that moment vice president Roxana Baldetti (Gutiérrez, 2019).

Mobilizations of  
heterogeneous sectors of

He considers that his viability was also his limitation. Except small organizations that emerged after the mobilizations, the most were dissolved, returning to their routine.

In mid-2016, after unveiling the State Cooptation case and others that happened, implicating directly to powerful entrepreneurs in illicit financing elections campaign, tax evasion and tax avoidance, among others, the previously unified society began to divide, confront, to the point of generating a polarization that was not observed in much time. On this last aspect, it is interesting to see how other interviewees coincide in seeing guatemalan society post-2016 is divided and polarized, just as M.Sc Gloria Álvarez considered it in her interview.

On the question, who were the actors of La Plaza 2015? He considers that mainly civil society unorganized with social groups like Justicia Ya, the Platform for the Reform of the State led by Usac, Ceug, and social Assembly and popular (ASP by its initials in spanish), Semilla movement, Somos, vos, la Batucada and others. Not properly inside of the physical space of la Plaza were MP, CICIG, independent judges and

magistrates and behind the scenes some business chambers, like the one of Commerce, and the embassy from the USA.

*"La Plaza 2015 was the necessary factor, but not enough. Without withdrawal support of Washington to Otto Pérez his government does not fall. It was synergy, because without Plaza 2015 the mandate of CICIG would not have been renewed, and without Plaza or renewal the withdrawal of the support of Washington [...] would not have occurred" (Gutiérrez, 2019)*

Regarding the generational issue and the slogan «They messed with the wrong generation »he considers that the rest was "the expressed claim with courage and dignity of young people, children of the fear generation, suffering from the repressions of 1980s [...] the generation 2015 is the one that has taken the longest to react to change the politician regime "(Gutiérrez, 2019).

Finally, Gutiérrez considered that la Plaza was relevant as a point of inflection of social mobilizations, but substance was the issue of the State of Law. Well from the articulation of the «Pact of Corrupts in 2017 »the fight against corruption, the independence of judges, magistrates and



prosecutors, PNC professionalization and other main issues remained as a matter of dispute in society.

## **Generators group of public opinion**

### **a) M.Sc Gloria Álvarez**

***"It is already forgotten  
what could be achieved  
in 2015"***

In the interview with the political scientist and generator of public opinion it was reflected around several questions, one of them about the meanings given to events of "La Plaza 2015". She considered protests:

They came to raise a civil society unit that was destroyed on January 7, 2016, that unity of a single guatemalan society of farmers, students and people of all social kinds, from April to October was recreated and destroyed on January 7, 2016, when CICIG - led by Iván Velásquez— began to imprison military and "businessmen», And there again society began to divide between the cold war, right and left former guerrillas, military sons and what could have accomplished as a united

civil society, that imaginary of a strong civil society, unfortunately for 2016 they were destroyed (Álvarez, 2019).

*It's not that it's the wrong generation but the privileged generation. That, even so, they stayed shorts because we don't have root changes, protests anyone can do but deep proposals, requires youth generation that study, to debate, to read, to propose and that's where youth guatemalan stayed short."*  
(Álvarez, 2019)

On the actors of la Plaza, she claimed that there wasn't such protagonist. All in general were the protagonists of this political process. The college students they did a great job. But she considers that it is necessary to emphasize that the discussion tables were very valuable. The tables of civil society between students of the different houses of studios, different organizations and thinking tanks, they were a great lesson "because there were many Guatemalans not only were to la Plaza but they sat to make proposals and, to their point of view they are



the great actors, those who not only protested, but they proposed" (Álvarez, 2019).

Regarding the slogan used "They messed with the wrong generation »And from the consideration that young people were the protagonists of the movement said:

It is very arrogant from part of young people to believe that they are the first looking for a change. All young people of all generations they want changes [...] Youth always are the ones that get the worst part because they are part of a society that is the muscle and brain to demand and assert their rights. It seems to me very arrogant from part of youth that they believe that are the first to manifest (Álvarez, 2019).

And she added:

Guatemalan youth have many advantages, they are not killing, they are not a prisoner, like Venezuela youth or Cuban youth, youth guatemalan didn't live communism as youth witnessed and the Chinese

Lived at the time from Mao Zedong. Guatemalan youth inside everything they have always been free to express themselves and for more that your speech bother it don't end with your life (Álvarez, 2019).

Finally, we reflected on the achievements of *la plaza* for Guatemala and how much can you think in a different country before movements of outrage. She considers that for the future of Guatemala nothing was achieved since the year 2019 the country remains in the same situation:

I don't see any candidate that is proposing concrete things, that's why I took away my presidential application because it seems absurd that people who have possibility to go they remain seated [...] Jimmy won having the cheapest campaign, and I think that's the only long-term achievement that in the protest of *la Plaza* took shape, how we are so outraged with corruption we will no spent so much money in advertising. Otherwise, we still having mediocre political parties without ideology, we don't have candidates that become committed to anything specifically (Álvarez, 2019).

## b) Rodrigo Polo

***“I watched la plaza and I didn’t go because it didn’t convince me”***

In his interview, this generator of public opinion dedicated to production of debate on social networks for several years, he related how pragmatic perception was formed that had and so far holds of la "Plaza 2015". He claimed that he wasn't convinced that the series of demonstrations will mean a social advance for Guatemala:

How did they put it? The "20S" I don't remember the name. Of which I did not participate, and I went to oppose to reforms, but I didn't participate. And the reason was simple, they didn't convince me, they convinced to a lot of people, ninety nine percent of people who went to la plaza, they did it with their heart in their hands it was annoying and tired of a political class abusive and corrupt. I have absolutely no doubt of that; many people went with their heart to la plaza. And that's why i keep quiet when it didn't convince me, because I didn't want to become an enemy of all people. People who,

with all their heart, honesty, emotions and their sincerity went to speak out against status quo, and it was good they did it at that time, pity that [...] (Polo, 2019).

And he adds:

And whether I like it or not Mario Roberto Morales saw it too—who is from left. He said this is not real, this does not obey. The groups that were triggers: *Justicia Ya, Somos, Semilla*, etc. They were being financed for an “International Community”, very in quotes and were the agitators of discomfort, in that moment I was just looking at them and how a lot of people were pulled, Awesome! Wonderful! I admire the skill they had, how I admire Cash Luna for move masses, it's not like I agree with him [...] exploiting to get money, but it's not very different from who exploited la plaza. And that must be well clear (Polo, 2019)

Polo also made other notes around elections of 2015, and financing investigations election of CICIG and MP. From his point of view:

*Ninety nine percent of people who went to la plaza, they did it with their heart in their hands it was annoying and tired of a political class abusive and corrupt. I have absolutely no doubt of that; many people went with their heart to la plaza. And that's why i keep quiet when it didn't convince me, because I didn't want to become an enemy of all people.*

It was supposed, in elections, in my perspective the report of CICIG about financing of politics, it leaves to all parties as bad ones and all are corrupt except UNE, they mention it in a paragraph in a corner at the end. When you say UNE is a heavyweight why didn't they include UNE in the graphic? For me it is evident that they bet on UNE because they put a lot of emphasis on Patriota, Líder and there was no other opponent for UNE. But the anti vote won, and as Mario Roberto Morales said "floated among everything" and they didn't expect it and they were looking for wear it out, Morales's problem was that he was not prepared for presidency and consults to the embassy Who do we put? And the embassy prepares a cabinet:

Lucrecia Hernández Mack in Health, Julio Héctor Estrada in Economics, Foppa in SAT (by its Spanish initials, service of tax administration), Rivas in governorate (Polo, 2019).

Finally, the interviewee reflected about "the winners of la Plaza". He considers that economically it is sure who got benefits, but if you consider that in Guatemala "There is a very strong pulse from many power sectors, NGO groups, certain business that is fragmented and many who see the Army like it's a great institution and it is not".

### c) M.Sc Phillip Chicola

#### **"Cynicism was personified"**

In dialogue handled with the political scientist and generator of public opinion in different media, exposed what has been the interpretation that he has given to la Plaza 2015. He explained that he has opted for a theoretical interpretation since interpretations given to the proposals by Thomas Friedman in his book *The World is flat* and Moisés Naím on the concept of mobilizations 2.0:

With the information revolution, technology, communications what is causing is that all social

relationships change and a paradigmatic case is what happens with citizen mobilizations, the protests, revolutions. What both authors maintain is that power is being fragmenting and that all kind of power (political, economic, religious, social) are no longer macro expressions of small actors with a lot of power but micro expressions of a conglomerate of new actors who have now ability to articulate themselves in ways never seen before (Chicola, 2019).

other words, people who individually feel upset with any expression from the social system and they come out from the street as disorganized individuals, without coordination, without articulation, without leadership, to protest for something that bothers them.

*"We have to be very pragmatic and break many of the idyllic interpretations that were from la Plaza because I remember in 2016 there was all those interpretations of la Plaza is a space of articulation, of ideas and rejection. Its Lie tell me What came out of la Plaza? Nothing. It have no left me leaders, nor parties, it left me a couple of weaker organizations every day [...]"*  
**(Chicola, 2019)**

In that sense, protests of 2015 are an example that can fit in that spirit of transformation media coverage and virtual. The example that Friedman outlines and Naim develops is the one of social mobilizations, stating that previously the social struggles were joints of traditional power generally summoned by an actor with capacity of mobilization, speech, resources and very vertical. And that has been changing because the revolution of technology, social media has caused various scenarios where demonstrations have no longer have vertical feature but stopped being called by a leader, by an organization, and they turned in expressions of sets of individuals, like the arab spring. In

Some examples: the outraged in Spain, the Arab spring, the demonstrations in Brazil and Chile for educational reforms, and in Guatemala for corruption, they fall in that characteristic of being individualistic. In his interpretation, he does not see to "La plaza" as a group, but tens of thousands of individuals who were upset with corruption, the collapse of educational systems and health and in general with politicians generating personal wealth.

From this interpretation, for the interviewed "La plaza" constitutes a space of individualized manifestation, where outrage was personified in the vice presidential figure, then transmute to Pérez Molina, which came to represent rejection to the entire political system. When from equation is subtracted both mandatory leaders and there is no a personification of rejection the protest dissolves. For example, Jimmy Morales has high levels of rejection, even more than Baldetti and Otto Pérez, but he does not personify all that rejection that they represented. That explains why the processes are not the same nor before or after.

When questioned about whether the mobilizations from 2015 responded mostly to emotional aspects than to ideological aspects he considers which was due to emotional aspects. In his words:

Wanting to give la Plaza an ideological characteristic is wrong because, there wasn't. So easy as go to see the first demonstrations and where basically the slogan was emotional: fight against corruption.

But there were those who said Baldetti has to resign, others who said that Baldetti and Otto Pérez have to resign, others who said Baldetti, Otto Pérez and the deputies have to resign, others said that courts, others said you have to finish the oppressive capitalist model, others said to carry Joviel Acevedo in jail, others who said change the Board of Directors of Architects College (Chicola, 2019).

He considered that in the demonstrations were people of the left, right, others under the idea that a gap was being opening so the entire system imploded and that we lived a revolution within social structures. I mean, inside from "La plaza" there were conservative visions, reformists, leftists, revolutionary, holistic, concrete, etc. From your ideology point of view there was nothing but an emotion that united the outrage against the system and everyone understood it from different perspectives and interests. This adds to interpretation of individualistic manifestations. If there wasn't even a unifying slogan.

**d) M.Sc Martín Rodríguez**

***“La plaza is the physical space from which citizens appropriated of it and in which citizens converged and social organizations to demand a change to the corruption and impunity system”***

The interviewee considers that the most important political event was the arrest against Otto Pérez Molina by the MP and the CICIG, despite opposition from the economic elite and from the embassy of United States. And social pressure, to take away the right of prejudice to Pérez Molina, which allowed his judicial prosecution and his fall.

When questioned about the mobilizations from 2015 most of them responded to emotional aspects that to ideological aspects he considers it was quite ideological.

In 2015 conservatives and progressives joined but the vanguard was at that time and it's progressive. So who continue to lead the baton and leadership of the debate are the progressives because conservatives with the exception of Philip Chicola, Daniel Haering, before Quique Godoy,

they stayed stunned after seeing all their idols and references in prison. And like those who have had the power are the conservatives, the amount of progressives who also are detained did not cause the movement and progressive shame (Rodríguez, 2019).

And he adds:

It seems to me that it is very ideological - in the best sense of the word ideological— leadership of «spring under construction ». It seems to me that since there is a flag of rainbow in the demonstrations or that they are looking for impunity for the past, present, to include the feminism issue is an ideological positive burden and I don't think that be an anti-ideological movement or emotional especially since 2016 (Rodríguez, 2019).

*To me it seems that the most important event was the arrest against Otto Pérez Molina by the MP and the CICIG, despite opposition from the economic elite and from the embassy of United States. And social pressure, to take away the right of prejudice to Pérez Molina, which allowed his judicial prosecution and his fall. (Rodríguez, 2019)*



On historical lessons that left la Plaza for society and politicians of the country he claimed that politicians know now that they can have a counterweight from citizenship, civil society and social organizations. In his words "this feeling of power, by citizenry, the town is not going to escape, they will not forget and it will not leave the imaginary in a long time at least in a couple of generations. "

However, he considers that corrupt political class hasn't learned from the historical lesson because they are also innately corrupt and they don't have willpower nor the possibility of redemption. The only ones who had it at the beginning were those of UNE in 2016 and then they quickly came back to the corruption and impunity establishment, where they feel comfortable and then it seems like they have not learned the lesson

## Chapter IV

### Chronology and corruption cases presented in 2015

**Table Number 4**  
**Chronology of the situations of**  
**April 16th to September 6th of 2015 in Guatemala**

Date	Event
april 16th	The International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG by its initials in spanish) and the Public Ministry (MP by its initials in spanish) revealed to public opinion the case of corruption denominated as The Line (la línea, in spanish), where the private Secretary of the Vice President was involved, Juan Carlos Monzón, in complicity with both leaders. Monzón is a fugitive at that time.
april 19th	Roxana Baldetti, from a press conference at the National Palace where she dissociate herself from all the accusations of the case “La Línea”. Alejandro Sinibaldi, former Minister of Communications of the Government of the turn, resigns as a candidate of the Patriot Party and denounces sabotage from Roxana Baldetti.
april 23rd	The #RenunciaYA movement creates a call for a peaceful demonstration on Facebook for Saturday April 25, which becomes very popular in a few hours. At a press conference after receiving harsh criticism President Otto Pérez Molina, along with Vice President Roxana Baldetti, he announced that he will request to United Nations the extension of CICIG's mandate.
april 25th	The first demonstration is held in the Constitution Plaza to demand the resignation of Vice President Roxana Baldetti, and against the corruption of the government in office. Approximately 15 thousand people attend and it is done under the slogans of #RenunciaYa. In social networks the #RenunciaYa hashtag reaches 41 thousand mentions.
may 1st and 2nd	On May 1st the initiative called <i>Cadenas por la Libertad</i> they approached to the National Palace of Culture to chain themselves at the gates and demand the resignation of the presidential binomial. On May 2nd, a second peaceful demonstration is held in the Constitution Plaza, which is also attended by thousands of people, but not as in the previous protest.
may 8th	<b>Roxana Baldetti resigns now</b> The Constitutional Court denies the protection presented by Roxana Baldetti to revoke the resolution of the Supreme Court of Justice, which gave the process for the preliminary hearing presented by three political parties. At a press conference Otto Pérez Molina announces that the vice president Roxana Baldetti resigned from her position.

This continues...



Date	Event
may 9th	In an extraordinary session, amid a wave of protests in the afternoon of that day, the plenary of the Congress accepted the resignation of Roxana Baldetti with 149 votes in favor. That same day the MP requested an arraigo order of the former vice president.
may 14th	Alejandro Maldonado, until now Magistrate of the Constitutional Court, assumes as vice president, after being elected by the Congress of the republic. The University Student Coordinator of Guatemala (CEUG by its initials in spanish) organizes an assembly in the facilities of the Rafael Landívar University to agree on the requests they will make on May 16.
may 15th	The Minister of Energy and Mines, Erick Archila, resigns, claiming to have been subject to blackmail and political persecution by the LIDER party.
May 16th	Another massive peaceful demonstration is held in la Plaza de la Constitución, which is estimated to have attended 60,000 people to demand the resignation of the President Otto Pérez Molina, using the slogans #RenuncienYaFase2 and # 16M. Likewise, the cities of Zacapa, La Antigua, Xela, Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Sololá, San Marcos and Santa Cruz of Quiché, and Guatemalans residing in other countries are added.
may 20th	The CICIG and the MP reveal the "IGSS-PISA" Case, capturing the entire Board of directors from social insurance, made up of 17 people, including the president from such institution Juan de Dios Rodríguez and the President of the Central Bank Julio Suárez. The arrests according to the Special Prosecutor's Office against the Impunity of the MP were for anomalous contracts that the directive of the Social Insurance endorsed, among them is the controversial contract signed with the Pisa Drugstore and the IGSS.
may 21st	The first members of Otto Pérez Molina's Cabinet resigned: -Mauricio López Bonilla, Ministry of the Interior -Ulises Anzueto, from the Secretary of State for Intelligence -Michelle Martínez, Ministry of the Environment -Eddy Juárez, vice minister of Security - Edwin Rodas, Minister of Energy and Mines
may 30th	The sixth week of massive peaceful protests is achieved. It is done another demonstration in Constitución Plaza 18 hours, participated indigenous people, university students, families, artists, religious, etc. Representatives from different departments came together virtually and people living abroad. Under the slogans "President, resign for dignity now", "#NoMásCorrupción", "Otto Pérez, Guatemala does not want you" and "#OttoTeToca".
june 1st	Ivanova Ancheta, presented her resignation as Vice Minister of Development Sustainable of the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM, by its initials in spanish), which remains with a single Vice Minister in charge.

This continues...

Fecha	Suceso
June 2nd	The Secretary General of the Presidency Gustavo Martínez resigns, son in law of Otto Pérez Molina, resigned his position, arguing that he did not want wear down the Guatemalan government.
June 4th	Labor Minister Carlos Contreras resigns to assume the Presidency of the IGSS.
June 5th	Obstructions are carried out in seven points of the capital city, organized apparently by Alianza Obrero Campesina, a new organization so far, and which claimed the investigation of the entrepreneurs involved in corruption cases.
June 6th	One more week of peaceful demonstration in Constitution Plaza, people demanding the resignation of President Otto Pérez Molina, the rejection against Manuel Baldizón as presidential candidate, and the disagreement with the elections of September 6th.
June 10th	The Supreme Court of Justice processes the request for a preliminary judgment against Otto Pérez Molina.
June 11th	USAC es pueblo calls people to a demonstration this June 13 and demand the immediate Otto Pérez Molina resigns, they also requested to the Public Ministry and to the Judicial body the streamlining of the investigation processes against the designated corrupt officials.
June 12th	An Assembly of the Q'eqchi', Poqomchi', Achi' and mestizo peoples is held in Cobán Alta Verapaz. Approximately 300 people participated discussing their participation in the Popular Assembly; they decided to join to the demands to ask for reforms to the electoral law and political parties, the postponement of the elections and the need to call the "Popular and Plurinational Constituent Assembly".
June 13th	The eighth consecutive day of citizen demonstrations is carry out against corruption in the Constitution Plaza requesting again the resignation of Otto Pérez, that elections be postponed, and the reforms to the electoral law and political parties. It started very early with a group of at least two thousand people who held a prayer chain to ask for the peace of Guatemala and worthy authorities for the country. From one o'clock they started to gather dozens of people with posters, blankets, whistles, and a whole quantity of articles with slogans for the authorities from the country.
June 20th	In a ninth day of peaceful protests, the group Renuncia Ya calls to Constitution Plaza again, to demand the resignation of President Otto Pérez Molina, to repudiate the decision of the Court of Constitutionality for having stopped the work of the investigative commission that evaluated the withdrawal of immunity to the president. As well as request reforms to the Electoral and Political Parties Law, and serious investigations and measures to combat corruption in State Institutions.

This continues...

Date	Event
June 29th	Peaceful demonstrations are recorded in Cobán, the Q'eqchi', Poqomchi' and Mestizo people, using the slogan "in these conditions we do not want elections".
July 4th	This tenth day of peaceful protests occurred at night, and simultaneously made several points in the country. It was summoned through two movements. The first of these ones was the ProtestArte movement, formed in turn by 9 more organizations, and convened people in the Constitution Plaza at 6 pm, heading to the United States Embassy to ask respect for independence and national sovereignty. The second of them was the Renuncia Ya movement, which convened at 7 pm in the Constitution Plaza zone 1, heading to the Constitution Plaza. It also was performed in Xela, Huehuetenango, Antigua, Cobán, Escuintla, Totonicapán, Sololá and San Marcos.
July 9th	Nets Case: The MP and CICIG revealed a new case of corruption in Guatemala. Which consists of three traffic of influence structures, illicit and corruption association, led by César Augusto Medina Farfán, along with Carlos Muñoz, Superintendent of SAT, the Zeta Gas Centro American company, and the Jaguar Energy Guatemala Company.
July 11th	It is the twelfth day of protests, which request focused on the reforms to the Electoral Law. The influx of protesters was less, it started in the Constitution Plaza and moved to the outskirts of Congress of the Republic.
July 16th	CICIG publishes its report on the financing of political parties in Guatemala.
July 17th	Judge links Gustavo Martínez, son in law of the President and five more people, for being involved in the Nets Case. Martinez is pointed out having participation as a political operator to benefit the company Jaguar Energy, for whose negotiation the researchers consider that the former Secretary General of the Presidency may have obtained at least US \$ 120 thousand.
July 18th	The thirteenth day of peaceful protests against corruption and impunity in the government and political parties are carried out. To this demonstration various social organizations, citizens and groups attend national musicals. It was convened by the ProtesArte group. the request is intensify request for the postponement of elections, 28 thousand signatures are gathered to deliver the petition to the Congress of the Republic.
July 25th	A new day of demonstrations called # 25J is held. This time is summoned by a religious prayer group in the morning and by Justicia Ya (formerly Renuncia Ya) in the afternoon. It is done both in the capital city as in the departmental capitals of Quetzaltenango, Huehuetenango, Escuintla and Alta Verapaz, and small peaceful protests in the United States and Spain.

This Continues...

