



uOttawa

The University of Ottawa / L'université d'Ottawa

Discrimination, Social Exclusion and Vulnerability of the Garífuna Women in Guatemala; an exploratory study on underlying causes

By:
Melissa Mulongoy

[Fall 2009 – Winter 2012]

Presented to the Faculty of Social Sciences
School of International Development and Global Studies/Institute of Women's Studies
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Approved by:

Alberto Florez-Malagon, *Project Supervisor, cross-appointed Department of History/School of International Development and Global Studies, BA, MA, PhD.*

Committee Members: **Susan Spronk**, *Assistant professor in the School of International Development and Global Studies, BA, M.A, PhD;* and **Karine Vanthuyne**, *Department of Sociology and Anthropology, BA, MA, DEA, PhD.*

Acknowledgements

This thesis exploring the underlying causes of the discrimination, social exclusion and vulnerability of the Garífuna women in Guatemala has been a long time coming. It has required a lot of work and time on my part; however the final product would not be what it is today without the invaluable guidance and contributions of several key people.

I would like to express gratitude to my family for their undying support and constant motivation. I dedicate my work in particular to my parents Tina and Jo Mulongoy who often advised and guided me in the preparation of this project as would a supervisor. And to my sister-in-law Denise and brothers Gervais and Christel Mulongoy for their continuous encouragement and for never failing to maintain my morale at an all-time high. We have waited impatiently for the day I would finish and it has finally come!

I would like to thank my project supervisor, Professor Alberto Florez-Malagon for the time and effort he has devoted to my project from its inception to this point, and for his patience and good advice. Thank you for the countless revisions of my work and for offering constructive criticism, and above all, thank you for your patience. Many thanks to my reading committee: Professor Karine Vanthuynne, for your kindness, your inspiration and motivation; Professor Susan Spronk, for your support, dynamism and constructive criticism; and to Director Andrea Martinez, for taking me on good-naturedly despite having numerous commitments and a busy schedule.

I would also like to express appreciation to my International Development and Women's Studies colleagues, for their continuous support throughout the course of the Master's program; for all the critical and positive feedback, as well as the good company during the many not-so-sane hours spent in the university library.

There are also a number of people I would like to thank here in Canada as well as Central America for their assistance and involvement in the data collection process. I would like to thank everyone for their commitment, in particular those who were involved at the onset of my project and contributed to my research by providing literature and countless other sources, in particular Julian Duarte, Betzy Sánchez, Maria Fuentenebro, Johany Martinez, Mino and Zilda Rosbely Martinez Quinto, and Ana Lucia Orozco and her family who adopted me as one of theirs and housed me in my first weeks in Guatemala. I am equally grateful for the contribution of all those involved in lending credibility to my research and those who openly shared their knowledge and personal experiences. Please note that the names and personal details of these contributors have been altered in order to maintain confidentiality and preserve their anonymity. I would like to acknowledge the support and contributions of: Ana Alvarez, David Amador, Gloria Avila, Alexis Azurdia, Cesar Baltazar, Carlos Bardo, Alina Bernardo, Ruben Darte, Alma Eduardo, Hugo Florez, Dorena Martínez, Nelli Martínez, Luis Melgar, Raisa Palacio, Betina Sanchez and

Alvaro Us. Lastly, to all those who have supported and inspired me in the process, even unknowingly: Caroline Bakker, Hannie Meesters and Michelle Wardian.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Summary	vi
Acronyms	ix
Introduction	1
<i>Research Question</i>	6
Chapter 1 Poverty in Guatemala: Literature Review	8
<i>Burdens of History: Colonial Legacy</i>	9
<i>Multiculturalism: Neo-colonialism Disguised</i>	14
Figure 1: Evolution of racism and ethnic discrimination over time in Guatemala	14
Box 1: Millennium Development Goals and related targets	18
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework	21
2.1 <i>Intersectionality</i>	21
2.2 <i>Capabilities Approach</i>	23
2.3 <i>Theory of Emergence for Local Social Innovation</i>	25
Chapter 3 Methodology	27
3.1 <i>Information and Data Collection</i>	27
Table 1: Demographic Profile of the Respondents of this Study	30
3.2 <i>Information and Data Analysis</i>	31
3.3 <i>Limitations of the Research</i>	32
Chapter 4 Results	33
4.1 <i>Race and Ethnicity</i>	33
4.2 <i>Gender Inequality</i>	34
4.3 <i>Marginalisation and Socio-Economic Exclusion</i>	34
4.4 <i>Sustainable Human Development</i>	36
Chapter 5 Discussion	38
5.1 <i>Factors that Contribute to Poverty of the Garífuna Peoples in Guatemala</i>	38
5.1.1 <i>Race and Ethnicity</i>	38
5.1.2 <i>Lack of Development Opportunities</i>	41
5.1.3 <i>Gender Inequality</i>	46
5.2 <i>Consequences of the Lack of Access to Opportunities for Garífuna Women: Quality of life, Well-being and Personal Accomplishment</i>	51
	iv

