Faith and Development in Focus: Guatemala

SUPPORTED BY THE HENRY R. LUCE INITIATIVE ON RELIGION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MARCH 2017
The Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University, created within the Office of the President in 2006, is dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of religion, ethics, and public life. Through research, teaching, and service, the center explores global challenges of democracy and human rights, economic and social development, international diplomacy, and interreligious understanding. Two premises guide the center’s work: that a deep examination of faith and values is critical to address these challenges, and that the open engagement of religious and cultural traditions with one another can promote peace.

About the World Faiths Development Dialogue

The World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD) is a not-for-profit organization working at the intersection of religion and global development. Housed within the Berkley Center in Washington, D.C., WFDD documents the work of faith-inspired organizations and explores the importance of religious ideas and actors in development contexts. WFDD supports dialogue among religious and development communities and promotes innovative partnerships, at national and international levels, with the goal of contributing to positive and inclusive development outcomes.

Acknowledgments

This report is a product of the Berkley Center multi-country research program conducted in partnership with WFDD. We are grateful to the Henry R. Luce Foundation Initiative on Religion and International Affairs for supporting this mapping program. The Berkley Center and WFDD hosted a September 2015 consultation with scholars and practitioners to review research plans and initial hypotheses and questions. This was followed by fieldwork in Guatemala, which featured in-depth interviews (many of them are online at http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/subprojects/country-mapping-guatemala) and two workshops on health issues and faith and environment.

Crystal Corman, WFDD program manager, managed the report’s development with Katherine Marshall, senior fellow at the Berkley Center and WFDD executive director, who is the report’s principal author. Carlos Martinez led the field research and provided inputs to the report. Research support was provided by Marina Yalon, Christina Johnson, Spencer Crawford, Chrissy Bistline-Bonilla, Laura O’Brien, and Andrea Arzaba Diaz. Wilma Mui contributed to editing and prepared the document for publication.

The authors are grateful to those who offered guidance and insights throughout the process. Their wisdom and perspective helped to shape this report. Comments on the draft report, notably from Miguel Von Hoegen and Ana Victoria Pelaez Ponce, were invaluable.

Photographs in the report were taken by Carlos Martinez and Katherine Marshall, unless otherwise noted. The cover photo is by Flickr user: IM Swedish Development Partners, and the photo on page 35 is by Flickr user United Church.
“Faith and Development in Focus: Guatemala” explores how religious influences affect Guatemala’s social and economic development challenges and strategies. The report is part of a broad effort by Georgetown University’s Berkley Center and WFDD to analyze and document religious development engagement in several countries and is supported by the Luce Foundation. The effort involves original research in each country and preparation of documentation that will serve actors interested in a country’s development. These include national authorities, official and private development partners (including civil society), religiously linked organizations, and others who may not have had the opportunity or motivation to focus on religious dimensions of various facets of society and economy.

The goal for this specific report is to provide an accessible overview of Guatemala’s religious landscape—its history, contemporary institutions, and the dynamics of change—all in relation to major issues for development. We envisage it as a lasting background document that should be supplemented by more in-depth research on specific topics. Since this work has a “pilot” flavor, we particularly welcome feedback on content, approach, and presentation: How could we make this and similar documents more useful?

Guatemala, like many countries, is grappling with questions involving values that underlie its development strategies and policies. The reality of large inequalities, concerns about social tensions and violence, painful historical legacies, and a host of questions around governance (that include the ugly spectacle of widespread corruption and embedded crime) are at the center of development debates. Religious leaders and institutions are deeply involved in many ways. They see themselves, and are commonly seen, to have responsibilities for defining and upholding values that reflect the best in Guatemalan society. Others, however, may see them as a brake to forward momentum, an impediment to progress, or a contributor to significant social tensions.

The various dimensions of religious involvement in development are obviously complex and contentious, but in a diverse and dynamic society where religious institutions play vital roles, they are worth exploring. Ignoring or minimizing religious factors can detract from development programs. The fragmented nature of engagement both among religious actors and with the Guatemalan government and its international partners can undermine potentially positive contributions. Failures to learn from experience through lack of knowledge about what others are doing, missed opportunities due to limited engagement with communities, and even programs that are counterproductive through failure to appreciate the motivation of religious actors and organizations are examples of possible gaps.

We are hopeful that a solid base of information—recognizing diversity and the immense cumulative impact of religious actors in everything from education to climate change adaptation—will challenge an all-too-common narrative of an inherent opposition between religion and development.

Katherine Marshall
Senior Fellow, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs
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Acronyms

AIDS  Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AJWS  American Jewish World Service
CBOs  Community-based organizations
CEH  Historical Clarification Commission
CICIG  International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala
CPIA  Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
CRS  Catholic Relief Services
DAC  Development Assistance Committee
EU  European Union
FAO  Food and Agriculture Organization
FIO  Faith Inspired Organization
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
GNI  Gross National Income
HDI  Human Development Index
HIV  Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDB  Inter-American Development Bank
ILO  International Labour Organization
LAC  Latin America and Caribbean [region]
MDGs  Millennium Development Goals
MINUGUA  United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala
NGO  Non-governmental organization
OAS  Organization of American States
ODA  Official development assistance
OECD  Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SDA  Seventh Day Adventist
SDGs  Sustainable Development Goals
SETECA  Central American Theological Seminary
UN  United Nations
UNICEF  United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP  United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA  United Nations Population Fund
USAID  United States Agency for International Development
WFDD  World Faiths Development Dialogue
WFP  World Food Programme
WHO  World Health Organization
### Timeline: Key Events in Guatemalan History

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>900 AD</td>
<td>Maya civilization prospered in Central America until around 900 AD</td>
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<tr>
<td>1523-24</td>
<td>Spanish colony established</td>
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<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Guatemala becomes independent, joins the Mexican empire in 1822.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Guatemala becomes part of the United Provinces of Central America, which also include Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua</td>
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<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Guatemala becomes fully independent.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1844-65</td>
<td>Guatemala ruled by conservative dictator Rafael Carrera</td>
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<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Concordat ratified; international treaty between Carrera and the Holy See, gave the education of the Guatemalan people to the regular orders of the Catholic Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Government actions remove Catholic Church and religious orders from education, eliminate the tithe, confiscate Church property; measures codified in 1879 constitution</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873-85</td>
<td>Liberal President Justo Rufino Barrios modernizes the country, develops the army, introduces coffee growing; Protestants invited to Guatemala</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>Jorge Ubico becomes president; his tenure is marked by repressive rule, country finances improve; allows Jesuits and other religious orders to return to Guatemala</td>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Guatemala declares war on the Axis powers</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>Juan Jose Arevalo becomes president following the overthrow of Ubico and introduces social-democratic reforms including social security system and land redistribution to landless peasants</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Colonel Jacobo Arbenz Guzman becomes president, continues Arevalo's reforms.</td>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>Land reform stops as Colonel Carlos Castillo assumes power in U.S.-backed coup prompted by Arbenz's nationalization of United Fruit Company plantations; Catholic Church seen as an ally and 1879 legislation is reversed</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Civil war pits government against leftist rebels (including many indigenous people). US deeply involved</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960-1996</td>
<td>Civil war pits government against leftist rebels (including many indigenous people). US deeply involved</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Colonel Enrique Peralta becomes president following the assassination of Castillo</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Civilian rule restored; Cesar Mendez elected president</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>Military-backed Carlos Arena elected president</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>Military rulers embark on a program to eliminate left-wingers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Earthquake: 27,000 people killed , more than a million rendered homeless</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1980</td>
<td>Spanish embassy fire, a defining event in the civil war; 36 people die after police raid the embassy occupied by peasants</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>Around 11,000 people are killed by death squads and soldiers in response to growing anti-government guerrilla activity</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>General Efrain Rios Montt takes power in a military coup; campaign and mass murders against indigenous Maya people, accused of harboring insurgents</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>Montt ousted in coup led by General Mejia Victores, who declares an amnesty for guerrillas</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Marco Vinicio Cerezio Arevalo elected president; Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party wins legislative elections under a new constitution</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>Attempt to overthrow Cerezio fails</td>
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### Timeline (cont.)

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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Jorge Serrano Elias elected president</td>
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<td>1993</td>
<td>Serrano forced to resign after attempt to impose an authoritarian regime ignites a wave of protests; Ramiro de Leon Carpio elected president by the legislature</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>Peace talks between the government and rebels of the Guatemalan Revolutionary National Unity begin; right-wing parties win a majority in legislative elections</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>Rebels declare a ceasefire; the UN and United States criticize Guatemala for widespread human rights abuses</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Alvaro Arzu is elected president, conducts a purge of senior military officers, and signs a peace agreement with rebels, ending 36 years of civil war</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>Bishop Juan Gerardi, a human rights campaigner, murdered</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>UN-backed commission says security forces were behind 93 percent of all human rights atrocities committed during the civil war, which claimed 200,000 lives, and that senior officials had overseen 626 massacres in Maya villages</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Alfonso Portillo sworn in as president after winning elections in 1999</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 2003</td>
<td>Presidential elections go to second round. Former military leader Efrain Rios Montt, trailing in third place, accepts defeat</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 2003</td>
<td>Conservative businessman Oscar Berger—a former mayor of Guatemala City—wins the presidential election in the second round</td>
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<td>May 2004</td>
<td>Former military leader Efrain Rios Montt placed under house arrest</td>
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<td>December 2004</td>
<td>UN mission, set up to monitor post-civil war peace process, winds up; UN says Guatemala still suffers from crime, social injustice, human rights violations</td>
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<td>March 2005</td>
<td>Government ratifies Central American free trade deal with United States amid street protests in capital</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 2006</td>
<td>Spanish judge issues a warrant for the arrest of former military leader Efrain Rios Montt and other former officials over atrocities committed during the civil war</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 2006</td>
<td>The government and the UN agree to create a commission—known as the CICIG (International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala)—to identify and dismantle powerful clandestine armed groups</td>
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<td>November 2007</td>
<td>Alvaro Colom of center-left National Unity of Hope Party wins presidential elections</td>
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<td>May 2009</td>
<td>President Colom denies involvement in murder of a prominent lawyer who, in a video made before his death, claimed Colom and others sought to kill him; UN probe clears Colom</td>
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<td>March 2010</td>
<td>Guatemala’s police chief and anti-drugs czar sacked over theft of cocaine</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 2011</td>
<td>Four former soldiers found guilty of a village massacre are the first to be convicted of rights abuses during the civil war</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 2011</td>
<td>Former army general Otto Perez Molina of the right-wing Patriotic Party wins presidential elections, takes office in January</td>
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<td>March 2012</td>
<td>President Perez Molina proposes decriminalizing drugs as a way of combating the illegal narcotics trade</td>
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<td>May 2013</td>
<td>Efrain Rios Montt convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity; ruling overturned by the Constitutional Court on a technicality; no date set for retrial</td>
</tr>
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<td>March 2014</td>
<td>Ex-President Alfonso Portillo pleads guilty in a U.S. court to charges that he accepted $2.5m (£1.5m) in bribes from Taiwan in return for a promise of continued recognition by Guatemala</td>
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**Timeline (cont.)**

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<tr>
<td>June 2014</td>
<td>The United States promises millions of dollars of aid to Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras to combat gang violence and help citizens repatriated from the US, as part of efforts to cope with growing migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2015</td>
<td>The retrial on genocide charges of General Efrain Rios Montt is suspended, after his lawyers question the impartiality of the lead judge</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 2015</td>
<td>A court rules that General Efrain Rios Montt must face a retrial for genocide in January 2016 despite suffering from dementia, but he will not be tried in person or be sentenced if found guilty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2015</td>
<td>President Perez Molina resigns after Guatemalan Congress lifts his immunity in response to allegations by prosecutors of his involvement in a customs bribery ring</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>Jimmy Morales wins presidential election, takes office January 2016</td>
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Guatemala has rich resources and enviable potential for economic and human development. However, as Central America’s largest economy, with a population of over 16 million people, it is better known for violence, record-high inequality, and development disappointments. Long years of bitter civil war, the behavior of a powerful elite, and centuries of ethnic discrimination against the majority indigenous population still exact a heavy toll on the country’s growth and stability. The image of “two Guatemalas” highlights the wide and seemingly uncrossable gulfs that separate a prosperous, often insulated, minority and poor communities.

This is a transitional period for Guatemala, following notable achievements, especially in 2015, when corrupt leaders were held accountable (both the former president and vice president were jailed). The government and its partners have set ambitious development goals. However, they face formidable challenges that include levels of violence that are among the world’s highest, weak government structures, and deeply entrenched poverty and inequality. Pressures for Guatemalans to migrate are spurred by violence, much of it gang related, poor social safety nets, and limited job prospects. Environmental pressures contribute to the problems. The depth of poverty is reflected in appalling nutrition indicators, which in turn tie into poor education access and outcomes and weak healthcare systems.

The central question for Berkley Center/WFDD research is what roles Guatemala’s rich religious history and contemporary institutions might play in surmounting the challenges the nation faces, especially those that affect the most vulnerable populations.

Many pin hopes for translating Guatemala’s potential into reality to its pervasive religious institutions. Significant barriers would need to be overcome. Notwithstanding some interreligious initiatives at different points, there are few structures that channel the energies of religious actors and their views, where involvement tends to be expressed in a piecemeal fashion. Divisions within religious circles are significant. The Catholic Church has been the most obvious beacon, with deeply embedded institutions and a special social and political status. It was centrally engaged in a peace process that, in 1996, was looked to as a remarkable achievement, and there are long traditions of a “preferential option for the poor” and social service delivery. Guatemala has also seen a remarkable increase in Pentecostal churches, and while many express reservations as to their developmental roles,
others see promise in the promotion of values such as thrift and a growing interest among these communities in development issues. And there is increasing focus on the values and practices of the indigenous traditions, which offer paths to authenticity and sustainability.

STUDY OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH THEMES

The Guatemala research is part of a project (supported by the Henry R. Luce Foundation) that explores both how religious institutions and practices intersect with development strategies and programs at the country level, and how this knowledge can be most helpful to those involved in development work (both religious and non-religious). Thus, the focus of this report is on development challenges, asking how religious factors are relevant (or not), and, above all, how more informed knowledge and engagement might improve the quality and impact of development interventions that focus on unleashing human potential. The starting point is an exploration of development objectives, looking both at official formulations (in strategy documents and public pronouncements) and implicit public actions of both government and partners. The organization and involvement of religious institutions is explored in this context.

Guatemala is quite a small country that has played significant roles in Central America and beyond. Many aspects of its economy, society, and religious institutions have been well studied. Nonetheless specific questions about links between development and religious roles have received quite limited systematic attention, both in scholarly research and in operational activities by both secular and religious organizations. This report is thus preliminary and exploratory, pointing to areas that might benefit from more in-depth review.

RESEARCH APPROACH

The research began with background literature reviews. It built on a WFDD pilot project in Guatemala during the years 1999 to 2002 and on a Berkley Center/WFDD consultation covering the Latin America region held in Antigua, Guatemala, in 2009. At a meeting in Washington in September 2015, practitioners and scholars advised on research approaches and potential areas where knowledge gaps could usefully be addressed. Interviews with practitioners and scholars, mostly in Guatemala during 2015 and early 2016, were the core of the research methodology (interviews available online are listed in Appendix 2).

The September 2015 consultation workshop supported the proposed exploration of the religious facets of issues facing contemporary Guatemala. The research focus on religious dimensions was seen as appropriate in the light of the many perplexing questions currently being asked about Guatemala’s future path. Several themes that emerged have shaped the Guatemala research:

The current political crisis and social transformation: Profound sociopolitical events in the six months prior to the consultation colored the discussion and subsequent work. Months of peaceful demonstrations against government corruption led to the resignation and subsequent arrest of the president, vice president, and other government officials, potentially opening new paths for religious communities in citizen activism.

Youth and education: Religious roles in education reforms could be significant, especially among indigenous communities.

Women and gender: Women’s situations have improved in recent decades, but high illiteracy rates among indigenous women signal issues around language and bilingual education that have yet to be resolved. War-related trauma and widespread domestic violence are rarely discussed and acknowledged. Secular and religious women’s initiatives tend to proceed separately, even in tension.

A focus on indigenous people: Ignorance or dismissive attitudes on topics such as healing and medicine illustrate the risks of demeaning traditional approaches, which connect spirituality and sickness.

Migration, internal displacement, and the diaspora: Migration to the United States of unaccompanied migrant children alongside gang and other violence has captured attention, but solutions are distant. Involvement of the Catholic Church could help to better understand actual and potential experience. The same comment applies for Protestant/Pentecostal approaches.
“Much of the Maya population sees no conflict or contradiction in practicing both Catholicism and Maya spirituality and there is broad acceptance of syncretism. There are many Maya priests in the Catholic Church, though we have never had a Maya bishop. This is a sign that shows that the Church itself is not completely open to the Maya, though they represent about half of the country’s population. As an order, we have carried out many projects to emphasize culture as a central point in Maya education. We have been working on this for the last thirty years and have developed an expertise in this area.”

– Oscar Azmitia, Rector, Universidad de la Salle

Environmental challenges: Longer-term effects of global climate change and local environmental degradation engage many religious communities and the papal encyclical on the environment (Laudato Si) sparks dialogue. Religious activism around mining projects and land reform has long roots. A robust reflection on experience and prospects for religious action is important.

Lessons from peacemaking and post conflict action: 2016 marked the twentieth anniversary of the Guatemala peace accords, which aimed to reset the development agenda in an equitable manner and to further reconciliation. The many religious dimensions of the peace process suggest lessons that could be examined.

Roles of missionaries and mission trips: Guatemala is a favored destination for mission trips. Numbers are not known with any precision, nor is their impact. Anecdotal evidence suggests a mixed record, notably in the areas of health and education.