Date	Event
August 8th	Another day of demonstrations. It starts in front of the Palacio Nacional de Cultura and then is moved to the Congress of the Republic. It has little influx, approximately 300 people. Lawsuits range from anti-corruption rejection until the rejection of the "ecocide" that occurred in Petén, likewise they requested not to hold the elections.
August 15th	17 days of peaceful demonstration are celebrated. A Few citizens are recorded in the demonstration of Constitution Plaza, under conditions of rain. They requested the resignation of Pérez Molina and rejected the form in which the deputies voted not to withdraw the immunity to the president. They requested the cancellation of the LIDER Party, and they were opposed to hold General Elections.
August 21st	The MP and CICIG published new evidence in the case of "La Línea", which placed Baldetti and Pérez Molina at the head of the structure of customs fraud. Baldetti was arrested that same day. The popular clamor of rejection of the presidency increased and produced the resignation from several senior officials a day later.
August 22nd	<b>Resignation of the last members of Otto Pérez Molina's cabinet</b> Minister of Education Cynthia del Águila, Minister of Economy Sergio de la Torre, Presidential Commissioner for Competitiveness and Investment, Juan Paiz: Claudia del Águila, Vice Minister of Investment and Competitiveness; Sigfrido Lee, deputy minister in charge of Small and Medium Enterprises; María Luisa Flores, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade, and Marco Antonio Gutiérrez, administrative vice minister of Public Finance; Adela Camacho from the Police Reform Commission.
August 24th	Otto Pérez Molina transmitted a recorded message, on a national network, where he warned that he was not willing to resign and where he summoned to "deep Guatemala" to support him. The reactions of rejection were immediate. Social networks were filled with the label #YoNoTengoPresidente.
August 25th	<b>The business sector issues emitted a stance before the National Stoppage</b> The Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations (CACIF, by its initials in Spanish) published a resounding opposition statement to the National Stoppage of August 27th and announced that the Constitutional Court granted them provisional protection with which the President is apprehended to comply with the constitutional rights of locomotion, access to health, peace and freedom.
August 26th	After that Roxana Baldetti was linked to the process and was sent to women's preventive prison of Santa Teresa, the General Office of Nation and the General Comptroller of Accounts publicly exhorted the President to resign.

This continues...

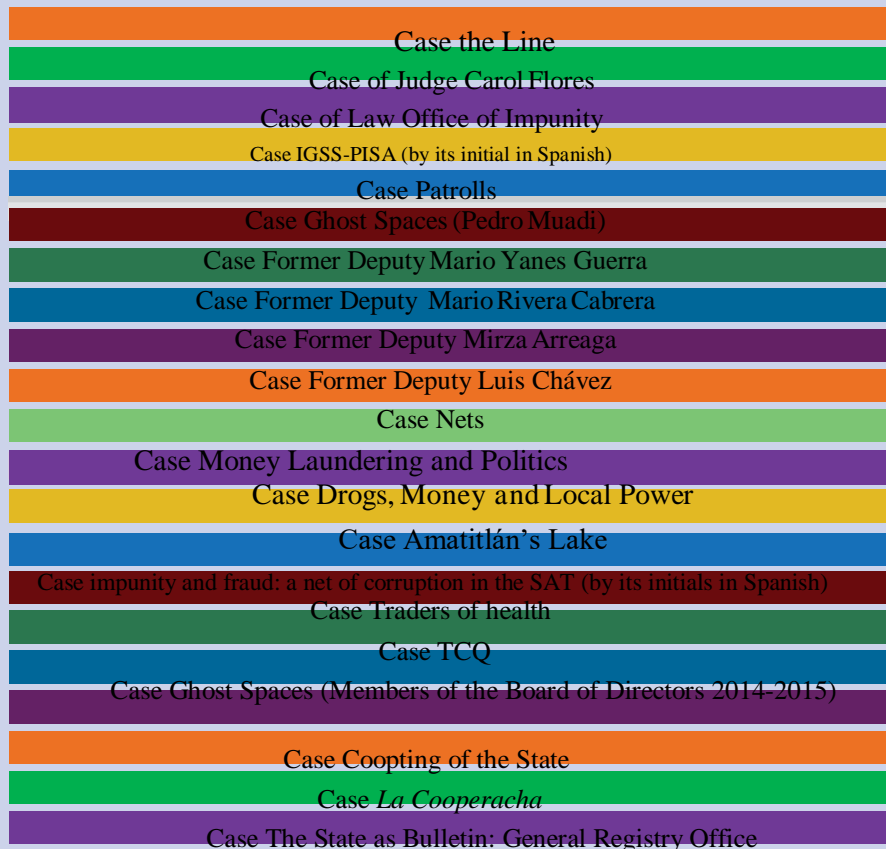
Date	Event
August 27th	<p><b>National Stoppage</b> It was called by social networks, and thousands of people joined between them students, teachers, schools, markets, shops, large and small national companies and business chambers, who stopped all their regular activities and some of them decided to go out to demonstrate. It is estimated that more than 300 businesses in the capital city closed that day. and almost 100 thousand people went to the streets to demand the resignation of Pérez Molina.</p>
September 1st	<p>Removal of President immunity With 132 votes in favor, Congress agrees to remove the immunity of the President Otto Pérez Molina, thus opening the door for the MP and the CICIG to investigate him for his alleged participation in the fraud network called The Line. Demonstrations are held in different parts of the country and in front of Congress of the Republic, by different social organizations, both in favor as against the removal of immunity of the President.</p>
September 2nd	<p>One day after losing immunity Otto Pérez Molina presented his resigns from Congress at about 11:30 p.m. on September 2.</p>
September 6th	<p>General Elections are held, the eighth consecutive democratic election, from Guatemala.</p>

**Source:** IIPS, Area of Political Studies, 2019, based on electronic news.

**Note:** the situation or situational phase is recognized from April 16, 2015 to September 6, from the same year, on the occasion of the celebration of the first electoral round. This last date is considered as the closure of the possibilities of a change, to the extent that the "exit" from the crisis had an institutional solution, within the legal framework, following the established procedures.

**Image Number. 5**  
**Corruption Cases presented by**  
**the CICIG and the MP among 2015 y 2016**

**Corruption cases presented by the CICIG**  
**and the MP among 2015 and 2016**



**Source:** IIPS, Area of Political Studies, 2019 based on a list of cases from: <https://www.cicig.org/cases-listing/>

**Note:** the main cases of corruption exposed by the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) and the Public Prosecutor's Office Against Impunity (FECI)..

## ***Final Reflections***

With some distance, the reader will remember events of wide political significance in the history of Guatemala. The 1982 coup d'état, the formation of a National Assembly Constituent who drafted the constitutional body in force to date, as well also, the self-coup of state in 1993, "the serranazo". Along with others recent political events, the aforementioned events highlight that democracy is a process in continuous construction, which legitimacy rests on the ideal of transform into the form of government to mitigate social disparities. Far from it, that utopia seems blur the Guatemalan ideal, as the media denounce and document scandalous acts of corruption, as if the lack of meritocracy public administration were by itself, a trifle.

In this context, we need to highlight that the democratic consolidation discourse has lagged behind regarding voices demanding transparency and fight against corruption, a situation that became more apparent after signing the

agreements of Peace in 1996. It is not less that unfortunate to recognize that the democracy in Guatemala has had very limited ranges, which are reduced to the election procedures of authorities by popular vote without forgetting, of course, the principles that give coherence to the republican order, the referendum and plebiscite, rarely applied. Democracy in Guatemala is thus a relatively recent that does not ends of establish itself as a social relationship. Is a set of procedural legal guidelines, more than a practice of every day at different social levels.

For explaining to the mayors and limitations of democracy, the social sciences traditionally have drawn various explanations, which can be grouped into two aspects: those who consider it an end in itself and those who visualize it as a means. Today we are aware that to make possible democracy, you need to put it in a legitimizing dimension that, of course, is not restricted to the electoral event. That legitimizing

dimension supports a permanent search for meaning, that appeals to rights such as locomotion or request, which are as basic as the right to free emission of thought.

In the events of “La plaza” it was able to carry out a consensus regarding the resignation of Baldetti and Pérez. Who participated in the collective actions they found support in people that didn't do it and they just wanted to mobilize through the cities, where social networks charged a highly relevant role. Probably for this reason various analysts, with a certain amount of ingenuity, evoke 2015 as the end of citizen apathy or awakening of a conscience, visible not only in the streets but on the internet and their many various meanings of dissemination of thought. The truth of the case is that each one adopted “La plaza” as part of its “biographical space”, which allowed the construction of itineraries and virtual memories.

And, when creating new ways of sociability and organization, social networks favored construction of other identities, real and imagined ones. As a social phenomenon, networks should be analyzed in your dimension of political discourse, offer the possibility to communicate and

exchange opinions —even emotions — practically immediately. This places us in a situation in which subjectivity and emotions achieve symbolic spaces of expression, beyond traditional collective actions, which involve the taking of real estate, streets or squares. “The citizen plaza 2015” must be interpreted, as well as another way to put politics into play and emotionality to the degree that, to this day, no collective action could do without the social networks.

Although the studies that related life with political conduct they found a clear antecedent in the three fundamental concepts of Foucault, biopolitics, biopower and governmentality, in recent years the gaze of the social sciences they have been directed towards emotional motivations and affective that make sense to human activity. Being as excellence an enabling activity of common sense, politics find possibilities in social networks of construction of identity, a space for deliberation and become aware. This is not reduced in any case to the mere set of arguments: in reality, social networks allow the formation of ideological identities that are determining in material activity.



From this vision, Archuf (2016) invites to reflect on subjectivity, emotions and politics, through a proposal called "Affective turn". Her concept starts in the immersion of individuals in a world dominated by dominance of the media, concluding in the deep influence that they exercise in public and, particularly in the formation of political identities. Part of what came into play in the collective imaginary in 2015 was what kind of responsibility would assume citizenship before political excesses, cynicism and megalomania.

Being these conditions are the basis of the outrage of that urban middle class who appropriated from the streets of the Historic Center of Guatemala City and other places of similar characteristics in different departments (what is usually called "citizenship"), between April 25 and August 27 we attended to the elaboration of a social institution: the construction from a civic self that questioned the authority (political imago). Or at least that was the objective pursued. Does it was about the application of technologies of

social engineering directed towards the control and direction of the community, either, we are witness and live in an authentic historical landmark in a habituated country to silence and oblivion in issues of national policy?

The truth of the case is that it was a new show of Guatemalan politics, articulated around of basic rules: 1) a social corpus with some coherence, exhibited throughout the media, fetishized as an object of desire: "La plaza" as a social, imaginary struggle, political myth the flip side of historical passive citizenship. 2) A remote hearing articulated through the internet where it was allowed political voyeurism by using social networks. 3) A show media that summons the viewer to be subject and object, spectator and protagonist. A real entertainment, as well as imaginary, which gave way to experimentation in unison to hope, vertigo and tragedy. Hyperreal. A media circus whose irony outcome was the choice of a comedian as president of the Republic.

It is not avoidable that the fact that fights against corruption has been a medical reference that has achieved unit of volunteers. Reference that, at the same time, has subtracted the importance to substantive issues, particularly inequality, poverty or racism, aspects that must form the main part of a national development

strategy. The coming generations have the challenge of building common sense and learn to distinguish legitimate struggles of sophisticated manipulation. May the events of 2015 serve, more than myth, as a kind of political pedagogy, susceptible to critical appropriation.

## Bibliography

- Álvarez, A. (2017). Análisis del perfil de Roxana Baldetti en los medios de comunicación a través de la lingüística y la semiótica. Tesis de licenciatura en Ciencias de la Comunicación. Guatemala: Universidad Rafael Landívar
- Álvarez, R. (1999). Los tropiezos de la democracia— Guatemala 1991-1993. En *Revista Política y Sociedad*. Número 37. Guatemala: Instituto de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales.
- Appleton, T. (2016). *Psicoanálisis y política: Freud, Lacan y los pensadores post-lacanianos*. Tesis doctoral en Filosofía. España: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Aragón, J. (2014). Tres momentos en la historia de los movimientos sociales urbanos de Guatemala. Estado burgués nacional, proceso de urbanización y guerra interna. Guatemala: Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales.
- Archuf, L. (2016). El giro afectivo: emociones, subjetividad y política. En Peñamarín, C. et. al. *Emociones en la nueva esfera pública*. de Signis (24) enero-junio. París: Federación Latinoamericana de Semiótica.
- Arriola, C. y F. Rodas (1998). *La reproducción del consenso en la sociedad civil guatemalteca y la capacidad de respuesta del Estado*. Guatemala: IIJS/DIGI.
- Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales en Guatemala. (2006). *Imágenes de nuestra realidad, realidad de nuestras imágenes. Imaginarios sociales y subjetividad en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Editores Siglo Veintiuno.
- Baudrillard, J. (1978). *Cultura y simulacro*. Barcelona: Kairós.
- Fair, H. (2009). La elusión del síntoma social del capitalismo contemporáneo. En *Revista Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*. Volumen 14, número 46. Maracaibo: Universidad de Zulia.
- Flores, H (1997). *Comentarios críticos de interpretación sobre el significado político-social de los Acuerdos de Paz*. Guatemala: documento mimeografiado.
- Fonseca, M. (2018). *La idea de la refundación: actores, propuestas y cuestiones sobre el Estado en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Cara Parens.



- Gutiérrez, E. (2016). La Plaza ciudadana: actores y contextos de la crisis política de 2015. Guatemala: IPNUSAC.
- Le Brun, A. (2004). Del exceso de realidad. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- López, C. (1996). El ejército como principal factor del actual Estado burgués oligárquico guatemalteco. Guatemala: DIGI/USAC.
- Peláez, O. (2001). Los empresarios organizados, la economía y el Estado en Guatemala. Guatemala: FLACSO.
- Reyes, M. (1998). Patrimonialismo y participación: del control estatal a la lucha de los pueblos, Guatemala 1970-1998. Guatemala: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.
- Rouquié, A. (comp.) (1994). Las fuerzas políticas en América Central. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Solórzano, M. (1984). Centroamérica: democracias de fachada. En Revista Polémica número 12. San José: Universidad de Costa Rica.
- Torres-Rivas, E. (2006) La piel de Centroamérica (una visión epidérmica de setenta y cinco años de su historia). Guatemala: FLACSO.
- Torres-Rivas, E. (2010). El Estado en Guatemala: ¿orden con progreso? Guatemala: Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.
- Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (2002). Foro Guatemala. Informe de actividades 2001-2002. Guatemala: División de Publicidad e Información, USAC.
- Zepeda, R. (2000). La coyuntura de 1999. Situaciones y procesos políticos relevantes. Guatemala: IIPS/DIGI/USAC.

## E-grafía

- \_\_\_\_\_ (15 de mayo de 2015). *Renuncia Erick Archila al cargo de ministro de Energía y Minas. República*. Recuperado de: <http://republica.gt/2015/05/15/renuncia-erick-archila-al-cargo-de-ministro-de-energia-y-minas/>
- \_\_\_\_\_ (03 de septiembre de 2015). *Paso a paso: los hechos que llevaron a la caída de Otto Pérez Molina. Soy 502*. Recuperado de: <https://www.soy502.com/articulo/cronologia-caida-otto-perez-molina>
- \_\_\_\_\_ (04 de septiembre de 2015). *Maldonado Aguirre juró como presidente de Guatemala hasta 14 enero de 2016. Mercopress*. Recuperado de: <http://es.mercopress.com/2015/09/04/maldonado-aguirre-juro-como-presidente-de-guatemala-hasta-14-enero-de-2016>
- Álvarez, C. (13 de abril de 2016). *Las fechas más importantes del caso La Línea. Prensa Libre*.

- Recuperado de <https://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/justicia/a-un-ao-del-caso-la-linea>
- Barreto, B. (26 de abril de 2015). *El clamor de una manifestación: #RenunciaYa. Plaza Pública*. Recuperado de: <http://www.plazapublica.com.gt/content/el-clamor-de-una-manifestacion-renunciaya>
- Bautista, E. (2009). La investigación cualitativa y cuantitativa en trabajo social. Análisis y construcción de modelos teóricos de tres casos prácticos en Trabajo Social. *Revista de Trabajo Social UNAM*. (20), 53-71. Recuperado de: <http://revistas.unam.mx/index.php/ents/issue/view/1627/showToc>
- Cabria, E. (19 de abril de 2015). *Se abre el telón: Sinibaldi y Baldetti se divorcian. Se cierra el telón. Nómada*. Recuperado de: <https://nomada.gt/pais/se-abre-el-telon-sinibaldi-y-baldetti-se-divorcian-se-cierra-el-telon/>
- Cabria, E. (16 de mayo de 2015). *La renuncia no basta (gritan 60,000 en la #Marcha16M)*. Nómada. Recuperado de: <https://nomada.gt/pais/la-renuncia-no-basta-gritan-60000-en-la-marcha16m/>
- Cámara del Agro Guatemala. (24 de agosto de 2015). *Comunicado CACIF Paro Nacional*. Recuperado de: [https://issuu.com/camagro/docs/comunicado\\_cacif\\_paro\\_nacional](https://issuu.com/camagro/docs/comunicado_cacif_paro_nacional)
- Corporación Latinobarómetro (28 de octubre de 2011). *Informe 2011*. Recuperado de: [http://www.infoamerica.org/primera/lb\\_2011.pdf](http://www.infoamerica.org/primera/lb_2011.pdf)
- Ghitis, F. (29 de diciembre de 2015). *9 mujeres que cambiaron al mundo en 2015*. Recuperado de: <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2015/12/29/9-mujeres-que-cambiaron-al-mundo-en-2015/>
- Herrera, S. (2017). El diseño de la investigación cualitativa. Dirección General de Investigación DIGI-USAC. Recuperado de: <https://digi.usac.edu.gt/sitios/ues2017/UES2017/HerreraInvestCualitativaUES.pdf>
- Illescas, G. (27 de agosto de 2015). *CA-CIF: Otro gran perdedor del Paro Nacional*. Recuperado de: <https://cmiguate.org/cacif-otro-gran-perdedor-del-paro-nacional/>
- Palencia, S. (22 de mayo de 2015). *La manifestación del 16 de mayo. Previo, durante y análisis. Centro de Medios Independientes*. Recuperado de: <https://cmiguate.org/la-manifestacion-del-16-de-mayo-previo-durante-y-analisis/>
- República. (01 de septiembre de 2015). *CACIF y CAMAGRO se oponen a protesta en Congreso y a bloqueos*. Recuperado de: <https://republica.gt/2015/09/01/cacif-y-camagro-se-oponen-a-protesta-en-congreso-y-a-bloqueos/>

- República. (25 de agosto de 2015). *CC ampara al CACIF para garantizar libre locomoción*. Recuperado de: <https://republica.gt/2015/08/25/cc-ampara-al-cacif-para-garantizar-libre-locomocion/>
- Sosa, A. (01 de septiembre de 2015). *Las dos caras de Guatemala frente a frente en protestas en Congreso*. Recuperado de: <https://www.elpais.cr/2015/09/01/las-dos-caras-de-guatemala-frente-a-frente-en-protestas-en-congreso/>
- Rivera, N. (19 de abril de 2015). *Roxana Baldetti se da la media vuelta. Prensa Comunitaria*. Recuperado de: <https://comunitariapress.wordpress.com/2015/04/19/roxana-baldetti-se-da-la-media-vuelta/>
- Rojas, A. (02 de mayo de 2015). *Guatemaltecos exigen la renuncia del binomio presidencial. Prensa Libre*. Recuperado de: <https://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/politica/guatemaltecos-exigen-la-renuncia-del-binomio-presidencial>
- Rojas, A. (03 de mayo de 2015). *Grupo permanece encadenado al Palacio Nacional. Prensa Libre*. Recuperado de: <https://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/politica/grupo-permanece-encadenado-al-palacio-nacional>
- Waxenecker, H. (2019). *Desigualdad y poder en Guatemala. Economía de captura. Guatemala: Paraíso desigual*. Recuperado de: [http://paraisodesigual.gt/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Desigualdad-y-Poder-en-Guatemala\\_Economia-de-Captura-en-Guatemala.pdf](http://paraisodesigual.gt/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Desigualdad-y-Poder-en-Guatemala_Economia-de-Captura-en-Guatemala.pdf)

## Interviews

- Alemán, C. (06 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza 2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)
- Álvarez, G. (19 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza 2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)
- Bianchi, C. (08 de abril de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza 2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)
- Chicola, P. (21 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza 2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)
- Gutiérrez, E. (29 de abril de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza 2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)
- Hernández B., & Saravia, I. (12 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza. 2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)
- Lara, B. (09 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza

2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Morales, M. (08 de abril de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza

2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Polo, R. (22 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza

2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Rodríguez, M (02 de abril de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza

2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Velásquez, L. (12 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza

2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Wer, G. (07 de marzo de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza

2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Yagenova, S. (03 de abril de 2019). De la indignación al espectáculo: La plaza

2015. (Área de Estudios Políticos, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

### **Photographic References**

Aragón, J. (2015). Fotografía Plaza de la Constitución el día del Paro Nacio-

nal, 27 de agosto de 2015. Archivo de fotografías propio.

Aragón, J. (2015). Fotografía Organizacio-

nes estudiantiles en el Paro Nacio-  
nal, 27 de agosto de 2015. Archivo  
de fotografías propio.

Aragón, J. (2015). Fotografía Manifes-

taciones del día del Paro Nacional  
de 2015. Archivo de fotografías  
propio.

Aragón, J. (2015). Fotografía Organizacio-

nes sociales en el Paro Nacional, 27  
de agosto de 2015. Archivo de foto-  
grafías propio.





# ANEXXES

## Annexed to A. Field Instrument

Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala  
Political and Science School  
Institute for Political and Social Research —IIPS (by  
its initials in Spanish)  
Area or Political Studies



## QUESTIONNAIRE A

### Interview model for academics and public opinion generators

A changing reality requires theories and novel interpretations for understand it. Inspired by that premise, researchers in the Area of IIPS / USAC Political Studies are developing the study “Fight anti-corruption and political forces in Guatemala, 2015 and 2019”. Supported in the theory of social representations and specifically in the concept of social imaginary (Castoriadis and Lacán), this research has as main objective explain the political and ideological content of the agglutinated citizen demonstrations in “la plaza” 2015, valuing the demands and discourses of emerging social actors.

In that sense, although the research takes into account the political wide scene and the participation of diverse sectors and political actors, researchers are focusing their efforts in identifying those ideological and material products derived from the political events of 2015 and the political proposals of political parties that participated in the 2019 electoral process. In advance, your cooperation is appreciated. Doubts and comments please make them know to the interviewer.