Table 2: Garífuna population estimates by year and location	56
<i>5.3 What are the Garífuna doing to address discrimination, social exclusion and their vulnerability?</i>	56
<i>5.4 Proposed additional actions to address and control the causes of discrimination and exclusion?</i>	60
Table 3: Possible actions that can be taken to further address the causes of poverty and lack of development opportunities for the Garífuna as well as issues of discrimination, socioeconomic exclusion and vulnerability of Garífuna women and their rationale/context	62
Conclusion	69
Bibliography	72
Annex I: Map of Guatemala	79
Annex II: Interview Questions	80
Annex III: Written Questionnaire	81
Annex IV: Ethnography of the Garífuna	84
Annex V: Demography of Guatemala by Ethnicity and Sex	87
Annex VI: Matrix of Decrees, Conventions and Legislations for the Protection of Human Rights in Guatemala	89

Summary

The Garífuna are the smallest ethnic minority group in Guatemala, living primarily in the city of Livingston (known as Labuga, Wadimalu in Garífuna) located along the Caribbean coastline.¹ Their unique history, ethnicity and culture has allowed them to preserve their way of life for centuries on the one hand but has also separated them from mainstream Guatemalan society on the other hand. The afro-descendent Garífuna community forms a small part of the overall indigenous group in Guatemala alongside the Maya and the Xinca groups; however unlike the larger indigenous groups and the remaining non-indigenous population, the Garífuna are ignored and are not included in the groups in need of development assistance for education, health, employment and security. The exclusion is even more pronounced for Garífuna women. This fact caught my attention while I was doing an internship at the United Nations Development Program in Guatemala City three years ago. I decided to understand the reasons for the discrimination, socio-economic exclusion and vulnerability of Garífuna women within the Guatemalan society.

For the collection of relevant information and data, I used the following methods during the three months I spent in Guatemala and upon my return in Canada for a total of nine months: observation of and informal conversation with Guatemalan peoples in the capital City and in the town of Livingston, systematic interviews of selected people followed by an e-questionnaire sent to a representative group of people living within and outside Guatemala, and a literature review. This study is based in an integrated feminist approach and I also used the capabilities approach to analyse and interpret the findings.²

My findings indicate that the main factors leading to the discrimination and exclusion of Garífuna women from development opportunities are:

Factors that are common to all ethnic groups in Guatemala

- (a) Age old perceptions of ethnic and racial kinship that have resulted in social fragmentation at the national level – these factors are common to all ethnic groups in the country.
- (b) Ethno-racial and gender inequalities that cause indigenous women (among them the Garífuna)³ to be victims of unfair gaps that prevent their full development and integration into the socio-economy of Guatemala, predominantly in the areas of education, health, employment, political participation and representation.

¹*Labuga, Wadimalu* in Garífuna literally translates to ‘Livingston, Guatemala’ in English. Labuga is the Garífuna word for *la boca* in Spanish (meaning ‘the mouth’), in reference to the geographic mouth-like appearance of Rio Dulce, which opens up into the Gulf of Honduras on the eastern coasts of Guatemala. Labuga is also referred to as *Gulfu Iyumou* which means ‘mouth of the Gulf’.

² The feminist approach to research and the capabilities approach are discussed in detail in chapter four: Theoretical Framework.

³ It is important to note that in referring to indigenous groups in this study, this category includes Maya, Garífuna and Xinca persons as recognised by the INE.

Historically the Guatemalan State has marginalised its indigenous groups (the Maya, Garífuna and Xinca), excluding them from decision-making and essential basic public services, as well as trapping them in cycles of poverty, inequity, and in some cases violence⁴ that impact generation after generation on the basis of their ethno-racial belonging.

Factors that impact Garífuna women differently than other indigenous women in the country

- (a) The gaps in development opportunities are in direct violation of the human rights tenets stipulated in the Guatemalan Peace Accords of 1996. The status of Garífuna women cannot be understood outside of this context, but should be understood as being an integral part of it.
- (b) Education – Garífuna girls are not taught in their native language (only Spanish); political participation – Garífuna women are not represented in the political sphere (whereas, a few Mayan women are beginning to make their mark and are speaking out for their rights), Garífuna women do not have a voice at the national level; representation – statistics around Garífuna women are scarce, also surveys are ambiguous and do not necessarily cater to the auto-denominations chosen by the Garífuna, as a result they are not adequately represented in demographic studies.

Factors that impact Garífuna women differently than they do Garífuna men

- (a) The vulnerability of Garífuna women is directly linked to the vulnerability of men in the Garífuna community who, at times in their lives, migrate widely and leave their families for years in search of better employment.
- (b) Garífuna women rely predominantly on remittances from their family members abroad; however remittances are also impacted by the volatile economic climate.

The following recommendations can be made to bring about a change in the situation of Garífuna women taking into account the views from interviews and using the theory of Emergence for Local Social Innovation approach, explained in chapter two:

⁴I am referring to the genocide that took place during the Civil War between 1960 and 1996 and resulted in the death of 200,000 Maya. Please refer to Chapter 1.