REPORT STRUCTURE
Following this introduction, Chapter 2 reviews Guatemala’s development strategies and performance, its relationships with partners, and major development issues. Chapter 3 describes the religious landscape, including state roles and the organization and development activities of major religious bodies. Chapter 4 focuses on specific faith-inspired institutions (FIOs) working in priority sectors, drawing on specific experience in Guatemala. Chapter 5 suggests paths forward.
Guatemala is Central America’s largest economy and has experienced quite steady gross domestic product (GDP) growth—around 3.5 percent a year—in the recent past. Now a lower middle-income country, it nonetheless shares various characteristics with fragile states (the 2016 Fragile States Index lists it with a “high warning,” ranked 62). Guatemala’s rich development potential has been a common theme since at least the 1950s. Assets include a strategic location and significant natural resources. However, Guatemala’s social and economic indicators lag behind neighboring countries; sluggish per capita income and GDP growth are largely explained by the long history of conflict and contemporary violence, patterns of social exclusion, weak institutions, and high inequality. Deeply ingrained divides between the indigenous and non-indigenous populations are a major factor and have long roots in Guatemala’s history. The contemporary picture underlying development discussions highlights low human development indicators, stubbornly high poverty, a host of governance problems, widespread violence, and sluggish foreign investment and growth.

POVERTY AND PROGRESS

The question of why poverty levels have remained stubbornly high has perplexed many Guatemalans and outside observers.

The World Bank 2016 Systematic Country Diagnostic study focuses on patterns of exclusion, low growth, and impediments to sustainability. Jobs and labor are key factors as Guatemala’s labor markets do little to improve household welfare. Quality of jobs is a major issue and earnings are stagnant, especially in industries where poor people are most likely to work. Almost two-thirds of workers operate in the informal economy, and 82 percent of workers lack social security coverage. Weak basic social services, such as education and health, are significant obstacles. Exceptionally low levels of revenue collection limit the public sector’s capacity to develop services and infrastructure. The upshot is little upward economic and low intra-generational mobility. Between 2000 and 2014, about one in 10 households rose out of poverty, but a higher percentage fell into poverty. The small middle class (less than 10 percent of Guatemala’s population) reflects barriers faced by people trying to change their socioeconomic status.

Sluggish economic growth is explained by many aspects and has limited progress across different fronts. Despite fiscal discipline, open trade policies, flexible foreign exchange arrangements, and the deregulation and liberalization of the
financial, power, and telecommunication sectors, economic growth has been modest. Rather than catching up with richer countries, Guatemala has diverged from them. Guatemala’s per capita GDP is now 6.7 percent of the per capita GDP of the United States, whereas the equivalent figure in 1960 was 8.4 percent. Guatemala is the fifth poorest economy in terms of per capita GDP in Latin America, five positions lower than its 1960 rank. High levels of crime and violence raise the cost of doing business.

Sustainability challenges are both short and long term. Guatemala is among the top 10 countries in the world most affected by extreme climate events, prone to frequent geological and weather-related shocks: storms, hurricanes, droughts, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions. Growing cycles of key subsistence crops (beans and corn) are already affected by changing climate patterns, and there is growing awareness of complex environmental challenges affecting agricultural prospects and contributing to susceptibility to different disasters.

Weak institutions are an important factor in explaining persistent poverty and inequality. Guatemalans are the least likely to trust in democracy at 33 percent, compared to other Latin American populations. Voter participation in Guatemalan elections is the lowest in Latin America at 56.3 percent in 2015. The political landscape has fragmented and short-lived political parties, a pattern that erodes political will and performance. A related factor is a tendency for development projects to have limited targeting and low coverage. For instance, the conditional cash transfer program Mi Bono Seguro, one of the largest national welfare programs, only covered 51.9 percent of the extreme poor, while 70 percent of the school assistance program Bolsas de Scolaridad’s funds were spent on the non-poor. Most of Guatemala’s budget goes to schools and economic development, with scattered projects in health and citizen security. The will to end poverty and tackle inequality are demonstrably weak.

The poverty headcount—measured with an internationally comparable poverty line of US$4 per day per capita—increased from 55 percent in 2006 to 60 percent in 2014. Extreme poverty—defined internationally as per capita income under US$2.5 per day—followed a similar trend, rising from 33 to 37 percent between 2006 and 2014. Guatemala’s inequality ranking was in the ninety-first percentile worldwide in 2015. However, while there was no appreciable change between 2000 and 2006, the next eight years saw a substantial decline in the Gini, a measure of inequality within a country, which fell from 0.55 to 0.49 percent. Sharp falls in both urban and rural areas were mainly due to a decline in the incomes of the rich rather than a rise in the incomes of the poor. The richest 1 percent of the income distribution controls 13 percent of total income. The middle class has 26 percent of total income,

“Guatemala has a range of land problems, including the dynamism in the land market and the fact that [farmer] groups have access to credit through organizations; they form an association that owns the land. If you go to the property registry and look for property per capita, the situation is blurred because the property doesn’t belong to individuals, but the organization.”

– Monica Ramirez, World Vision Guatemala

“Lines of people to vote in the 2007 General Election in El Quiché, Guatemala; Photo Credit: USAID/MTafiMorales

The state needs a vision. Guatemala faces a situation not so different from other countries, but like any country, it is complex. If we do not appreciate our situation we will never find a solid solution, even if by luck we were to satisfy everyone. We must appreciate the principle of subsidiarity: The state must work for the overall welfare of the country, but not tend to each individual need, nor each political act, but with impact.”

– Fernando Paredes, interim director, World Bank Guatemala

“Guatemala has a range of land problems, including the dynamism in the land market and the fact that [farmer] groups have access to credit through organizations; they form an association that owns the land. If you go to the property registry and look for property per capita, the situation is blurred because the property doesn’t belong to individuals, but the organization.”

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Guatemala did not. Guatemala’s overall progress countries largely met the goal of halving extreme poverty goals (See Appendix 1). For example, while LAC region progress on the MDGs, but lagged behind in reaching key ranked in the top 20 countries for absolute and relative overall Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was uneven. It was Guatemala’s progress in meeting the 2015 targets for the Caribbean (LAC) average of 0.751.14

This inequality translates to human development gaps. The northern region (which contains Alta Verapaz) has had the least progress in reducing child chronic malnutrition. Alta Verapaz also has one of the highest indigenous population levels (89.7 percent), reflecting that regional inequality intersects with ethnic inequality. Guatemala is ranked 125 of 188 countries on the Human Development Index (2015) with a score of 0.640, significantly below the regional Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) average of 0.751.14

Guatemala’s progress in meeting the 2015 targets for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was uneven. It was ranked in the top 20 countries for absolute and relative overall progress on the MDGs, but lagged behind in reaching key goals (See Appendix 1). For example, while LAC region countries largely met the goal of halving extreme poverty (MDG 1), Guatemala did not. Guatemala’s overall progress is currently viewed within the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) approved by the UN General Assembly in September 2015. Indeed, during the preparatory process for the Rio+20 UN Conference on Sustainable Development in June 2012, the SDGs idea was first put forward by Colombia and Guatemala. Detailed indicators that will be used to monitor SDG targets for Guatemala specifically are not yet available.

GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The 1996 Peace Accords represent an important thread in Guatemala’s development history, because they envisaged solutions to the structural problems that had caused the armed conflict and the inequalities and social divides associated with it. They addressed a wide range of issues, such as poverty, inequality, food and employment instability, education, while the poor, or the bottom 60 percent of the population, has only 26 percent.10 Within Guatemala, income inequality is particularly concentrated within certain regional departments; for example, Alta Verapaz department has a Gini coefficient of 0.67 (ten percentage points higher than the national level).11 This inequality translates to human development gaps. The northern region (which contains Alta Verapaz) has had the least progress in reducing child chronic malnutrition. Alta Verapaz also has one of the highest indigenous population levels (89.7 percent), reflecting that regional inequality intersects with ethnic inequality.12 Guatemala is ranked 125 of 188 countries on the Human Development Index (2015) with a score of 0.640, significantly below the regional Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) average of 0.751.14

Table 2.1. Guatemala: Some Key Development Facts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Current Status (Year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>16,342,897 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Area</td>
<td>108,889 sq km (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population</td>
<td>8,428,195 (51.6% of total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual population growth rate</td>
<td>2.1% (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital city population (Guatemala City)</td>
<td>2,918,337 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population aged 0-14 years (% of population)</td>
<td>36.6% (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP growth rate (annual %)</td>
<td>4.1% (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP Human Development Index Rank (2016 report)</td>
<td>125 of 188 (2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Perceptions Index Rank</td>
<td>136 of 176 (2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal remittances, received (current US$)</td>
<td>$6.573 billion (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing Business Ranking</td>
<td>88 of 190 (2017)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Guatemala had no unified and cohesive national development plan before 2012. Development objectives were often proclaimed, notably in the 1996 Peace Accords, but in practice, development efforts varied across sectors with plans focused on specific geographic departments and municipalities. Substantial international support was available to Guatemala during this period. There were initial successes, notably rapid demobilization of the guerrilla forces, political openness, and far less political persecution. However, many goals have yet to be met, such as addressing violence and insecurity. Land reform, quality healthcare, and access to education reflect other areas of disappointing results.

In 2014, the Guatemalan government elaborated, for the first time, a centralized national development plan, aimed at coordinating state development agencies with international organizations. The new plan, *K’atun*, centers Guatemala’s development strategy around five pillars and sets concrete development goals for the year 2032. Table 2.3 gives a breakdown of *K’atun’s* pillars and key priorities: 1) urban and rural Guatemala, 2) human welfare, 3) wealth for all, 4) natural resources for today and tomorrow, and 5) the state as protector of human rights and driver of development.

An increasingly important challenge for Guatemala is improving the levels of citizen security. High levels of crime and violence represent staggering economic and human costs for the country.

### Table 2.2. Social Development Indicators, Guatemala and LAC (2013)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Guatemala</th>
<th>LAC Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GDP growth (annual %)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births)</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child stunting (% below age 5)</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth (years)</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean years of schooling</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide rate (per 100,000)</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


by a lack of resources. Barriers to private investment include notably insecurity and the high crime rate.

In 2014, the Guatemalan government elaborated, for the first time, a centralized national development plan, aimed at coordinating state development agencies with international organizations. The new plan, *K’atun*, centers Guatemala’s development strategy around five pillars and sets concrete development goals for the year 2032. Table 2.3 gives a breakdown of *K’atun’s* pillars and key priorities: 1) urban and rural Guatemala, 2) human welfare, 3) wealth for all, 4) natural resources for today and tomorrow, and 5) the state as protector of human rights and driver of development.

Formulated by the National Urban and Rural Development Council (CONADUR) with consultations from other agencies, international donors, and partner organizations, this plan further gives priority to improved coordination of social spending.

An increasingly important challenge for Guatemala is improving the levels of citizen security. High levels of crime and violence represent staggering economic and human costs for the country.

### DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIPS

International support for Guatemala has fallen in recent years. This is in part a healthy sign reflecting Guatemala’s middle-income status, but it also reflects significant disappointments in performance on development and some tensions between the government and its partners. Today, many actors are reducing their presence or leaving the country, consolidating programs into regional programs, channeling them via multi donor trust...
funds, or withdrawing completely. Patterns of aid have changed from grant and other concessionary funds toward loans. This has meant that the Guatemalan government was often able to obtain loans with fewer conditions. Donor fatigue explains at least in part decreasing international aid, occasioned in part by disappointing progress in implementing the peace accords. The government dismantled or downsized institutions established to implement the peace accords and even returned money to UNDP, claiming it did not want to be manipulated by external actors.

Currently, major players are USAID, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the World Bank, several UN agencies, including the World Food Programme (WFP) and UNICEF, and the European Union (EU). Donors still operating in Guatemala focus on achieving the SDGs, improving governance—particularly in the area of the legal system—and supporting marginalized sections of the population, especially women and indigenous groups. Geographically speaking, the focus is on regions with a majority indigenous population. Geopolitical issues, including patterns of violence, drug trafficking, and migration pressures, also play significant roles in Guatemala’s partnerships. Religious ties are significant, reflected in transnational links involving both Catholic Church and Protestant/evangelical institutions and in the active pattern of mission trips, short and long term, to Guatemala.

Partner priorities differ as to the role of the state in development as well as how to address the high levels of social violence. Notwithstanding efforts to improve coordination, changing

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**Table 2.3. K’atun, Breakdown by Pillar and Goal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pillars</th>
<th>Goals (by 2032)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban and rural Guatemala</td>
<td>• Improve rural access to social services&lt;br&gt;• Create new system of regional governance&lt;br&gt;• Improve property rights management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human welfare</td>
<td>• Improve HDI score to .7000&lt;br&gt;• Consolidate social assistance programs and improve coverage for indigenous groups&lt;br&gt;• Reduce homelessness by 50 percent&lt;br&gt;• Reduce chronic child malnutrition to 25 percent&lt;br&gt;• Reduce maternal and infant mortality&lt;br&gt;• Provide universal education at ages of 10 to 18&lt;br&gt;• Improve HIV assistance and education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth for all</td>
<td>• Increase GDP growth to 5.4 percent&lt;br&gt;• Maintain strong macroeconomic fundamentals&lt;br&gt;• Reduce informal, under- and unemployment&lt;br&gt;• Reduce Gini coefficient&lt;br&gt;• Eliminate extreme poverty in members of workforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources for today and tomorrow</td>
<td>• Stabilize CO2 emissions at 2.5 tons annually&lt;br&gt;• Improve protection for rainforests&lt;br&gt;• Increase water sanitation to 90 percent&lt;br&gt;• Implement new hydroelectric projects&lt;br&gt;• Increase access to renewables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State as protector of human rights and driver of development</td>
<td>• Centralize and improve coordination for state welfare programs&lt;br&gt;• Increase tax revenue and funding for social protection&lt;br&gt;• Improve government transparency and open data&lt;br&gt;• Increase investment in citizen security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

priorities contribute to instability and limit the possibilities of solid long-term programs.

During the decade from 1996 to 2006, a net amount of US$3.3 billion was allotted to Guatemala in Official Development Assistance (ODA). Of the total, 76 percent was contributed by the member countries of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Multilateral institutions provided 11 percent of the total ODA and the UN system contributed 3.8 percent (0.5 percent being from UNDP). In 2014, OECD/DAC figures on aid flows indicate that Guatemala received US$277 million in aid and in 2015, US$408 million.

In Guatemala, the UN combined the General Assembly’s peacebuilding mandate with post-conflict development. Following the 1996 Peace Accords, the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) supported peacebuilding efforts. The UN had an important presence in the country in terms of staff and attributions. The main purpose was to help establish and implement the peace agreements and heal the wounds of three decades of internal armed conflict and human rights violations, particularly against indigenous peoples. Along with MINUGUA, UNDP provided significant technical assistance and project management services. UNDP was involved in many parts of the Peace Accord agenda. Today, UNDP in Guatemala sees itself as a neutral agency, a broker, facilitator, and promoter of dialogue on sensitive issues and between opposing groups. It has gained substantial reputation, visibility, and credibility in Guatemala. Other UN agencies active in Guatemala include UNICEF, WFP, WHO, UNFPA, FAO, IFAD, and ILO.

The IDB is Guatemala’s main source of external finance and a main provider of technical assistance. The main areas of IDB

“"To achieve significant structural and policy changes, coordination is essential. First we need to coordinate with the public sector to understand priorities and the political context. Then we need to work with other organizations and the public sector, generate evidence, and then take that together to influence policy changes.”

– John Briggs, Catholic Relief Services, Guatemala

Figure 2.1. ODA by Donor and Sector to Guatemala, 2015

Figure 2.2. Bilateral ODA Disbursement by Donor, 1960-2015 (US$ Millions, 2014 prices)

Figure 2.3. ODA Multilateral Disbursements, 1964-2015 (US$ Millions, 2014 prices)


support have been fiscal support, local finance, social protection, financial and capital market development, and transportation. The IDB Country Strategy 2012-2016 focuses on improving living conditions for the Guatemalan population, particularly those living in rural areas. The strategy’s priority target areas are structured along two axes, the first being institutional, covering fiscal and municipal management, social protection, and peaceful coexistence and citizen security; the second addresses rural development, including productive development, health, and transportation. Work is being done in the crosscutting areas of climate change adaptation and mitigation, natural disaster impact mitigation, and indigenous peoples and gender, with regional integration promoted, particularly in the transportation and energy sectors.

The World Bank has a long history of involvement in Guatemala, and in early 2017 the executive directors approved a new country strategy based on a Systematic Country Diagnostic. The strategy focuses sharply on the issue of inclusion, notably through strengthening social service delivery, and on removing obstacles to growth, including infrastructure and crime. There is a notable focus on malnutrition. The World Bank has committed US$450 million to Guatemala in FY2017, a sharp increase from 2016.

The United States has been the largest bilateral partner in Guatemala and is active in addressing the issues facing the Northern Triangle countries (defined as Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras). USAID collaborates closely with the government of Guatemala to 1) strengthen security and justice for citizens, 2) increase economic growth and social development in the Western Highlands, and 3) mitigate the impacts of climate change. USAID also works with civil society, local government, the private sector, indigenous groups, and local universities to promote community-driven sustainable development. In 2015, the U.S. government disbursed US$121 million for programs in Guatemala that included the Peace Corps. Health was the largest program in 2015 (US$40 million).

One legacy of the complex conflict and post-conflict years is the proliferation of NGOs in Guatemala and their stance and relationships—with each other and with the government. These relationships are diverse and by no means universally smooth or efficient. Guatemala probably has more NGOs at work than any other Central American country. During the war and the early postwar years, many donors worked with Guatemalan NGOs, promoting the professionalization of civil society organizations. NGOs and civil society organizations, however, remain highly dependent on donor financing and tend to orient themselves toward donor interests. Thus, many Guatemalan NGOs are perceived as being externally governed. In some cases, this has led to a disassociation from grassroots

International cooperation cannot readily avoid political tensions between government interests in using international resources for its own, often political, purposes, and partner goals (bilateral, multilateral, and nongovernmental). Overall it has not been easy to allocate international funding to address the real needs and grievances of the population. Current modes of international engagement can empower local groups but have had quite limited impact on the state structures and the political process. A recent case study by Fletcher D. Cox, Catherine R. Orsborn, and Timothy D. Sisk concludes, “Without significant pressure on the state to address issues of political access, social, and environmental marginalization, international efforts to build social cohesion will have only a limited impact in Guatemala.”