1. From your point of view how would you rate what happened in 2015 in Guatemala?



2. What was the most important political event of the year in question?
3. What political aspects were relevant to promote resignation of the rulers?
4. What does it mean to you (and / or the organization to which you belongs) "la plaza 2015"?
5. What historical lessons does it leave "la plaza 2015" to the guatemalan politicians and guatemalan society?
6. In your opinion, who were the actors of "la plaza 2015"?
7. "They messed with the wrong generation" what meaning you give to the previous one slogan?
8. In your opinion, what were the more relevant citizen demands?
9. What did "la plaza 2015" achieve and what does it mean for the future of Guatemala?

San Carlos de Guatemala University  
Political and Science School  
Institute for Political and Social Research-IIPS (by its  
initials in Spanish)  
Area of Political Studies



## QUESTIONNAIRE B

### Interview model for members of social organizations

A changing reality requires theories and novel interpretations for understand it. Inspired by that premise, researchers in the Area of IIPS / USAC Political Studies are developing the study “Fight anti-corruption and political forces in Guatemala, 2015 and 2019”. Supported in the theory of social representations and specifically in the concept of social imaginary (Castoriadis and Lacán), this research has as main objective explain the political and ideological content of the agglutinated citizen demonstrations in “la plaza” 2015, valuing the demands and discourses of emerging social actors. In that sense, although the research takes into account the political scene wide and the participation of diverse sectors and political actors

researchers are focusing their efforts in identifying those ideological and material products derived from the political events of 2015 and the political proposals of political parties that participated in the 2019 electoral process. In advance, your cooperation is appreciated. Doubts and comments please make them know to the interviewer.

1. What were the modalities of protest the movement that represents you used?
2. What do you consider were the greatest wins of the movement that represents? And which obstacles do you consider were the biggest ones and / or defeats?
3. Could you make a short narration of what it means to you, your intervention in the protests of 2015, between the conjuncture of April to September?



4. "In these conditions we do not want elections", what meaning do you give to the previous slogan of the year 2015?
5. What was the posture of the movement that represents in relation to the elections of September 2015?
6. Roxana Baldetti resigns and resigns Otto Pérez Molina, falls
- the corruption structure, its investigations begin, are held elections and Jimmy Morales wins. What comes after all this movement that represents?
7. How does movement perceive 2019 electoral scenario?

## Annex B. Sample interview request letter



40  
Años

REF.IIPS 038-2019  
Guatemala, 01 de marzo de 2019

Señores  
Coordinadora General Estudiantil Universitaria  
Su despacho

**Estimados señores:**

Reciban un cordial saludo de parte del Área de Estudios Políticos (AEP) del Instituto de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales de la Escuela de Ciencia Política, de la Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, esperando que las actividades de su organización sean exitosas.

Desde el ciclo académico 02-2018, el AEP ha desarrollado un esfuerzo de trabajo por comprender y explicar el sentido que tuvieron las protestas ciudadanas de 2015 en Guatemala, en el marco de una indagación amplia acerca de los movimientos sociales urbanos. De dicha cuenta se realizó la publicación del artículo titulado *"Imaginario político de las protestas ciudadanas de 2015 en Guatemala: de lo simbólico a lo concreto"*, en la Revista Política y Sociedad No. 55. Como una segunda fase de investigación titulada titulada *"De la protesta a la propuesta: lucha anticorrupción y fuerzas políticas en Guatemala 2015-2019"*, para este ciclo académico 1-2019 el AEP se ha propuesto dar continuidad al objetivo central que indaga el contenido político e ideológico de la protesta social de 2015.

Para realizar el estudio en mención resulta imprescindible realizar las entrevistas pertinentes con especialistas y actores involucrados. En consecuencia, les solicitamos que nos concedan un espacio de su tiempo para conversar respecto a la temática indicada. Si no fuese posible contar directamente con sus aportes, también le agradeceríamos que nos indique con quién, dentro de su organización, podríamos avocarnos. **Tomando en cuenta sus actividades y nuestro cronograma de trabajo le agradeceríamos, que nos indique si es posible fijar la reunión solicitada en los próximos 10 días, estipulando el horario y lugar de su preferencia, detalles a los cuales nos adaptaremos sin problema alguno.**

En nombre del Área de Estudios Políticos le enviamos nuestros mejores deseos, y quedamos atentos a su respuesta, y desde ya agradecemos su apoyo y consideración.

Deferentemente,

**M.Sc. Jorge Aragón**  
Coordinador del Área de Estudios Políticos  
Instituto de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales –IIPS-ECP-USAC



c.c.:Archivo

Ciudad Universitaria, Zona 12, Edificio M-5, Segundo nivel, Guatemala, Guatemala  
Instituto de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales -IIPS-  
Tls. 2418 - 8000 Ext. 1475 y Directo 2418 - 8705  
E-Mail: iipscp@usac.edu.gt



**Environmental management in Guatemala:  
the state dimension and the contribution of the  
International cooperation**

*IIPS-Area of International Studios*

## **Introduction**

Environmental problems are not a new subject, in previous times it wasn't a topic of general interest, but also, it was in second plane; However, for some years it has been

put on the table as one of the main concerns in the international community due to climate change and global warming. Such has been the concern, that the international cooperation has gone increasing and partnerships have been created and organizations are dedicated to their study, knowledge and protection.

From this, arises as interest of the AEI to address the environmental problem from the approach that summons to the discipline itself, focusing in studying the actions of national institutions in charge of the environmental topic and,

in turn, the lines that have governed international cooperation in the country.

This research is constituted into two parts. The first was a theoretical-conceptual approximation, about International cooperation for the State of Guatemala in the Environment Sector, published in the Politics and Society Magazine # 55. I was used the theory of complex interdependence, based on the contributions of Robert O. Keohane and Joseph s. Nye (1988), about the multiple channels of cooperation, to identify the main lines supported for the same.

In the second stage, contained this document, the team of the AEI, they have implemented the entire methodological strategy detailed then to learn about the progress that the Guatemalan State has done on the issue.



## ***How was the investigation carried out?***

The Research on environmental management in Guatemala, as previously mentioned was divided into two parts. From the years 2000-2015 in its first published version, and then, some elements were retaken because would allow the analysis to the second phase, from the years 2015-2018.

The second part is constituted as the report of the results of the investigation, in which they are addressed and evaluate, through the methodology of the chain of results, all those characteristics that led to give an answer to the following question: What actions does the State of Guatemala, through its institutions, to optimize the resources that are obtained through cooperation, in environmental matters? And so, achieve develop an approach to the evaluation of "potential environmental impact".

The work methodology included the location and documentary review and hemerographic, studies and laws related with the theme; as well as the realization of ten interviews with public officials and academicians that, in different moments have been linked to the theme. This interview process was carried out during the months of March and April of this year.

Among the people interviewed were find: María Mercedes Aguilar, director of CI(international conservation) of MARN, James Carrera, deputy director of Iarna (Latin American Research Network on Ageing); Pillar Montero, responsible for the project Cooperation Fund for Water and Aacid (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation) sanitation; Carmen Marroquín, director of CI and treaties of the Minex (The Ministry for Foreign Affairs); María Elba Méndez, undersecretary CI at the Conred; Edvan Marroquín, planning manager and SDG 6 (objectives of sustainable development) of Segeplán ; Gabriel Velásquez, head of energy planning-miner MEM (Ministry of Energy and Mining) ; Omar Samayoa, climate change specialist the BID (Inter-American Development Bank); Norbert Rose, Advisor of the Rural Development program. and Adaptation to the Climate Change GIZ ; and representatives of the Greater Commonwealth South City.

In addition, this phase was complemented with the realization of an academic forum and a discussion to get to know the perspectives from the academic sector, both were developed within the facilities of the



School of Political Science, USAC, in the month of March.

The Forum entitled “Experiences of environmental management in Guatemala: the dimension of the environment and the contribution of international cooperation” was intended to bring together the various experiences of people who have worked on the subject since the institutions. The participation was from: Carlos Ramos, vice minister of natural resources and change climate of MARN; Andrea Nájera, representative Sustainable Economy International Observatory; Henry Thomas and

Obdulio Cotuc, by the Great Commonwealth City of the South.

The Conversation titled “Superior Education as a tool for The conservation of the environment” was intended to collect all the actions and contributions that are being performing from the academy in the theme. The participation was from Sara Ortiz of Iarna; Alex Ruch, from the Economic and Social Research Institute; Alexander Asencio and Diego Hernández from the Green Office USAC.

### Image Number. 1 Academic Forum



Source: IIPS, International Studies Area (2019).

### Image Number 2 Discussion



Source: IIPS, International Studies Area (2019).



The research process, analysis and preparation of the Final Report that presents below was done by the following research team: Bachelor. Karen Johana Arévalo Mejía (Coordinator of the IIPS International Studies), Cenia Melizza Marroquín Solís Auxiliary research; also counted with the students Alma Sagastume (studying the eighth cycle of sociology) and Ana Lucía Reiche (studying the eighth cycle of International Relations), who collaborated in the transcription of the interview process and systematization of results.

### **Guatemala: a country with even data?**

*Guatemala is already within the countries who have an average income, and that greatly limits access to donation and cooperation of technical resources not the loan part. Guatemala cannot access to a mechanism called Special Operations Fund in which the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has softer conditions [...]. Guatemala's GDP is up from the category of candidates for that type of loans, it's a little bit contradictory, Well, if we check the indicators of development are from a country with a very incipient level of development to level of Latin America [...] getting out of the normal behavior within those countries. (Samayoa, 2019)*

The importance of reviewing the profile from Guatemala, part of the need to know what are the resources available and, based on this, determine the main lines of work in which the international cooperation has been focused and the actions that have been carrying out by institutions in charge of the environment sector in the country.

### **Guatemala Profile**

Guatemala is a country located in Central America, it has an area of 108,890 Km<sup>2</sup>. With a coastline that extends up to 400 kilometers. The weather of Guatemala is mostly tropical with a warm variation and wet in the lowland and cold in Highlands. The terrain of the region is mainly mountainous with narrow coastal plains and plateaus limestone. There are numerous volcanoes in the mountains that sometimes erupt. The region is also threatened with occasional violent earthquakes, vulnerable to hurricanes and other tropical storms. Deforestation, erosion of soil and water pollution are the main environmental hazards in the region (Maps of the world, 2018).

## Map Number 1 Geographical location of Guatemala



**Source:** Satellite Coordinates (Google Maps) of Guatemala (2019).

The political-administrative division of the country is of 8 regions, 22 departments and 338 municipalities that are divided into villages, hamlets, farms and other forms of community organization (MARN, 2015).

It has a population of approximately 17,247,807, located in a position of 67 of 196 countries in the table population (UN, 2018), with a density of 158 inhabitants per Km<sup>2</sup>. In 2018, the female population was the

majority, with 8,757,061 women, representing 50.77% of the total, compared to 8,490,746 men who are 49.23% (Datosmacro, 2019).

Table 1 shows the main country indicators, it should be noted that the statistical data is not current, the variation from years to which is referenced, is due to the lack of data from the last census and the dispersion of the data not unified and available for use by the entire population.



**Table Number 1**  
**Indicators of Guatemala**

Indicators				
HDI	0.6(2018)	Place 127		
Life Expectancy	72.5(2019)	69.1(men)	76.1(women)	
Illiteracy	12.31(2016)			
School Attendance	6.0(2016)			
Population literate	84.7(2011) (non indigenous)	62.5(indigenous)		
Mortality rate (external circumstances)	69.4 (2017) (external circumstances)	11.2 (by diarrhoea)	5.7 (by respiratory diseases)	4.8(Gross rate)
Infant Mortality rate	20(2017)			
Gross birth rate	22.5(2017)			
Population growth rate	2.19(2019)			
Quality of housing	13.0 (2006)			
Overcrowding	31.0 (2006)			
Source of water supply	13.0 (2006)			
Availability of health service	22.0 (2006)			

**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con base en datos extraídos de (República 2018, INE 2019).

Regarding the Human Development Index (HDI), done by the Organization of the United Nations (UN) to measure the progress of a country and that ultimately shows the

standard of living of its inhabitants, indicates that Guatemalans have a poor quality of life. In this study, Guatemala is located in the

position 127, according to the United Nations Development Programme

(UNDP) (2018), out of 189 countries evaluated (elPeriódico, 2018). The HDI has into account three variables: long life and healthy, knowledge and level of decent life (see Table 1).

Therefore, among others, the fact

that life expectancy in Guatemala is in 72. 5 years, its rate of mortality in 4.81 ‰ and their income per capita is US \$ 4, 534.8.

### ***Natural Resources of Guatemala***

The relief of Guatemala is formed through plateaus, mountains and volcanoes alternating with deep valleys and depressions, which runs from the La Sierra Madre of Chiapas and continues for La Sierra of Cuchumatanes, to the North, to the Chixoy valley; It's about a sedimentary rock system that rise above 3,000m in Altos Cuchumatanes and reaches the maximum height in the 3,800 m of Pico Chimal (INE, 2014).

Weather conditions are determined by latitude and altitude. In the capital, average temperatures range between 17° and 20°C. Hot lands, up to 700 m, record averages between 23° and 32°C in the plains coastal and river valleys of the Atlantic slope; temperate lands of the Altiplano, are between 700 and 1,800m, have averages of 18° to 25°C; the cold lands accuse daytime and seasonal oscillations, with temperatures averages between 15° and 25°C. The rainfall is more intense in the

Atlantic, where the Caribbean humid winds act that prolong the wet season, usually between May and October. The precipitations, of the order of the 4,000 mm annually, they are less intense in the Pacific where the dry station lasts longer. The vegetation offers three aspects: tropical of humid forest, on the coasts, of hot lands; the Atlantic vegetation of forests of precious woods; the savanna, which appears in areas of the interior; the semi-tropical vegetation thrives at heights up to 1,800 m, and above from them grow conifers, holm oaks and tree ferns (INE, 2014).

Guatemala is a country with a lot tectonic and volcanic activity due to its geographical position (see it in Map No. 2), since it belongs to the Circumpacific Belt of Fire. In the national territory converge three tectonic plates: Cocos Plate in the south, forming an area of subduction on the Pacific coast, Caribbean Plate, which occupies all the central part of the country. On this plate all the volcanism of the country, and runs the entire line trace. The area of Motagua is part of the limit of this plate with North America and the North American Plate, located in the north of the country (INE, 2014).






In this sense, it is worth mentioning that the country, due to its geographical location, is vulnerable to natural phenomena that can seriously affect the conditions of the country. From this, should exist a preventive policy and not reactionary, how will be developed later, in order to mitigate the natural disasters and those caused by man and, furthermore, serve as a link for the best uptake and to take advantage of the international cooperation.

**Map Number 2**  
**Seismic Zone in the Republic of Guatemala**  
**Seismic Zones**

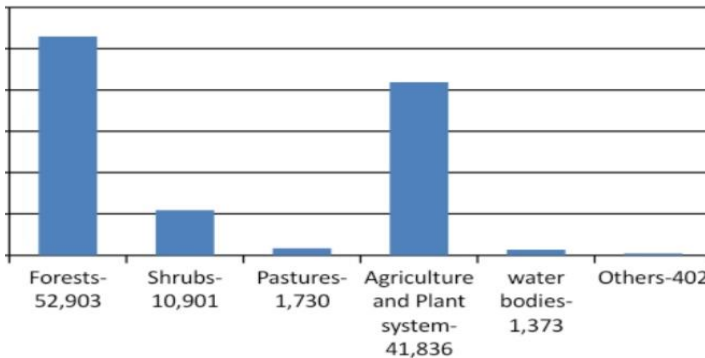


**Zones of earthquakes**

-  **B** Seismic zone corresponding to the volcanic chain.
-  **C** It comprises the seismic zone of the Polochic Motagua faults.
-  **D** zone corresponding to the Petén basin.

**Source:** Compendio Estadístico Ambiental de Guatemala (2014).

**Figure Number 1**  
**Extension of plant exosystems (Km2)**



**Source:** Compendio Estadístico Ambiental de Guatemala (2014).

One of the biggest resources of Guatemala are forests and water; the greater extent of ecosystems, according to The National Council for Protected Areas (CONAP by its initials in spanish), Department of Conservation Units, occupied by forests with 52,903.03 km<sup>2</sup>, following the agricultural systems of forest plantations with 41,836.07 km<sup>2</sup> and to a lesser extent the bushes with 10,901.45 km<sup>2</sup> (INE, 2014).

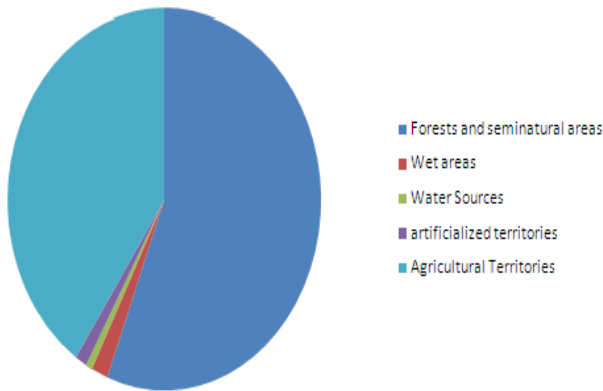
On the subject of water resources there are three streams of water: the Pacific, Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico, with 38 water basins, seven lakes, 365 lagoons, 779 lagoons, and at

least 317 rivers, of which the most abundant are Usumacinta, Motagua, Sarstún, Ixcán, Polochic and Suchiate. In the subsoil are 34 million cubic meters of water, and the water flows have power to generate 4,500 megawatts of electricity (INSIVUMEH, s.f.).

Another major topic that is essential to address, is the use of soil. In 2012, the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food (MAGA) made the vegetation coverage map and use of the land where was revealed that 40.43% of the territory is used for agricultural crops and 55.96% for forests and others semi-natural media (INE, 2015).



**Figure Number. 2**  
**Coverage and land use of Guatemala, year 2012**



**Source:** Compendio Estadístico Ambiental de Guatemala (2015).

The flora and fauna of Guatemala is determined like mega diversity, according to the UN (2010), since the country is one of the 19 with the greatest biological diversity. Within species that are part of the biodiversity from Guatemala there are 720 birds, 244 mammals, 245 reptiles, 10 thousand 317 kinds of flora, 1 thousand 033 kinds of fish and 147 amphibians.

For that reason, it is considered a Megadiverse Country due to its biological and cultural diversity; as part of Mesoamerica, ranks second place of the most diverse regions of

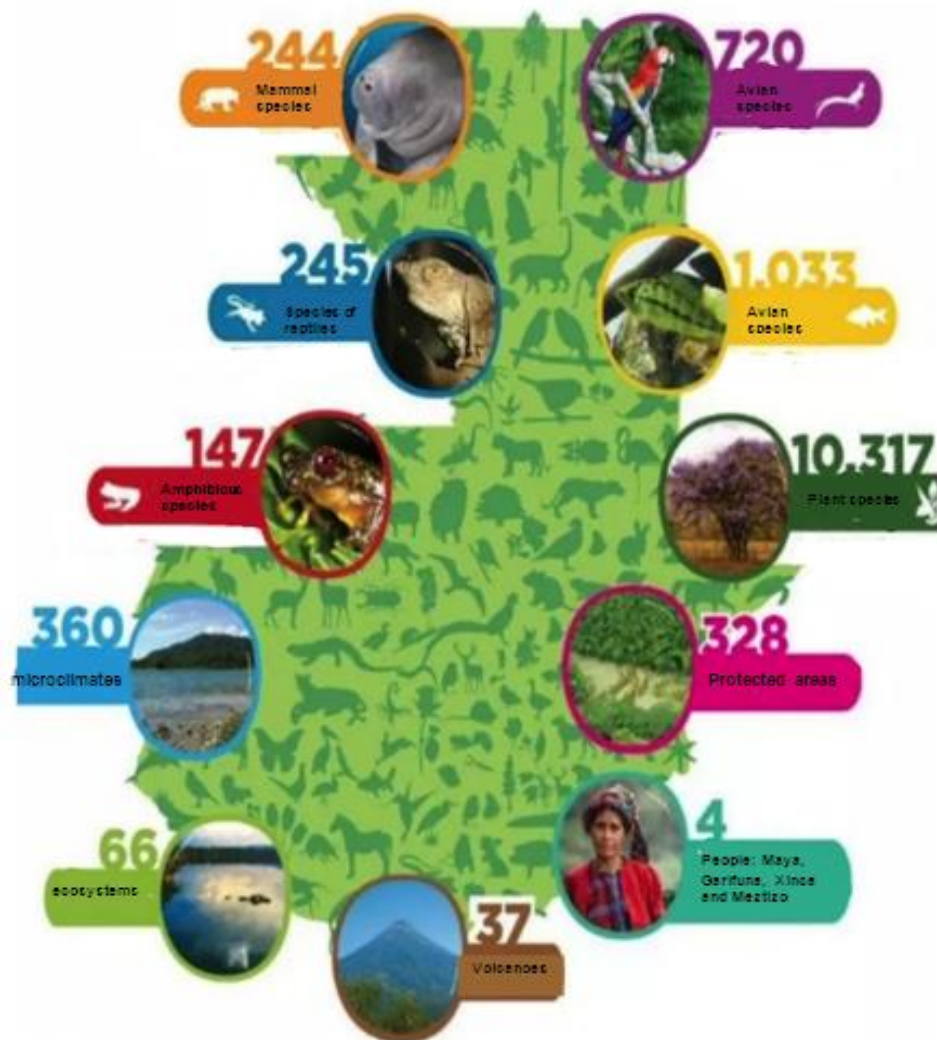
species and endemism, and houses around 7 to 10 percent of known life forms in the planet. This allowed that during the Tenth Conference of the Parties (COP-10) held in the city of Nagoya, Japan in

2010, Guatemala will be included within the Group of Similar Megadiverse Countries (LMMC) of the Convention on Biological Diversity of

United Nations. Worldwide only are 20 named countries like Megadiverse. The wealth of Guatemala is Natural and Cultural (National Council of Protected Areas, 2019).



### Map Number 3 Guatemala's Biodiversity



**Source:** Consejo Nacional de Áreas Protegidas (2019).

### 1.3 Economic Data

Gross domestic product (GDP) of Guatemala in 2018 has grown 3.1% compared to 2017. This is a rate 3 tenths higher than of 2017, which was 2.8%. In 2018 the figure of GDP was US \$ 73.26 million, which Guatemala is positioned like economy number 71 in the ranking of the 196 countries. Its public debt in 2017 was US \$ 18.25 million, with a debt of 24.72% of GDP, and debt per capita of US \$ 1,078.45 per inhabitant (Macro data, 2019).