Peace Accords

The Peace Accords of the 29 December 1996 emerged as a direct result of decades of armed conflict and genocide in Guatemala in which the Maya people were persecuted and executed by virtue of their ethnicity/race (CEH, 1999).

The Peace Agreements represent a national consensus ('For a Firm and Lasting Peace') or a collection of eleven agreements intended to provide the country with a comprehensive agenda for overcoming the source of the conflict and for laying the foundation for a new kind of development.

By virtue of this agreement, the government reaffirms its commitment to the principles and norms aimed at guaranteeing and protecting the full respect of human rights, and its political determination to enforce them (Salvesen, 2002).

1. Garífuna women could upscale their local community and non-governmental organisations for education and awareness-raising about the barriers that they are facing in the community.
2. The Garífuna community could strengthen networking within the country as well as in neighbouring countries where the Garífuna are living (Belize, Honduras and Nicaragua); join efforts with other indigenous groups in the country, such as the Maya, to have a voice at the national and regional levels; and take ownership of relevant governmental programmes.
3. The government should implement existing legislations against discrimination and legislations for women, including international and national commitments such as the 1996 Peace Accords, Convention Against the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, National Policy for the Promotion and Integral Development of Women 2008-2023, and the Millennium Development Goals, by: improving registration and statistics (data collection, analysis and usage of information) about the Garífuna; facilitating and encouraging access to social services; education; adequate and efficient health services; and invest in capacity building for Garífuna women and Garífuna in general.
4. Raise awareness of the problems (poverty and its underlying causes) of Garífuna women and facilitate the involvement of key social players in finding and implementing solutions to prioritise the comprehensive care of indigenous women in every development area to create a greater impact, including indigenous and local communities, religious/spiritual groups, grassroots and non-governmental organisations, leaders of the COCODES and the COMUDES,⁵ and the private sector.

⁵ Please refer to the *Acronyms* page for further information regarding the COCODES and COMUDES.

Acronyms

ASOMUGAGUA	Asociación de Mujeres Garífunas Guatemaltecas (Guatemalan Garífuna Women’s Association)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
COCODES	Consejos Comunitarios de Desarrollo (Community Development Councils)
CODEDES	Consejos Departamentales de Desarrollo (Departmental Development Councils)
CODISRA	Comisión Presidencial contra la Discriminación y el Racismo (Presidential Commission against Discrimination and Racism)
COMUDES	Consejos Municipales de Desarrollo (Municipal Development Councils)
ENCOVI	Encuesta Nacional de Condiciones de Vida (National Survey on Living Conditions)
FDLG	Fideicomiso para el Desarrollo Local en Guatemala (Trust for Local Development in Guatemala)
FODIGUA	Fondo de Desarrollo Indígena Guatemalteco (Guatemalan Indigenous Development Fund)
GUAPA	Guatemala Poverty Assessment Program
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (National Statistics Institute)
ODECO	Organización de Desarrollo Étnico Comunitario (Ethnic Community Development Organisation)
OECD	Organisation for the Economic Co-operation and Development
ONECA	Organización Negra Centroamericana (Central American Black Organisation)
ONEGUA	Organización Negra de Guatemala

(Black Organisation of Guatemala)

SEGEPLAN	Secretaría de Planificación y Programación de la Presidencia (Planning and Programming Secretariat of the Presidency / General Planning Secretariat)
SEPREM	Secretaría Presidencial de la Mujer (Presidential Secretariat for Women)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
URL	Universidad Rafael Landívar (Rafael Landívar University)

Introduction

During a trip to Guatemala in 2008, I observed that Garífuna women are excluded and discriminated against and experience a certain form of vulnerability in society – my interest was piqued as to why this is the case and I decided to further understand their situation. I quickly learned that there was an interesting, and in many ways negative, dynamic between the Garífuna community as a whole and the rest of Guatemalan society. For one, generally speaking the Garínagu,⁶ (henceforth referred to as the ‘Garífuna’ throughout this study) are not very well known throughout the country and are a scarcely discussed group of Guatemalans.

The Garífuna are a community of self-titled afro-descendants from Livingston, situated in the province of Izabal in the eastern parts of the country; and Livingston, ringed as it is by tropical rain forests, is accessible only via the large fresh waterway of the Rio Dulce (refer to Annex I for a map of Guatemala). After some research I was curious to understand: if the Garífuna are considered one of the four main population groups and a part of the larger indigenous community in Guatemala, why are they less known, even unknown and rarely or briefly mentioned in discussions about ethnic and cultural groups in the country?