MAJOR DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Strategies to reach vulnerable populations and to reduce poverty. Targeting beneficiaries for social assistance programs and mechanisms to monitor social protection programs are important challenges in Guatemala. Prior to 2011, social protection programs were executed by individual ministries and institutions, which led to programs and projects with limited targeting and low coverage. Since the creation of the Ministry of Social Development in 2011, the Guatemalan government has aimed to improve program coordination,
coverage, and targeting. The World Bank, IDB, and UNICEF, as well as others, are working with the Guatemalan government to create the necessary mechanisms to achieve these goals. The World Bank, for example, is helping to create a monitoring and evaluation framework for the Hambre Cero (Zero Hunger) rural poverty program. UNICEF has budgeted over US$7 million to improve the capacity of government institutions to offer equitable social protection programming for vulnerable populations and increase coverage of social protection policies.

Improving Health and Health Services. Improving health and access to health services are integral components of poverty reduction. Several health indicators have improved, some surpassing the regional average. For example, life expectancy at birth in Guatemala has increased by four years between the period of 2000 to 2012, as compared to an increase of two years in the Americas region during the same period. However, Guatemala still lags in several health indicators, notably chronic malnutrition, maternal mortality, and HIV prevention. Nationally, the percentage of children under five years of age with chronic malnutrition has declined; however, in the Alta Verapaz region, the percentage has increased since 1989, the MDG baseline year, from 49.8 to 51.1 in 2008. Childhood malnutrition follows ethnic lines. Malnutrition rates are almost 30 percentage points higher among the indigenous (58.6 percent) as compared to the non-indigenous (30.6 percent). Reducing malnutrition and maternal mortality and improving reproductive health, especially as it relates to adolescents, are the health priorities. The nutrition priorities are coordinated with Guatemala's national strategy to focus on health in the first 1,000 days (pregnancy plus the first two years of a child’s life). The K’atun plan’s goal is to reduce malnutrition by 25 percentage points by 2032, especially among indigenous and rural children. UNICEF emphasizes malnutrition and integrated WASH programming; its US$11.7 million budget provides technical assistance to the Ministry of Health and builds capacity among community-level health services. IDB focuses on addressing undernourishment, particularly in rural areas, for children under five and programs to improve diet quality. Many actors stress maternal mortality, particularly among indigenous women and girls, and improved sexual and reproductive health, especially for adolescents and youth.

Citizen Security and Violence Prevention. Violence and insecurity are prominent issues affecting Guatemala’s society and hindering development on many fronts. The World Bank and IDB prioritize capacity-building among the National Civil Police. They jointly provide technical support to the Ministry of the Interior to create a career policing structure, personnel training, improve the quality of criminal investigations, and reduce police misconduct. The Guatemalan government and development partners address citizen security through a comprehensive neighborhood improvement strategy entitled “Barrio Seguro.” Improving citizen security is addressed within the contexts of improved social cohesion and social inclusion, particularly integration of youth in society. For example, the European Commission prioritizes the integration of youth through sports and culture programming, the collection of arms, and the rehabilitation of former young criminals. These measures correspond with other development partners’ goals emphasizing a “democratic interaction with police forces” and “breaking the vicious cycle of impunity.” Strategies look to include indigenous people, as well as adolescents and vulnerable youth. Citizen security and rule of law pose large challenges to Guatemala’s development. Guatemala’s murder rate has seen a 47.3 percent increase since 2000, but only 4 percent of its police force works in criminal investigation. As part of Central America’s “Northern Triangle,” Guatemala has experienced increased rates of transnational crime and trafficking. Women and youth are disproportionately affected by crime, which leads to a willingness by various Guatemalan groups to support education or social protection programs.

Natural Resources and Climate Change. Guatemala has a wealth of natural resources that can bring economic benefits, but is highly vulnerable to natural disasters. Action priorities include the sustainable use of natural resources through market-based strategies and the mitigation of natural disaster risks. UNDP supports the introduction of environmental and risk management through Learning for Rural Development centers located throughout the country, in line with the K’atun priorities for integrated rural development. K’atun priorities also include improved natural disaster prevention and post-disaster methodology.

Gender. There is a long history of violence and discrimination against women in Guatemala, with especially acute problems
“The dearth of open dialogue about sexual and reproductive health matters [is a great difficulty] because in Guatemala it continues to be a taboo subject… There is no program or venue that encourages discussions about sexual and reproductive health. We need to explore it and get to know it better.”

— Carmen Ordonez, Manos Abiertas, Guatemala

“During the long civil war. Following the signing of the 1996 Peace Accords, several mechanisms specifically to address issues for women were established, laws were issued (women’s comprehensive development, domestic violence, sexual violence, trafficking and exploitation, femicide and other forms of violence) and policies were drafted (National Policy for the Promotion and Integral Development of Women, PNPDIM). Despite these advances, only 2 percent of the municipalities are run by women, more than 4,000 girls 10 to 14 years of age give birth every year, and 759 women died by violence in 2013.46 There are numerous specific projects that seek to address these issues (Chapter 4), and courageous Guatemalan women and women’s organizations work to counter both legal and cultural injustices and inequities.47 Guatemala has no legislated subnational gender quotas for political offices.

Politics and governance. Decentralization efforts in Guatemala beginning in 2002 aimed to balance regional power and build stronger, independent local governments. Limited budgets and inadequate transfers from the central government hamper municipal development and successful implementation of policies. Guatemala is divided into 22 departments and 338 municipalities (local governments). Each department is governed by a departmental council for development, which is elected by a majority vote. A governor, chosen by the president, oversees the councils. Municipalities are governed by an elected municipal council and an elected mayor. At the national level, the Ministry of the Interior oversees the authority of local governments.

“Politics and governance. Decentralization efforts in Guatemala beginning in 2002 aimed to balance regional power and build stronger, independent local governments. Limited budgets and inadequate transfers from the central government hamper municipal development and successful implementation of policies. Guatemala is divided into 22 departments and 338 municipalities (local governments). Each department is governed by a departmental council for development, which is elected by a majority vote. A governor, chosen by the president, oversees the councils. Municipalities are governed by an elected municipal council and an elected mayor. At the national level, the Ministry of the Interior oversees the authority of local governments.

“The recent political developments mean a struggle for Guatemalans to begin to believe in their own government and their own voices. They want to see corruption diminish, a bigger tax base, more resources, and effective government programs; they want to actually feel that they are being served quite well by the government.... The Guatemalan government could embrace its diversity and populate the government with people that can work with all these different populations so Guatemalans can feel like we’re all working together.”

— Craig Badger, Peace Corps Guatemala

Education. School enrollment rates in Guatemala are almost 100 percent, with nearly equal enrollment of boys and girls. First grade completion rates have increased dramatically (by 18 percent) in recent years as a result of the implementation of several quality education policies and programs. However, more than 30 percent of students did not pass first grade in 2013, and only about three-fourths of those enrolled in primary school graduate from sixth grade (80 percent of boys and 73 percent of girls), and the enrollment rate for middle school (grades seven to nine) is less than 40 percent.48 Both enrollment and performance of indigenous girls lags behind.
Guatemalans consider themselves a particularly religious people. Whether Catholic or Protestant, Guatemalans tend to share their faith with others, participate actively in congregational life, often take the Bible as the literal word of God, and describe religion as centrally important in their lives. The overwhelmingly Christian population is nonetheless very diverse. Guatemala’s religious landscape is intertwined in complex ways in a society that is deeply divided along ethnic, income, and geographic lines. There is no common religious “voice” or set of positions.

Religion and politics have been linked through Guatemalan history, which results in diverging narratives and significant tensions. Guatemala’s religious institutions, especially the Catholic Church, have played central political and social roles at different stages. The Spanish conquerors found a people with strong spiritual traditions, and the confrontation and adaptation of these indigenous traditions and the imported faith (Catholicism in its different forms) has shaped the religious landscape to this day. The Catholic Church was tightly linked to the colonial systems (Guatemala was the center of Spanish administration for the subregion). The Church was an integral part of the colonial system and particularly powerful, influential, and conservative in Guatemala. However, the role of the Church saw sharp changes in different eras. In 1871, the Church was stripped of its power, and many leaders were evicted from Guatemala; property was confiscated and education institutions were taken over. The Church’s role was eliminated in the 1879 Constitution. Its authority was restored in the 1930s, but increased and declined as power shifted between

“What the churches do is good and natural, but it could have a better impact if there were government coordination.”

– Eduardo Magermans, Christian Radio Producer, Guatemala
liberal and conservative regimes (the formal Church hierarchy was closely associated with colonial elites, opposed by reformists). Meanwhile indigenous peoples were converted, even as traditional beliefs and practices were preserved. Initial invitations to Protestant denominations beginning in the nineteenth century were in direct reaction to Catholic influence, but during the 1990s, missionaries and faith-inspired organizations (FIOs), particularly those from the United States, transformed the religious landscape. A wide variety of Protestant denominations, notably Pentecostal, distinguish contemporary Guatemala (it has probably the highest share of the national population that is Protestant in Latin America). Various Protestant leaders and traditions have played vital political roles in Guatemala’s recent history.49

The Guatemalan Constitution today protects freedom of religion. There is no state religion, with a secular framework for state affairs, though the Catholic Church (only) is formally recognized.50 No specific regulations apply to religious practice or organizations.

Religious demography is disputed, and there is no official census of religion. Table 3.1 shows the growing numbers of Christians as Guatemala’s population increased and the declining share of Catholics. In 1995, Catholics comprised an estimated 54 percent of the country’s population, compared to an estimated Latin American average of 73 percent.51 That proportion has fallen continuously—as of 2013, Guatemalan Catholics, by some estimates, stood at 47 percent.52 Conversely, evangelical Christians increased from 25 percent of the population in 1995 to 40 percent in 2013.53 Most Protestantism in Guatemala is charismatic and Pentecostal, representing a more socially conservative worldview than mainstream Protestantism.54

Atheists comprise 9 percent of the population. Smaller denominations, including indigenous religions, a rapidly growing Mormon contingent, and the greatest proportion of Eastern Orthodoxy in the Western Hemisphere, form 3 percent.55 Data show small numbers of indigenous religions; centuries of forced conversion or enculturation of Maya religious practices into the Roman Catholic tradition has reduced formal indigenous representation.56 There is a small but influential Jewish community in Guatemala City (perhaps 2,000 members). The Muslim population is no larger than 1,000.57

Links to development. Faith actors are engaged, often in partnership with the various non-religious development organizations, on many pressing development issues today. These include, for example, agriculture, environment, and health. Catholic and Pentecostal churches can be well positioned to address development challenges, as they have direct access to

![The inside of La Merced Church in Antigua Guatemala; Photo Credit: Flickr user Daniel Mennerich](image1)

![The Guatemala Mormon Temple in Guatemala City serves as the temple for the region and serves members from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua; Photo Credit: Flickr user More Good Foundation/Mormon Temple Guatemala City](image2)

Table 3.1. Historical Religious Demography in Guatemala (millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Catholics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>8.58</td>
<td>7.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>9.98</td>
<td>9.77</td>
<td>8.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>11.12</td>
<td>9.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

urban and rural communities and have an organic organizational capacity with long-standing community roots. Many churches have focused on problems like gang prevention and livelihood support, often in various partnership arrangements. The Catholic Church still (despite the erosion of its membership and direct political role) plays important roles in education through parochial schools and in trying to redress the large gaps in healthcare for poor communities. It engages in social work through pastoral and other activity. Even during the most difficult periods of the Guatemalan civil war, when segments of the Catholic Church were targets of military repression, many Catholic leaders (priests and nuns) supported the population. Catholic parishes and institutions work to address crime levels, for example through well-established, age-graded programs, beginning in early childhood and continuing into adulthood. Pentecostal parishes engage, largely at the community level, in social projects and social activities, although they may not label such activities as development.

CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS

Guatemala’s religious landscape has shifted significantly over recent decades and continues to change. The two main areas of change and tension, both relevant for approaches to development as well as for Guatemala’s social contract, are the roles of Protestants—especially evangelical Christianity—and Maya spirituality.

Box 3.1. Ethnicity and Language in Guatemala

The 2010 census found that 41 percent of Guatemalans are Mestizo (Ladino), meaning they have mixed European and indigenous ancestry. About 39 percent of Guatemalans are full Amerindian, a higher percentage than any other nation in the Western Hemisphere. The majority of indigenous people in Guatemala are of the Maya people: K’iche’ (11 percent), Q’eqchi’ (8 percent), Kaqchikel (8 percent), Mam (5 percent), and other Maya (7.5 percent). Whites of European descent, or Criollo, account for 18.5 percent of Guatemala’s population. Most are descended from Spanish and German settlers, although other ancestry groups are represented to a smaller degree, including Norwegian, French, Italian, English, Irish, and Russian. There are about 110,000 Salvadorans living in Guatemala. There is a sizable population of Garifuna, who are descended from black Africans who intermarried with indigenous peoples. Mulattos and Afro-Guatemalans are mostly descended from plantation workers. Guatemala has a significant population of Asians, particularly of Chinese and Korean descent. These groups make up the remaining 1.5 percent of Guatemala’s population.

Some 93 percent of the population speaks Spanish; there are also 21 Mayan languages spoken in Guatemala as well as two non-Mayan Amerindian languages.

There is a large Guatemalan diaspora. Most Guatemalans living abroad are located in the United States, where there is believed to be between 480,000 and 1.5 million Guatemalans.
The first Protestants were invited to Guatemala during the nineteenth century (in an explicitly anti-Catholic move), but it was not until the mid-twentieth century that numbers began to grow rapidly. \(^5\) The initial waves of Protestantism included immigrant Protestants seeking to settle permanently within insular communities, without proselytizing to local Guatemalans. Proselytizing Pentecostalism took off with the start of the Guatemalan civil war in the early 1960s and the major earthquake of 1978. The earthquake, in particular, encouraged U.S. missionaries and FIOs to begin charity work in Guatemala. \(^5\) Historians argue that the territorial dislocation of peasant and indigenous communities caused by the civil war, coupled with changes brought about by emigration and globalization, weakened kinship ties and community linkages. New Pentecostal traditions were attractive because they were entirely self-contained, with their own customs, rituals, language, and new kinship networks (the so-called *hermanos* or brothers). \(^6\) The coup d’état led by the army in 1982 signaled the rise of Pentecostalism, as General Efrain Rios Montt, a prominent member of the Pentecostal Church of the Word, became the leader of the new ruling junta. \(^6\)

A feature especially of Pentecostal Christianity but reportedly shared far more widely is a link that Guatemalans make between religion and economic prospects. A majority of Guatemalan Christians, Protestant and Catholic, are thought to believe in the “prosperity gospel,” the idea that God will grant wealth and good health to believers who have enough faith. At the same time, Catholics believe that the government has a responsibility to provide for the needs of the poor. \(^6\) In terms of economic development, Pentecostals often emphasize upward social and economic mobility as well as thrift. \(^6\) Guatemalan Pentecostals are more likely to have lower incomes than the population as a whole and tend to be more socially conservative. \(^6\) Sociologist Peter Berger draws on research on Guatemala for his argument that “Max Weber is alive and well in Guatemala,” thus linking potentially successful social behaviors to religious beliefs and practices. \(^6\)

Religious adherence affects larger social issues in Guatemala. A 2014 Pew survey about religious affiliations, beliefs, and practices in 18 countries in Latin America found that Guatemala has the highest rate of Christians (Protestants and Catholics) in the region (91 percent) who say that homosexuality is morally wrong. \(^6\) In Guatemala, 92 percent of Christians (94 percent of Protestants and 90 percent of Catholics) believe that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases. \(^6\) Guatemalans are divided on the morality of using contraceptives, with about 50 percent of Catholics and 50 percent of Protestants claiming that using artificial means of birth control is morally wrong. \(^6\) Gender relations remain conservative, with 87 percent of Protestants and 75 percent of Catholics stating that wives are obligated to obey their husbands, including 78 percent of women surveyed. \(^6\) Finally, in almost every area, Guatemalan Catholics tend to be more socially conservative than their counterparts elsewhere in the region. \(^7\)

The majority indigenous population, initially Catholic (at least nominally) is deeply tied to traditional spiritual beliefs. Traditional spiritual practices are important in Guatemala, often found in a syncretic relationship with other religious traditions. Leaders of Maya spiritual organizations, as well as Catholic and Protestant missionaries, observe that many indigenous Catholics and some indigenous Protestants practice some form of indigenous spiritual rituals (beyond formal church observance). \(^7\)

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“Ríos Montt saw religious groups as natural partners and he had every reason to think that…. The United States was not giving any military aid to Guatemala at the time, and the Christian world pledged to make up the deficit. Montt created a public development foundation FUNDAPI, and this brought in World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, Behrhorst Medical Services, and a variety of religious groups. They provided immediate relief for victims of violence. The irony was that the government-sponsored foundation that brought relief to villagers in helicopters in effect represented the same people who had just burned down the village.”

– Virginia Garrard-Burnett, professor, University of Texas

“Communities don’t trust their political leaders very much. They confide much more in the pastor, the parish priest, the deacons, and the Sunday school teachers than they do in politicians, who they see as liars and thieves. Creating strategic alliances [with religious figures] has worked and even exceeded expectations.”

– Ramon Rixquiacche, Maya environmentalist
INTRODUCING THE MAJOR RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

**Pre-Columbian Maya History/Spirituality**

The Maya worshipped a pantheon of nature gods, each of which had both a benevolent side and a malevolent side. The most important deity was the supreme god Itzamná, the creator god, the god of the fire, and god of the hearth. Another important Maya god was Kukulcán, the Feathered Serpent, who appears on many temples and was later adopted by the Toltecs and Aztecs as Quetzalcoatl. Also important was Chac, a hooked-nose god of rain and lightning. Another god that frequently appears in Maya art is Bolon Tzacab, who is depicted with a branching nose and is often held like a scepter in rulers’ hands. He is thought to have functioned as a god of royal descent.

Maya rulers were seen as intermediaries between the gods and the people and as semi-divine themselves. They were buried in elaborate tombs filled with valuable offerings.