This indicator in addition to showing that a country's economy falls directly in interest rates, in this case, which you can access the State of Guatemala, either for project loans or financing cooperative, shows the position in the economy table, the GDP, external debt and the HDI, which categorizes countries in different groups, according to their needs and capabilities as it's shown in the following.

**Table Number 2**  
**Classifying countries by level of income**

threshold	percapita GNI (USD current value)
Low income	995 or less
average income	between 996 and 3895
median income	between 3896 and 12055
high income	more than 12 055

**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales, según datos del Banco Mundial (2018).

In the period 2018 —2019 have emerged changes in classification, placing Guatemala in a new income group:

**Table Number 3**  
**Changes in the classifying of Guatemala by level of income**

Country	Former group	New group
Guatemala	middle low income	middle high income

**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales, según datos del Banco Mundial (2018).

Adding that it is in the position 98 of the 190 which forms the ranking Doing Business (2019), which classifies countries according to easiness they offer to make business.

Unlike the per capita GDP of Guatemala in 2018 was US \$ 4.25, \$ 114 lower than in 2017, when it was \$ 4.36. According to its GDP per capita, Guatemala is in 109th place of 196 countries. According to this parameter, a very low standard of living in relation to the rest of the 196 countries in the ranking of GDP per capita.

The disparity of statistical data that are presented, are the reflection from a totally unequal country; despite that the economy has remained stable, its indicators do not show the quality of life that a State should guarantee to its inhabitants, in other words the common good. In addition to this, at the moment to move up, the country would stop from being a priority candidate for international cooperation though poverty and malnutrition rates demonstrate the opposite for the economy, making it vulnerable.

Within the same logic, a theme which has been relevant during recent years, is that corruption, in addition to being one of the causes of mismanagement of resources

received for international cooperation within the institutions of government. From that account, Guatemala has obtained 27 points in the Index of Corruption Perception published by the Organization for Transparency International (2019). Its score has dropped in the last report, which means that Guatemalans perceive an increase of corruption in the public sector of the country. The decrease of Its score has caused Guatemala worsens its position to the rest of the countries until position 144, of 180.

### ***The System of Environmental Economic Accounting (SEEA)***

SEEA orders the economic information and environmental to show the contribution of the natural system for generation of wealth and its use as a waste receptor (Monterroso, Carrera, García, & Ortiz, 2019).

The SEEA process in Guatemala can be defined as an alliance public-academic. The idea came in the late of 2005 and it was implemented by the academy under the leadership of the Institute of Research and Projection on Natural Environment and society (Iarna, by its initials in spanish) of the

University Rafael Landívar in alliance with the Bank from Guatemala (Banguat). From its inception, the process of implementation SCAE (by its initials in spanish) was designed to ensure institutionalization, with the objective to create an institutional platform and operating strategies more powerful. Today, the process has been endorsed by National Statistics Institute (INE by its initials in spanish) and categorized it as part of the "official statistics" of the country (Monterroso, Carrera, García, & Ortiz, 2019).

At the national level, and in an intergovernmental space integrated by the Secretariat for Programing and Programming of the Presidency (Segeplán), The Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MARN) and the Ministry of Finance (MINFIN), in addition to Banguat and INE, it was defined that the accounts be generated in a way that provides information in the next four national policy priorities: (i) Inclusive green growth and reduction of poverty, (ii) food security, (iii) climate change, risk and economic growth, and (iv) environmental and economic sustainability (Monterroso, Carrera, García, & Ortiz, 2019).

Progress has been made in 2018 in:

energy and fisheries resources and aquaculture; ii) compilation of pilot exercises of the experimental account of ecosystems, the agricultural environmental account, account of wealth; and iii) the identification of indicators generated by the SEEA for monitoring the National Plan Sustainable Development Goals.

### ***Land Management (OT by its initials in spanish)***

Land National Policy Planning. (PNOT by its initials in spanish) "It is the process technical-political, instrumented, normative and binding, arranged, co-responsible and participatory of planning for the spatial organization, land management and its resources" (Segeplán, 2016).

PNOT arises as a necessity of the State to have a vision unified allowing dialogue between the dimensions of the socioeconomic and territorial partner development. In addition, being one of the Priorities National Development Programs (PND) that determines the viability and feasibility of the development of the others priorities.

However, to define the bases for inter-institutional coordination in

terms of land use and management, it must be possible to articulate competences and responsibilities to jointly implement policies, strategies and instruments of territorial management, considering the country's territorial scales, such as joint commitment, to contribute to improve social and economic conditions and environmental in which Guatemalan population develops (Segeplán, 2016).

From this account the institutions of the government have formed an interinstitutional table, within which they can be called MARN, INAB, CONRED, which are the institutions in charge of the environmental sector in Guatemala and Segeplán as an entity planner of policy action of the government.

Part of the process takes place depending on the availability of environmental services, the resilience of ecosystems ability, dynamics and economic, social, ecological and cultural demands. With the implementation of PNOT, it is intended to answer to the need of: adaptation and mitigation to change climate and comprehensive risk management, that directly affects efficiency of economic activities and

the country.

### ***Difficulties***

It is important to mention, that difficulties to implement PNOT are that there is no law of Land Management, as happens in the rest of Central American countries.

Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (CEUR by its initials in spanish), has presented various studies related to the subject; among them is a series of conferences where delimited the implications of the Land Management in Guatemala, in which they determined that within the difficulties to implement the PNOT (Segeplán, 2016), the following are observed:

- Instruments for land regulation is disjointed, with gaps and with a weak implementation.
- There is no a multilevel institutional arrangement that allows entities with competence in ordering and development territorial interact in a coordinated way.
- The installed capacity for Land Management process is heterogeneous and overall insufficient in terms of information, knowledge, human capital, capacity, technique and resources.



However, the territorial ordering is an effective condition for implementation of the PND. The lines raised after the order, will serve as a foundation to achieve, mitigate and reduce the vulnerability of the projects and lines of action that run the government, donors, and local governments.

Following the line of the environment sector, the order will contribute to a control, protection and management of natural resources and biological diversity, deforestation and loss of ecosystemic services. Lack of a territorial environmental management and the provision of basic poor services have as a consequence other social problems derived from mismanagement and they can relapse into health problems and feeding.

### ***Link with the environment***

According to the Framework Law to Regulate Vulnerability reduction, Compulsory Adaptation facing Climate Change effects and Mitigation of Greenhouse Gases, establishes in its Art. 12:

Land Management for the Adaptation and Mitigation to Climate Change. The Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food

(MAGA), the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MARN), the Secretariat for Progrannig and Programming of the Presidency (SEGEPLAN) will provide the collaboration that municipalities of the country need to adapt their territorial development plans, for the purposes of this law.

Municipalities and Councils of Urban and Rural Development, in accordance with their respective powers, when attending the territorial order for adaptation and mitigation of climate change, they will take into account the results of national communications of climatic change and biophysical, social, economic and cultural conditions respective territories (Legislative body, 2013).

Land Management policy constitutes the areas to advise municipalities in power Land Management plans focus on climate change, according to the Law of Climate Change of the Decree 7-2013.

Likewise, institutions must have commitments, in which the Land Management Plan of the reserve areas of the State with a management approach of risk and climate change should have a city policy. The strategic environmental studies for municipal plans they must follow a

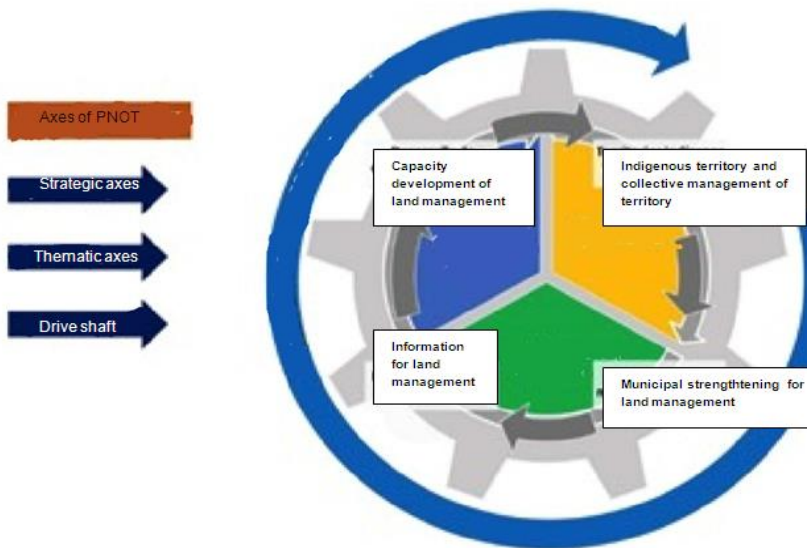
logic territorial ordering.

For organization and coordination of public administration, it is created the National Council for Urban and Rural Development. (Conadur by its initials in spanish) coordinated by the President of the Republic and integrated in the way that law establishes it. This Council will be in charge of the formulation of policies

of urban and rural development, as well as territorial planning, in addition of enforcing strategic lines established in the National Plan K'atun 2032 and the PND.

It should be noted that municipalities are in charge of attending local public services, territorial planning of its jurisdiction and the fulfillment of its own purposes (Segeplán, 2016).

**Image Number 3**  
**Coordination and Inter-Institutional Cooperation (PNOT, By its initials in Spanish)**



**Source:** Segeplán (2016).



The figure shows the axes of PNOT, which establish three dimensions, sustainable natural resources management, integration of the urban and rural, safe and resilient development; which are driven for capacity building, indigenous territories and collective management of the territory, municipal fortress, and information for the Land Management.

It is evident that the axes of the PNOT, stress the need for an approach of cross-section of the territory with the environment, however, it is necessary that the municipalities comply with the provisions, adding that it should prevail the coordination and cooperation interagency for compliance of the NDP.

## From International to National

*One of the concerns is that Guatemala has signed a series of environmental agreements; among them the Agreement of Paris which is a binding agreement at the moment there is no movement to advance the compliance with those agreements. And it's not easy, because its multisectoral, multi-topic, because not only one institution must work, are all, which makes it even more difficult, in addition to territorial management and resource management. (Huntsman, 2019)*

## **The new International Agenda 2030**

In the first part of the investigation, a chronology was presented on all legal and institutional scaffolding which has oriented the international community, since 2000, to the building of common goals and thus, contribute to improve the problems of the world; so this section will be dealt with succinctly.

An important and key year for both the international community as for the country, it is the year 2015. Here should be presented, before the Organization of the United Nations (UN), the results obtained in compliance of the agenda Millennium Development Goals (MDG), results that, for the country, were not significant; featuring more setbacks than advance.

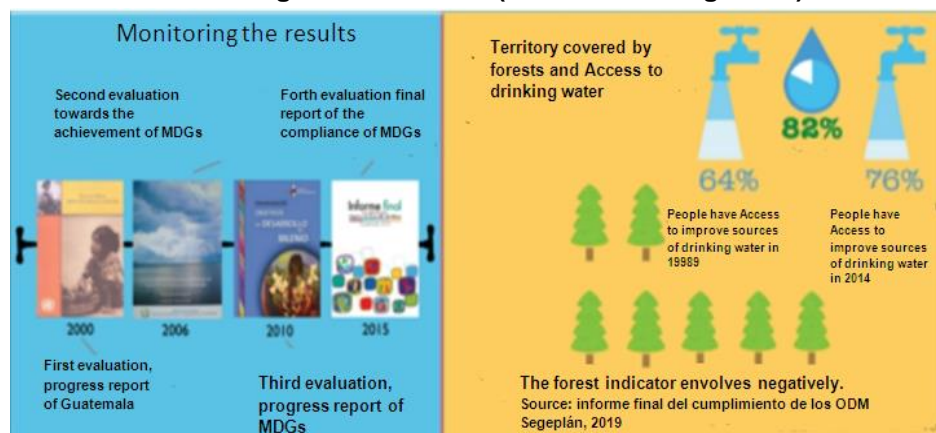
## **Monitoring of MDG progress (water-forests)**

In monitoring results of the progress of the Objectives of the Millennium, the Guatemalan State reported that the indicator of forests developed negatively, according to the Report on compliance with MDG (2015), the covered territory for forests was 34%, being negative, as for 2001 the



covered territory was 38%. About the access to drinking water, the goal to achieve with the MDGs, was 82% of which, 76% of the people who have access to improved sources of drinking water in 2014.

**Figure No. 4**  
**Monitoring of MDG results (Forests-Drinking water)**



**Source:** Informe del cumplimiento de los SDO (Segeplán, 2015).

Most require effort to improve overall development of the Guatemalan population, so the adoption of the agenda had great implications, due to the development issue becomes important on the public agenda:

The agenda has allowed to guide the resources and public management towards the scope of objectives, goals and indicators stipulated. The state of Guatemala made the commitment to ratify the agreements, visualizing them as a minimal agenda that would allow ensures better quality of life for the population. [...] The results reached

by the country have ben disparate, and territories results are positive high, in others are still wide gaps. In general, the population that lives in rural areas, indigenous people and women continue to be groups where the minors progress are observed (Segeplán, 2015).

In addition to this, and after presenting the Compliance Report MDG, the international community agrees the urgent establishment. of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), as a guide for the Agenda Development Post 2015 and, in turn,



call for participation of each State.

In this second part of the investigation, from 2015 to the present, becomes relevant because it held the Sustainable Development Summit, at the UN headquarters, in which the Member States of this Organization, approved the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development. This ambitious agenda includes 17 goals with 169 goals; characterizing for having a broader scope and that goes beyond the MDGs, in addressing the root causes of poverty and universal need to achieve development in favor of everybody.

The Goals span three dimensions of sustainable development: economical growth, social inclusion and environmental protection (UN, 2017), so later an assessment of progress will be made in its implementation, mainly those focused targets on the environmental theme.

### ***The Guatemalan national agenda***

Starting from the protection line to the environment and the various channels of cooperation received in the country in favor of this, which constitutes in the central theme of the investigation, it is described which ones have been the actions of the main cooperators on environmental

issues and how this cooperation has been implemented for the Guatemalan State, to starting from the linking of the National and international agenda.

Some progress of the State of Guatemala in terms of implementation of the SDGs are reflected in actions of the National Council for Urban and Rural Development (Conadur by its initials in Spanish) belonging to the National System of Guatemala Development Councils, which is constitutional creation. This is referred that you must have a work strategy, because the international agenda is complex and ambitious.

In this context, the National Plan of K'atun Development Our Guatemala 2032 was created. This contemplates, within its five thematic axes, one related to climate change, which proposes actions related to forests, biodiversity and protected areas, in terms of resources water (drinking water and sanitation), soils (intensity of use, erosion), current situation of agriculture and of the available land to food security, solid waste and liquid waste marine-coastal systems, lake, river and wetlands, energy and non-renewable natural resources (mining and oil etc.) (Segeplán, 2014); also of public and private sector involvement, for

the development of what was established in the Plan.

Considering that, the formulation of national development priorities.(NDP) are part of a series of processes and instruments of development at national and international level, that are derived from K'atun 2032. The implementation of the NDP requires steps to achieve articulation and formulation of strategies to achieve the established goals. Furthermore, with the commitment acquired from

the international community, the state Guatemalans institutions should: a) link the guidelines of the K'atun Plan 2032, based on the provisions of it, b) apply the results of the analysis and the proposals of territorial multilevel development, contained in the Development Plans and aligned them to the Plan K'atun 2032 and, c) align the public policies and Government's General Policy to the National Development Policy. (Segeplán, 2015).

**Figure number 5**  
**Chronology of the development of the National Priorities**



In 2016, through the sixth point of Act 7-2016, the NCAER, decides to prioritize the Agenda according to the lessons learned within the framework of monitoring of the MDGs. With this objective, approves the "Strategies of articulation of the Agenda of sustainable development goals with the Plan of National policy on the development of K'atun: Our Guatemala 2032 ", which allowed to prioritise objectives, goals and indicators. One of the main characteristics of this new Agenda of the SDGs is that it has a certain flexibility, allowing States to prioritize the goals that best fit to the needs of each country and are feasible to implement.

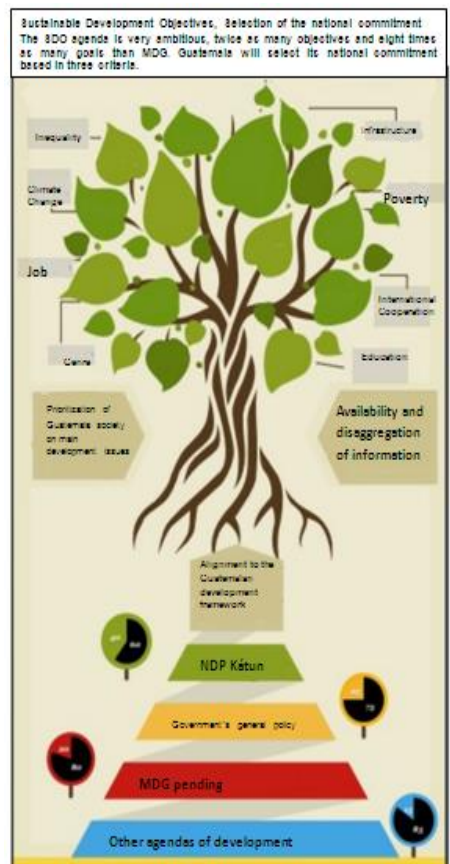
In this sense, through the Operative Point 15-2016, the NCAER approves the prioritization exercise of the SDG Agenda, which is constituted by 17 objectives, 129 goals and 200 indicators.

Then, through an technical analysis process, the 129 prioritized SDG targets with the 80 goals of the National Plan K'atún, as a result 99 strategies goals that respond to both instruments.

Of those 99 goals, 16 major goals are prioritized, called Strategic Goals Development (MED by its

its initials in spanish), as a result of result of the integration of SDGs to the NDP, which has a methodology nationally designed to speed up implementation of the articulation strategy.

**Figure number 6**  
**Sustainable Development Goals and alignment to the frame of development of Guatemala**

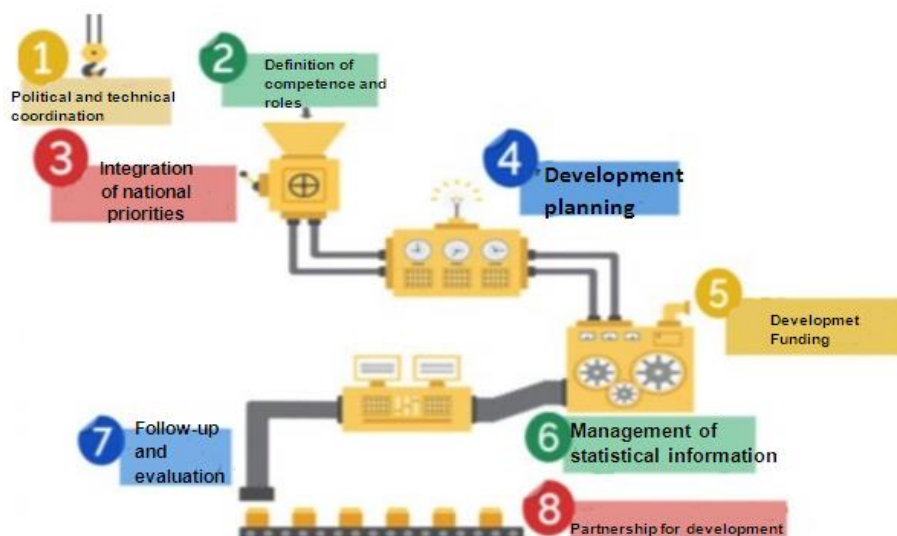


**Source:** Selección del compromiso nacional (Segeplán, 2019).

This is made up of 8 components in order to guide the implementation process of national priorities. In the Component "2" it is stipulated that "the public sector should be in charge of leading the process and coordinate with responsible bodies and correspondents of implementation

monitoring of the priorities of development "(Segeplán, 2016). Being thus, one of its competences: public policy alignment (transversal, sectoral, institutional and territorial) to the national priorities of development and linkage with planning and public budgeting.

**Figure Number 7**  
**Components of the Implementation of the Strategy structure**  
**of national priorities, approved by NCAER, 2017**



**Source:** Estrategia de Implementación de las Prioridades Nacionales de Desarrollo (Segeplán, 2019).



These components are indispensable for the execution of the agendas formulated. One of the competitions of vital importance for measurement of the progress of the established Strategy, is the availability of statistics information for planning and monitoring and evaluation, through the strengthening of the National Information System that allows to give a report for development and monitoring of progress.

Lack of data to measure the impact of the proposed strategies to solve the problems in Guatemala, through its public policies has been one of the weaknesses which has failed to measure the actual scope of implementation of these, as well, has prevented the continuity of programs and projects of cooperation in the country.

Furthermore, in Component "5" it is established that the financing for development, comprises three important moments: i) readjustment of the budget, ii) public finances for development, iii) alignment and efficiency of the private sector, society

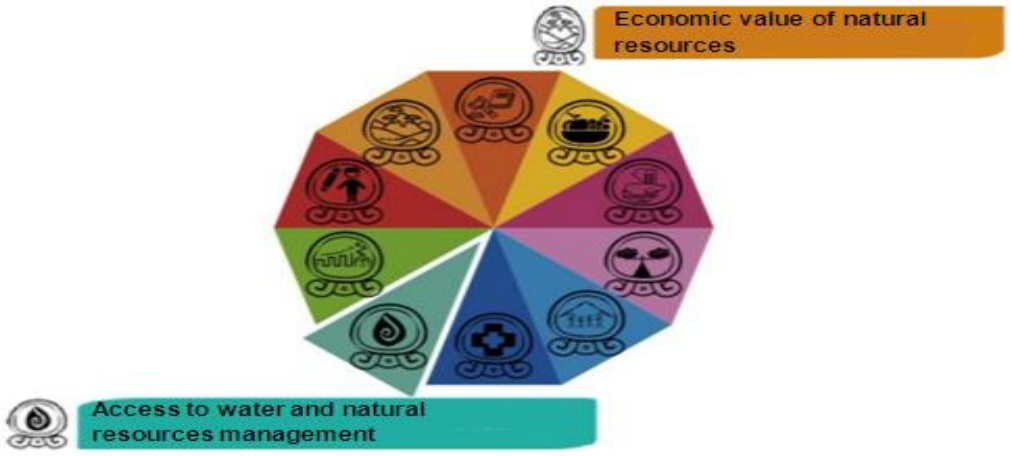
civil society and international cooperation. However, the need of an inter-institutional coordination that allows progress in implementation of the Strategy, has influenced NDPs are included in the operational planning in such a way that public budgets and international financing through the cooperation in charge of Strategic Goals Development (MED) in a local and national level. Thus, one of the great advances that is forcing to respond to the establishment of lines of action under the compliance with the SDGs.