My initial thinking was that the Garífuna might be refugees or illegal immigrants in Guatemala and therefore unwelcomed and stigmatised in the same way as African and Pilipino immigrants are in South Tel Aviv, Israel for example or even black-skinned Jews. Upon further research, I learnt that the Garífuna are neither refugees nor illegal immigrants. Rather, the Garífuna are the descendants of the intermixing between African slaves (transported from West Africa to the Lesser Antilles via the transatlantic slave trade in the early seventeenth century) and the Caribs and Arawaks from the island of St. Vincent (Gonzalez, 1988; ONEGUA, 1998).⁷ After a forcible exile from St. Vincent by British colonialists, these Black Caribs,⁸ as they were known at the time, were deported to the island of Roatán off the coast of Honduras in 1797 (Hulme, 2006;

⁶ ‘Garínagu’ is the plural of ‘Garífuna’ and therefore the most correct way to address the community. However throughout the preparation of this study, the participating Garífuna auto-identified thusly and furthermore, the majority of the literature refers to the community in the same way. It is not my intention to reproduce any errors in the usage of inappropriate terminologies; rather my goal was to mirror the terminology used by the participating Garífuna themselves, who deemed it appropriate enough.

⁷ The Garífuna themselves were never enslaved, rather they form part of the generation of free people of African and partly African descent to eventually outnumber the total slave population in Guatemala by the mid seventeenth century (Godmundun, 2010). Please refer to Appendix I: Ethnography of the Garífuna for a more comprehensive look at the ethnography of the Garífuna.

⁸ The Garífuna were referred to as Black Caribs (in English) by virtue of their different phonological make-up, which distinguished them from the Yellow and Red Caribs and Arawaks who were native to the island of St. Vincent.

Arrivillaga 2006). They have since rebuilt their culture and identity in Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, and now number approximately 200,000 in Central America (Palacio, 2001). Both formal and informal estimates of the total number of Garífuna in Guatemala range between 3,000 to 10,000 Garífuna,⁹ with a female predominance of approximately 15 women for every 10 men (Trejo, 2009). Furthermore, there are also large communities of Garífuna in the United States; namely in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The Garífuna residents of Labuga (Livingston) began migrating en masse at the start of the 1950's in search of wage labour and better employment opportunities (Arrivillaga, 2006).

Rather than being illegal immigrants or refugees, the Garífuna in Guatemala are in fact Guatemalan citizens; as referenced in the general rights to peace and non-violence of the Peace Accords of 1996, they are regarded as a part of the indigenous population of Guatemala. Furthermore, according to the *Acuerdo Global Sobre Derechos Humanos* (1994) and a letter on the Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous People (1995), when referring to 'indigenous peoples' in Guatemala, it is understood to include the Garífuna people as well as linguistic communities and other indigenous communities (Maya and Xinca) and groups of people whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sectors of the national community, and who are regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by a special legislation.

While in Guatemala City, in my personal time I engrossed myself in learning all that I could about Garífuna history and culture in an attempt at understanding their relationship with the rest of Guatemalan society. I took advantage of resources around me including literature from the United Nations building and gathered general information by discussing causally with colleagues and leafing through some of the available literature in bookstores. Other than historical anthropological descriptions, it was difficult to come by information about the Garífuna and none of it truly allowed me to clearly determine why they are less known, unknown and rarely mentioned in the country. During this time, I was lucky to receive an invitation to a conference entitled "Racism, Discourse and Society" at the Rafael Landívar University, where some light was shed on the issue. The guest speaker, Dr. Marta Casaús Arzú,¹⁰ discussed the privilege and socio-economic prosperity that centuries of racist attitudes and discrimination have secured for Guatemala's oligarchy.

Aside from the information she discussed in the conference, Dr Casaús' body of work tracks the history of dominant groups (including her family) in Guatemala from their kinship networks. She

⁹There is a very large gap in the range of the estimated total number of Garífuna in Guatemala, which speaks of the lack of a centralised and official measuring mechanism to provide an updated and accurate measure for the actual Garífuna population in Guatemala. Even greater, would be documentation of the population broken-down by gender, age, location, etc.

¹⁰ Marta Elena Casaús Arzú is an Associate Professor of History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

explores the evolution of kinship networks in colonial and postcolonial Guatemala, closely studying the economic foundation of these family networks and the structures of power of long duration (starting during the colonial period and lasting up to the present day). During the conference she discussed the Garífuna very briefly; however her presentation and the information I was gathering were instrumental in giving my research direction from that point on.

For one, it was becoming increasingly evident that the discussion and discourse about multiculturalism, which was prevalent while I was in Guatemala City, promotes the notion that Guatemala is a racial democracy on account of the prevalence of multi-ethnic societies and assumes that an inherent state of harmonious relations prevails within the country (Sanchez, 2003: 3; Hale, 2006). However, the preservation of the purity and affluence of Guatemala's minority oligarchy and the discrimination of ethno-racial groups is the actual reality of Guatemala, impacting the most vulnerable sectors of society; namely the indigenous communities and more specifically women and children within these communities.