The Maya view of the afterlife consisted primarily of a dangerous voyage of the soul through the underworld, which was populated by sinister gods and represented by the jaguar, symbol of night. The majority of Maya, including the rulers, went to this underworld. Heaven was reserved for those who had been sacrificed or died in childbirth.

To the Maya, science and religion were one and the same. The Maya developed an impressive system of mathematics and astronomy, which was intimately related to religious rituals. Their mathematical achievements included positional notation and the use of zero; in astronomy, they accurately calculated a solar year, compiled precise tables of positions for the Moon and Venus, and were able to predict solar eclipses. The Maya were obsessed with time and to understanding and predicting various cycles of time. This allowed them to adapt to and best make use of their natural world. Maya cosmology had it that the world had been created five times and destroyed four times. On a more temporal scale, various days of the year were considered appropriate to specific activities, while some were unlucky.

The Maya practiced a form of divination that centered on their elaborate calendar system and extensive knowledge of astronomy. It was the job of the priests to discern lucky days, advising the rulers on the best days to plant, harvest, wage war, etc. They were especially interested in the movements of the planet Venus—the Maya rulers scheduled wars to coordinate with its rise in the heavens. The Maya calendar was very advanced and consisted of a solar year of 365 days. It was divided into 18 months of 20 days each, followed by a five-day period that was highly unlucky. There was also a 260-day sacred year (tzolkin).

Until the mid-twentieth century, scholars believed the Maya to be a peaceful, stargazing people, fully absorbed in their religion and astronomy, not violent like their neighboring civilizations to the north. This was based on the Maya’s impressive culture and scientific discoveries and a very limited translation of their written texts.
But since then, as Maya hieroglyphic writings have been deciphered, a very different picture has emerged. The texts record that the Maya rulers waged war on rival Maya cities, took their rulers captive, then tortured them and ritually sacrificed them to the gods. Human sacrifice seems to have been a central Maya religious practice, believed to encourage fertility, demonstrate piety, and propitiate the gods. The Maya gods were thought to be nourished by human blood, and ritual bloodletting was seen as the only means of making contact with them. The Maya believed that if they neglected these rituals, cosmic disorder and chaos would result.

At important ceremonies, the sacrificial victim was held down at the top of a pyramid or raised platform while a priest made an incision below the rib cage and ripped out the heart with his hands. The heart was then burned in order to nourish the gods. It was not only the captives who suffered for the sake of the gods: The Maya aristocracy themselves, as mediators between the gods and their people, underwent ritual bloodletting and self-torture. The higher one’s position, the more blood was expected. Blood was drawn by jabbing spines through the ear or penis, or by drawing a thorn-studded cord through the tongue; it was then spattered on paper or otherwise collected as an offering to the gods. Other Maya religious rituals included dancing, competition, ball games, dramatic performances, and prayer.

With the colonial era and the arrival of Catholicism, the Maya polity disintegrated. Whether by force or will, Maya adapted Catholicism, alongside forms of resistance (through spiritual practices).

Today, Maya spirituality is expressed both as distinctive practices and as part of Catholic practice. It is visible in the cofradias, community organizations and leadership with elaborate rituals, as well as in approaches to life issues. Indigenous beliefs color approaches to farming, landholding, and environmental change, as well as to mining ventures.

**Catholicism**

The Catholic Church in Guatemala is the most established and organized religious tradition, and it occupies a special role, both formally and informally. An illustration is the G4 (group of 4), which includes the Human Rights Office, the San Carlos University, the Catholic Bishops Conference, and the Evangelical Alliance, and which comments on developments including “the legitimacy of the state.” The Catholic Church has played critical roles in history, notably in calling leaders to account as part of the 1996 Peace Accords and in reviewing human rights abuses. The Church counts many martyrs lost during the civil war.

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**Box 3.2. Atiteco Religion**

Atiteco beliefs are oriented to the Father/Mother, the original tree. This tree, if properly maintained, renews and regenerates the world. As “Flowering Mountain Earth,” it is given graphic representation in the main altar of Santiago Atitlan’s Catholic Church. This altar, constructed when the church was without a resident priest and under full cofradia control, is dominated by a mountain carved in wood. To either side of the mountain are carvings of cofradia members, complete with their staffs of office and shown ascending the mountain. Atop the mountain is a World Tree in the form of a sprouting maize plant. Atitecos believe that as long as the primal ancestral element, as “Flowering Mountain Earth,” is “fed,” it will continue to provide sustenance. In Atiteco religion, this “feeding” can be literal. For example, some Atitecos will have an actual hole on their land through which offerings are given to the ancestor. In the Tzutujil dialect, this hole is called r’muxux (umbilicus).
The Church in Guatemala is part of the global Roman Catholic Church, under spiritual leadership of the Pope, the Roman Curia, and the Guatemala Bishops’ Conference. Even with declines, at least 50 percent of the total population is Catholic. The Catholic Church has two archdioceses: the Archdiocese of Guatemala and the Archdiocese of Los Altos Quetzaltenango-Totonicapán. Each of these supervises five dioceses. Catholicism arrived in Guatemala with the Spanish settlers in the early sixteenth century and was for centuries the colony’s (and independent Guatemala’s) official religion. This was interrupted in 1871 with expulsion of the Church, but the position was largely restored in the 1930s. Traditional Catholic practices are often combined with some ancient Maya traditions.

The Church structure in Guatemala is quite classic, with the hierarchy of bishops and a Papal Nuncio. There are some 28 religious orders active in Guatemala. The Guatemalan Church is described as generally conservative (Opus Dei began in Guatemala in 1953), but also quite divided, with substantial parts of the Church (clergy and lay communities) deeply influenced by liberation theology. These divisions were sharp during the long civil war years, with conservative segments identifying with the elites and military (and, therefore, with the United States) while many working in indigenous communities took the part of the rebels. Catholic FIOs, notably Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and parts of Caritas Internationalis, have been active in Guatemala.

Starting around 1959, after Fidel Castro began the Cuban Revolution, the Vatican became increasingly aware of the number of Protestant missionaries traveling to Latin America. Catholic priests and missionaries from Europe came to Latin America to increase the number of priests and baptized Latinos. Responding to the rise of evangelical Christianity, “Charismatic Catholicism” came to influence parts of the Church. The number of Guatemalan priests increased, and the Church was revitalized.

Protestant Churches in Guatemala

For most of the twentieth century, from 1900 through the 1960s, at least 90 percent of Latin America’s population was Roman Catholic. This was even higher in Guatemala, where the Catholic population varied between 91 and 99 percent. Since their arrival in Guatemala in the late nineteenth century, Protestant churches invested significant efforts and resources in the establishment of schools, clinics, hospitals, and social missions. In the latter half of the twentieth century, Protestants began to get involved in community development projects (water, sanitation, microfinance, preventive health), albeit on a charity-based welfare model.

The first immigrant Anglicans arrived in Guatemala in 1830, only to be expelled in 1838. A second wave of Protestants arrived in the 1870s during the Liberal Revolution of President Justo Rufino Barrios. These were mainly German Lutherans seeking to insert themselves in the coffee industry. They did not seek to extend their religious influence over the local Guatemalan population.

Missionary Protestants arrived in Guatemala in the early twentieth century and divided the country into “zones of influence.” Presbyterians, for example, developed social service institutions, such as churches and hospitals, newspapers, credit unions, and anti-alcohol campaigns. Friends, Nazarenes, and Methodists emphasized the establishment of schools and hospitals. Each of these North American churches has an affiliate church in Guatemala today with thousands of followers; they continue to receive support from the North American churches.

In the first part of the twentieth century, relationships between Catholics and Protestants were minimal, in part due to the strong identification of Catholic churches with the conservative political sectors and the Protestants with the liberal sectors. Episcopalians from the United States arrived around 1965, and the Lutherans from the Missouri Synod in 1974. These are small churches that occasionally participated in ecumenical efforts. A small German-speaking Lutheran community is mainly a cultural institution that offers pastoral services to the German community in the country.

Mennonites arrived in 1971, organized by a North American missionary who rallied the support of several independent Pentecostal pastors, offering them institutional backing; Mennonites in Guatemala show strong charismatic characteristics. Some Mennonites have engaged in dialogue with Anabaptists, seeking to articulate a coherent practical theology linking their pacifism to Latin American realities.
Box 3.3. Protestant/Pentecostal Churches with Arrival Dates

- Immigration Protestant churches: Anglican (1830s) and Lutheran (1873) Churches
- Mission Protestant churches: Presbyterian Church (1882), Friends Church (Quakers) (1902), Nazarene Church (1904), Primitive Methodist Church (1921)
- Mission Pentecostal Churches: Church of God of Full Evangelism (1934), Assemblies of God (1936)
- National (autochthonous) Pentecostal Churches: Church of God of the Prophecy (1941), Church of the Prince of Peace (1955), Calvary Church (1962), Church of the Gate of Heaven (1963), Mt. Basam Church (1973), Elim Church (1976)

Source: Interview with Monica Ramirez.

The Central Mennonite Committee in the United States has engaged in substantial work related to development, technology, and conflict resolution.

Faith mission denominations emphasize a pre-millenarian, dispensationalist theology based out of the Dallas Theological Seminary in Texas. They engaged in an early power struggle along with Presbyterian and Central American missionaries. Faith Evangelical Mission churches did not enjoy job security and were dependent on the largesse of their peers in the United States; they considered Presbyterians as wealthy bureaucrats.

The Central American missionaries adopted a proselytizing framework from early on. During the 1940s and 1950s, thanks largely to their use of radio to train local leaders, they positioned themselves as arbiters of evangelical orthodoxy in Guatemala. To this day, they continue to play a decisive role in the shaping of an “evangelical culture” in the country. Their Central American Theological Seminary (SETECA) has developed significant theological reflection and has trained numerous leaders all the way up the post-graduate level. SETECA is currently independent of the Central American Church, and its instructors and members engage in ecumenical theological and cultural reflection. Both SETECA and the Central American Church continue to receive support from the U.S. churches.

Today the distinctions among traditions are complex with considerable overlaps, as well as shades, gradations, and tricky definitions (for example, the use of the term “evangelical” can cover all Protestants). Nevertheless, Guatemala stands out in several respects that can be seen in part as reflecting both religious fervor and dynamism. Some 72 percent of Guatemalan Protestants identify as Pentecostal, while 38 percent of Catholics identify as Charismatic. Among those considered Renewalist and non-Renewalist Christians, the percentage of the population that identifies as Renewalist is higher in Guatemala (60 percent) than in any other Latin American country.

The largest Protestant group is the Full Gospel Church, followed by the Assemblies of God, the Central American Church, and the Prince of Peace Church. Other Christian groups include Baptists, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), Episcopalians, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Russian Orthodox, and Seventh-day Adventists.

Mission Pentecostal churches emphasize public manifestations of the gifts of the spirit: glossolalia, divine healing, and prophesying; they have developed a pietistic, moving, and participatory liturgical practice. Since the 1920s they have offered an alternative to traditional churches, and from the beginning, poor Ladinos and indigenous people have been able to access a measure of leadership within the church. In many ways, they offer the historically relegated populations, especially women, an institutional religious space where the poor can practice with a more egalitarian space and address emotional and social needs. Many people in this type of Pentecostalism attribute their conversion to a healing or to freedom from alcoholism achieved through participation in the church.

These churches operate under a market-model that rewards the initiative of entrepreneurial church members and fosters a spirit of competition—rivalries among churches and individuals are commonplace. Among these, the Assemblies of God are currently the most numerous Protestant church in Latin America. Mission Pentecostal churches receive support from abroad to build churches and large-scale projects, but they are also able to self-finance many of their projects and day-to-day activities.
Box 3.4. Conflict and the 1996 Peace Accords: Religious Dimensions

“A country that professes to be 90 percent Christian should manifest fruits of justice and true peace.”

— Alvaro Ramazzini, Bishop of Huehuetenango

Bitter conflict in Guatemala lasted 36 years, from 1960 to 1996. Its end was marked by the signing of the 1996 Peace Accords, followed by efforts, that continue to this day, to hold those responsible to account and to address the root causes of conflict.

The conflict was not a religious conflict but religious actors were involved on all sides. Many factors contributed to the conflict. A central issue was the perceived geopolitical struggle against communism, which provided grounds for Roman Catholic hierarchy support (alongside U.S. government and other religious actors) for military and authoritarian governments. This perceived Manichean global struggle contributed to distorted visions that obscured the brutality of the conflict and its devastating impact on poor indigenous communities. Especially after Vatican II, factions of the Church supported the excluded Maya majority. Thousands of Catholics, including many priests and lay leaders, were killed during the conflict. Protestants were also targeted, though most Guatemalan Protestants were conservative evangelicals who claimed political neutrality. General Ríos Montt assumed power in a 1982 coup. A member of a wealthy neo-Pentecostal church, he had the support of the religious right, in Guatemala and beyond.

Catholic bishops quietly encouraged peace talks as the conflict persisted, publicly pressuring all parties to end the violence and to address political, social, and economic inequities. Certain Protestant leaders supported these efforts as individuals, although their denominations viewed such involvement with suspicion. International pressure broke the deadlock and created conditions for peace negotiations.

The Lutheran World Federation, working through back channels with the approval of the Catholic hierarchy, brought together military, government, and guerrilla leaders in Oslo, Norway, in 1990. A tough negotiation process followed that led to the signing of the “Firm and Lasting Peace” on December 29, 1996.

In parallel, Catholic bishops initiated the Recovery of the Historical Memory (REMHI) Project. This drew on the testimony of survivors who broke a long fear-induced silence, who exposed war crimes and identified perpetrators. In April 1998, Bishop Juan Gerardi presented “Guatemala: Nunca Más,” the four-volume report of The Guatemalan Catholic Church’s REMHI Project. Two days later, Bishop Gerardi was found beaten to death in the garage of his home.

A second truth commission, the UN-mandated Historical Clarification Commission (CEH), published its findings in 1999. Its report “Guatemala: Memory of Silence,” documented the government’s campaign of genocide under Generals Lucas García and Ríos Montt. The CEH attributed 93 percent of the atrocities and 626 massacres to government forces, while only 3 percent of the atrocities were attributable to the guerrillas. Out of 200,000 documented victims, the CEH report found that 83 percent were indigenous.

Maya female leaders have played especially important roles in the long process of accountability, among them Rigoberta Menchú and Rosalina Tuyuc Velasquez.a


“Young women say they don’t have any role models, so one of the things I had been focusing on was trying to make female role models more visible.”

— Rachael Shenyo, USAID Western Highlands Integrated Program Coordinator in Guatemala
Autochthonous churches emerge out of the fissures and conflicts of traditional Mission and Faith Pentecostal churches. They represent the clearest tendency toward Pentecostalism in Latin America. They emphasize a “lived” and “practical” faith, and they have historically questioned the legitimacy of formal theological training. Further, they claim that academic theological reflection may hinder spiritual inspiration. The Calvary Church has been the birthplace of a variety of “exotic” divine spiritual gifts, such as exorcism. Young people from these congregations have become televangelists and neo-Pentecostals. They have also adopted a dispensationalist framework and engaged in a sensationalist, eschatological interpretation of the scriptures. Since the 1950s, through the campaigns of T. L. Osborn, Pentecostal churches began to include massive religious spectacles in their services, which become even more prevalent with the popular campaigns of Billy Graham in the United States.

Diverse “new religious movements” emerged in Guatemala with the rise of American televangelists, such as Jimmy

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**Box 3.5. Addressing Mining Issues**

Catholic church leaders alongside indigenous communities have played central roles in a complex series of disputes about proposed and ongoing mining ventures and hydroelectric projects in Guatemala. These mining ventures involve the rights of indigenous communities, conflicts over land, and environmental issues, such as water contamination.

Guatemala was mostly ignored by foreign mining firms due to the armed conflicts until the Mining Law in 1997, which set favorable terms for new mining activities. Promises made in the 1985 Constitution and the 1996 Peace Accords to protect indigenous land rights have not translated into enforceable legislation. The Ministry of Energy and Mining and mining companies work together to publicize “benefits” of mines: jobs and development. Concessions agreed to without proper consultation and weak oversight of execution by the government are the central issues. The Maya rights movement, however, is weak internally (split between factions) and constantly rebuffed by conservative elites that fear land and other reforms.

The Marlin gold mine in San Marcos (owned by Goldcorp, Inc., of Canada and operated by Montana Exploradora de Guatemala S.A.) is one example of conflict. Its direct effects on livelihoods through decreased access and control over land for indigenous communities near mines has generated protracted conflicts. One community, Sipacapa, brought the case before the Organization of American States (OAS) Inter-American Commission on Human Rights because the Guatemalan government did not consult with them before issuing permits to the mining company, as required by Guatemalan law. Collective land rights, that require discussion with community leaders, were ignored. In 2004, the Archbishop of Guatemala, Cardinal Rodolfo Quezada Toruño, confronted President Berger about the government’s failure to mention the negative social impact of mining. The First National Mining Forum in 2004 included representatives from the Catholic Church and government, but not civil society or communities. Civil society groups thus led the Alternative Forum of Resistance against Mining. Violence in 2005 during indigenous protests reflected the government’s inability to negotiate. They chose force over diplomacy and companies over citizens. This led to formation of the High Commission on Mining (CAN) with Bishop Ramazzini as president. The community held its own public consultation, rejecting the mine in 2004. The consultation was deemed legitimate but not legally binding by the Constitutional Court. Other municipalities around Guatemala have followed this example. The communities have rejected the idea of development put forth by the mining companies and are promoting alternative development focused on strengthening the agricultural sector. Community development councils (COCODES), together with parochial church committees, were instrumental in organizing the community consultations that almost unanimously rejected mining. Many grassroots associations have sprung up out of this coordination. The Bishops of San Marcos and Huehuetenango have joined civil society organizations in writing to mining companies to request better environmental practices.

Various organizations receive support in their activities (for example from American Jewish World Service).