### ***National privileges in the Environment Sector***

In 2018, as a result of integration of the Plan K'atun 2032 and the Prioritized SDGs emerge from the 10 NDP, 2 that are specifically linked to the environmental issue:

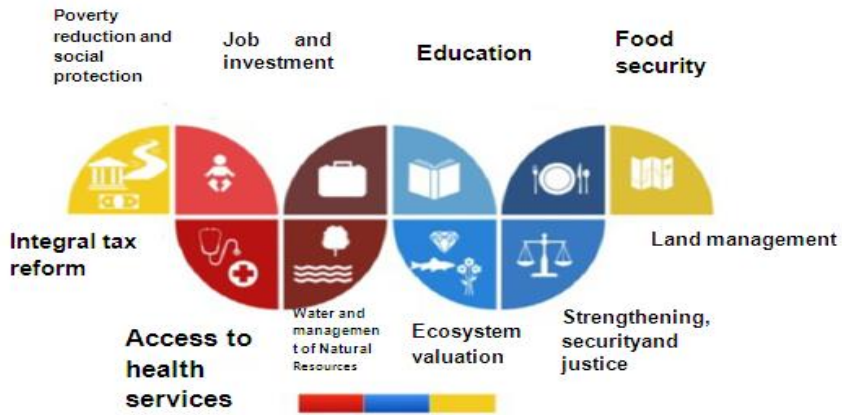
- Availability and access to water and natural resource management
- The economic value of natural resources

**Figure 8**  
**National Development Priorities (Environment Sector)**



Source: Segeplán (2019).

**Figure 9**  
**Order of National Development priorities (NDP)**



Source: Metas priorizadas sobre Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible (Segeplán, 2019).



Order prioritization: in red are the ones that correspond to those of greater importance and significance for the country. In blue is in second order and finally in third order in yellow.

Keila Gramajo, advisor Head Office of Segeplán, stated that two priorities are determining factors of development for the eight mentioned:

The first is the territorial ordering and the work carried out since territories is important, so will always be searched that: one hundred percent

of the municipalities have a Development plan comprehensive territorial management, and Municipal authorities achieve greater capacity of management to attend development needs and demands on behalf of the citizenry. The second conditioning factor of development is social spending and integral tax reform which is preponderant to achieve the other national priorities.(Segeplán, 2017)

The Stage two of the Strategy "prioritization of the agenda "will be

based on three phases: 1) alignment of objectives and goals in accordance with priorities of development contained in development instruments, 2) the prioritization of Guatemalan society, and 3) availability and disaggregation of statistical information and the gap between social groups and territories. International agendas of development that considers, are the most transcendent regarding to its focus on "people" and especially of population groups that are vulnerable in addition to those linked to the environment (Segeplán, 2016).

40% of the prioritization will go to the strategic lines drawn in the NDP K'atun Our Guatemala 2032, followed by development priorities established in the General Policy of Government and the Agenda of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were pending and that must be fulfilled; Finally with the other development of international agendas, agreed and ratified for the State of Guatemala.



Diagram No. 1  
Prioritization of the Agenda in the Environment Sector

SDGs Agenda alignment process according to the instruments of developing. National Development Plan K'atun Nuestra Guatemala 2032	Natural resources today and for the future. Adaptation and mitigation against climate change, biodiversity management and forest ecosystems, sustainable management of water resources, agricultural mechanization and family farming for the food security, land use planning, comprehensive management solid waste, sustainable management of systems marine-coastal and the increase in renewable energy.
Development priorities Established in the General Government Policy 2016-2020 (General Government Policy-PPG). Plan and National Policy of Development in short and medium term.	Environment and natural resources. Conservation and rational profitability associated with sustainable development. Includes special attention to the conservation of forest, the integral conservation of water resources, management of solid waste management measures to improve the resilience to the effects of climate change, conservation of protected areas and renewable energy.
The development issues that in the framework of the MDG Agenda that remained unresolved. National Development Plan	They present a challenge for the country in the environmental sector, the following topics: Water and environmental sanitation. Environmental sustainability.
Other Agendas of International Development	Furthermore, from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the latest decision of the Conference of the Parties (21) and the Paris Agreement. In addition, the World Conference on Sendai Disaster Reduction 2015-2030.

Source: JIRS, Área de Estudios Internacionales, con datos de la Estrategia de articulación de la Agenda de ODS con el Plan y la Política Nacional de Desarrollo K'atun Nuestra Guatemala 2032 (Segepián, 2016).

## Multiple channels: the contribution of international cooperation and its link with institutions of the State of Guatemala

*Actually the environment, let's say it has not been like the majority sectors in terms of investment. [...] I think what has been there is a major impact at the institutional level because once you can see it reflected in a serie of regulations, laws [...] Guatemala has known how to take advantage of support that comes along, I like it enters into negotiations on objectives, scopes and certain proposals [...] So there is a cooperation, the cooperator can zoom in and find structures; the challenge is going down this to more territories of the country, so that be at a local level "(Samayoa, O., & Rose, N., 2019).*

### International Cooperation

Through time and as a practice of international relations, International Cooperation (IC) has intended to solve the main problems affecting a country; in turn, implies a joint effort of two or more States for mutual benefit, by exchanging resources for

complementing national resources and contribution to economic and social development, for the sake of overcoming the backwardness, poverty, ignorance and marginality existing internationally; presenting development policy ideas, transforming entire sectors and strengthening areas such as access to education, drinking water, electrical energy, sanitation, health centers, roads, among others.

For this, theorists like Socas & Hourcade (2009) propose a conceptualization about IC, which makes it useful:

[...] Cooperation can be defined as international actions taken carried out by nation-states or organizations of these sub-national actors or NGO of a country, with other / s of these actors belonging to other country / ies to achieve common goals at the international level and / or in the national of one or more actors.

While it is true that the types of actions of cooperation would be grouped within the term "international cooperation", it is important understand the difference between each one of them:

[...] The actors par excellence are nation-states, cooperation is defined as bilateral when it is exercised between two States, and as



multilateral when it is an organization of States who take part. [...] If the donor country is considered as a developed country the process is called cooperation North-South or vertical. On the other hand, if you talk about a developing country but has reached some capacity in a certain aspect that transfers to another developing country the process is known as South-South cooperation or horizontal. (Socas & Hourcade, 2009)

It is important to highlight that the concept from donor country - recipient country has been modified; at this time it is considered correct to talk about cooperating countries, taking into mind that as much as a country is the "offeror", in the exchange both always receive benefits (Socas & Hourcade, 2009).

### ***IC in the environment sector in***

#### ***Guatemala***

The Secretariat of Planning and Programming of the Presidency (Segeplán, 2015) has defined IC as:

[...] A technical mechanism support, financial and political provided by friendly countries and multilateral organizations specialized in for Guatemala to achieve development sustained and sustainable on economic, social, financial, commercial, administrative and

environment stage, within a participatory democracy. [...]The cooperation must be consistent with government policies, international relations and financial and fiscal policy.

As a result of the signing of the Peace Accords, bilateral cooperation towards Guatemala, increased progressively between the years of 1996 to 1998. In this last year the Tropical storm Mitch was one more reason for economic cooperation obtained. According to the registered data, the cooperation missed 100 million dollars in the year 1996, more than 200 million in the year 1997, and \$ 300 million in year 1998 [...] (Area of International Studies IIPS, 2017).

Below is a line of time, which shows the key moments of catchment cooperation, which reflects a very relevant; international cooperation has arrived in the country in moments very particular, mainly for emergencies and natural disasters or disasters by man, raised in the country, because of natural phenomena.

---

1 It was one of the worst natural disasters that has hit Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador.

# Historical moments of the capture of humanitarian and economic cooperation to finance the recovery in the environmental sector after the signing of the Peace Accords



Source: IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con información extraída de referencias bibliográficas y hemerográficas.

Due to the characteristics that the country presents, according to the study carried out by the Water and Sanitation Spanish Cooperation Fund (FCAS) (2017), Guatemala is

positioned in the Financing group 2 for projects of cooperation in which the majority receive 80% of cooperation as a donation. Observe Table No. 4.

**Table 4**  
**Categorization to grant financing**  
**for cooperation projects**

Countries of wide or focus Association		middle income countries
Group 1 HIPC, 100% Financing (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries)	Group 2, 80 % Financing	Group 3, 50 %Financing
<input type="checkbox"/> Bolivia <input type="checkbox"/> Honduras <input type="checkbox"/> Nicaragua <input type="checkbox"/> Haití	<input type="checkbox"/> Colombia ( Considered a vulnerable country due to the armed conflict, it is the only one of the Focused Association the other ones are in a wide Associateion) <input type="checkbox"/> Ecuador <input type="checkbox"/> El Salvador <input type="checkbox"/> Guatemala <input type="checkbox"/> Perú <input type="checkbox"/> República Dominicana <input type="checkbox"/> Paraguay	<input type="checkbox"/> Argentina , <input type="checkbox"/> Brasil, <input type="checkbox"/> Costa Rica, <input type="checkbox"/> Chile <input type="checkbox"/> Cuba, <input type="checkbox"/> México <input type="checkbox"/> Panamá, <input type="checkbox"/> Uruguay, <input type="checkbox"/> Venezuela

**Source:** Fondo Español de Cooperación para Agua y Saneamiento (2017, p.2).

Aid granted by the Fund of Category 1 countries, the poorest of the hemisphere and with low levels of coverage service, they arrive to cover 100% of the budget of the projects, without requiring the country any type of own funds. For countries in categories 2 (with low or medium levels of coverage services) and 3 (with medium coverage levels), The Fund finances projects of water and sanitation within the co-

financing system with the national authorities of the countries. In all three cases, the Fund has a character of donation, and therefore the countries do not assume obligations to return the amount received (Water and Sanitation Spanish Cooperation Fund (FCAS), 2017, p. 2).

International cooperation is essential for sectors that are not cared by the State of Guatemala, either for lack of budget or political will.



However, this cooperation must adapt its agendas in such a way that they align to development planning from the country. And following the established in the Implementation Strategy of NDPs, cooperation will require your assistance scheme based on such planning.

Another important aspect that must be highlight is that the review, readjustment and budget alignment to PND will sue each of the public institutions in coordination with the governing body and the Ministry of Finance, to carry out the readjustments of budget and changes in the programmatic structure of related institutions.

Alignment and effectiveness are essential within the private sector, from civil society and from international cooperation of priorities development, thus resources provided complement national efforts and avoid fragmentation and dispersion thereof. Which, the cooperating sources must observe and comply with their skills, to what is established in each implementation mechanisms that presents the prioritized Agenda for the Sustainable

Development, especially through the Alliance established in SDG 17.

The lack of current data that allow to get the x-ray of the country to make the corresponding decisions to implementation strategies of projects, in prioritization areas, it has hindered that projects of cooperation be strengthened, where it is necessary really and with the need of immediate attention, making the cooperators establish their own territories of attention based in their own studies and they can result in a non-viable project or sustainable.

## The cooperatin sector

***Spanish Development  
Cooperation Agency  
(Aecid by its initials in  
spanish )***



Environment and development are two inseparable themes, for Aecid, those are the ones that assure the survival of the species human and depends on the state in where goods are and irreplaceable services that nature offers for free.

In Latin America, along with the activity of the Cooperation Fund for Water and Sanitation, marks the role they play, on one side, the Technical Office of Costa Rica, specialized in environment and technical unit of the ARAUCLIMA Program, Environment and Climate Change of Spanish Cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean and on the other hand, the Training Center of the Spanish Cooperation in La Antigua (Guatemala), responsible from the environment community associated with the Interconnect Plan of Knowledge Management and development of the Knowledge and Development on the risk coastal management associated with climate change.

Also, they support projects that guarantee access to energy and deployment of renewable energy and energy efficiency and will continue the support for the Centre for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency (ECOWAS), in West Africa and others initiatives that improve resilience of the population facing of risks and Environmental degradation.

Within delegated cooperation (EU funds), the effort will focus on the

activity of the Euroclima + Program on climate change in Latin America and the Caribbean, especially in the components linked to water management (droughts and floods and urban water), and energy efficiency.

For all this, AECID will continue counting on strategic nationals partners such as the Spanish Office of Climate Change, the State Meteorology Agency, the National Civil Protection School, the Energy Research Centre, Environmental and Technological, the Environmental Hydraulics Institute from Cantabria or the Autonomous Organization for National Parks, among others. At the multilateral level supports the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and its Global Program to support Determined National Commitments of the Paris Agreement for the fight against climate change to the UN environment, as manager of the exchange platform of knowledge and technology transfer on climate change from Latin America and the Caribbean: REGATTA, and UNESCO, for its defense of the Natural World Heritage (Aecid, 2019).





**Table Number 5**  
**Clean water and sanitization and climate action**  
**Linking AECID with the ODS**

6-clean water and sanitization	Goal 6.1. Achieve universal access and equitable to drinking water.	Goal 6.1.A. Expand service coverage of drinking water.
	Goal 6.2. Achieve equitable access to basic sanitation services and hygiene.	Goal 6.2.A. Encourage infrastructure development of access to basic sanitation services
	Goal 6.3. Improve integrated management of water resources.	Goal 6.5.A. Support water governance and comprehensive management of water resources.
13-CLIMATE	Goal 13.2. Incorporate measures relating to climate change in policies, strategies and National plans	Goal 13.2.A. Support partners in actions aimed at reducing emissions of greenhouse gases.

**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con datos de AECID (2019).

The table specifies the SDGs that links the cooperating agency in environmental mat. These objectives are implemented from the moment that the projects are planned, in order for them to be accepted and can be executed.

AECID in Guatemala works under the lines of action drawn by the TCO

in Costa Rica. Central American countries receive cooperation under regional programs.

The Technical Cooperation Office (TCO) of the Spanish Agency in Guatemala is in charge of put in place programs and development projects financed by The Spanish Government, likewise, supervises

the Spanish contribution to Multilateral Organizations who work in Guatemala. It coordinates with administrations and other agents of cooperation, the preparation of strategic documents. Finally, the Office also offers advice and support to Non-Governmental organization for Development, Spanish NGOs with presence in the country (AECID TCO Guatemala, 2008).

Since 2009 approximately 43 Spanish NGO's have worked in Guatemala. They work with formal representation, or with a link through a local NGO. The main sectors of action of these organizations, either through agreements or projects, they are focus in reducing maternal and child mortality, promotion of indigenous



rights, empowerment of women, especially indigenous, food sovereignty and protection of the environment.

Within its lines of action are contributions to the full year and respecting human rights in the municipal field, with an emphasis on rights, following the line of investigation in environmental matters, the following are specified: Right to Water and Sanitation, Right of Gender Equity and Law to political participation.



### ***The World Bank (WB)*** BANCO MUNDIAL

The World Bank (WB) has granted recently a loan to the Guatemalan government of \$ 200 million (Q1,540 million, approximately) to strengthen the capacities of the country in risk management and face the tragedies caused by natural disasters.

According to the WB executive board, the loan provided to the country to "Development policies" would increase Guatemala's capacity

to mobilize resources quickly, after adverse natural events or health emergencies. Support the modernization of the legal and institutional framework of the country

in the management of disaster risks even of climate type.

For the WB authorities, these funds, which have an option deferred disbursement before catastrophes (CAT DDO), involve immediate resources. This is for response activities and recovery after events of high impact, like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods and hurricanes, or health emergencies like outbreaks of infectious diseases, clarified the international body. "CAT DDO would be activated and would disburse funds after an official declaration of State of Public Calamity, in accordance with national legislation" (WB, 2019).

It was also disclosed that the loan has a final maturity of 25 years, including a grace period of 10 years, it reflects the commitment of Government for diversification of financial instruments of disaster risks" (Diario de Centroamérica, 2019).

This loan, the second one for policies of development of Disaster management along with CAT DDO, are based on the experience of the first risk management loan disaster, which disbursed US \$ 85 million, in response to the Pacaya volcano eruption and Tropical storm Agatha, in 2010 (Diario de Centroamérica, 2019).



## **Inter-American Bank Development (IDB)**



The Inter-American Banks Development's (IDB) way of operating with States that requires project and programs financing, it is carried out through: Loans with and without sovereign guarantee and through cooperation technique.

Most projects and programs of technical cooperation IDB are financed through loans, either at market prices or by using resources in favorable conditions.

### **Loans**

- **Sovereign Guarantee Loans:** IDB offers financing to governments and to controlled institutions by the government to support development and social projects.
- **Loans without Sovereign Guarantee:** offers financing for projects from the private sector contributing to development (IDB, 2019).

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) currently has three categories of funding for public sector depending on the objectives

of development, eligibility and requirements of disbursement of loans such as size criteria, amounts and the financial terms. Each loan category offers various types of loan options and approaches.

Categories of loans of sovereign guarantee:

- **Investment loans to countries IDB borrowers:** finance goods, public works and services to promote social and economic development. This category includes a series of specific instruments in case there is presented a natural disaster.
- **Loans to Support Policy Reform:** Provide a flexible financing, liquid (expendable) to borrowing member countries of the Bank to support policy reforms and / or institutional changes in a certain sector or subsector. The country and the IDB examine and agree on these reforms or changes.
- **Special financing loans for development:** they are designed to support borrowing countries in case of a macroeconomic crisis and thus mitigate effects on economic and social progress of the countries (IDB, 2019).

## ***Technical cooperation***

The IDB finances programs of technique cooperation for institutional strengthening, knowledge and studies transfer , including diagnoses, reinvestment studies and sectors that support the formulation and project preparation. The programs can be aimed at country-specific projects or for trade, integration or regional initiatives.

Technical cooperation non-refundable programs can be (donations), repayable (loans), or contingent recovery (refundable if the program gets additional financing).

Member countries with an income relatively low per capita are eligible to receive financing from Fund for Special Operations (FSO), the soft loan window from the bank. This fund was established in 1960 in order to make loans concessional (in favorable conditions) to certain projects and for specific projects.

## ***Types of technical cooperation programs***

The Bank finances technical cooperation for transferring knowledge and skills that complement and consolidate technical capacity

of institutions in the developing countries. It is determined according to the area of activity where a project is located, and the relative level of development of the region, country or countries involved.

The program may adopt one of the following characteristics:

- Technical cooperation with financing non-refundable: it is a subsidy that the Bank grants to a country for their technical cooperation activities. This modality is mainly used for less developed countries in the region, or for those with insufficient financial markets.
- Technical cooperation with Contingent-Recovery Resources: finances technical cooperation activities where there is a reasonable chance of obtaining a loan from the Bank or from another financial institution. If the beneficiary must obtain a loan from another source for the project for which it has been awarded a technical cooperation, the borrower must repay the funds received from the Bank.

- Technical cooperation with refundable resources: it is basically of a loan financed by the IDB to carry out technical cooperation activities (IDB, 2019).
- In the particular case with Guatemala, the IDB has worked on various technical cooperation activities and financing.

For the IDB Group strategy 2017–2020 for Guatemala, the active portfolio of loans approved was US \$ 790 million, executing 701 projects, for the benefit of the sectors: reform / modernization of the State, education, transport, health, social investments and water and sanitation. Following with the line of research for the environment sector, the IDB has allocated US \$ 50 million, corresponding to Water and Sanitation Sector (Inter-American Bank Development, 2019).

The Guatemalan State, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the project growth in 2019 3.4% for the national economy (Diario de Centro América, 2018).

To be eligible to receive financing from Fund for Special Operations (FSO), member countries must have per capita an income relatively low and able to access to the

window of soft loans at the Bank. Guatemala has had an economic growth that had an economic growth that ascend to another category, being out of the FSO/ IDB loans.

The World Bank (WB) presented the update on the classification of countries by income level. Guatemala rose to the income medium high threshold, with a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of US \$ 4 thousand 60. According to data from the WB (2018).

The country is at a position 68 of 188 countries in positions that bring it closer to countries like Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, Turkey and China, who offer infrastructure services, health, stable transportation and education. (elPeriódico, 2018).

## **German Cooperation**

**Deutsche  
Gesellschaft für  
Internationale  
Zusammenarbeit — GIZ—**



In 2013, Guatemala became one of the first four countries in the world to adopt a framework law on adaptation to climate change to improve their response to consequences of climate change. In which the GIZ supports with activities in three priority thematic areas agreed by the Governments of Guatemala and Germany:

- 1) Democratic governance with equal rights
- 2) Education
- 3) Environment and adaptation to climate change

GIZ International Services (GIZ IS) is currently present in Guatemala with a project financed by the European Union (EU) to support the regional economic integration. Various of the projects were established as regional and mainly rotate around the prevention of youth violence, strengthening conservation of protected areas, promoting small and medium companies as well as renewable energies.

One of the projects related to the Agenda 2030 is outlined in the institutional strengthening of the planning authority, in this case working with Segeplán, in the monitoring of implementation and national application of the priorities of development established in the Agenda 2030. This project consists of a global budget of US \$ 1,214,064 million destined to technical cooperation in strengthening de Segeplán (GIZ, 2019).

There have also created various cooperation projects by GIZ (2019) at the regional level of which may be

mentioned:

- Promotion of Biodiversity and Climate Change Monitoring in the region of Selva Maya, whose goal is to implement coordinated mechanisms at the regional level to monitor biodiversity and climate change in the region of Maya Forest and its results will be mostly used in policy formulation. This project is carried out through the Central American Integration System on a global budget of: US \$ 5.52 million.
- Promotion of renewable energy and energy efficiency in Central America (4E III by its initials in spanish) Renewable energy and energy efficiency in Central America III, Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy in Central America III. The value of global project is: US \$ 18.95 million with a current project: US \$ 4.41 million.
- Assessment and risk management for cases of climate change (loss and damage), whose objectives the of the German cooperation for Development (CD) and its international organizations associated who have demonstrated concepts action guides on assessment and risk



management for its use in regions that are strongly affected by climate change.