After seeing the situation of Garífuna women first-hand, I sought to inform myself about the Garífuna community in Guatemala and in neighbouring countries (Belize, Honduras and Nicaragua). My research question was: *Why do Garífuna women experience high levels of poverty in Guatemala and fail to be taken into consideration in key development areas?*

Why focus on the Garífuna and not another indigenous group? The Garífuna in Guatemala are completely on the margins, both geographically and conceptually; one finds little recognition of them in either popular or scholarly terms. There are clear links between the Garífuna community and poverty in the country, however there is a great lack of comprehensive (qualitative and quantitative) data documenting the experiences of the Garífuna and also of data that will allow for better planning and financing of development programmes that specifically target their needs (INE, 2009; Palacio, 2006; Sanchez, 2003; ONEGUA, 1998). The omission of the Garífuna can be attributed, on the one hand, to the fact that donors and governments have only recently begun to look at Afro-descendants. However, there has also been a tendency to regard the deprivation of the Garífuna as being no different from any other group (Sanchez, 2003). In addition, the Garífuna do not have a significant voice in the planning, design or implementation of the policies and activities that directly influence their lives. I focus on the social, economic and political inequalities that contribute to the poverty and lack of development opportunities of Garífuna women in Guatemala¹¹ and on their root causes. More to the point, although the Peace Accords

¹¹ Although the study focuses primarily on the Garífuna in Guatemala, I do use a few examples of the experiences of the Garífuna from Honduras and Belize, and rely on the literature from these countries as it is more abundant perhaps due to the fact that the respective Garífuna populations are larger than in Guatemala.

have been instated (and subsequent agreements ratified, such as CEDAW)¹² with the goal of eliminating discriminatory practices, change has been slow. Instead, there is a tendency in State power spheres and in society to overlook and make invisible the problems of racism, discrimination, and marginalisation and the impacts that they have on the lives of indigenous women and men, who remain poor and lack development opportunities.

The historic and structural omission of the Garífuna in Guatemala ensures that Garífuna women have not been given the same opportunities as women who were born in ‘good’ environments, and who have received adequate nutrition, education, and other opportunities to ensure the full respect of their basic rights (UNICEF, 2008). For Garífuna women, the impacts of discrimination, social exclusion, and limitation are experienced in most inter-ethnic spaces, including the street, health centres, and the market, among other places. This exploratory study thereby seeks to draw attention to the status of Garífuna women in Guatemala which is otherwise not readily visible or appreciated. More specifically, it focuses on analysing the status of Garífuna women based on their family, culture and social environment. It also addresses the inequalities that impact their formal education as well as the problem of malnutrition and the lack of political participation, and the lack of representation, all of which constitute serious obstacles to their enjoyment of human rights, maintain them in poverty and also negatively impact their overall level of development.

Chapter one explores the role of the historic and structural legacy of Guatemala in creating social relations and power imbalances that impact and shape the poverty and development outcomes in indigenous peoples lives. Chapter two explains and contextualises the theories I have used to collect and analyse my data; including intersectionality, the capabilities approach and the theory of emergence for local social innovation. Chapter three outlines the methodology used for collecting data in this study and explains the process undertaken for analysing and interpreting this data. Chapter four outlines the results from the data collection based on the inputs and contributions of respondents. In Chapter five I discuss the inputs of the contributors and results of the data collection to explore some of the factors which contribute to the poverty of the Garífuna in Guatemala, in particular women. In addition, I end with an analysis of what can be done to change the situation for Garífuna women. I conclude the study by revisiting the factors which contribute the most to the high levels of poverty in the Garífuna community and making suggestions for redressing the situation based on the Rio+20 The Future We Want recommendations.

¹² As soon as it was ratified, the Convention became part of Guatemala’s domestic law. However, according to the Guatemala country report, “Guatemalan historians acknowledge incorporation of human rights into [their] legal system during various stages of Guatemala’s social and political development, but enforcing women’s rights to equality with men has proved an uphill battle because of the sexist stereotypes that still exist in [the] country” (CEDAW, 2002:5)

Research Question

When I visited Livingston in Guatemala, I was first impacted by the extent of poverty in the Garífuna community, particularly among women and articulated my research question around their poverty:

Why do Garífuna women experience high levels of poverty in Guatemala and fail to be taken into consideration in key development areas?

The question seeks to understand why, in a country where the government is committed to the Millennium Development Goals and other goals for sustainable development, Garífuna women are so poor. Rather than documenting the rise and falls of national incomes, I am exploring the importance of environments in which people can develop according to their full potential and lead productive and creative lives according to their needs and interests.

When I came to the understanding that racial and gender discrimination were important causes of the poverty of Garífuna women, I wondered why it was so in a country that had legislations in place to fight discrimination as well as other programmes (among them the National Day of the Garífuna) to improve the status of Garífuna. I developed the following sub-questions focused on discrimination and socioeconomic exclusion, and what could be done to correct the situation:

- 1) What are the main causes of poverty and discrimination inherent to:
 - a. The Garífuna community;
 - b. The government and its policies, and;
 - c. The community at large?
- 2) How do Garífuna women experience discrimination?
- 3) Bearing in mind that discrimination is a major cause of the poverty Garífuna women, is this discrimination specific to Garífuna women:
 - a. As compared to women in other ethnic groups in Guatemala; and
 - b. To Garífuna women outside of Guatemala (Belize, Honduras and Nicaragua)?
- 4) Are Garífuna women and the Garífuna community doing anything to address poverty and discrimination?
- 5) What can be done to correct this situation:
 - a. By Garífuna women and the Garífuna community in general;
 - b. Government; and

c. The community at large?