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“We learned about the plans for new mines too late, after all the authorizations had been given by the government. We began then to discuss with the people about the benefits and dangers of the extractive industries. We were a strong voice of opposition, and I personally have never agreed with the idea that extractive industries could lift us out of poverty. We have a mining law in Guatemala that is very favorable to transnational companies; they leave almost nothing for us in the country. They hurt the environment, although now there is more corporate social responsibility on the part of one of the mining companies. But we have not been able to bring about any changes in the law, despite efforts to change it. Congress did not work with us, though we worked for many years on political, religious, and social training.”

-Alvaro Ramazzini, Bishop of Huehuetenango

Swaggart and Pat Robertson in the 1970s and with the arrival of the Church of the Word after the 1976 earthquake. They are mainly an urban phenomenon. To traditional Pentecostalism, they add the gospel of prosperity and new spiritual gifts such as exorcism and the dance of the spirit, and they are adept at deploying new media.

In the 1970s, some upper-middle class social sectors, feeling betrayed by the adoption of the “preferential option for the poor” by some sectors of the Catholic Church, found a new way to understand their privileged position within Christian faith through the gospel of prosperity, the spectacles, and religious services in luxury hotels. The prosperity gospel is also an attractive option for the poor, offering a way to invest in discipline and self-esteem.

Another theological strand is that of the Theology of Dominium, developed in the United States. One promoter claimed that extra-judicial killings by the government were a form of divine mission to cleanse Guatemalan society. “Like millennialism in any time and place, dominion theology gives believers a place in the divine plan, a sense of themselves as actors, of being someone who can make a difference, and it positions them for social and political action in the cosmic drama.” During the conflict when tensions divided the Catholic Church, as well as Protestants, some feared that the tensions might even escalate into a religious war.

Since the 1990s, these churches have been heavily influenced by Brazilian churches, in particular the Pare de Sufrir (Stop Suffering) and Jesus es Amor (Jesus is Love) churches. They tend to create a “religious supermarket” as a space to trade in symbolic religious goods. Some of these churches develop work through a franchise expansion model whereby affiliated churches are encouraged to provide commercial advantages in the provision of services (for example, health and education) to church members.

The rise of neo-Pentecostalism signals the loss of cultural ascendancy by traditional Protestant and Catholic churches. It also signals the rise of a culture of individualism and segmentation in a globalized church, according to experts who argue that individuals in Guatemala now practice spirituality à la carte.

Box 3.6. Churches and Higher Education

Religious institutions play prominent roles especially in higher education. Four of five universities in Guatemala are private. Two, the Universidad Rafael Landivar and the University of Francis Marroquin, are Catholic (Universidad Rafael Landivar is a Jesuit university). The Universidad del Valle de Guatemala focuses especially on the Maya communities that were long excluded from higher education. The University of Mariano Galvez is a Protestant church-governed institution and the University of Galileo, Guatemala’s youngest university, was established by the Universidad de Francis Marroquin. These institutions offer a variety of degree and certificate programs in all areas of study, including arts and letters, business, medicine, law, engineering, and agriculture.
This chapter reviews the development work of a range of faith-inspired organizations working in Guatemala. Many of these are transnational entities or have strong international links, though there are also noteworthy Guatemalan-founded and -led institutions. Catholic- and Protestant-linked groups, in particular, dedicate substantial effort toward development in a variety of program areas. These range from health, education, and women’s empowerment (classic development work) to gang exit, citizen security, and immigrant justice.

This chapter reviews FIO programs, drawing both on published materials and on interviews. The vignettes are biased toward larger, established institutions where information is readily available. The emerging picture is of diverse activities—some responding to specific local problems, others driven by broad development goals—of the government and its partners. In some instances, successful programs elsewhere are replicated or adapted to Guatemalan conditions (the link between the Brazilian Pastoral da Crianza and the Guatemalan Pastoral de la Primera Infancia, Box 4.1, is an example). International development partners (USAID and Caritas Internationalis, for example) support FIO work in many instances, either in full partnership or on a more contractual basis. In some areas, the larger institutions are part of government-led sector policy.

“I often say, joking but not really joking, that the biggest curse for a poor country is to be located near the United States. The closer they are the easier it is for well-meaning people to get to a poor country, and the worse off the country will be. The short-term good links to more damage in the long term because the visitors support the structures there that keep things the way they are. The reality is that doing good has to have far more than good intentions and a short-time horizon.”

— Dr. Michael Soderling
Pastoral de la Primera Infancia (Pastoral Care of Early Childhood, PPI) was inspired by the remarkable 30-plus-year-old Brazilian program, Pastoral da Criança (Pastoral Care of Children), a nationwide program that focuses on pregnant mothers and children. Working with the Catholic Church and with the Brazilian government, Pastoral da Criança mobilizes volunteers and has achieved demonstrable and sustained health improvements across Brazil.

The Guatemalan PPI program was launched in 2005 in San Marcos, by a Catholic sister, and has spread to cover seven dioceses in 12 of Guatemala’s 22 departments. With almost 800 trained and committed staff, the program benefits 6,700 children each month, and 5000 families. It works under the umbrella of the Catholic Church and partners with the Guatemalan government on various programs.

The PPI program focuses on poorer communities, concentrating on the period from a child’s conception until he or she is six years old. Its leaders highlight that the program is inspired by the Catholic Church mission to care for life and to support safe environments and conditions for the poorest families. PPI works to reduce the burden of disease and death at the family and community levels.

PPI has recently expanded its services with free radio and TV spots from the Guatemalan media to promote La Ventana de los Mil Días (the thousand day window), and thus specifically, its nutrition initiative. Those who do not speak Spanish and who live in marginalized rural communities, however, do not benefit, and often need this assistance most. PPI uses interpersonal relationships and the people’s trust in the Catholic Church to reach groups through programming that promote healthy behaviors.

PPI’s ambitious goals include strengthening the community’s social fabric, improving public policies on health, education, and food security, decreasing domestic violence, increasing individuals’ awareness of their civic responsibilities, and raising awareness of gender and youth rights.

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Box 4.1. Pastoral de la Primera Infancia

Pastoral de la Primera Infancia (Pastoral Care of Early Childhood, PPI) was inspired by the remarkable 30-plus-year-old Brazilian program, Pastoral da Criança (Pastoral Care of Children), a nationwide program that focuses on pregnant mothers and children. Working with the Catholic Church and with the Brazilian government, Pastoral da Criança mobilizes volunteers and has achieved demonstrable and sustained health improvements across Brazil.

The Guatemalan PPI program was launched in 2005 in San Marcos, by a Catholic sister, and has spread to cover seven dioceses in 12 of Guatemala’s 22 departments. With almost 800 trained and committed staff, the program benefits 6,700 children each month, and 5000 families. It works under the umbrella of the Catholic Church and partners with the Guatemalan government on various programs.

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groups, but often the initiatives appear to be born and function quite separately and independently from national development policy processes. There are areas of clear convergence of views and a common effort to bridge the gulfs affecting, especially, indigenous communities. There are also areas of disagreement, with approaches to family planning a notable example. Of special interest in the light of geopolitical events, as well as global goals to address those left behind, are innovative efforts to address both pressures to migrate from Guatemala (including gang-related factors) and support to migrants at every stage of their paths.

Short-term missions (many, if not most, religiously inspired) sometimes form part of the work of established institutions, religious or secular, but there are also many church-to-church links that have a disparate and independent character. The transient nature of these development efforts as well as a chronic lack of self-evaluation makes an accurate assessment of their impact or even their distribution especially difficult.78

PROFILES OF RELIGIOUSLY LINKED ORGANIZATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT ROLES

(a) Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA)
The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Guatemala supports communities through various initiatives. Together with ADRA, the church helps those affected by disasters and earthquakes. The church in Guatemala operates seven regional offices, 867 churches and congregations, and 25 schools.79

ADRA is seen by the Adventist Church “as a way to follow Christ’s example of serving and caring for those in need.” It “searches out deprivation, social injustice, and need—then works to eliminate them.”80 ADRA’s mission worldwide is to work with people in poverty and distress to create just and positive change through empowering partnerships and responsible action. ADRA aspires to be a professional, learning, and efficient network that embodies integrity and transparency through collaboration with communities, organizations, and governments worldwide. ADRA’s core sectors are:

- Health
- Food Security
- Economic Growth
- Emergency Management
- Education

Integrated approaches include community mobilization and engagement, capacity building and training, and gender equality. ADRA focuses on long-term results and sustainability: Its programs in some areas have lasted for more than 30 years. Two special programs in Guatemala are World Water Day and the HIV/AIDS crisis response. ADRA provided relief and humanitarian aid during the 2008 landslides, the 2009 drought, floods, and the 2011 tropical depression. ADRA spent US$20,000 on emergency relief in Guatemala in 2008; in 2011, ADRA spent over US$8 million on projects in South America.

(b) American Jewish World Services (AJWS)
AJWS has worked in Guatemala since 2004, focusing (in keeping with its worldwide focus) on grassroots organizations. Inspired by the Jewish commitment to justice, AJWS supports organizations working to overcome poverty and oppression. AJWS addresses issues associated with social justice, for example in promoting collective land rights of indigenous and Afro-descendant communities; confronting internal displacement and environmental degradation due to megaprojects; and protecting and promoting the work of human rights defenders. AJWS partners work to increase political participation and amplify the voices of historically marginalized communities, including indigenous populations, women, youth, and LGBT people. AJWS promotes the freedom from discrimination, stigmatization, and violence, as well as access to safe health services for women, girls, LGBT people, and sex workers.
AJWS gives grants to small, grassroots organizations rooted in communities that work to empower local people to identify their most critical concerns and take action to address injustice. It also supports groups that organize broader movements for social change, influencing governments and policymakers to respect and promote human rights.

Current grants serve indigenous peoples, women, human rights defenders, farmers, fisherman, and youth. AJWS has invested over US$3 million in Guatemala over the past 10 years. The following are examples of the work of AJWS partners:

Asociación de Mujeres Campesinas Q’eqchíes Nuevo Horizonte (Nuevo Horizonte): This project advances political participation of Q’eqchí women. Through the advocacy work of Nuevo Horizonte and its allies, the state of Alta Verapaz has established an office focused on reducing gender-based violence and addressing issues that disproportionately harm women and girls. They work to establish education programs around access to inclusive and culturally competent sexual health and reproductive rights.

Asociación para el Desarrollo Integral Unima’l Ranim’a Ixo’q (Grandeza Corazón de Mujer) (ADIURI): ADIURI works to defend indigenous women’s freedom from discrimination, violence, poverty, and illiteracy by providing education on economic alternatives and by conducting media awareness-raising campaigns to prevent violence against women.

Coordinadora Departamental de Comadronas Tradicionales de Quetzaltenango (CODECOT): CODECOT increases the political participation of traditional indigenous midwives through programs to strengthen their ability to advocate for indigenous women’s sexual health agendas with municipal governments.

Frente Petenero Contra Represas (FPCR): Working to organize the community around hydroelectric dams, FPCR promotes the territorial rights of indigenous populations through education, awareness-raising, joint advocacy actions, and developing and implementing a safety and security plan.

Red de Jóvenes para la Incidencia Política (IncideJóven): IncideJóven works to strengthen and increase youth participation in designing and monitoring sexual health rights policies. They design education programs and advocate for the provision of sexual and reproductive health education.

Asociación para el Desarrollo Integral de San Miguel (ADISMI): This association focuses on women’s leadership in the Solola region. It defends land rights of indigenous communities and holds corporations accountable for environmental damage they have caused. In 2011, ADISMI organized a peaceful protest to draw public attention to a mining company’s misdeeds; The corporation was operating illegally on indigenous land after the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights ordered the suspension of all mining in the area. In 2012, ADISMI joined with other grassroots organizations to launch the Peoples’ International Health Tribunal, which brought together community members, researchers, journalists, and human rights advocates. Together, they documented the negative impact of a Canadian mining operation in San Miguel Ixtahuacán.

(c) Buckner Guatemala®

Buckner Guatemala is a faith-inspired NGO focused on vulnerable children. Buckner arrived in Guatemala in 2002, and mission trip work began in early 2003. The NGO was formed in 2005. Buckner Guatemala provides a range of services to orphans and vulnerable children. A central objective is to offer refuge for vulnerable children. It provides training in the areas of foster care, preventative healthcare, child care, residential care, and social services. Working with the Guatemalan government, Buckner identifies children who are eligible for placement in one of their three foster group homes. One home is for boys and two for girls, ages 12 to 17. Children live in the homes until they can be reunited with their family, or until they turn 18. Children live in a family environment, attending school and receiving tutoring, counseling, life skills training, spiritual development, medical care, and the love and support of live-in house parents.

The organization also provides scholarships and support for foster group home graduates who seek to continue their education at universities and vocational training schools. It manages a foster care program that places children who cannot live with their parents in temporary homes. Buckner Guatemala was chosen by the government to pilot the official foster care program. Buckner Guatemala works directly with Guatemala’s Child Protective Services to identify and train in-country foster families. Two Family Hope Centers focus on improving the lives of individuals and families in communities of extreme poverty. They provide a holistic ministry approach by offering a range of services, including family intervention, case management, medical and dental services, family and life education, evangelical ministry, mentoring, and vocational training. Family Hope Centers are located in Jocotengo and San José Pinula.
Buckner provides some humanitarian aid. It advocates for victims of abuse and sexual trafficking through a dedicated center (working with the International Justice Mission, IJM). It liaises with the social work component, which entails an integrated continuum of child welfare through intake work, that is, the initial investigation; counseling; working with the biological families; and placement of the child. The center is centrally located to make it easy for families to get there. Also in collaboration with IJM, Buckner runs an assessment center program designed to care for girls between the ages of 12 and 18 who cannot live at home because they are at risk for abuse and human trafficking. The girls remain at the center for three to six months before being transitioned into foster care, kinship care, or back to their homes through family intervention programs. The center assesses the girls’ cognitive, psychological, and social functioning and provides crisis intervention services.

**d) Caritas**

Caritas Guatemala was established in 1962 as part of Caritas Internationalis, closely tied to the Catholic Church. The Guatemala entity forms part of the Caritas CAMPEXA zone (Central America, Mexico, and Panama). Caritas Guatemala serves the 14 Catholic dioceses, which include parishes, archdioceses, and a prelature. Caritas began in Guatemala primarily as a food program together with Catholic Relief Services (CRS), and this continued through the 1970s. However, the Episcopal Conference of Guatemala decided to expand Caritas operations, notably as various crises, including Hurricane Mitch in 1998, demanded response. Caritas has focused increasingly on emergency relief, home construction, delivery of basic foodstuffs, and environmental protection. The call of Caritas Guatemala is “To God, for love of your neighbor.”

Caritas Guatemala’s national strategic plan is based on an analysis of Guatemala’s political, social, economic, cultural, and religious aspects. It focuses on the poorest in society and on national emergencies. Caritas Guatemala collaborates with various churches and national and international groups, including CRS. Five thematic and three cross-cutting issues are defined. The thematic issues include: justice, peace, and reconciliation; migration and human trafficking; the environment, risk management, and emergencies; integral human development and solidarity; and institutional capacity building. The cross-cutting issues are: gender, communication and civic participation, and political advocacy.

**e) Caroline’s Promise**

Caroline’s Promise began in 2010 through a partnership with the Iglesia Adonai church in Guatemala City, Guatemala. The pastors of the church, Carlos and Delmi Rivas, also created a private Christian school called Casita Adonai. Caroline’s Promise focuses on various areas: child sponsorship, short-term mission trips, job skills and training, and discipleship and training of local leaders. Through a child sponsorship program, it offers tuition assistance for children attending its schools, still requiring parents to pay a portion of the fees. Besides the sponsorship program, the organization holds job skills and training sessions, organizes mission trips, and runs discipleship and trainings of local leaders.

Annual revenue in 2015 was of US$298,695 (US$297,845 coming from cash donations) with total expenses coming to US$303,434.

Caroline’s Promise organizes a US$35 a month child sponsorship program and a US$10 a month teacher’s salary program in Guatemala City. The child program provides an education, food, and uniform for the child. The teacher program goes toward the teacher’s salary. Another sponsorship program (Threads of Promise Sewing Ministry) requests US$125 to purchase a sewing machine that is given to women along with a Bible so they can start their own sewing business.

**f) Catholic Relief Services (CRS)**

CRS has worked in Guatemala since 1963. CRS began in Guatemala with humanitarian relief programs focused on reducing poverty and raising the standards of living for the poor. CRS’ reach has expanded to include a variety of programs centered on food security, nutrition and health, sustainable agriculture, education, civil society, disaster risk reduction, and emergency response. CRS Guatemala is responsible for CRS work in Mexico. Current partners include Pastoral Social/Caritas San Marcos, Asociación Proyecto Conrado de la Cruz (APCC), and Casa del Migrante.

CRS is motivated by a deep commitment to Catholic social teaching as well as the impetus to live out their faith by assisting those in need around the world. Its global mission statement is: “We are motivated by the Gospel of Jesus Christ to cherish, preserve and uphold the sacredness and dignity of all human life, foster charity and justice, and embody Catholic social and moral teaching as we act to: Promote human development by responding to major emergencies, fighting disease and poverty, and nurturing peaceful and just societies.”

CRS’ areas of focus include:

- Agriculture
- Civil Society and Governance
- Education
- Disaster Response
- Health
- HIV and AIDS
- Microfinance
“Our guiding principles, based on Catholic social teaching, are very important to us. For example, one of our principles is an option for the poor, or in other words the preference to target the most vulnerable population in any intervention. Another example is subsidiarity: if someone is capable at the community level of implementing a project, we certainly don't want to come in and do that job. Our mission, strategic planning, and program designs are very closely tied to these principles. We try to regularly reflect on these principles and ensure that we are headed in the right direction.”

– John Briggs, Catholic Relief Services

**Diversified Livelihoods for Small-Scale Coffee Farm Families Project:** This project helps 500 coffee-producing families in the departments of Chiquimula and Zacapa to increase and diversify their household incomes and assets. Promotion of new income-generating activities shields families from the volatility of coffee prices. Activities include coffee-based agroforestry systems, honey production, the integration of horticultural crops, and the creation of savings groups. The aim is to improve families’ livelihoods and diets while providing them with a safety net.