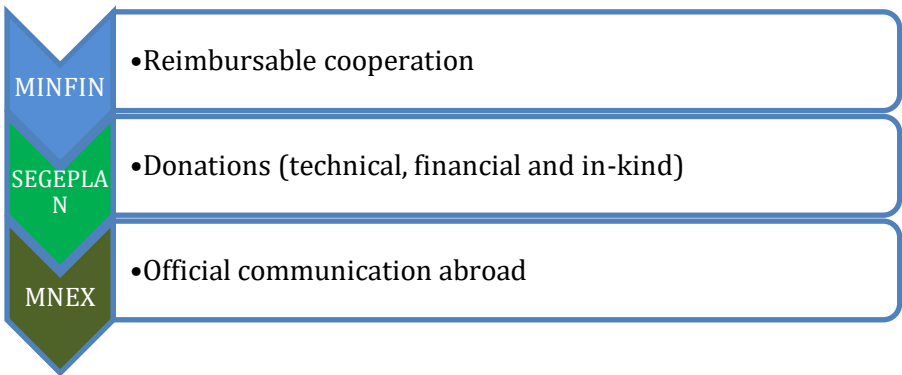
- German Contribution to Climate Program of the European Union in Latin America (EUROKLIMA +).

It should be noted that the programs and projects sponsored by GIZ, suspended the budget execution when the region in this case Guatemala, is in electoral period, since changes in government influence in programs are currently in or on the lines of action mapped out with local governments.

3.3.2 Institutional Sectors

Diagram Number 2

*National government institutions that intervene in a manner and/ or indirect in international cooperation processes*



**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales, con base en documento proporcionado por la Unidad de Cooperación Internacional del MARN (2019).

According to the director of international cooperation from Marn, María Mercedes Aguilar (2019) two entities are very important within the process:

They give us guidelines for

functionality and cooperation, Segeplán and the Minex[...] because Segeplán sees all the regulatory part of how should be all the processes and mechanisms of access for funds and we have to adjust ours to the policies that Segeplán goes

giving year to year, because sometimes they are changing. And the Minex tells us how should that communication be among the **cooperators**.

It should also be mentioned that, according to María Elba Méndez, undersecretary from IC Conred the relationship between Minex and other institutions are carried out as follows:

In this sense, I would like to comment that by the Ministry of Foreign Relations, they also request us information to be able to conform a national table and participate several institutions and they also ask us what needs as an institution we have; and of course if they are needs as an institution it is for benefit of the whole country, they ask us that we could receive or offer, generally it is an exchange of experiences or from lessons learned that we can exchange with countries that they request, also some specific training. (2019)

**The General  
Secretariat of Planning  
of the Presidency  
(SEGEPLAN)**



Segeplan has the leading role in the formulation of policies and plans and develop programs and projects of international cooperation.

The state of Guatemala established in the Article 14 of Decree number 114-97, Executive Body Law (1997), which is the competence of the Segeplán formulate for knowledge and approval from the President and in consultation with the Ministries of State, the state responsible entities and other public sector organizations: policies and programs of international cooperation, as well as prioritize, manage, negotiate, administer and contract, by delegation of competent authority, non-refundable financial cooperation belonging from international organizations and foreign governments that be granted for the realization of projects of common interest and coordinate its execution.

In addition, it prioritizes, manages, negotiates, manages and hires, by delegation from the competent authority, non refundable financial cooperation belonging from international organizations and foreign governments that be granted to the country for the realization of projects of common interest (Segeplán, 2015).

**Ministry of Environment  
and Natural Resources  
(MARN)**



It was created by Decree No. 90-2000 of the Congress of the Republic, it corresponds to



formulate and execute the policies regarding its branch, and Fulfill and enforce conservation, protection, sustainability and improvement of the environment and natural resources in the country and human rights to a balanced ecologically and healthy environment, this one should prevent contamination too of the environment, decrease environmental deterioration and loss of natural heritage (MSPAS, 2013).

The main function of MARN lies in being the governing body of the environmental sector, with the function of designing, establish, execute and supervise the national and sectoral environmental policy. It is the entity of the public sector specialized in environmental matters and natural goods and services of the public sector.

Within the Ministry is the Unity of International Cooperation, which works from 2001. Its main function is to “manage before cooperating entities and international organizations, cooperation technique prioritizing, above all, the non-refundable cooperation” (Aguilar, 2019).

### ***The Biobardas***

Biobardas, among others, are a

response to high pollution of rivers, especially the Motagua River, which for the State of Guatemala was becoming in an international problem, due to the contamination that reached Honduras.

In this situation, MARN implemented the Biobardas that consist in an alternative barrier (trap) made to stop waste and larger debris, washed away from the upper basin of the rivers to the middle and lower parts. They have a fairly simple structure:

It consists of placing rows of bottles placed in a circular shape, leaving in the center, alternatively, a full bottle of water or sand perfectly closed for stabilize the fence. These rows of bottles are placed in the center of the mesh, which is closed with the tie, with a tie similar to the dog tooth stitch. The rows of bottles are organized, placing them nozzles with nozzles; following row, bottom to bottom. The fence will have the length that is require (according to the width of the river) to be able to tie both sides of its banks (MARN, 2018).

It should be noted that the Economic World Forum has promoted it as a tool created by Guatemala as an example for the world.



### **Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Minex)**



Minex is responsible of external relations and agreements, covenants and other arrangements with others States and with international organizations. In the underwriting of international instruments are taken into consideration equally the bilateral arrangements that confer formalization of international cooperation to other institutional entities such as Minfin (The Ministry of Finance) and Segeplan (Segeplán, 2011).

### **National Coordinator for the reduction of Disasters (Conred)**



Law Decree 109-96 gave life to this institution, creating the legal, scientific and technical framework to coordinate, plan, develop and execute actions aimed to reduce disaster-causing effects on society as well as to avoid the construction of new risks, through prevention actions (SICA, 2012).

The Conred is governed through the Framework Sendai for Risk Reduction of Disasters 2015-2030.

The Sendai Framework states the following: the need to understand better disaster risk in all its dimensions relative to exposure, the vulnerability and characteristics of the threats; strengthening of the disaster risk

governance, including national platforms; accountability in management disaster risk; the need of preparing to "rebuild better"; recognition of the interested parties and their functions; mobilization of investments that have in account the risks in order to prevent emergencies of new risks; the resilience of the sanitary infrastructure, of cultural heritage and places of work; strengthening of the international cooperation and work global alliances and elaboration of donor policy and programs that may take into account risks, including loans and financial support provided by international financial institutions [...]. (UN, 2015).

It should also be mentioned that the Sendai's framework states that it is very important to involve the private sector within the chore with the State. "Although it is true, the State has to seek welfare and everything of the population, the private sector is very important because they are the first answer at the moment that something is wrong and from there it is working a strategy, which is for public-private partnerships where Conred also works hand in hand " (Méndez, 2019), as indicated by



representatives of cooperation from such institution.

### **Commonwealth Gran Ciudad del Sur**

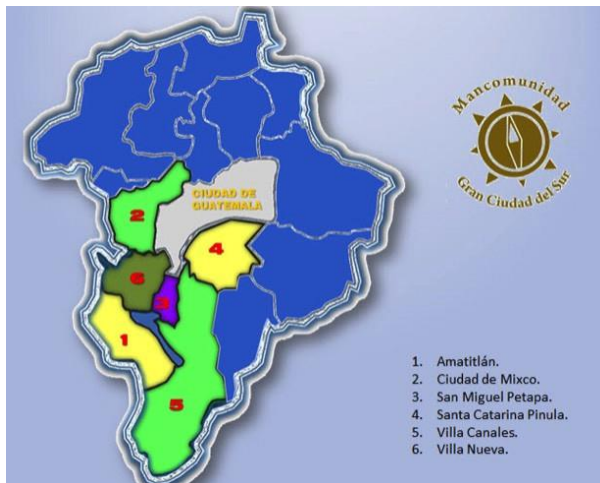


One way to approach local governments is through the Commonwealth, in this case, during the investigation was established communication with representatives of the Commonwealth that is formed by six municipalities in the South of the Department from Guatemala: Amatitlán, Mixco City, San Miguel Petapa, Santa Catarina Pinula, Villa Canales and Villa Nueva.

The commonwealths shall respond to a metropolitan plan, because they form a global objective of a Regional Urban Development Plan, instrument management for the most appropriate use of the territory.

Among its lines of action is to promote sustainable economic development of the southern region of the Department from Guatemala, strengthening the capacities of the affiliates municipalities, with support from the Public Sector, Private Sector, Banks Development and Local and international Community. (Gran ciudad del sur, 2018).

**Map Number. 4**  
**Map of the location of Gran Ciudad del Sur**



**Source:** Mancomunidad Gran Ciudad del Sur (2018).

## 1. Experiences in environmental management in Guatemala

*"Since last year (2018), it has been adapted to the project portfolio from abroad to our own needs as a country and say where it has to be projected the investment; It has not been an easy way because it's a tired chore, exhaustive, involving many actors including state, and because it is not only a function of MARN as a rector entity of the environment; the environmental system is transversal, and must involve other institutions from the government like Minex, Segeplán, MEM, CONAP, among others "* (Aguilar, 2019).

From 2015, for the international community is a year with new challenges, in which, for Sawyer (2005) and Waldorp (1992) "uncertainty, multiversity, the paradoxical and contradictory dynamics rule of our (inter) actions and configuration emerging from our societies, their States and principals institutions" cited by (Retolaza, 2010).

However, we live in dynamic times and complexes that thrive on uncertainty and multiversity of relationships (economical, social, geographic, political, cognitive,

temporal, intercultural, institutional, cooperation etc.) (Retolaza, 2010). This fundamental fact has a direct impact on processes of development and social change within the Guatemalan State, in which are involved actors of the international system such as IDB, Aecid, Giz, WB; also from institutional ones like MARN, MEM, Minex, Segeplán, Conred, and local governments.

This is due, in part, to a fundamental issue: since future is something they haven't experienced in actuality (beyond experiencing it abstractly) they don't have that experience of future life installed in themselves. In this sense, the implementation of the Agenda linked to the SDGs, it exists in the collective imaginary as a viable instrument which, when applied, will have positive results that can be reflected in country's indicators. From that account, the methodology to reach them now is embodied in the Implementation Strategy of the NDPs; However, such a roadmap already existed don't guarantees that results are the expected by the same imaginary.

For this reason, in this part of the research, develop a theory of Change (ToC) provides the necessary instrument to monitor the actions of the State institutions and CI in the



environmental sector. The systematic use of a ToC (by its initials in spanish) as a monitoring instrument as a process of helping: i) (des) learn and be constantly attentive to review and update the assumptions from which the ToC is initially configured; ii) reread the context and weigh whether the conditions of change established initially remain or if the context, emerging and complex, it forces to determine new conditions;

iii) (re) define new strategies that help to face operationally and better mentioned in the previous points (Retolaza,2010).

In that order of ideas, taking up the reflections exposed in the first part of the research published in 2018, you can determine three central points that were seen conditioned by the international context, forcing to establish new conditions to achieve the changes expected from the new guidelines issued in 2015, these are found in Table No. 6.

**Table Number 6**  
**Determining factors for the expected changes**

2000-2015	2015 until now
In 2015 the MDG agenda ends	Beggining of the new SDG agenda and link of the national agenda.
The term "cooperation" was used	The term "cooperation" is applied to the development"
Failure to meet the goals set to achieve the MDGs	The lines of action and implementation are fixed of strategies to reach and link the SDGs with the NDP.

Source: IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales (2019).

Furthermore, this exercise of redefining new strategies is done with the participation of other stakeholders in the process, for which the ToC itself indicates that the quality of the exercise is multiplied due to that: i) we

are able to incorporate a multidiversity of looks, opinions, assumptions, interests and bodies of knowledge that helps build a (more) shared vision and democratic of reality and for consequent of the change process in which we are embarked and that

affects us and another in the same and in a different way; ii) the same act of incorporating actors of diverse identity and political positioning makes exercise help in the political process of reaching agreements of coordinated action from the construction (and negotiation) of shared meanings (Retolaza, 2010).

Generally, the ToC focuses in analyzing and proposing actions pertaining to transformative changes, more complex in nature and that they demand from us, flexible logic thinking action. In today's environment, three changes proposed by the model, the one that best fits to the characteristics of cooperation and institutions in Guatemala is transformative change; which proposes the following:

Crisis and stagnation prepare the ground for change. This type of change is based on unlearning and to get rid of those mentalities, relationships, identities, formal and non-formal institutions, etc. that hinder probabilities of crystallization of new fairer realities and equitable in political terms, social and economic [...] prevailing a logic of thought flexible and fluid. (Retolaza, 2010).

In this phase part of the methodology was applied that proposes a theory of change, in this case the chain of results leading to specific representations, in particular to those who describe in more detail the different plans of the change, its agents and causal pathways. Sometimes those representations show the contextual factors that drive or hinder change as well as the assumptions in which this is based (necessary conditions for it to work but they escape to the control of the executors).

The main actors in which is focused the research were the institutions government and donors and that, from the chain of results, you can analyze the actions on which they have focused their job. It should be noted that the ToC has as a final objective, measure the impact that they have had in plans or projects; however in this case a impact assessment was not feasible because only part of the methodology was applied, in addition to not having statistical data updated and the minimum temporality (five years, from implementing a program or project), to carry out the same as this was a more general review about stocks and not about a specific program.



The Guatemalan State, within its regulations, contemplated in the Article 8 of the Law Protection and Improvement of the Environment, which anyone who wants to do any project, work, industry or other activity, which due to its characteristics may cause deterioration of natural resources, have the obligation to present an environmental impact study; hence the need of study authorization of environmental impact for the exercise of any human action that can cause wear on the environment (Galán, 2017).

Referring to the above, it is important to note that the Guatemalan legislation contemplates studies of environmental impact, and in the Article 3, number 38 of the Regulations of Evaluation, Environmental Control and Monitoring, indicates that they consist of any significant alteration, positive or negative, from one or more environmental speakers, caused by action of man or natural phenomena in a defined area of influence.

Mention should also be made, for part of government institutions, at the interview stage they indicated that each of them has its own statistical data, its monitoring and evaluation of projects, However, work has not been achieved in the impact study as such.

Likewise, Cinthya Sandoval, in charge of Link Systems of Conred pointed out the following as the monitoring process:

Follow-up, monitoring and evaluation, it is carry out by we, (three), each one works on it. What we do to tracking and monitoring is through the project true, as presented by the official channel, is previously known [...]. The results are reviewed and through the results that are being followed up: What actions, what meetings are required? to be able to reach the project and normally as institution we facilitate to all, the actions that are required for the NGO can carry out its work, it is the monitoring based on results.

Then we have the evaluation that this evaluation process has been something that has been worked until these two years. Evaluation as such, as an institution it is not performed; but because the Cooperation was starting to go down due to international crisis issues, it was necessary that as an institution demonstrate the fact that it was important for the country as issue of International Cooperation and following that began to be evaluated through of baselines. At the beginning of a project NGOs have an obligation to do some previous research to be

end of the project how is it. [...] We have very close contact with the donor, let's see for example comes the European cooperation, there is the NGO, we come on by Conred, we visited the community worked and as a result of that, we already have some learning we do a monthly meeting at the end of the day (2019).

On its part, the cooperating sector indicated that they do all this monitoring process, follow-up and evaluation of the projects, because it serves as indicators and, furthermore, they need to report the results to their countries, and at the national level, Segeplán.

In respect of measuring the impact, Norbert Rose GIZ representative argued that:

That is the challenge, I think, from all donors; show impacts. It is a challenge for us, the projects, the majority they are always three years old; after three years still no impact, it's an experience. In addition, we must define what concrete impacts are, for example the issue of solid waste is something that we all produce, and what do we do with them, how we treat them or how we minimize them. That is what at the end we are interested in. (2019)

In addition, the representative of Aecid and the IDB indicated the following, regarding to project monitoring:

Every project that is proposed has a matrix, with the results of development, activities related to them, indicators and sources of verification; if not, there is no project and it is a root of the same to follow up. [...] There are two kinds of monitoring: the economic through audits and evaluations through of relevance from its approach, how it has been raised, how it has been developed (2019).

In this document was carried out an approach to the evaluation of actions that the State has implemented for the use of international cooperation in the environment sector, starting from a new concept that predictively allows to identify and foresee the effects that will manifest later, at the beginning of the activity that provokes them; this kind of impact is the potential environmental impact, understood as: "the positive effect or negative latent with probability of occurrence that could cause a project, work, industry or activity on the physical, biological and human environment, which can be defined in approximation, by virtue of the consideration of environmental risk or either from a project, work,



industry or similar activity that is already in operation” (Galán, 2017).

In that sense and based on work of field carried out, the action of the actors involved, from schematic models that the ToC proposes to visualize the connection between agents, their main roles, determining factors and obstacles; that has led them to redefine their strategies and so make the results visible.

### **Experiences from the Guatemalan State**

As it has been developed in the previous chapters, the year 2015 has been a turning point that leads the lines of action of the States to the fulfillment of the SDGs. Behind the result of the MDGs, which were negatives for Guatemala, and even had setbacks for the environmental sector, being obvious poor administration and management of actions aimed to solve the main problems for the country. With this, the linking of country policies with the new agenda would be quite a challenge.

Guatemala has signed several agreements and international conventions that required the

políticas del país con la nueva agenda, sería todo un reto.

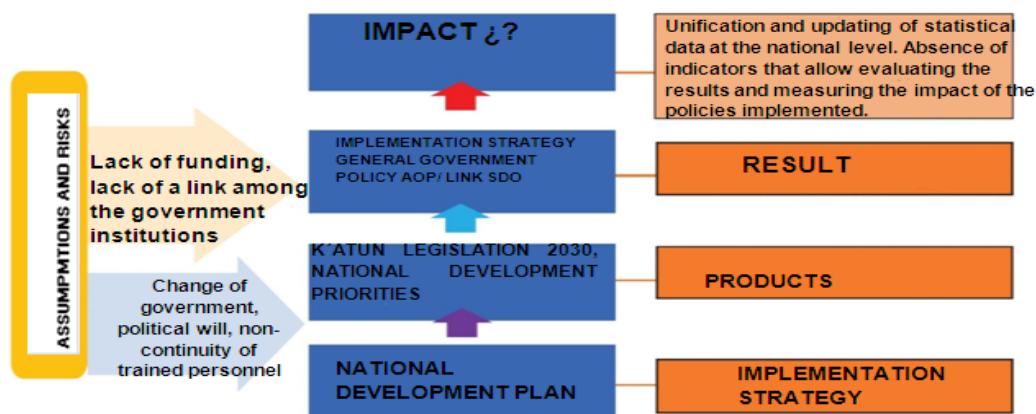
instruments signed and ratified the implementation of new national regulations, establishment of priorities and new conditions to manage financing.

*"The road map is already there, the environment and climate change belongs to everyone and not only from the public sector, also from the private sector; and this is a great challenge. Only the State can't solve the problem" (Rose, 2019).*

As part of the same demands and responsibilities acquired with the commitment to fulfill the SDGs, the Guatemalan State saw the necessity to adhere the goals established within the new international agenda, to the national plan; according to its needs and capabilities. This new context achieved that at least the State will advance in the design and planning of the roadmap, and the importance of the inter-institutional linkage of the government, the population and the cooperating sector as you can see in Diagram Number.3.



**Diagram Number 3**  
**Linking Strategies of the Guatemalan State with the SDGs**



**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con datos obtenidos del trabajo de campo de la investigación.

Previously, a diagram is shown of implementation changes of new Guatemalan State strategies in order to achieve mitigate problems that hinder the sustainable development of the country. The graph shows how strategies execution have been designed and based on the National Plan Development, from this is sought as a product the linkage of the legislation and country priorities with the SDGs and the international agenda, that is reflected in the K'atun 2032; and as a result of this, the strategy implementation of the NDP and the obligation that

government institutions align to these, evidencing themselves in their AOP and in the public policies that will develop.

However, following the chain of results presented by the theory to know the change generated about the situation behind the goals raised, an evaluation of impact must be made that are derived from products contrasted with the goals of the project, program or policy. However, this requires a baseline and results of previous evaluations determined by the unit evaluator, which is generally based on monitoring every



two years from a policy that has been implemented with a minimum of five years.

It is here, the main obstacle to know the results of progress and the impact, since non-unification and update of statistical data in national level and temporality of raised policies does not allow as such, an evaluation of the indicators from that account, being able to measure the impact of the implemented actions by the government.

### ***Management experiences from the institutions***

For Durkheim, institutions are mechanisms of social order and cooperation that try to normalize the behavior of a group of individuals (which can be reduced or match with an entire society). The institutions in this sense, transcend individual wills by identifying with imposition of a purpose in theory considered as a social good, that is: its operating mechanism varies widely in each case, although highlights the development of numerous rules or norms that are usually little flexible and moldable (Federation of Teaching of CC. OO. from Andalusia, 2009).

These are usually based on mechanisms that in turn comply and

enforce a number of standards established to ensure establishment and maintenance of common good. Also, these standards are quite stiff and difficult to change in the time. Guatemalan Government institutions that have addressed environmental issue, present characteristics in common regarding what to do within its functions, evidencing a series of obstacles.

Following this line, a ToC model in Diagram No. 4, where that relationship is established between obstacles and determining factors of institutional action. Efforts were made to integrate and make a common denominator of the responses obtained by people of the institutions who could be interviewed.

### ***Criteria for receiving cooperation in the country***

Regarding the line that governs the processes to grant cooperation to the country, by MARN it was determined the following:

It is something that we have discussed with many colleagues, Segeplán never we have never been conditioned by that part which is the Cooperation because each institution has its own goal, way of

operationalize, what they do is to give us, regulations, guidelines that we must follow to follow up at the national level. [...] The cooperating part is very interesting because in recent years we have been part, possibly we've not had a mindset of prioritization to be able to say where we have to address our resources, but, from that year we have succeeded to have a significant progress because we've already had discussions and creating studies that can give us criteria of investment [...] The Cooperation in recent years has presented its portfolio of projects and we, under need of having to fulfill our national objectives we are adapting that portfolio from abroad to our own needs. (Aguilar, 2019).

In this sense, it can be seen an advance by the institutions because they are putting the country priorities ahead, and not an agenda imposed by IC. Gabriel Velásquez, head of planning energy-mining MEM also emphasized in the following:

This is a super important topic because I have told a lot of cooperators, that I will not mention but here are the closed doors because if they come to me to impose something on me, better than go away because

here are the needs of the country and not the needs of the cooperator. You must have enough character for that [...]. Why there are a lot of cooperators who, if you have told them no, for the same reason, that is not according to the interests of the country and what we seek to do in case of a loan and what are the agencies that contribute the most in the environment area within the country. (2019).