By understanding the underlying causes of the poverty and lack of development opportunities of Garífuna women in Guatemala, one can contribute to increasing the visibility of the issue and start thinking about the possible participatory strategies to address them and improve conditions for the Garífuna community, in particular women. One can identify what the Garífuna and what women in particular can do as well as what can be done by the government, national institutions and other community organisations.

Chapter 1 Poverty in Guatemala: Literature Review

Of all countries in Central America, Guatemala is reportedly the poorest and most unequal (World Bank, 2009). This is the case because the country still maintains practices of social exclusion and discrimination that originated during the colonial period and have lasted, albeit it in new forms, up until the present day.

Discrimination is seen as “the systematic denial of certain peoples' or groups' full human rights because of who they are or what they believe” (Amnesty International, 2012). It refers to the imposition, prejudicial or not, of “a disadvantage on certain persons relative to others [...] the relative nature of the disadvantage that discrimination imposes explains the close connection between discrimination and inequality. A relative disadvantage necessarily involves an inequality with respect to persons in the comparison class” (Altman, 2011). Discriminatory behaviours can take many forms, but they usually involve some form of exclusion or rejection for reasons that can be supported by laws and policies (Lippert-Rasmussen, 2006; Horta, 2010). Discrimination can be based on factors such as race or colour or caste or ethnicity, religion or belief, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, age or health status, disability, language, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or a combination of factors. Discrimination can also be organisational or structural, occurring when the major institutions of a society regularly generate disproportionately disadvantageous outcomes for members of certain groups (Altman, 2011). Experiences of discrimination can be intersectional, meaning that “one and the same person can belong to several distinct groups, each of whose members are victimized by widespread discrimination. This overlapping membership can generate experiences of discrimination that are very different from those of persons who belong to just one, or the other, of the groups” (Crenshaw 1998; AWID 2006).

Exclusion consists of multi-dimensional processes spurred by unequal power relationships across cultural, economic, political and social dimensions, and at different levels, including individual, group, community, country and global levels (Popay, 2008). Through these processes individuals and entire communities of people are systematically blocked from rights, opportunities and resources, such as housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation and due process that are normally available to members of society and which are key to allowing them to realise their full potential (Sen, 1985; Sen and Nussbaum, 2000). Social exclusion commonly describes a state in which people or groups are excluded from social systems and relationships. In most definitions, this state is seen to be associated with extreme poverty and disadvantage (Buvinic, 2004; Popay, 2008). Social exclusion entails a lack of belonging, acceptance and recognition.

Burdens of History: Colonial Legacy

The conquering and colonisation of Guatemala by the Spanish c.1500 was reportedly the start of ethnic polarisation in Guatemala which has solidified the state of discrimination and exclusion that we recognise today. Like many countries, as a result of its colonial history, Guatemala is founded upon systems of belief that are linked by assumptions about descent and biological inheritance, and are mutually reinforced through social practices that originated during the European colonial expansion. The Spanish ideology of race, ethnicity and culture is extremely complex, particularly as the conquistadors were very meticulous about distinguishing themselves from those in the New World who were not of Spanish blood and/or immediately born in Spain. During the colonial period, the New World population consisted of the European conquistadors (otherwise known as the Spanish), the Criollo of Spanish descent born or permanently residing in the New World (now commonly referred to in Guatemala as Ladinos),¹³ the indigenous Amerindian, African slaves, the exiled Garífuna, and the mestizos of mixed heritage.

During the colonial period, the question of biological heritage was tantamount to the existence of the Spanish who were adamant about the distinction between themselves and the criollos of the New World. Between these two groups, the application of classifications by race or biology became prevalent, to the extent that a person was socially classified by virtue of the percentage of Spanish or Amerindian blood or afro-descendence in their biological make-up. For example, a *mestizo* referred to the child of a Spaniard man and an Amerindian woman, or a *castizo* referred to the child of an Amerindian man and a Spaniard woman, and so on and so forth (INE, 2009). Looking as far back as 1492, Guatemalan society was organised and dictated by Spanish conquistadors and their descendents. The Spaniards considered themselves superior to all of these groups, including the criollos whose authenticity and blood inheritance was put to the question.