**Green Coffee Project:** This project focuses on 700 small-scale coffee farmers affected by coffee rust (roya) in the department of San Marcos to improve their production in an economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable manner. Farmers receive technical assistance and training on good agricultural practices. Other activities include level soil sampling, establishment of organic fertilizer production centers and input banks, provision of agricultural inputs using a revolving fund, market feasibility studies for potential diversification crops, creation of savings and lending groups, and assistance in developing coffee community early warning systems.

**Human Rights Without Borders Project:** Migrants passing through Guatemala on their way north face dangers such as assault, rape, exploitation, kidnapping, and abuse by authorities, smugglers, and drug cartels. CRS supports the work of the Casa del Migrante, located in the border town of Tecún Umán, Guatemala, which educates migrants about their rights, responsibilities, and the risks associated with their journey. They advise on possible consequences of traveling to the United States without legal documents. Casa del Migrante provides humanitarian assistance, legal support, and psychosocial support to people who have been deported from Mexico on their path to the United States and, when necessary, helps them return home. In 2013, CRS helped provide lodging, food, clothing, footwear, medical assistance, and moral support to 5,480 migrants.

**Learning for Life Project:** CRS and its partners work to improve literacy of first through sixth graders through the Kemon Ch’ab’al reading program and provision of daily school meals in 225 schools in the department of Totonicapán. Complementary activities include teacher training, basic school repairs, creation of parent teacher associations, and networks to advocate for school improvement and an after-school program to reinforce literacy and increase children’s self-esteem and creativity through a fun learning environment.

**Safer Neighborhoods:** With support from USAID’s Office for Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA), Safer Neighborhoods has distributed structural shelter-hazard mitigation packages to 608 at-risk households to implement mitigation measures such as roof and wall reinforcements, gutters, and waterproof coating to minimize the risk from future natural disasters. The project works with community and municipal leaders and neighborhood youth to prioritize, design, and construct public mitigation works in participating neighborhoods to increase access to potable water and waste-water systems, and to reduce the risk of future flooding in at-risk neighborhoods. The project created and trained COLREDs (local teams for disaster reduction), youth leaders, and residents to conduct needs assessments and risk mapping and develop disaster preparedness and emergency plans. The project helps neighbors conduct cleanup and debris removal activities on a regular basis.

CRS, in collaboration with the San Marcos Social Pastorate, addresses response capacity and reduces vulnerability to earthquakes and landslides in at-risk communities in three municipalities of San Marcos. Empowering communities to respond immediately and effectively to disasters is a core objective. That includes training and raising awareness among local professionals on practical ways to reduce vulnerability to disasters and advocacy/lobbying with governmental bodies on ways to promote responses that make communities less vulnerable and that strengthen local response capacities.

**Food Security (Title II) Program Focused on the First 1,000 Days (SEGAMIL):** CRS and its partners work with 10,500 farming households annually to enhance their access to food. It also works to reduce chronic malnutrition in children under age five, and to strengthen resilience systems in 357 communities in the departments of San Marcos and Totonicapán. Using
the Farmer Field School methodology, the program trains families to improve their agriculture and livestock production, as well as post-harvest management, while bringing them into competitive markets. Trained community volunteers educate mothers and caregivers about better household nutrition and health and hygiene practices based on the Community Integrated Management of Childhood Illnesses strategy. The program supports the drafting of community development plans and implementation of early warning systems.

**HIV/AIDS:** CRS’ HIV programming aims to reduce HIV transmission and help people living with HIV live in dignity, free of stigma and discrimination. The project focuses on HIV prevention education, empowerment of people living with HIV, and strengthening church organizations to work actively in the area of HIV. All HIV projects are implemented with the approval of the Guatemalan Episcopal Conference. Projects are located mainly in the dioceses of Escuintla, Izabal, and San Marcos, though CRS provides assistance on HIV issues to all 14 dioceses as needed and as part of its support to the Guatemalan Episcopal Conference HIV Sub-Commission of the National Health Commission.

**Savings and Internal Lending Communities (SILC) Groups:** CRS Guatemala transitioned (from 2009) from a microfinance approach to a savings-led methodology. It helped create more than 250 savings groups by 2013 to provide underprivileged families that lacked access to financial services the opportunity to save as a group, obtain loans, and create an emergency fund. These self-managed groups of 15 to 20 people are formed based on the principles of transparency, trust, and accountability. Beyond building the financial capital of marginalized families, it has led to positive changes in the area of community cohesion and development.

(g) **The Protestant Center for Pastoral Studies in Central America (CEDEPA)**
Formed following reflections among leaders of Evangelism in Depth and students from the Latin American Biblical Seminary, CEDAPA was created in 1985 under the leadership of Orlando Costas. The organization outlines four prominent focal points.87

1. Biblical and Theological Education
2. Women’s Ministry
3. Disaster Ministry
4. Intercultural Encounters

“Our food security program takes an integral approach to the issue of food security that includes working with families to improve their health access and knowledge. There’s a tremendous amount of malnutrition in the country, particularly in rural or indigenous communities. We are working with those communities, in the western highlands specifically, to create a package of services and approaches that lead to reducing malnutrition.”

— John Briggs, Catholic Relief Services
CEDEPCA’s mission as an educational institution is to “provide training and accompaniment, and [offer] spaces for reflection to women and men from diverse Christian traditions, communities, and contexts.”

Program highlights are as follows:

The Biblical, Theological, and Pastoral Training Program. CEDEPCA works with the Costa Rican school Universidad Bíblica Latinamaricana (UBL), offering an education program at three levels: congregational studies, pastoral institute, and university studies.

The Women’s Pastoral Program promotes the dignity and self-esteem of women and works to eliminate violence against women and children. It provides training sessions on women’s leadership both at church and in the community.

Disaster Ministry Program trains members of high-risk communities to prevent, reduce, and respond to damage caused by disasters. The program specializes in psychosocial relief in disasters as well as risk management.

Intercultural Encounters Program utilizes immersion experiences and work projects to bring people from northern countries together with local Guatemalans. The program also organizes conversations with representatives from an array of economic, social, political, and religious communities.

(h) Ecumenical Center for Pastoral Integration (CEIPA)

Various local organizations have emerged with a focus on specific topics, growing from local experience. An example is CEIPA, founded in 1989 as an outreach program of St. Mark’s Episcopal (Anglican) Church, in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala. It focuses on children, especially in southwest Guatemala, and is inspired by Christian and human rights values and principles and by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

A couple (the Reverend Ricardo García and his wife, Linda Ferris) founded and direct the center.

CEIPA today supports and protects children, especially those who work in Quetzaltenango’s local markets. It lobbies at local and national levels for children’s rights and pursues the active civic participation of children through the creation of local child-led commissions that work alongside the municipality on child-related issues. CEIPA provides education, vocational training, and protection for child and adolescent laborers in 19 municipalities. The center’s philosophy and approach are infused with a commitment to participatory processes that involve children and young people in the conduct of local government. Focal areas include violence and poverty, which are widespread in the communities where CEIPA works.

The original impetus for CEIPA was a University of San Carlos in Quetzaltenango investigation into child labor. Originally through the Anglican Church where Rev. García worked, the problem of child workers emerged as a central issue that made children most vulnerable. The decision was made to establish an independent organization, with the direct involvement of church members and support from the U.S. Episcopal Church. Support also came from several countries, including Germany, Sweden, Italy, and England.

CEIPA’s governing body is a general assembly made up of various professionals (social workers, lawyers), parents, and representatives of young people. Many have church affiliations but participate independently. A goal has been to create a dynamic of political influence so that the authorities assume their responsibilities and work to create public policy that favors children. This leads to a continuing focus on citizen participation, from childhood through young adulthood. It is in practice the young people who offer proposals and opinions. CEIPA has supported the progressive development of legislation to protect child rights and efforts to increase citizen awareness of them.

CEIPA has developed a methodology as it works at the municipal level. The first step of the methodology is coming together with the authorities in order to reach formal agreements that allow influence in certain processes within their municipality; for example, organizing committees, promoting formulation of public policy, and promoting processes to train children from that municipality. There is a specific methodology for elections for child and adolescent municipal boards where students from educational establishments participate in order to choose their own representatives. CEIPA has a training school in human rights and citizen participation for children, adolescents, and youth. CEIPA runs an alternative elementary school so that young people can finish at least the basic level. Together with a technical training institute, they are adapting their curriculum to the CNB (Base National Curriculum).

“Here in Guatemala there is a lot of talk of the American Dream, as many Guatemalans seek to migrate north. We emphasize that we must talk about the Guatemalan Dream, that here we can also enjoy our surroundings, perhaps not in the same economic conditions but at least we don’t have to go through all the risks that migrants go through.”

– Rev. Ricardo García, CEIPA
Violence is a central issue. CEIPA works to address the many forms of violence and insecurity that affect children: violence within the home and insecurity in the streets (crime and maras [gangs]). Young people also identify with community environment issues: contamination and trash. An emerging issue is lack of access to vocational education. The majority of working children and adolescents work in the informal economic sector selling lots of things, picking materials out of the trash, and breaking stone; some others are in repair shops, and many girls are in houses working as maids. Many still work in agriculture.

CEIPA works with parents on childrearing techniques to prevent the use of violence (which is very prevalent in Guatemala) when raising children. Many parents were raised with high levels of violence. Training also covers various areas like cooking, confectionary, sewing, printing, baking, carpentry, smithery, etc. There is an institutional effort for legal and psychosocial accompaniment dealing with cases of abuse, rape, and other legal problems. Sexual violence is common but generally hidden.

(i) Christian Aid

Christian Aid (a U.K.-based organization) works in line with the belief that “human action is responsible for the underlying causes of poverty and inequality, and that when people work together, the world can be changed.” This thinking has framed its global strategy, Partnership for Change, which covers the years 2013 to 2018. Christian Aid identified five areas on which to focus its work:

1. Power to change institutions
2. The right to essential services
3. Fair shares in a constrained world
4. Equality for all
5. Tackling violence and building peace

Christian Aid was the first international NGO in Guatemala to advocate for tax justice. With its partner Institute for Fiscal Studies in Central America (ICEFI), Christian Aid helped to secure approval of progressive tax reform by the Guatemalan parliament in 2012. Christian Aid has focused on a) securing livelihoods through disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation, b) economic justice, especially tax justice, and c) accountable governance with an emphasis on citizen participation and human rights. Christian Aid spent £247,000 in the 2014-2015 fiscal year on projects in Guatemala.

Christian Aid’s partners in Guatemala include Dispensario Betania, Colectiva para la defensa de los Derechos de las Mujeres en Guatemala (CODEFEM), Asociación Civil Caja Lúdica, Colectivo Madre Selva, Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales (ICEFI), Coordinación de ONG y Cooperativas (CONGOOP), and Centro Internacional para Investigaciones en Derechos Humanos (CIIDH). These organizations work primarily in the eastern highlands and Guatemala City on a wide range of projects:

- Bethania works with Chortí people in the eastern highlands, where it runs a community health center with a specialized infant malnutrition clinic.
- CODEFEM focuses on income generation, violence against women, and women’s participation in state and community power structures.
- Caja Lúdica is a youth arts collective using arts and carnival activities to promote a culture of peace in communities affected by violence. It aims to help marginalized young people discover a sense of purpose and self-esteem.
- CONGOOP is dedicated to local- and national-level advocacy. It works on a broad range of public policy areas related to development, equality, and justice.
- ICEFI believes that better taxation can be one solution to the problem of inequality. Its research, advocacy, and lobbying work shows how a more progressive tax system in Guatemala and greater transparency in the international financial system could tackle poverty. ICEFI was a key advocate for progressive tax reform approved by the Guatemalan parliament in 2012. Similar work is now being developed in Nicaragua and El Salvador, learning from the Guatemalan experience.
• CIIDH, International Centre for Human Rights Research, defends and promotes human rights. CIIDH works on truth and justice, fiscal responsibility, and advocacy.

• Madre Selva is an ecological collective dedicated to defending natural resources and preserving the ecological balance, as many impoverished and indigenous communities are affected by the rapid deterioration of the natural environment.

(j) Church World Service (CWS)

CWS began its work in Latin America during the 1950s and has had active programs since then. In Guatemala, CWS focuses primarily on food and nutrition programs. It supports greenhouse-based food production, crop diversification, and livelihoods with programs that emphasize indigenous women’s empowerment and organizing.92 The CWS Food Security and Nutrition Program takes a holistic approach to families and communities. It addresses malnutrition and lack of access to sustainable food and water resources by working with communities to create lasting solutions. Participation and community ownership are central principles. Training is offered to communities on soil conservation, organic compost materials, seed banks, and sustainable agriculture. CWS works with local organizations (SSID, AMC, CIEETS, CASM, and CIEDEG among them) in program implementation.

Through the Western Guatemala Food Security Program, CWS also focuses on developing food security and nutrition plans, providing ongoing technical assistance for food production, processing, and marketing; workshops for farming techniques and innovative technology; dissemination of low-cost water-catchment systems; community meetings for planning, joint reflection, and participatory evaluation; indigenous-to-indigenous exchanges among communities; and joint marketing activities. The project focuses on Quetzaltenango, Totonicapan, and Quiche, Guatemala.93 A “growing healthier” regional program involves similar programs in Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala.

(l) Compassion International (CI)

CI, a U.S.-based organization, began its ministry work in Guatemala in 1976 as a family help program operated by missionaries. Its child sponsorship program (the core of its approach) started in 1980. A leadership development program began in 1997, followed by the child survival program in January 2014.

Guatemala was the first country in Central America for CI, and its field office also covered El Salvador and Honduras in the initial period. Today, there is a main office in Guatemala City and two satellite offices in Quetzaltenango and Cobán, Alta Verapaz. More than 46,000 children participate in 190 child development centers. CI partners with churches around the country to help them provide Guatemalan children with the opportunity to rise above their circumstances and “become all God has created them to be.”94

CI’s approach is based on its Christian Child Development Model, which begins, in many cases, with prenatal care and goes all the way to leadership development for young adults. Its mission statement makes clear the links to evangelical Christian teachings and guides its work: “In response to the Great Commission, Compassion International exists as an advocate for children, to release them from their spiritual, economic, social and physical poverty and enable them to become responsible and fulfilled Christian adults.”95

CI’s three primary areas of focus are: child sponsorship, child survival, and leadership development. The child sponsorship program separates children into two age groups, 11 and younger and children over 11, with targeted programs at child development centers. Children are provided with a nutritious snack or a special meal for a celebration. Youth are involved in activities such as community service, organization of children’s activities for leadership development, tutoring, and vocational training. There are regular parent meetings to discuss each child’s progress. Parents are also invited to discussions on issues that strengthen local management capabilities for sustainable agriculture, micro-watershed management, and risk management. It provides technical, supportive, and spiritual guidance to the most vulnerable from a biblical perspective, thus working “to spread and live out the values of the Kingdom of God.” Specifically, it seeks to influence local and national authorities about water and the environment; empower women, children, and indigenous peoples by giving them access of basic resources; and strengthen the agricultural processes based on food sovereignty. Its annual budget is US$250,000. Current programs address sustainable agriculture, theological reflection, program risk management, emergency care, and housing construction.

(k) Conference of Evangelical Churches of Guatemala, Asociación Conferencia de Iglesias Evangélicas de Guatemala (CIEDEG)

A member of the ACT Alliance (an ecumenical, Geneva-based organization), the Conference of Evangelical Churches of Guatemala was founded in 1987. It acts as an alternative evangelical movement with an interreligious perspective, bringing together local churches, indigenous and impoverished communities, women’s groups, and development organizations. Primarily focused on community service and improving the quality of life of impoverished people, CIEDEG works to
including health and childcare. There are CI child development centers in four regions: Eastern, Highlands, Pacific, and Peten, with specialized programs based on the needs of each region.

(m) DanChurchAid (DCA)
DanChurchAid’s work in Guatemala began in the early 1990s, focusing on food security and human rights programs. It worked in Guatemala directly until 2011, and is still engaged there through the ACT Alliance (where Norwegian Church Aid takes the main lead). The current focus is on human rights defense and indigenous women’s rights. It concentrates on the northwestern highlands, where most of the indigenous Maya population lives. Focal areas include advocacy, political space (through building democracy, combatting impunity, and protecting the rights of vulnerable groups), food security (through sustainable agriculture, alternative sources of income, and access to land), and regional disaster preparedness programs. They seek to combat the issues of poverty, migration, and inequality, and to improve disaster preparedness.

DCA’s work is based on cooperation with local partners to ensure that their emergency and development work effectively targets the poorest and that activities become locally sustainable. It directly implements a humanitarian mine action program as well as some emergency aid activities, but in most cases DCA works through local partners who are often members of the ACT Alliance. Ensuring high-quality capacity building and organizational development of local partners is an important cross-cutting component of DCA’s work.

In 2005, DCA spent 41 percent of its Central America budget on Guatemala, amounting to around US$1 million. In 2013, DCA’s total budget for Central America, which includes Honduras and some regional efforts, was around US$1,688,319.

Partners include the Centre for Justice and International Law (CEJIL) and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ). CEJIL works to protect and promote human rights in the Americas and provides free legal representation in Guatemala, as well as focusing on strengthening the Inter-American System. ICJ promotes and protects human rights through the rule of law, using its legal expertise to develop and strengthen national and international justice systems. Established in 1952 and active on five continents, ICJ works to ensure the development and implementation of international human rights and international humanitarian law; secure the realization of civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights; safeguard the separation of powers; and guarantee the independence of the judiciary and legal profession. DCA also supports disaster preparation work.

(n) Ecumenical Christian Council of Guatemala (CECG)
The CECG mission is to “strengthen, expand, and consolidate the ecumenical space between the historic churches of Guatemala based on respect, dialogue, tolerance, and commitment to contribute to the building of peace, reconciliation, and democracy amidst the concrete situations living in Guatemala and the world today from the values and principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ.” It works in six areas:

1. Ecumenical education, interreligious dialogue, peace and reconciliation, indigenous people
2. Prevention of violence and violence against women
3. Youth programs
4. HIV and AIDS prevention program
5. Women and gender justice
6. Creation stewardship

The Youth and Children Program provides technical training and learning for productive skills to young people in high-risk communities, in order to address risks, engage their community in occupational technical services, and respond to the lack of opportunities and means to generate income for the family. It develops occupational training workshops as well as other workshops catering to youth, including self-esteem, work ethic, responsibility, coexistence, etc.