In the case of the Conred, they receive cooperation at the time of disasters natural, the way in which it work is as follows:

Selection criteria, first that we institutionally have are the prioritization of projects [...] we are based on the comprehensive management of risks, we are guided by the Comprehensive Risk Management Policy that are currently created in 2001, you need to do some changes but currently we continue guiding the actions mentioned in this policy then through this prioritization of projects that national policy is aligned we request to the cooperators so they can do projects oriented to these lines.



So not only help us to be able to promote our actions as Conred, we also comply with all the actions that we already made. (Phefunchal, 2019).

So not only help us to be able to promote our actions as Conred, we also comply with all the actions that we already made. (Phefunchal, 2019).

*"I don't understand the processes with Segeplán, they are super complicated things for an Electrical engineer, as well as a cooperation have to follow a bureaucratic process, for me it is more true what I'm doing in my work. Yes, it is very hard for me to understand the processes and to me are things that are extra, the truth is that I can't find sense I am a super technical person and one plus one is two and my especially it's electrical, so for me if it works is fine and all the processes are too much, but if not are followed you have to pay fines to Comptroller ". (Velásquez, 2019)*

### ***Lack of resources and loss of capable personnel***

Lack of financial resources prevents hiring more staff to meet the needs [...] and this affects the ability to apply routine procedures to give you a monitoring of environmental instruments approved (Galán, 2017).

The people of the Commonwealth, explained a specific case about their work experience with the IDB:

With the IDB they have bought us a team to strengthen municipal offices of planning, there is a weakness regarding training and rotation of human resources, not only in the municipal government but also in the State, in its institutions, which sometimes it limits or stop what we have done with a certain dynamic of work and then they change our staff, whether municipal or central government, delaying processes and does not allow continuity of the staff [...] and again you have to retrain to the human resource. (Thomas, 2019)

The institutional budget is very limited, the problem is that the trained personnel are about to retire

and the institutions do not have a disbursement of the State to train the new generations, so there is a leak of knowledge that are not transmitted to the new staff because there is no school of training within institutions (Thomas, 2019).

This topic is one in which all interviewees agreed. Has been one of the main obstacles because there is no institutionalization of knowledge, the little trained personnel that the cooperation has, lose at the moment of the beginning of a new government, which forces them to back off in their processes because they must begin again to train the new personnel.

Another concrete example, from the community, is that "many municipalities have middle offices of environment but many times, who is doing the homework environment, is a common and current worker, that is not capacitated". (Thomas, 2019)

### ***The country's political situation***

The political element is sometimes like the one who limits to have a lack of more things to do to regulate, even if it's a fundamental part because there can be government authorities that are open to a process be regulated and more comprehensive, but there are other external factors that condition that it's not possible to

capture all that information, political situations change of government, authority profile (Aguilar, 2019). It is fair to mention that many times politics also slows us down international aid (Thomas, 2019). For this, the State must not only implement the norms according to such objective but to have a strong institutional structure, which guarantees compliance with environmental standards.

Many of IC's projects are conditioned to the political situation of the country, although the projects have been approved, their execution stops every four years waiting what the guidelines will be with the new government and the new staff that enters into the institutions.

### ***Updated data***

At the computer level there are difficulties since the database instrument and environmental data is not constantly updated, does not have selection filters per environmental category, type of activity nor geographical location, furthermore the chronological search is very complicated. When data is required, you need to collect them in a manual way that takes a lot of time. Not having certainty about the data



logging is very complicated to define follow-up actions that respond to the national reality (Galán, 2017).

In addition, each institution has its own database, but, most of the time it is not accessible for public but is handled at internal level to each department so it's a little bit complicated for both for the cooperators, as for the academic sector that requires those updated data.

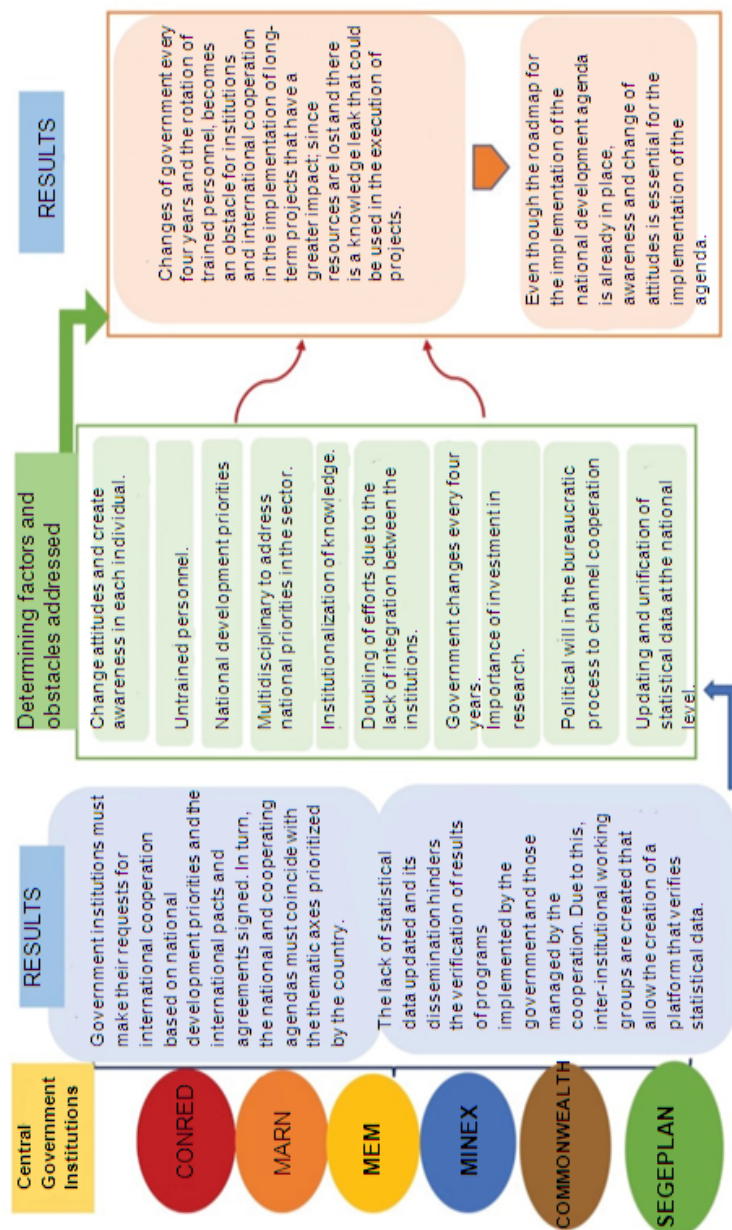
### ***Processes to channel the Cooperation***

Another important and necessary topic emphasis is on the process through which the country receives the IC.

While it is true, most help that Guatemala receives is from technical nature, strengthening capacities and in-kind, it is necessary that these amounts enter by "the official channel". In other words, that the cooperators carry out the whole bureaucratic process through Segeplán and the institution to which aid will arrive.

However, one of the obstacles at the time of doing it through the official channel is the temporality. The process takes too long and it's too slow, so many cooperators prefer to do it directly or, through an NGO. This represents for the country, a loss of information because there isn't a record of all projects who arrive in the country in a direct way.

## Diagram Number 4 Change Theory on environmental management from the Institutions of Guatemala



Source: IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con datos obtenidos del trabajo de campo de la investigación.

## Management experiences from the cooperators

### About Guatemalan legislation

Within the experiences of the cooperators who are working on the Country, have expressed their enthusiasm to be able to contribute and develop programs in Guatemala, and highlighted that within the positive factors is the Guatemalan legislation on environmental issues.

For this Omar Samayoa, representative of IDB stressed that "The country has a fairly solid and rich relationship that has many laws and regulations; another thing is if they are being applied "(2019).

Furthermore, when aligning the donor agendas can be align without much difficulty. "When we have prepared proposals for support access to financing the issue of the political and legal framework it has a lot of wealth which makes it relatively easy to align it with and it's an advantage. Guatemala has others challenges such as inclusion which is a complex issue "(Samayoa, 2019).

As mentioned earlier, although it is true, Guatemala has great wealth in terms of laws, there is no water law yet reason why "the water problem from here to one or three years, neither in a government,

nor in two or three, because it has been a topic that has been cast aside in the whole historical and political processes of country" (Aguilar, 2019). However, it has, within the legal framework several policies that to give you the correct monitoring and implementation, would achieve significant changes in the country. An example of this is the Agreement 236 on treatment plants and wastewater.

*"The country has a fairly solid and rich relationship that has many laws and regulations; another thing is if they are being applied"(Samayoa, 2019).*

However, to the extent that the municipalities fail to comply with this Agreement, good percentage of the problem remains stagnant. According to Pilar Montero from Aecid, a treatment plant represents an expense to assume that urban centers are not prepared for it.

Although there are regulations to comply with, but there is a gap between technique capacity to assume it by doing it and how socially deal with it so they can't be permanently subsidized, can be partially subsidized, can be social rates or difference between the public and private sector and there should be





a different pricing policy for private use and industrial use but cannot be fully subsidized because it would be unsustainable (2019).

The IDB has also had cooperation technique to make a diagnosis on treatment plants, "because everyone knows it's a problem but when we talk about data does not exist" (Samayoa, 2019).

Furthermore, it was argued that the topic is very complex and expensive, "this topic is very unattractive, politically speaking. Implement an infrastructure is necessary and It is very expensive. The solutions are expensive but the topic also, as more time passes, it becomes more expensive. Likewise, political will is required" (Samayoa, 2019).

In GIZ's experience, they have also developed diagnoses of the territory on the plants installed, but they have found many of them poorly built and not working, with technical errors.

It was a surprise for us because you lose a lot of money; those plants are expensive or oversized for the population. The census right now is an issue for municipalities that don't have plant, they need to know how many people do they have and how

many they will connect to the plant. the topic of plants is an art, treating wastewater, the management system of integral water for collection and its use [...] That concept is difficult that municipalities understand it, how should be the management system of integral water, if it doesn't work, any investment goes bankrupt, and Guatemala is a country that cannot take that luxury that your investments after five or six years, they don't work. (Rose, 2019).

### ***Lack of political and individual will***

By the time of implement water and sanitation programs, that is one of those that have been working for the past years the IC has encountered certain obstacles like lack of political and individual will.

Cooperators of GIZ, Aecid and IDB, make a country strategy that match every new government and after four years of implementation of strategies that evaluates the impacts it has had on country's development indicators, according to each government. "We try that they coincide sometimes it gets out of date a little bit, but in general it matches" (Samayoa, 2019).

It is not only the political aspect, the one that limits the development of the projects. According to the representative of Aecid, it is more difficult to work in the rural than in the urban. What has the rural sector, is that, if they have a high will, but they don't have facility to pay, and in the urban there is payment capacity, but a low will; and that is one of the big problems both for the sustainability of drinking water and sanitation (Montero, 2019).

In addition to this, the representative of IDB argued that big parts of the people who pollute the most are those who have the access to resources so it is necessary to start to change habits from every individual.

### ***Territorial Planning***

A theme that has been a constant within the obstacles encountered by IC is the lack of territorial order in the country, despite that PNOT (by its initials in Spanish) exists, which makes a difficult execution of projects and that they reach to all the people who most need it.

"We must face the issue of territorial planning and mainly the cadastre so people know, if we don't change the regulations we are going to have a collapse in a very short time, we have

to have regulations more severe that require building based on drinking and waste water " (Henry, 2019).

The Guatemalan model is still mostly rural and urban nuclei are growing very fast, there are no services or urban planning for attend them. Also, it is very difficult to make a change of consciousness and even more so in the short term. (Montero, 2019)

In this problem, the cooperators noted that "if the alternatives of territorial ordering that people pose are not being taken, we are going to Collapse" (Henry, 2019). This theme of land management (SLM) is covered is contemplated in the roadmap to achieve changes in the country, so it's necessary to follow up and implement it.

### ***Untrained peronnell and leak of Knowledge***

One of the great limitations exposed from institutions and that cooperators again emphasize is on the leak of trained personnel they have.

The fact of not having a career in the public sector has limited that people can stay for longer periods of time that are needed to not only have experience but follow up on to the implementation of certain processes



together; that combination that transform into capacity (Samayoa, 2019).

According to Norbert Rose, on the subject of treatment plants, there are much lack of internal capabilities since the technicians don't feel in trained conditions, and many times are plumbers who are in charge of seeing the supply of the water and plant maintenance; when this requires a person formed and someone who knows how to handle it (2019).

With the rotation of trained personnel, IC has had several limitations when working and implementing the projects, since they need to start the process of capacity building and technification of the staff again.

### ***Updated data and disarticulation between institutions***

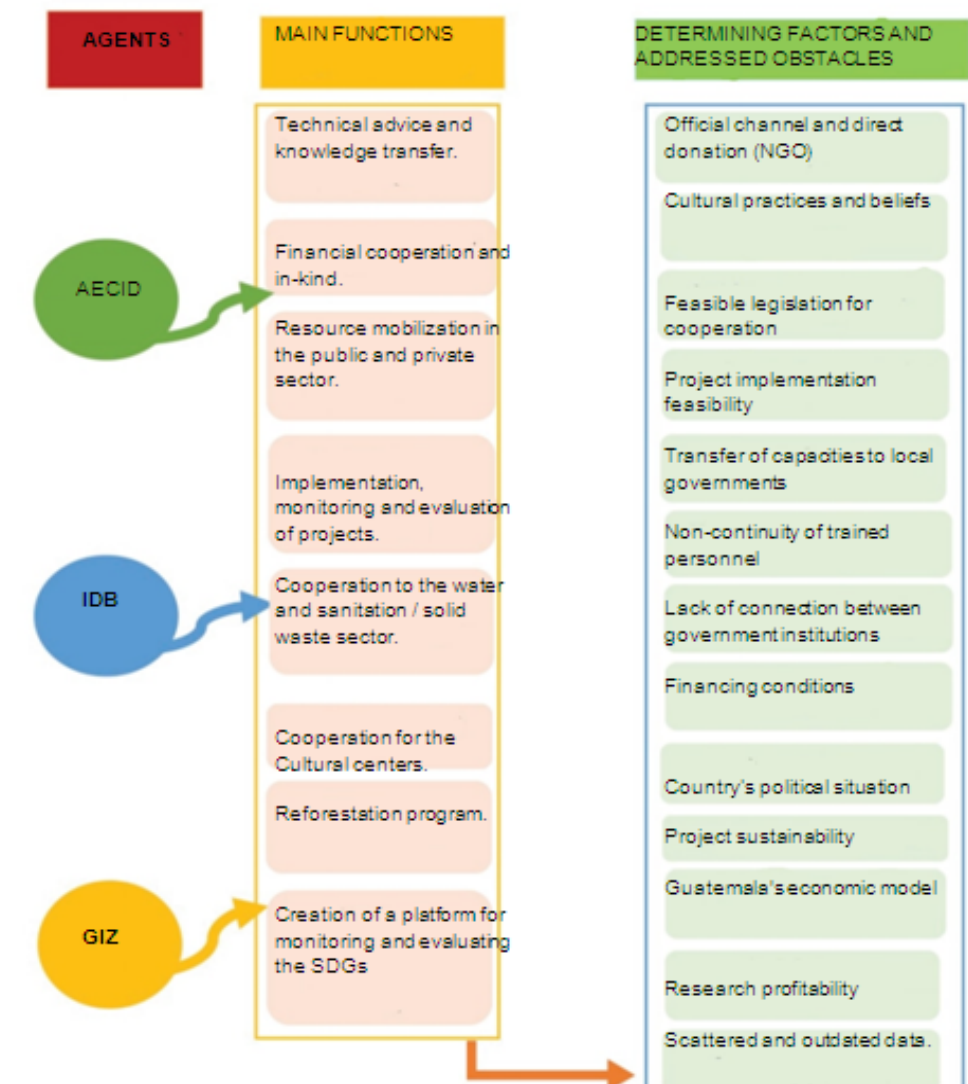
Disarticulation of activities in different public sectors is a very strong limitation and a big problematic, in addition that each public institution has its own database, often out of date (Rose, 2019).

Faced with this problem, between one of the main findings founded in this research, has been the creation of a national platform that it is being developed by Segeplán and GIZ.

We have created with Segeplán, MARN, MAGA, INAP (by its initials in spanish), a database, on territorial data, which allows to calculate vulnerability index from each municipality to the climate change. It is a platform which is going to be public [...] I think it's a culmination of what we've come working from the grassroots, a national platform tool, which will allow you to monitor how much money has been reversed, the rates of vulnerability, changes in Projects. Guatemala would be one of the first countries to implement it. (Rose, 2019)

It can be said then, that the main impediments to which The IC has had to face are: the non-existence of a public function, a career or institutionalization of knowledge, a lack of politics will, social commitment, technical capacity; in addition to events unforeseen like volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, hurricanes, the country is vulnerable to those events.

**Diagram Number 5**  
**Theory of Change on environmental management from cooperators**



**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con datos obtenidos del trabajo de campo de la investigación.



## RESULTS

The lack of updated and dispersed data was the starting point for the co-consolidation of an inter-institutional work table for the creation of the platform that allows measuring the resources of the projects and the impact in the medium term.

From this, the unification of strategies for the implementation of national development priorities is created

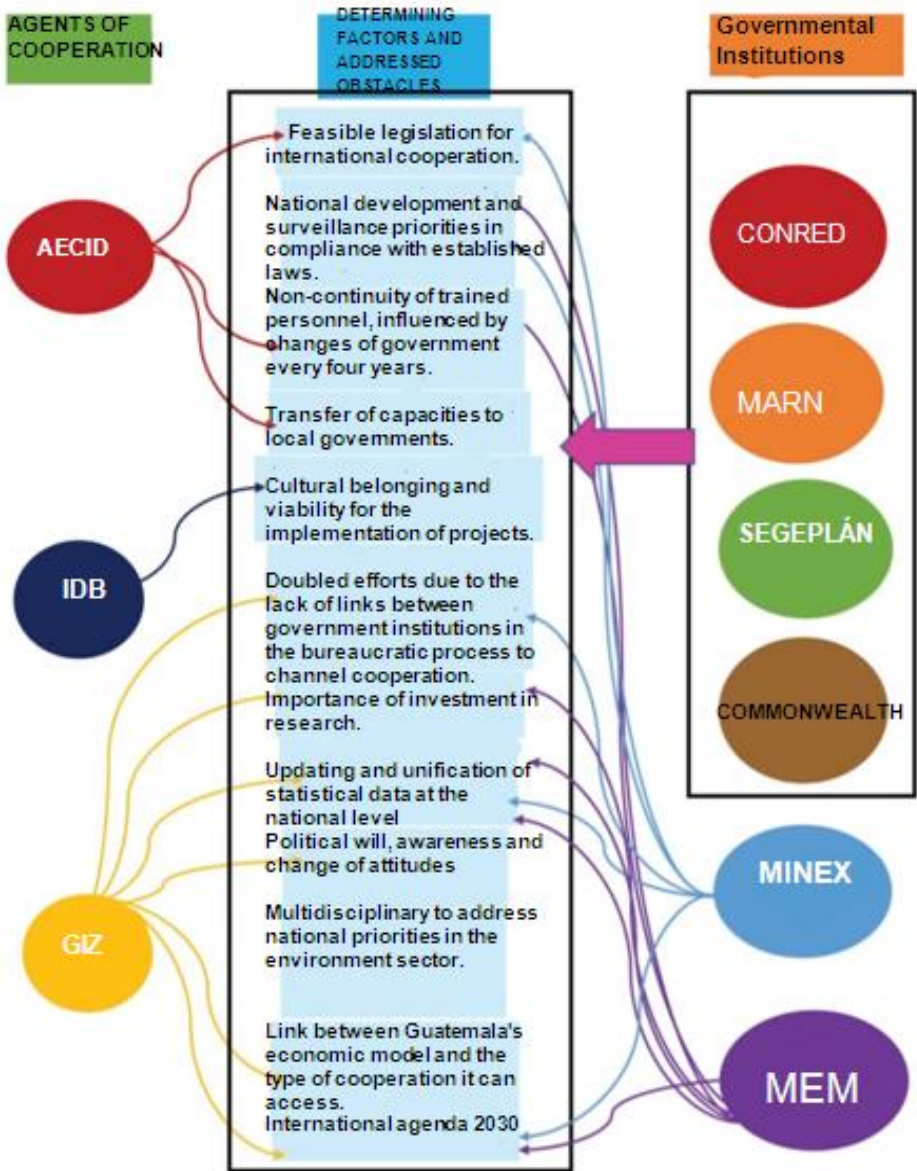
With the strategic development goals (MED), its constituted the strategic framework to which the institutional, operational and territorial planning must be aligned. This is reflected from 2018, linking the SDGs, Plan Kátun, in an articulated and strategic way in the institutional AOP.institutional AOP.

The execution, monitoring and evaluation of these actions will be conditioned by determining factors such as the political situation in the country, rotation of trained personnel, and the budget allocation to the environmental sector. In addition to being an essential change in attitudes, awareness from the cooperation sector, State and civil society.





**Diagram Number 6**  
**Theory of Change on the link between cooperation and institutions**



**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con datos obtenidos del trabajo de campo de la investigación.

## ***Management experiences from the Academy***

The university is the intended institution to higher education and that provides an academic specialization and technique according to the branch of know developed. In Guatemala there is only one public university, which has the initiative of law; and a number of private universities which, while true, they do not have the same benefit, they have managed to influence policies with studies conducted within their study houses; in this case related to the environment the University Rafael Landívar (URL by its initials in spanish) and the University of the El Valle de Guatemala (UVG by its initials in spanish) they have evidenced the advancement and the direct link with the institutions of government and cooperating agents.

As you can see in the previous diagram, universities as an academic sector have functions that contribute to the development of the country, but they also have determinants factors and obstacles that break the progress in the links, government-university, university-cooperating agent.

The URL, through its institute of research IARNA has been linked and take the baton in characterization and

knowledge of diversity and natural wealth of Guatemala and Mesoamerica, under which it is published Guatemala's Environmental Profile, indicating under constant investigations, the impacts that are being generating and what remains to be done. It should be noted that the last publication in the profile was until 2012, however, according to the interview with the institution indicated that at the end of this year would be presenting the updated profile.