Emerging out the Spanish ideology of race, the *pureza de sangre* or purity of blood was simply a characteristic that an individual either possessed innately or did not at all; it was not something that could be acquired. Although they were perceived as subordinate by the Spanish, the criollos “ascribed all their good qualities, both real and imaginary, as well as the advantages deriving from their social position, to that inherent and unquestionable status belonging to everyone Spanish” (Neve, 2009: 12). During the colonial period, the use of cultural and biological traits as identifying markers of race for the purpose of identity and discrimination became central perspectives to the foundation of the New World, and were premised upon the subordination of

¹³ ‘Ladino’ identity took shape over the course of the 19th century, more specifically after the Liberal Revolution of 1871. For the first time in Guatemalan history, Criollos joined themselves with Ladinos to govern the country together, and thereby to resolutely exclude the Mesoamerican populations.

non-European and non-white peoples, namely, Mesoamerican peoples and peoples of the African Diaspora (Adams, 2005).

As a result of the diffusion of European ethno-racial and gender-based assumptions throughout the world, Guatemala operates along similar ideological claims; that is to say that as a modern state, it is premised upon notions of biological purity, cultural homogeneity, status stratification and above all patriarchy (Smith, 1995).

As such, one's inheritance through biology and power were primordial determinants of their position and status in society. Colonial society operated according to a system in which inheritance through blood and inheritances through power went hand-in-hand, but were not necessarily synonymous. According to this ideology of blood inheritance, the Spanish considered themselves an exclusive elite group by virtue of having received biologically inherited traits and characteristics from their Caucasian ancestors. With this biological inheritance also came exclusive access to economic and political power, property, and authority: "within this discourse, race was constructed as a biological category, and the assertion of white biological superiority was used to justify economic and political inequalities ranging from settler colonialism to slavery" (Frankenberg, 1993: 13); whereas gender was used as a biological category based on the assertion of male superiority. The legacies of the inheritance of blood and power have moulded national identity and influenced the cohesion of social belonging according to the belief of Hispanic biological superiority; mapping hierarchy, favouritism and inequity between the three national groups: the white Spanish-European elite, also known as the *creoles* or *criollos*; the Ladinos, who in the eyes of the creoles are people of intermixing and therefore of impure and non-legitimate lineage; and the ethno-racial afro-descendent Garifuna and Mesoamerican Maya and Xinca populations. Although it contradicts the colonial *pureza de sangre* (*blood purity*) ideology,¹⁴ today the separation between the Creoles and the Ladinos along bloodlines is more blurred (Smith, 1995; Arenas, et al., 1999; Hale, 2006). In many ways, this legacy has extended into modern day Guatemala.

By the nineteenth century, social fragmentation further degenerated with the introduction of technological innovations and the onslaught of foreign migrations bolstered ideas of ladino superiority, where to be ladino (from a ladino perspective and not a European or Spanish viewpoint) was synonymous with being Western, urban, modern and progressive (Oettler, 2008). The indigenous were thereby perceived as rural and were typecast as having inclinations towards depravity, laziness, idleness and crime (González, 2004). During this period, miscegenation as a means of nation building was unfathomable as were any references to *mestizaje* or the mixing of origins, especially given that ethnic and cultural diversity were perceived as negative aspects of

¹⁴ Pureza de sangre ideology refers to the perceived inferiority of non-European, non-white and darker-skinned people (inclusive of Ladino, Mesoamerican and black peoples) and the denial of their humanity.

society and also as an obstacle to development and progress (INE, 2009; Vanthuyne, 2009). The written media, dominated by the literate elite minority, also played its part in consolidating racial prejudice, creating intercultural distancing and reinforcing ethnic polarity among the rest of society, all of which still persists today. Instead of contributing to the formation of a sentiment of national community, the Guatemalan press encouraged the vilification and denigration of the indigenous, of afro-descendants, of Asians, and even of Ladinos whose blood lineage was not considered pure or directly linked with Spain or Europe. It reflected the hegemonic mentality of the agro-exporting economic and intellectual elite, and valued white supremacy as well as the regulation of pigmentation and social mobility (González, 2004; Bastos *et al.*, 2007).

By the twentieth century, the elites of Guatemala were officially influenced by racist doctrines originating in Europe and the United States. Of these doctrines, one of the most insidious beliefs was that of what some call positivism or substantive racism, which suggests that on the issue of ethnicity and race all non-white persons are inferior to white people irrespective of gender (Conniff and Davis, 1994; Arthur, 2007): “the concept of race is linked to concepts such as degeneration, regeneration, hybridisation and eugenics” (Casaús, 2007). Inspired by the prevailing global attitudes of the time, Central American elites began using science to justify racial attitudes towards Mesoamerican and afro-descendent communities, placing them at the bottom of the social order and regulating them through capital and labour by attributing negative characteristics which they claimed were an outcome of blood or genetic inheritance (Murji and Solomos, 2005). Racism included beliefs of naturalism or the notion that racial differences are natural. Today, substantive racism relies strongly on cultural arguments and manifests itself in the form of minimalisation, which is the belief that discrimination is no longer a central factor that affects the life chances of minorities (Hale, 2002; Arthur, 2007).