The HIV and AIDS Advanced Program strengthens and expands the “awareness process to religious communities and the general public on human and pastoral support to people living with HIV and AIDS, to halt its spread, promote respect for the human rights of those living with this disease, build solidarity, reduce stigma, and influence related public policy.” CECG keeps informed and organized to assist the national response to HIV and AIDS, works in partnership to work with vulnerable populations such as women living with HIV, and assists in overcoming discrimination and stigma, especially in western Guatemala.

The Stewardship of Creation Program trains and organizes female leaders and leaders of churches on ACT Alliance areas of focus (emergencies, development, communication, and advocacy) to contribute to a better ecological restoration and stewardship of creation from the perspective of ecumenical and intercultural actions, studies, proposals, and partnerships with other key actors at national and international levels. Specifically, the program sensitizes, trains, and organizes members of the churches of the Ecumenical Council through workshops and training, with information to promote stewardship of the environment. CECG prepares theological and biblical materials on the stewardship of creation.
The goal of the Ecumenism and the Culture of Peace Program is to "strengthen the culture and practice of ecumenism in Guatemala, expanding its coverage in most departments, with the participation of more leaders and parishioners of the churches and theological institutions, their biblical and theological discussion, participation in public events, support vulnerable sectors, public statements, and research and dissemination of topics for a coherent response to the felt needs of the population from the values and principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ.” Specifically, the program distributes field research and literature to its churches and trains ecclesial, theological, and local leadership on issues ranging from the culture of peace to the economic and financial crisis. The program also builds departmental ecumenical forums.

(o) Episcopal Relief and Development (ERD)
ERD has worked with the Episcopal Diocese of Guatemala since 2005 to formulate a comprehensive approach to development issues. The Diocesan Development Office was established in 2007. The focus of ERD in Guatemala is on creating economic opportunities and strengthening communities. Programs include microfinance loans, business and skills training to microfinance participants, and a tree planting and harvesting initiative for additional income generation. ERD offers microfinance services, business training, and vocational training, working through local churches and community organizations. In addition to providing loans, ERD programs offer community support, where small business owners can seek advice and guidance. A financial management component aims to promote sustainability of businesses after loans are repaid.

(p) Finn Church Aid (FCA)
FCA supports communities in the Petén and Alta Verapaz areas of Guatemala. Its focus is on three interlinking themes: right to education, right to livelihood, and right to peace. FCA focuses on strengthening human rights and democracy, defending the rights of indigenous peoples, and improving food security and people’s livelihoods.

FCA seeks to improve the opportunities and preparedness of the communities to take part in decision-making and raise the awareness of young people and women with particular regard to their rights and the functioning of society. It develops the readiness of communities to respond to crises and their capability to prevent disasters. Finally, they develop and diversify organic agriculture among other programs to expand income opportunities of small farmers. Its budget for the fiscal year 2013 was nearly US$630,000.

The goal of women's bank projects is to strengthen indigenous women's agency in order to take part in political decision-making and participate in income generation. There is a focus on farmers’ status in rural areas, literacy and other training, and market share. The project started in 2013, with 2012 spent developing a project plan with the implementing organizations. Lutheran World Federation's Central American Program implements the project in cooperation with local organizations representing indigenous people and local authorities.

(q) Habitat for Humanity Guatemala
Habitat for Humanity Guatemala was established in 1979, the first Habitat organization in the LAC region. Habitat Guatemala is a nonprofit tied to the global Habitat for Humanity organization based in Atlanta; it is Habitat’s oldest and largest international affiliate. Habitat's inspiration is Christian, though it is not associated with any specific denomination. Habitat Guatemala’s mission is to improve the lives of low-income families through adequate, affordable housing. Habitats works through its faith ethos and links—and with the help of diverse people from around the world—to support those in need by building, adding to, or improving houses. Their vision is that all families in Guatemala live in a decent home. Volunteers provide a large part of the labor, and volunteerism is central to Habitat’s ethos; volunteers come both from Guatemala and from abroad. Local committees support the work of Habitat Guatemala's 17 local affiliate offices, and local teams of volunteers are organized for builds in their area. Around Guatemala City, teams from local businesses, schools, and churches lend a hand on worksites throughout the year. Once a month, Habitat Guatemala organizes an open build near the capital.

Since the first home was built in Aguacatán, Huehuetenango, Habitat Guatemala has served more than 70,000 families. It has also responded to natural disasters, notably the 2012 earthquake. Habitat works throughout Guatemala and, besides direct support for housing construction and improvement, focuses on communities, providing smokeless stoves, water filters, and basic sanitation services. They offer microloans ranging from US$175 to $450, for example, to develop family gardens.

Habitat’s Primeros Pasos project takes an integral approach to health in a housing context. It provides families with permanent healthcare solutions, for example Healthy Home Kits of smokeless stoves, sanitary latrines, and water filters, plus housing improvements like cement floors, stable walls, and ceilings. Each home is evaluated, and participants’ various housing solutions are based on their needs. Families’ participation in the project includes attending workshops on financial management, use and maintenance of new products, and health and nutrition advice. Children who are part of the program are to have three follow-up health check-ups with corresponding treatment.

A community and family garden program takes Habitat in a different direction, as families are trained in a range of organic...
farming techniques, such as composting, growing seedlings in recycled plastic bottles, earthworm harvesting, and much more. The overall goal is to build confidence and strengthen ties within both the community and the family. A first program in Macalajau, Quiché, involved about 60 families. A similar program is run in Canaque, San Marcos.

Housing is also seen as part of peacebuilding: The 1996 Peace Accords included a National Reparations Program (PNR) that was to include construction of decent housing. Habitat Guatemala has worked directly with the Guatemalan government (a first) to this end with a pilot project that began in 2013. Houses were to be paid for by the families upfront in full, using the reparations money provided by the government. Unlike other Habitat homeowners, families are not required to provide any sweat equity. The program has expanded to several other regions of Guatemala including Huehuetenango, Quiché, Chimaltenango, and Petén.

ICCO, based in the Netherlands, has worked in Central America for over 30 years. In the region, it focuses on fair economic development, peace and democracy, and climate change. ICCO currently works with 24 partners at the regional level. It forms alliances with related agencies to fulfill its strategic objectives that include: 1) promoting the implementation of violence prevention initiatives and social reintegration (part of the Security Strategy of the Central American Integration System (Sistema de Integración Centroamericana, SICA); 2) promotion and/or strengthening of strategic partnerships on security with civil society organizations and public institutions at a regional level; 3) strengthening and/or linking socioeconomic initiatives that promote the inclusion of vulnerable groups in the region; and 4) promoting private sector social responsibility through violence prevention to reduce citizen insecurity.

Through a fair trade snow peas project, ICCO connects farmers, producers, and buyers in a supply chain. The fair trade certification gives farmers a better market price, and, through cooperation, formation, and training of farmers in new agricultural methods, they are more competitive. To be eligible for this certification, participation in the Q’Anil cooperative is required, and they must follow an environmental plan where the use of certain chemicals is forbidden. Within the cooperative, tree planting is encouraged, child labor is forbidden, and women’s work condition improves. Prior to the cooperative, farmers received approximately €.05 per kilo; they now receive €.40 per kilo. On average farmers’ incomes have increased by 25 percent, and regional exports nearly doubled.

ICCO supports various microfinance organizations that emphasize social responsibility and focuses on the individual. Many of the organizations use communitarian credits given to a group of organized producers. The group oversees the credit and payments with social pressure, and it supports debtors who are temporarily unable to pay. ICCO partners with Kerk in Actie, Kiej de los Bosques, and Wakami to support inclusive businesses in Guatemala, specifically women who make jewelry.

IJM has been working in Guatemala since the early 2000s. It focuses on protecting children from sexual violence, in partnership with the Guatemalan government. Since 2005, IJM has helped secure the conviction of 159 child predators. In 2013, they developed a set of recommended protocols that the Supreme Court has issued as binding for all judges taking testimony from victims and witnesses in child abuse cases. IJM led and developed a set of standards for handling the investigation and prosecution of child sexual assault cases that the attorney general implemented nationwide. In 2014, the Guatemalan vice president and the interior minister launched a four-year partnership with IJM to strengthen the National Civil Police, specifically in its specialized sex crimes unit.

IJM calls its model the Justice System Transformation, a three-phase maximum-impact, long-term change model centered on partnering with local communities and governments to prevent crimes from occurring in the first place. In phase one, Collaborative Casework, IJM partners with local authorities to rescue individual victims of a specific crime, bring criminals to justice, and restore survivors. In phase two, System Reform, they launch concerted projects that aim to improve the justice system’s response to certain crimes. Finally, in phase three, Sustain Gains, IJM monitors and evaluates its results.
The sexual violence program works in four arches. First, IJM partners with the Public Ministry, Child Welfare Agency, National Civil Police, and others to rescue children from present and future abuse. Working with the National Civil Police and other authorities, IJM helps to locate and arrest suspects and ensures that they are prosecuted. The organization also works on restoring survivors through therapy for the children and support for their families, which include support groups and education assistance. Finally, it launched a system reform project with Guatemalan authorities to attempt to “improve the way the justice system deters sexual assault and how law enforcement and courts respond to child victims.”

–Vinicio Zuquino, director of the Department of Justice Reform

The Guatemala LWF office sees its mission as promoting:

1. Technical assistance initiatives that value the knowledge of indigenous women and men
2. Dialogue between those with ancestral knowledge and agricultural workers who care about food security and sovereignty.
3. Partnerships with organizations that fight for government policies on the right to land and equity.
4. Community organization and strengthening local farming families to establish their own norms to prevent disasters and address risks.

LWF projects include:

Empoderamiento ciudadano de los Observatorios Ciudadanos para la Paz, part of the Asociación de Amigos del Desarrollo y la Paz (ADP) and the Departament Alta Verapaz. The three year citizens’ empowerment project aims to build leadership and empower citizens that participate in decision-making. The project goal is to increase capacity to engage in advocacy and political dialogue with authorities and public functionaries through training exercises and learning dialogue and negotiation skills. The project was financed by the Church of Sweden and Bread for the World.

Juventud, Lúdica, Arte, Creatividad y Diversidad Cultural para la Transformación Social, was a three-year project implemented through Asociación Civil Caja Lúdica and the Department of Altaverapaz that ran from January 2014 to December 2016. The project’s objective was to improve the living conditions of youth through creative methods of play, such as musical instruments. This atmosphere promotes respecting rights and builds a culture of peace through local participation. The project planned to build artistic awareness for youth groups and implement artistic processes by providing updated knowledge to teachers in the national education system through a diploma of play education and artistic expression. The theory behind this project is to enrich and transform pedagogical models based on repetition and memorization for participants based on creativity, participation, and expression. Intergenerational dialogue plays an important role; it contributes to transforming vulnerable conditions facing many youth and their communities and supports the youth by having an open, critical, and proactive dialogue with community authorities. The project is financed by the Church of Sweden, Bread for the World, FCA, and ELC.

Socioeconomic development and empowerment of Q’eqchies speaking Maya women/Desarrollo Socio Económico y Empoderamiento de la Mujeres Maya hablantes Q’eqchies (PROPODER), implemented through Asociación de Mujeres Campesinas Q’eqchies Nuevo Horizonte (New Horizon) and Asociación Guardianes de Salud Chaqiroqha, started its project

(t) Lutheran World Federation (LWF)

LWF’s focus in Guatemala is to work with communities to achieve food security and manage local natural resources. It advocates on critical regional issues, including human rights, food security, regional financial policy, and climate justice. LWF aims to build the capacity of their local partners to reduce regional disaster risk. LWF’s focal areas are: (i) food sovereignty and advocacy for natural resource conservation; (ii) promotion of inclusive public policies; (iii) risk management and disaster response; and (iv) program visibility, quality, and effectiveness.

One of IJM’s philosophies is that we seek to demonstrate that justice is possible for the poor. Thus, one of the fundamental requirements of a case is that the person does not have the economic capacity to pay a private lawyer and therefore needs support to reach leaders, do the tests, investigate, all that is needed. Many people do not have the financial means and therefore decide not to pursue a case. They can barely afford to feed their children or to pay for transport from their home to the place where they must lodge a complaint. So many families need to be treated in a holistic manner, not only with legal support but also psychological support for the victim and his family.”

–Vinicio Zuquino, director of the Department of Justice Reform
in October 2013. It aims to strengthen political participation and social and productive conditions for Q’eqchíes women in Alta Verapaz. The project is financed by the Finn Church Aid.

Considering the customs linked to the fight for women’s rights, the project creates a process of transformation to balance power relations and help overcome vulnerability and inequality of indigenous women in the communities of San Pedro Carchá. This project creates the sustainable development of gender equality in the area through: 1) literacy training and non-formal education focused on exercising rights, gender equality, and development of capacities; 2) community outreach and awareness; 3) women socializing and exchanging experiences about social participation; 4) formative process for small economic initiatives and sustainable diversification at the commercial and production levels; 5) financial strengthening for income generation; 6) establishing community plots and commercialization of products; and 7) supporting the development of a system of project planning, monitoring, and evaluation.

**Coordinadora de Asociaciones Campesinas Agropecuarias de Petén (COACAP)**, implemented by the Coordinadora de Asociaciones Campesinas Agropecuarias de Petén (COACAP), is a three-year project in the department of Petén, Guatemala, aimed at improving the quality of life of 100 families by building their knowledge of agricultural diversification and environmental conservation. The project sends out teams of nine men and nine women (all couples) who serve as community agricultural promoters supported by a technician. They establish 100 diversified plots of land. The project plans to have a collection center with 20 metal silos that will serve to reduce vulnerability of campesinas’ (poor farmers’) families, caused by loss of grain and seed reserves. The project will reinforce capacity of the 19 members of the board of directors on organization, leadership, project planning and management so in the second year of the project, they can work with at least one other agency to diversify funding sources. It is financed by the Swedish Church; ELCA; and Bread for the World, Germany.

(u) **Norwegian Church Aid**
Norwegian Church Aid has worked in Guatemala since it provided emergency relief after the 1976 earthquake. Since then, it has adapted its programming to work with local organizations that advance primarily women’s and indigenous populations’ rights. Norwegian Church Aid’s work in Guatemala focuses on economic justice in extractive industries, and climate adaptation and disaster relief. They work with several Guatemalan organizations, including CONAVIGUA, CIEDEG, CODEFEM, COPAE, GGM, AGIMS, and Fundación Solar.
The strategic priority in Guatemala is gender justice. Norwegian Church Aid’s approach is based on the belief that many aspects of oppression in Guatemala are based on gender, class, and race. To address the oppression of the most vulnerable populations, a shift in power relations, patriarchal beliefs, and racist ideologies are needed. Programmatically, Norwegian Church Aid focuses on gender-based violence (GBV) and women in governance (WIG). Another program focuses on indigenous people, extractive industries, and women.

Norwegian Church Aid spent over US$1 million in Guatemala during the 2015 fiscal year.109

(v) Salesian Missions
The Salesian Missions in Guatemala have historically focused on education and the empowerment and education of girls. Salesians educate rural Q’echi (Maya) girls in self-management for projects benefitting their family and their communities. “Salesians also work through the Foundation for Advancement of Indigenous Women in Guatemala (Talita Kumi) to raise the status of women and empower them to become household and community decision-makers.”110 During the 2014 drought, Salesian Missions mobilized in Alta Verapaz, Peten, and Quetzaltenango to assist more than 130,000 people in need of food and basic assistance.111 Salesians also run youth centers, primary and secondary schools, and programs for indigenous populations. For example, Salesian missionaries have trained 835 rural teachers in a three-year training course; upon completion, these new teachers served over 600 communities.112

Dedicated to caring for poor children in over 130 countries, Salesian Missions tailor their programs to the immediate needs of the communities they serve. Thus, they offer a plethora of programs, which largely fall into the following basic categories:

- Youth Education and Trade Schools
- Infrastructure and Capacity Building
- Health Services
- Emergency Relief
- Women’s Empowerment
- Homeless Youth
- Refugee Camps and Displaced Populations
- Youth Clubs
- Food Security Programs

The Salesian Missions’ mission is to focus on rebuilding lives and fostering youth to be self-sufficient through learning a trade, which will gain them employment and build communities. Their services are provided to children regardless of race or religion.

(w) World Vision (WV)
WV began working in Guatemala in 1975, with its child sponsorship program beginning in 1976. WV-supported projects have varied over Guatemalan history, adapting to the needs of the community and to critical historical events. Among early initiatives, WV helped to organize transportation for children attending school and supported school supplies and teacher salaries. In the 1970s, WV programs focused on food, nutrition information, and education for impoverished families. In the 1980s, WV officials taught women how to raise poultry, trained farmers to improve their soil, and built sanitary latrines. Beginning in the 2000s, WV’s focus shifted toward a broader effort to increase economic development and HIV/AIDS awareness. A 2009 goal was to “create transforming development opportunities for 252,000 children, adolescents, and youth and protection for 500,000” by 2013.113 In 2015, WV’s staff of 240 supported more than 80,000 sponsored children through nine projects in eight regions of Guatemala: Chimaltenango, Chiquimula, Guatemala, Huehuetenango, Jutiapa, San Marcos, Sololá, and Zacapa.

WV “is committed to partnering with the people of Guatemala to improve their lives today and to help enact sustainable solutions for the future of their children, families, and communities.”114 WV Guatemala has three priorities: children, working through interreligious networks, and inviting people to follow Christ through its values—not engaging in proselytism.115 Programs are concentrated in the areas of most need, often rural with a high Maya population.

WV programs work with children and youth until they reach adulthood. They have taken on the nutrition challenge with children, working to reduce and prevent malnutrition, in part through the Common Pot program,116 which helps mothers learn to prepare meals using local, nutritious ingredients. WV partners with the local government school systems to support older children in schools through a strong focus on literacy. Training programs in emergency and natural disaster response have focused on community leaders.