“Since last year it has been highlighted that research topics and the lines of work must be seen on the environment side. Now with the new environmental policy from the university (USAC) they force all investigators staff that all its subjects turn on the environment” (Ruch, 2019).

While the line of research and action have been framed to the above mentioned, it has not indicated that there is a link with all academic units, these lines of support and research have been awarded mainly to the technical careers such as engineering and faculties that can offer with their research salable innovations for the environmental sector. Unlinked in an implicit way to social humanistic careers. In words of a representative of the Office



in words of a representative of the Green Office of the Directorate-General of Administration from the USAC, it is evident as described above:

"The university does have researchers, in which the DIGI (by its initials in spanish), engineering, agronomy, Chemistry and Pharmaceutical Sciences have a pull that are dedicated to the investigation of various issues between biological biodiversity, climate change, security food, among other topics" (Asencio, 2019).

In the interview with the deputy director of the IARNA, the actions that have been carried out in the thematic:

IARNA sees cooperation positively, basically this institution has always cooperated and has been beneficial for the research that performs and to generate the information the country needs as management of basins, development rural situation, health situations, change climate, forest situation, it has been beneficial but it has always been managed transversely, not as the focus itself, until the investigation of biodiversity that has as an objective the scientific

knowledge and conservation of biodiversity of the country. But it is believed that it can be expanded more research on this theme. (Ortiz, 2019)

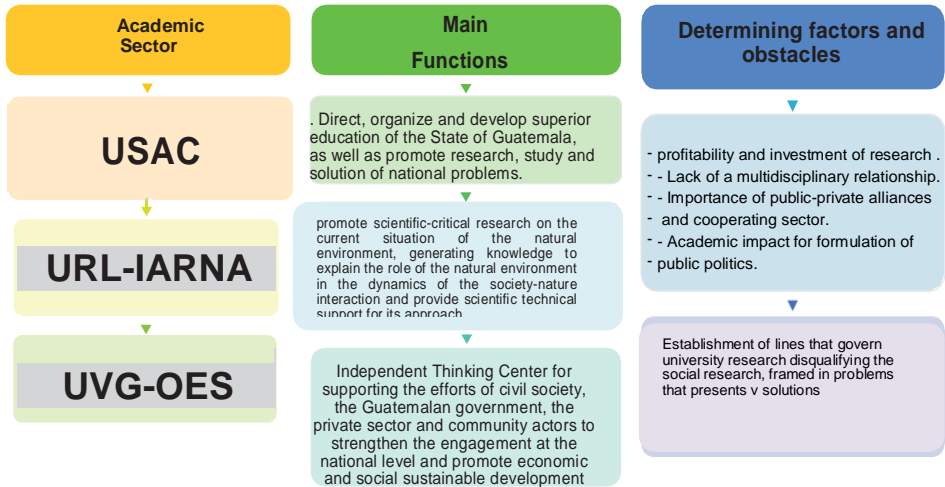
[...] International cooperation focuses on two thematic axes, security and justice as the biggest that receive more funds from each portfolio from countries that are working to Guatemala level and the second, development, practically of productive projects but that do include in some projects as a cross axis the question environmental. (Ortiz, 2019)

Cooperation has been a tool that has alleviated the problems of Guatemala, however, the universities have been guided and they have taken advantage of cooperation depending on their ideological and considered affinities. But still, there is not such a link and cooperation government-academic sector that allows to research centers with trained personnel support and link to elaboration of public policy that have an academic support and based on evidence it is possible to measure the needs and generate specific indicators that allows to measure the impact.



## Diagram Number 7

### Theory of Change on environmental management from the Academy



**Source:** IIPS, Área de Estudios Internacionales con datos obtenidos del trabajo de campo de la investigación.

Finally, in the Conversation held about "Higher Education as a conservation tool of the environment", the participants concluded that the bigger obstacles to solve the environmental sector problems, initially is the lack of coordination of public institutions, bureaucratic processes take too much time, lack of political will, tripling efforts because there is no coordination between ministries and International cooperation is necessary, due to the globality of the

problem of environment, but it has been detected that there are several problems, so the cooperation can comply their role, the problem has been detected of transparency, quantity from environmental organizations that exist and insufficient cooperation. We know the importance of cooperation but we know that have problems, not only because of the institutional problems but environmental laws that are not comprehensive and the little amount that can be allocated for that. (Ruch, 2019).



Another factor that can be a problem is that there is not much people dedicated to research. If we do a random calculation, San Carlos has a population about of 110 thousand people, within those don't focus or don't have even the forecast to say i'm going to change research using parts that I already have, neither at the root of that, 50 people who suddenly graduate one is dedicated to the investigation. We need to be realistic, if it were from San Carlos

we were dedicated to research that is profitable due to the same dynamic of the devaluation of projects. (Asencio, 2019).

The availability of resources for be able to carry out some research that for example for the environmental area will need several observation activities, among others, and that, if the researcher wanted to perform them to place them in their report, they will need to put it from their pocket. (Hernández, 2019).



## *Final reflections*

Address environmental issues, in a country like Guatemala, is somewhat complicated. As it could be seen throughout the investigation, even there are many shortcomings in this system, however they have already sat the bases and notions of change have been given. It is worth noting that the country's agro-export model requires special care and contemplation of the environmental theme as a transversal and vital axis for the development, in which it must be addressed integrally the management of water and watershed, Land Management, and change of attitudes of each human being to the country conditions advance.

According to Principle 10 of the Declaration River:

The best way to deal with environmental issues is with the participation of all citizens, at the appropriate level. In national level, every person must have adequate access to information

about the environment available to public authorities, including the information about materials and the activities that may contain danger in their communities, as well as the opportunity to participate in the adoption processes of decisions. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. (1992).

Based on the above, it is important to emphasize in one aspect that characterizes the ToC, which deepens in reflective practice; It is not only about analyzing and identifying necessary conditions to define the route to follow but also to make explicit how to reach those conclusions and what is the epistemological process by which these arguments are constructed and reasoning (Galán, 2019).

For this reason, we start from the



premise that if these preconditions were not given, the Desired Change would never happen. These conditions revolve around changes in: institutions, quality in relationships between actors, presence and action of certain actors, social and / or technical capacities, collective behaviors / organizational / individual, attitudes, environments more conducive (legal, operational, physical, cognitive, technological, etc.).

To do this, based on the Kurt Lewin's (2018) proposal that poses in his model, a process of three phases to carry out the change planned:

- Defrosting: implies reducing the forces that keep the organizations at their current level of behavior.
- Change or movement: Consists in moving to a new state or new level within the organization regarding patterns of behavior and habits, which means developing new values, habits, behaviors and attitudes.
- Freezing: in this process the organization is stabilized in a new state of balance, in which often needs supporting mechanisms such as culture, norms, policies and organizational structures;

ensure a new pattern of behavior instead, by means of the support or reinforcement mechanism, in such a way it becomes the new way.

This model poses in its proposal to determine the problem, identify the current situation of the problem, in addition to the positive factors as negatives to achieve development of a strategy and thus achieve changing the current situation, heading to the goal. In this case as previously addressed, while it is true both the institutions as the cooperators have found certain obstacles at the moment to develop projects in the country, certain changes have also been evidenced, in a slow process but that, with dialogue and constant work between the sectors involved, certain lights can be reflected in that uncertain future of the environmental problematic.

Furthermore, the change in consciousness in each person maybe it seems a cliché, but that becomes relevant to be able to advance, because it is a issue that affects all people. "To the extent that individuals, groups, etc., are understanding and going through the mind generates its behavior, we can

become aware in a term to understand the problem and which are the effects of this, it is then when there could be changes "(Samayoa, 2019).

For the above it can be materialized and achieve a change is considered relevant that there is an integration between each sector of the country as the cooperators pointed out "the roadmap is ready, the environment and climate change belongs to everyone and not only to the public sector, also from the private sector; and this is a great challenge. Only the State cannot solve the problem " (Rose, 2019).

In order to develop the three stages of the model proposed by Lewin, it is necessary to retake the approaches from several of the experts interviewed, that concluded in the same; in addition to being one of the proposals generated by the ToC, the change of attitudes from individuals, which "it is necessary to become aware of, because we all benefit or harm, so we can move forward in the protection, preservation and conservation of the environment " (Ortiz, 2019).

"All this goes through a process of consciousness, then we can put

laws, put sanctions, but everyone is responsible "(Hernández, 2019). Only the human being can achieve those changes in addition to enlist the help of institutions and the cooperating sector to achieve significant progress in the country.

At the same time, it is necessary that each public, private, cooperating sector, and academy work together for topics that are important, such as environmental accounts, which have left in charge of the academy (Iarna), the territorial ordering, the data update and investment on the research.

"We need to work together with research institutes that in process, but, the government must have their own research center to compile all that Data to be able to give more accurate information of the country in general "(Aguilar, 2019). Bet on investment in research becomes so necessary in the country, since there is too little production, and in this case, from the Academy they have tried to build new knowledge; However, they are only on paper and it is not taken in count or articulated within the actions of the State.

There is still no real consciousness in citizens how can you live with prevention actions and risk in the

subject and if there is no such awareness we cannot rethought in a change, so a real impact in the end would be to achieve change of attitudes in each one, in the actions of institutions and at the level national.



## References

- Federación de Enseñanza de CC. OO. de Andalucía. (2009). *La organización social: orden, control y cambio social*. Revista Digital para Profesionales de la Enseñanza (2). doi:ISSN: 1989-4023
- Galán, M. F. (2017). *Seguimiento y control ambiental: de la norma a la práctica*. Guatemala: Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (Asies).
- Monterroso, O., Carrera, J., García, M., & Ortiz, S. (2019). *Apoyo técnico para Cuentas de Capital Natural en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Iarna.
- Socas, N., & Hourcade, O. (2009). La cooperación internacional. En A. M. Chiani, *La cooperación internacional: herramienta clave para el desarrollo de nuestra región*. Buenos Aires: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- Egraphy**
- Aecid. (2019). *Medio ambiente y cambio climático*. España: Portal Web AECID. Recuperado el 2019, de <http://www.aecid.es/ES/Paginas/Sectores%20de%20Cooperacion/Medio%20ambiente%20y%20cambio%20clim%a1tico/02-Medio-ambiente-y-cambio-clim%a1tico.aspx>
- AECID OTC Guatemala. (2008). *AECID Guatemala*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de <https://www.aecid.org.gt/qui%C3%A9nes-somos/>
- Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo. (2019). *Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo*. Recuperado el junio de 2019, de <https://www.iadb.org/es/paises/guatemala/perspectiva-general>
- BID. (2019). *Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo*. Recuperado el junio de 2019, de <https://www.iadb.org/es/prestamo>
- . (2019). <https://www.iadb.org/es/cooperaciontecnica>. Recuperado el junio de 2019, de <https://www.iadb.org/es/cooperaciontecnica>
- Consejo Nacional de Áreas Protegidas. (2019). *CHM*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de Mecanismo de intercambio de información sobre Diversidad Biológica: <http://www.chmguatemala.gob.gt/>
- Datosmacro. (2019). *Datosmacro.com*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de



<https://datosmacro.expansion.com/paises/guatemala>

Diario de Centroamérica. (10 de octubre de 2018). *PIB crecerá 3.4% en 2019*. Portal electrónico del Diario de Centro América. Recuperado el junio de 2019, de <https://dca.gob.gt/noticias-guatemala-diario-centro-america/pib-crecera-3-4-en-2019/>

Diario de Centroamérica. (30 de mayo de 2019). *Otorgan US \$200 millones para atender desastres*. Recuperado el 2019, de [https://dca.gob.gt/noticias-guatemala-diario-centro-america/otorgan-us-200-millones-para-atender-desastres/?\\_\\_sw\\_csrfToken=s1YJH16XTErq9J3X0M-vrAqO1AlsBAppq](https://dca.gob.gt/noticias-guatemala-diario-centro-america/otorgan-us-200-millones-para-atender-desastres/?__sw_csrfToken=s1YJH16XTErq9J3X0M-vrAqO1AlsBAppq)

elPeriódico. (15 de septiembre de 2018). *Guatemala bajó de posición en el Índice de Desarrollo Humano*. elPeriódico. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de <https://elperiodico.com.gt/nacion/2018/09/15/guatemala-desciende-en-indice-de-desarrollo-humano/>

\_\_\_\_\_. (9 de julio de 2018). *Guatemala se eleva al umbral de ingresos medio alto*. elPeriódico. Recuperado el junio de 2019, de <https://elperiodico.com.gt/inversion/2018/07/09/guatemala-se-eleva-al-umbral-de-ingresos-medio-alto/>

GIZ. (2019). *GIZ-Projektdaten*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de [https://www.giz.de/projektdaten/index.action?request\\_locale=en\\_EN#?region=1&countries=GT](https://www.giz.de/projektdaten/index.action?request_locale=en_EN#?region=1&countries=GT)

de/projektdaten/index.action?request\_locale=en\_EN#?region=1&countries=GT

INE. (2014). *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de <https://www.ine.gob.gt/sistema/uploads/2015/12/18/umjNRzBvEh-3f5AVv9JrMBjUFDEbT636U.pdf>

\_\_\_\_\_. (2015). *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de <https://www.ine.gob.gt/sistema/uploads/2016/12/12/akJPkymTIGr-1QQoommBxUNXhZ9Qhwph.pdf>

INSIVUMEH. (s.f.). *CIV*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de [http://www.insivumeh.gob.gt/hidrologia/rios\\_de\\_guatemala.htm](http://www.insivumeh.gob.gt/hidrologia/rios_de_guatemala.htm)

Maps of the world. (2018). *Mapas del Mundo*. Recuperado el 2019, de <https://espanol.mapsofworld.com/continentes/norte-america/guatemala/latitud-y-longitud-de-guatemala.html>

MARN. (2015). *Segunda Comunicación sobre Cambio Climático en Guatemala*. Guatemala: MARN.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2018). *Guatemala Biobardas un ejemplo para el mundo*. Guatemala: MARN-USAID. Obtenido de <http://www.marn.gob.gt/Multimedios/13811.pdf>

Retolaza, I. (2010). *Teoría de Cambio: Un enfoque de pensamiento — acción para navegar en la complejidad de los procesos de cambio social*.



Guatemala: PNUD. Obtenido de [www.Guia\\_Teoria\\_de\\_Cambio\\_PNUD-Hivos.pdf](http://www.Guia_Teoria_de_Cambio_PNUD-Hivos.pdf)

Rogers, P. (2014). *Lateoría de cambio, Síntesis metodológicas: evaluación de impacto n.º 2*. Centro de Investigaciones de UNICEF, Florencia. Obtenido de [https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/Brief%20%20Theory%20of%20Change\\_ES.pdf](https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/Brief%20%20Theory%20of%20Change_ES.pdf)

Segeplán. (2011). *Primer Informe Nacional sobre Cooperación Internacional para el desarrollo y eficacia de la ayuda en Guatemala año 2008-2010*. Guatemala: Segeplán. Obtenido de [www.g13.org.gt/system/files/INFORME\\_nacional.pdf](http://www.g13.org.gt/system/files/INFORME_nacional.pdf)

\_\_\_\_\_. (2015). *III Tercer Informe de CINR para el Desarrollo, "Más allá del 2015: Guatemala y la Alianza Global" 2013-2014*. Guatemala: Segeplán. Obtenido de <http://www.segeplan.gob.gt/nportal/index.php/publicaciones-cooperacion-internacional/file/463-3er-informe-de-cooperacion-internacional>

\_\_\_\_\_. (2015). *Informe final de cumplimiento de los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio*. Guatemala: Segeplán.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2016). *Estructura de la Estrategia de Implementación de las Prioridades de Nacionales de Desarrollo*. Guatemala, Guatemala: SISCODE. Recuperado el junio de 2019

\_\_\_\_\_. (12 de diciembre de 2017). *El Conadur aprueba las diez Prioridades Nacionales del Desarrollo y sus 16 metas estratégicas*. Guatemala. Obtenido de <http://www.segeplan.gob.gt/nportal/index.php/sala-de-prensa/1092-el-conadur-aprueba-las-diez-prioridades-nacionales-del-desarrollo-y-sus-16-metas-estrategicas>

\_\_\_\_\_. (2019). *Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de <http://www.segeplan.gob.gt/nportal/index.php/ods>

\_\_\_\_\_. (2019). *Prioridades Nacionales de Desarrollo*. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de <http://www.pnd.gt/Home/Vision>

## Interviews

Aguilar, M. M. (15 de febrero de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente 2000-2018. (Área de Estudios Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Thomas, H. (09 de marzo de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente. (Área de Estudios Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Méndez, M. E. (25 de febrero de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente. (Área de Estudios



Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Montero, P. (06 de marzo de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente. (Área de Estudios Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Phefunchal, B. (25 de febrero de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente. Conred. (Área de Estudios Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Samayoa, O. (09 de marzo de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente. (Área de Estudios Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Rose, N. (28 de marzo de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente. (Área de Estudios Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

Velásquez, G. (06 de marzo de 2019). La cooperación internacional para el Estado de Guatemala en el sector medio ambiente. (Área de Estudios Internacionales, IIPS-ECP-USAC, Entrevistador)

## Legal tools

COPREDEH. (2011). *Compendio de Convenios y Tratados Internacionales Ambientales Ratificados por Guatemala* (Primera ed.). Guatemala:

CALAS. Recuperado el junio de 2019, de <http://copredeh.gob.gt/wp-content/uploads/Compendio-de-Calas-1.pdf>


MSPAS. (2013). *Política Nacional del Sector de Agua Potable y Saneamiento*. Obtenido de <http://www.mspas.gob.gt/images/files/saludabmbiente/regulacionesvigentes/PolíticaNacionalAPS/PolíticaNacionalSectorAguaPotableSaneamiento.pdf>

ONU. (2015). *Marco de Sendai para la Reducción del Riesgo de Desastres 2015-2030*. Japón: ONU. Obtenido de [https://www.unisdr.org/files/43291\\_spanishsendaiframeworkfordisasterri.pdf](https://www.unisdr.org/files/43291_spanishsendaiframeworkfordisasterri.pdf)

\_\_\_\_\_. (2017). *La agenda de desarrollo sostenible*. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. Obtenido de <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/es/la-agenda-de-desarrollo-sostenible/>

Organismo Legislativo. (12 de diciembre de 1997). Ley del Organismo Ejecutivo, Decreto 114-97. Guatemala. Obtenido de [http://www.mem.gob.gt/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/12.\\_Ley\\_del\\_Organismo\\_Ejecutivo\\_Decreto\\_114\\_97.pdf](http://www.mem.gob.gt/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/12._Ley_del_Organismo_Ejecutivo_Decreto_114_97.pdf)

\_\_\_\_\_. (2013). Ley marco para regular la reducción de la vulnerabilidad, la adaptación obligatoria ante los efectos del cambio climático y la mitigación de gases de efecto invernadero. Guatemala, Guatemala:



Decreto 7-2013 Congreso de la República de Guatemala. Recuperado el <http://www.marn.gob.gt/Multimedios/2682.pdf>

Segeplán. (2014). *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo K'atun: nuestra Guatemala 2032*. Obtenido de Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural 2012-2016: [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/guatemala/docs/publications/undp\\_gt\\_PND\\_Katun2032.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/guatemala/docs/publications/undp_gt_PND_Katun2032.pdf)

\_\_\_\_\_. (2016). *Estrategia de articulación de la Agenda de ODS con el Plan y la Política Nacional de Desarrollo K'atun Nuestra Guatemala 2032*. Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano

y Rural. Guatemala: Comisión de Alieneación, Seguimiento y Evaluación. Recuperado el julio de 2019, de <http://www.segeplan.gob.gt/nportal/index.php/ods>

\_\_\_\_\_. (2016). *Política Nacional de Ordenamiento Territorial*. (C. d. CEUR, Recopilador) Guatemala. Recuperado el julio de 2019

SICA. (2012). *Manual del Centro de Coordinación para la Ayuda y Asistencia Humanitaria Internacional —CCAH Guatemala—*. SICA, CONRED, CEPREDENAC. Obtenido de [https://www.ifrc.org/docs/IDRL/Guatemala\\_Manual%20Coordinacion.pdf](https://www.ifrc.org/docs/IDRL/Guatemala_Manual%20Coordinacion.pdf)





## ***Acronyms and abbreviations***

<b>(AECID</b> <i>by its initials in Spanish)</i>	Spanish Agency for International Cooperation
<b>IAS</b>	International and Area Studies
<b>IDB</b>	Inter-American Bank Development
<b>WB</b>	World Bank
<b>CC</b>	Climate Change
<b>(CONAP</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	The National Council on Protected Areas
<b>(GIZ</b> <i>by its initials in German)</i>	German Corporation for Technical Cooperation
<b>HDI</b>	the Human Development Index
<b>(INAP</b> <i>by its initials in Spanish)</i>	National Forestry Institute
<b>(INSIVUMEH</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	National Institute of Seismology, Vulcanology, Meteorology and Hydrology
<b>(MAGA</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food
<b>(MARN</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	Ministry of Natural Resources and the Environment
<b>(MEM</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	Ministry of Energy and Mines
<b>(MINFIN</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	The Ministry of Finance
<b>MDGs</b>	Millenium Development Goals
<b>(SDO</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	Standard Development Organization



<b>(NGO</b> <i>by its initials in spanish)</i>	non-governmental organization
<b>(UN</b> <i>by its initials in spanish )</i>	Organization of the United Nations
<b>(OT</b> <i>by its initials in Spanish)</i>	Land Management
<b>(TCO)</b>	Technical Cooperation Office
<b>(GDP)</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>(PNOT</b> <i>by its initials in Spanish)</i>	National Plan for Territory Observation
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>AOP</b>	Annual Operational Plan
<b>SEEA</b>	System of Environmental-Economic Accounting
<b>(SEGEPLAN</b> <i>by its initials in Spanish)</i>	the General Secretariat of Planning of the Presidency
<b>ToC</b>	Theory of Change
<b>(URL</b> <i>by its initials in Spanish)</i>	Universidad Rafael Landívar
<b>(UVG</b> <i>by its initials in Spanish)</i>	Universidad del Valle de Guatemala



[www.iips.usac.edu.gt](http://www.iips.usac.edu.gt)



IIPS “Dr. René Poitevin Dardón”



@iips\_usac



iips Ciencia Política-USAC



[iipsecp@gmail.com](mailto:iipsecp@gmail.com)



iips\_ecp