“The challenge is how to achieve equality between men and women. Everything must start with education. Beyond that, how can we work and foment that same equality in the participation of women in politics, organizations, and institutions?”

– Fr. Renee Santos, Salesian Youth Ministry
Areas of focus in Guatemala include:
- Health
- Clean Water
- Education
- Food and Agriculture
- Child Protection
- Economic Development
- Disaster Relief

(x) Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA)
Founded in 1964, the YMCA of Guatemala began with recreation services, which were suspended in 1968 as a result of armed conflict. After the 1976 earthquake, the Latin American Confederation of YMCA’s led the reopening of the YMCA’s services to care for children affected by the earthquake. YMCA continued its work by building community development programs in Tierra Nueva, Sakerti, Amatitlán, and San Cristobal Verapaz. In 2008, following an internal review, YMCA Guatemala determined that its role in supporting Guatemalan youth would be to focus on a culture of peace, youth safety, and youth leadership. More recently, the YMCA has promoted violence prevention programs through its sports, leisure, and cultural programs, for example the “sports is more” program and its YMCA Leaders programs.

YMCA’s vision is to promote a volunteer movement to develop, through non-formal educational activities and recreation-oriented programs, young leaders who can affect the country’s social and political dynamics.

Focusing on sport for development, the YMCA of Guatemala uses camps, leadership training, and institutional strengthening to empower the youth of Guatemala. YMCA programs are based in the following communities: San Cristobal Verapaz, Alta Verapaz; Amatitlán, Guatemala; St. Lucia Cotzumalguapa, Escuintla; and Guatemala City, Guatemala.

Camps: The camping program brings together youth with volunteer leaders and staff to build bonds through recreation. It is an educational tool that uses a methodical teaching and learning style to support and empower youth.

Sport for Development: YMCA works to instill values in youth and address youth violence prevention through sports. It works with training programs aimed at youth, teachers, mothers, and fathers to help them master sports techniques that can be translated to the community. YMCA works with local authorities to adopt policies that support youth.

Youth Leadership and Safety: A youth leadership program trains young leaders, conducts trainings for volunteers on important national issues, and participates in community activities proposed and promoted by various volunteer groups. The YMCA advocates for initiatives that improve security for youth at both the regional and national levels.

“Protestant mission churches—that is, proselytizers (which include Presbyterians, Nazarenes, Baptists, Methodists, Independent Friends)—have come to Guatemala and divided up the country systematically to carry out mission and proselytizing work, to convert. What do they promote? They promote a kind of vertical and individualist religion. Their theology tries to extricate the person individually from their present reality. That is, they attempt to encourage the person to reflect along the following lines: ‘What do I see here? I see poverty; my children are starving and are not going to school, but in the celestial missions I have a crystal sea and roads paved in gold. Heaven is my salvation.’ It’s a way of thinking that here on earth we are destined to remain in the same condition, but up there in heaven there is something that will lead to change and transformation.”

– Monica Ramirez, World Vision Guatemala
Religious institutions have many roles to play in confronting the large development challenges that Guatemala faces. Many of these roles are common to widely different countries: Leaders who enjoy relatively high levels of trust, advocates for the disadvantaged and marginalized populations, active support to individuals and groups at the community level, shapers of solid civic and ethical values, and conveyers of hope and confidence in a better future. Religiously inspired institutions have played roles in priority national efforts, for example through their support for the UN International Commission to Combat Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG), which over the last three or four years has fought corruption and impunity with remarkable results. As is the case elsewhere, some roles may be negative: for example in stifting creative impulses, supporting a flawed status quo, and accentuating inter-group tensions and violence. Political roles of religious actors are significant but often complex, enmeshed in shifting, often fractured institutional arrangements and touched by the brush of history. A host of FIOs, numbering in the thousands, fill gaps in social services and work day to day toward ideals of human rights and community empowerment.

Religious leaders and communities face particular challenges and should bear special responsibilities linked both to Guatemala’s current situation (legacies of bitter conflict, lagging human development, ethnic discrimination, and social divisions) and to the roles that divided, often contentious religious actors have long played in national affairs. Their roles are complicated by a still complex boundary between a traditional religious focus on assistance as charity, with all the benefits and pitfalls involved, and an approach more grounded in human rights. This tension, present in many societies, takes on special importance

“Currently the work of the churches is more asistencialista, more charitable, than developmental.”

– Rev. Ricardo García, CEIPA
in Guatemala in the face of deep and persisting poverty and the urgent and unmistakable issues the population faces around human rights and justice. There are many organizations and individuals who see their work as charitable, while others are at the forefront of action and advocacy, seeking radical change in systems top to bottom.

There are leaders who rise to these challenges both at the national level ("speaking truth to power," pointing the way toward rights and equity) and in local communities. Stories of courage, vision, even martyrdom abound over a period of decades, and under the shadow of civil war and contemporary violence, the theme nunca más (never again), resounds within each of the major religious communities (Catholic, Evangelical/Protestant, and Maya). Religious communities have spoken and worked together to define and advance core ethical values. There is, it appears, a real will to confront the challenges and take on greater responsibility.

What is sadly lacking is a common structure to translate will into action. Interreligious and ecumenical structures are poorly developed, accentuating the problems that arise because of weak public institutions. Efforts are scattered, often quite short-lived, generally underfunded and poorly coordinated. There is little to no systematic learning; during a January 2016 Berkley Center/WFDD-organized consultation on religious roles in health in Guatemala, for example, participants from widely different groups echoed similar laments about enormous needs and suggested a host of ideas, but fell well short of a common vision as to how to move forward. Similar comments apply in looking (Chapter 4) at the many efforts to address violence, empower local communities, and address the looming environmental crisis.

The way forward must obviously be defined by the Guatemalans directly involved, hopefully with wise and consistent support from their many friends and partners. Defining possible next steps would benefit from better knowledge about the multitude of individual efforts that are going on, whether initiated by communities or supported and goaded by outside partners. The religiously inspired efforts form part of a rich array of civil society efforts, and there are some significant efforts to harmonize them. At different points, whether by necessity or design, government and major partner programs have involved civil society, including FIOs. But these efforts seem to be in abeyance, without much present zest. Fragmentation is the story of the hour.

It would be useful to take the stock-taking effort represented by this report a step further. Many who work in Guatemala are attuned to the ubiquitous presence of religious beliefs and actors. Few, however, have a coherent overview, and many bring quite strong presuppositions about parts or the whole of the religious landscape, positive or negative, but generally lack a broad overview. Practical information about programs is scattered; the all-too-familiar challenges of knowledge sharing are exacerbated by the tendency to focus programs at very local levels. The pattern of short- and medium-term mission trips heightens the difficulties of benefitting from coherent knowledge sharing and capacity building.

The goal of this study is to provide a comprehensive yet accessible overview of Guatemala’s religious landscape in relation to major issues for development. The approach is grounded by interviews with people in Guatemala working with and for religiously inspired institutions. These interviews set out to understand how various actors see their work within the Guatemalan context, but also point to the ways in which it fits within broader strategic frameworks. The research framed these perspectives within an exploration of national and international development visions and approaches. The resulting map of religion and development can, it is hoped, enhance efforts to strengthen the complex multi-sectoral partnerships that are essential for development success and sustainability. Contextual “religious literacy” may also offer insights that can enhance the quality of programs in different sectors.

**POTENTIAL AREAS FOR ACTION**

Five national human development priorities involve a multitude of religious actors working in a highly fragmented fashion. Careful review and strategic reflection of each area is needed. These areas are education (where religious roles could be mapped and assessed), health, nutrition, sexual and gender-based violence, and care of vulnerable children. In each area the specific problems affecting women deserve particular attention, dialogue with religious actors, and definition of appropriate action measures. The tragic March 8, 2017, fire at the Hogar Seguro Virgen de la Asunción near Guatemala City highlights the many interlinked problems facing vulnerable children and youth.

Ecumenical and interfaith efforts have historical roots in Guatemala, but institutions need a boost. Some loss of impetus suggests that fresh thinking and action are needed. This is important both because religious divides are significant in broader social tensions and because some religious actors have extensive experience with peacebuilding that could benefit wider communities.

The fight against corruption is widely understood as a make-or-break issue for Guatemala. Religious leaders and communities have critical roles in identifying patterns of
behavior that fuel corruption and that can rein it in. They have the capacity (and duty) in many cases to “speak truth to power.” A positive joint approach to the topic would be demanding but also overdue.

**Religious leadership in addressing the many issues facing extractive industry ventures should be examined with a view to building case materials and identifying conflict resolution strategies.** Religious engagement on these issues could be significant, both for specific projects and communities and for national policy approaches.

**Religious actors involved in community-level violence, notably gang activity, should be explored and documented.** Creative efforts point to constructive ways to engage youth and to address the complex factors that explain the rise of gang violence.

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**Box 5.1. Gangs and churches**

Churches in Guatemala are making significant efforts to combat the serious problem of gang violence, ranging from individual, parish-level initiatives to nationwide programs. Churches respond to the practical consequences of U.S. deportation and government crackdown policies. Work at the national level focuses on advocacy; the Catholic Church is an important player here, speaking, for example, against social cleansing projects that tend to emphasize enforcement. Evangelical ministries focus at the local level, relying heavily on local contacts and brokers and knowledge of the local community. With gangs playing major roles in migration routes as well as in Guatemalan society, appreciating and supporting church engagement has special importance.

Gang ministries represent an important pathway for gang members to leave, something that is difficult and dangerous. Scholar Robert Brenneman identified some 30 such ministries. Many gang members and leaders are not practicing Christians, but neither are they skeptics. Like most Central Americans, they were raised in a religious tradition and tend to show respect for certain religious symbols and leaders; therefore, priests and pastors may have more freedom to move within communities than others. One example is what Brenneman calls “evangelical exemption,” where some gang leaders, especially in the late 1990s and early 2000s, allowed gang members who were serious about joining a church to leave safely, but with conditions; One gang member sought permission to leave, and his gang leader agreed, “but don’t mess with curly” (curly is lingo for Jesus). “No se juega con Dios ni con la mara” (don’t mess with God or with the gang) describes the approach. The path, however, is fairly limited, and gang leaders rightly recognize that the “evangelical exemption” will not lead to a mass exodus of gang members; true conversion requires significant life changes, with evangelicals expected to attend several religious meetings a week and to forgo alcohol, drugs, and cigarettes. Alcohol, in particular, is key to the construction of masculinity and a macho identity. Pastors act, to a certain extent, as probation officers, checking in frequently with former gang members. Gang exit options are limited, and gangs scrutinize carefully any who take advantage of the “evangelical exception” to ensure that conversion is genuine. The constraints involved in joining an evangelical church test commitment and limit takers.

Catholic programs tend to be more formalized than evangelical ministries and have greater resources. Programs typically focus on vocational training and gang prevention. Catholic programs serve as a model for some evangelical ministries, and some send former gang members to Catholic vocational programs. Coordination among the various programs is, however, limited.

**Out-migration from Guatemala reflects problems at home and religious actors are involved at every point along migration routes.** Understanding these roles better, including in diaspora communities, could yield important and interesting findings. A small but useful start could be to work with diaspora communities in a region (metropolitan Washington D.C., for example) to understand religious links, visions for action, and the adaptation process.

**The Guatemala 1996 Peace Accords were an inspirational landmark, and religious actors played significant, though not well documented, roles.** Implementation has been disappointing. A specific review of the experience with a view to drawing lessons would be useful.
A common theme across programs is keen awareness that what gang members desire most is respect, dignity, and a strong support system as they begin their lives anew. Guatemalan society offers few such pathways; this lack attracts people to gangs in the first place. Even those who succeed in the competitive education system rarely meet success. Scholar Philip Jenkins contends that for churches to earn the loyalty of former gang members, they need to be able to provide a comparable set of beliefs and rites to what exists in gangs as well as a strong sense of brotherhood. The most effective ministries invest effort into identifying successful practices, typically learning by trial and error.

## MDG Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TARGETS</th>
<th>INDICATORS</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Hunger and Poverty</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halve the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day</td>
<td>Proportion of population below $1.25 (PPP) per day</td>
<td>Not Achieved 16.2% (1998) to 13.7% (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieve full employment and decent work for all, including women and young people</td>
<td>Employment-to-population ratio</td>
<td>Not Achieved 64.2% (2000) to 58.3% (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger</td>
<td>Prevalence of underweight children under-five years of age</td>
<td>Slow Progress 21.7% (1995) to 13% (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure that by 2015, children everywhere will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling</td>
<td>Net enrollment ratio in primary education</td>
<td>Not Achieved 74.1% (1997) to 88% (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proportion of pupils reaching last grade of primary</td>
<td>Progress 37.6% (1996) to 67.7% (2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literacy rate of 15-24 year-olds, women and men</td>
<td>Progress 76% (1994) to 93.7% (2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015</td>
<td>Ratios of girls to boys in primary level enrollment</td>
<td>Progress .87 (1993) to .96 (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector</td>
<td>Not Achieved 36.8% (1990) to 36.9% (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament</td>
<td>Not Achieved 7/100 (1990) to 13.3/158 (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 4: Reduce Child Morality</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate</td>
<td>Reduce under 5 mortality rate per 1,000 lives</td>
<td>Achieved (Almost Achieved) 80.6% (1990) to 31% (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reduce infant mortality rate</td>
<td>Achieved 59.6% (1990) to 25.8% (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio</td>
<td>Maternal Mortality Ratio</td>
<td>Progress 205 (1990) to 88 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieve universal access to reproductive health</td>
<td>Contraceptive prevalence rate</td>
<td>Not Achieved 31.4 (1995) to 54.1 (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGETS</td>
<td>INDICATORS</td>
<td>STATUS</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and Other Diseases</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>HIV prevalence among population 15-24 years old</td>
<td>Not Achieved .17 (1990) to .59 (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieve universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Proportion of population with advanced HIV infection with access to antiretroviral drugs</td>
<td>Not Achieved 55.1 to 56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Stability</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources</td>
<td>Proportion of land area covered by forest</td>
<td>Not Achieved 43.8% (1990) to 33.7% (2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CO2 emissions per $1/ GDP</td>
<td>Not Achieved .1076 (1990) to .1100 (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halve the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation</td>
<td>Percentage of population with improved drinking water source</td>
<td>Progress 77 (1990) to 93 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>90 (1990) to 98 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>68 (1990) to 87 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage of population with improved sanitation</td>
<td>Progress 47 (1990) to 64 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>70 (1990) to 78 (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>31 (1990) to 49 (2015)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

## List of Guatemala Interviews Online

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<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>INTERVIEWEE</th>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
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<td>January 31, 2009</td>
<td>Azmitia, Oscar</td>
<td>Universidad de la Salle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 29, 2015</td>
<td>Badger, Craig</td>
<td>Peace Corps, Guatemala</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 29, 2015</td>
<td>Brenneman, Robert</td>
<td>Saint Michael’s College</td>
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<td>November 11, 2015</td>
<td>Briggs, John</td>
<td>Catholic Relief Services</td>
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<td>January 31, 2009</td>
<td>Davila, Sylvia</td>
<td>Avina Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 29, 2015</td>
<td>Garrard-Burnett, Virginia</td>
<td>University of Texas</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 20, 2016</td>
<td>Hernandez, Elvis Perez</td>
<td>Catholic Youth Activists</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 5, 2016</td>
<td>Magermans, Eduardo</td>
<td>Christian Radio Producer</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 14, 2015</td>
<td>Morales, Francisco Mateo</td>
<td>Environmental Activist</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 27, 2016</td>
<td>Ordoñez, Carmen</td>
<td>Manos Abiertas</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 19, 2016</td>
<td>Paredes, Fernando</td>
<td>World Bank Guatemala</td>
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<td>January 30, 2009</td>
<td>Ponce, Ana Victoria Peláez</td>
<td>Central American Women’s Network of Religions for Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 30, 2009</td>
<td>Ramazzini, Alvaro</td>
<td>Bishop of Huehuetenango / San Marcos</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 29, 2015</td>
<td>Rovelli, Simona</td>
<td>Entre Mundos</td>
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<td>November 3, 2015</td>
<td>Santos, René</td>
<td>Salesian Youth Ministry</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 13, 2015</td>
<td>Shenyo, Rachael</td>
<td>USAID Western Highlands Integrated Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 25, 2015</td>
<td>Soderling, Michael</td>
<td>Center for Health in Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1, 2010</td>
<td>Tyndale, Wendy</td>
<td>World Faiths Development Dialogue Christian Aid</td>
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<td>May 10, 2012</td>
<td>Velásquez, Rosalina Tuyuc</td>
<td>Maya Human Rights Activist</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 11, 2015</td>
<td>Zuquino, Vinicio</td>
<td>International Justice Mission Guatemala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Visit [http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/subprojects/country-mapping-guatemala](http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/subprojects/country-mapping-guatemala) to read the interviews.
Suggested Additional Reading


Endnotes


5. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


19. Ibid.


21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.


25. Ibid.


27. On February 2, 2015, President Barack Obama submitted a $4 trillion budget for 2016 that included US$1 billion in assistance to Central America, designed to address core issues behind the surge in unaccompanied minors migrating from Northern Triangle countries.


32. Ibid., 19-21.


35. Achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.


43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.


52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.


57. Las religiones en tiempos del Papa Francisco.

58. There are several excellent histories and analyses of these changes with a clear summary in “Historical Overview of Pentecostalism in Guatemala.”


60. Sanchez, et al., Guatemala: Closing Gaps.

61. Ibid., 187–189.


67. Ibid., 73.

68. Ibid., 83.

69. Ibid., 84-85.

70. Ibid.


73. Ibid.


76. Ibid.


116. Ibid.


118. See the WFDD supported Los valores éticos de las religiones que se practican en Guatemala (Diálogo Inter-religioso Guatemalteco sobre el Desarrollo: 2001), http://biblioteca.flacso.edu.gt/library/index.php?title=1476&lang=es&query=@title=Special:GSMSearchPage@process=@field1=clasificacion@value1=170@mode=advanced&recnum=15&mode=advanced.