This very idea of whitening society and eliminating the afro or indigenous element has been extremely destructive, so much so as to contribute directly to the events of what we now know as the Guatemalan genocide: “emblanqueamiento remains a preferred option and elites still emphasize or invent northern European family pedigrees and cultural accoutrements in order to overcome any perceived or real handicaps associated with being of non-white ancestry” (Sanchez, 2003: 5). For thirty-six years beginning in the early 1960s, Guatemala was tormented by an armed conflict between the military and leftist revolutionary forces. Underlying this civil war was a ruthless genocide¹⁵ also referred to as ethnocide;¹⁶ which was a concerted effort,

¹⁵ While the definition of genocide varies according to scholars, a definition agreed upon in 1948 by the United Nations Convention on the Prevention of and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG) refers to genocide, in Article 2, as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group” (<http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html>).

primarily on behalf of the Guatemalan state and the elite, to forcefully assimilate the “national” culture, language and faith and racially cleanse Guatemala starting with the indigenous population (CEH, 1999; Cott, 2000). The local UN Clarification Commission traced 93% of more than 200,000 assassinations to the Guatemalan state; Maya people were the victims of 83% of these killings, not to mention disappearances and displacements (Barrett, 2010).

Although the war was grounded in socio-economic factors, the historic marginalization of the indigenous population was one of its main features. In many ways it was a product of widespread campaign to purify the nation by assimilating, westernising or ladinising the Maya; all of which essentially entailed alienating and exterminating all things Maya (Bastos *et al.*, 2007). The Guatemalan Historical Clarification Commission (CEH) reports show that 83 percent of victims were of Mayan origin and 17 percent were Ladino (1999). State forces were responsible for the overwhelming majority of these crimes, some of which the CEH described as genocidal in nature.

For women, in addition to genocide and ethnic cleansing, Guatemala’s internal armed conflict was punctuated by mass state-sponsored sexual violence and femicides; that is, gender-motivated killings or the systematic and targeted killings of women by men, carried out with extreme brutality, using rape and sexual torture as a tactic of war, which continue today in the post-war setting (Russell, 2001; CSRG, 2006; Godoy-Paiz, 2012).¹⁷ For feminist researchers, these murders place gender at the centre of analysis and are specifically termed ‘femicides’ for the way in which they are carried out against women—“with hate as evidenced by the targeted mutilation of parts of a woman’s body that symbolize her femininity, such as her reproductive organs, breasts, and face” (Godoy-Paiz, 2012: 91). Taken within the historical, political, social and cultural ethnic cleansing context of the country, femicides can be understood as the elimination of undesirable members of society; namely, indigenous people, the poor, and women: these acts of violence occur “within complex webs of power, marked by particular social attitudes and practices toward women, their bodies, and their rights” (Godoy-Paiz, 2012: 94; Amnesty International, 2005).

Currently, Guatemala has the highest per capita murder rates with approximately 6,000 murders annually (Godoy-Paiz, 2012), and similarly to the remaining Central American region, rates of gender-based crime against women are escalating rapidly: “violence is embedded in historical processes of inequality and marginalisation along ethnic, class and gender lines” (Godoy-Paiz,

¹⁶ Ethnocide is related to the concept of genocide and refers specifically to the killing of a nation; however unlike the term ‘genocide’ which has entered international law, ‘ethnocide’ is more commonly used among sociologists and a single definition has yet to be determined. While the CPPCG (see above footnote) refers to genocide as acts committed against national, ethnic, racial or religious groups, ethnocide is defined within this context as crimes motivated by ethnicity.

¹⁷ In 2005, the Centre for Gender and Refugee Studies reported increasing numbers in the murders (mostly from domestic violence) of women between 2002 and 2004 and a systematic failure of the government to protect women.

2012: 105). In the aftermath of the Civil War, over 4,000 women have been murdered in Guatemala since 2000 (GHRC, 2010) and the greatest proportion of this escalating violence has been “directed towards indigenous women as a means of damaging the social fabric of indigenous communities, and of creating a climate of terror in the country” (CEH, 1999; Godoy-Paiz, 2012) – an Amnesty International (2005) report entitled “Guatemala: No Protection, No Justice: Killings of Women in Guatemala”, reveals that over three years span, the number of women murdered annually has almost tripled from 163 women in 2002, to 383 in 2003 and over 527 in 2004.

As Marcela Lagarde (2007) argues, these murders against women unfold in particular locations, social settings and historical moments, and are “a consequence of the social arrangements that permit the phenomenon to proliferate” (Godoy-Paiz, 2012: 92), that normalise gender-based violence and that enable misogynist conducts to occur with social impunity on the part of the state (Forster, 1999). These deeper causes underlying the magnitude of this systematic form of violence against indigenous women include social inequalities and high levels of poverty along class, ethnic, gender and geographical lines, as well as legal impunity. In addition to underlying causes, Guatemala’s femicides and sexual violence have important long-term impacts that stem well beyond body counts and murder rates and that impact the community at large.¹⁸ There is a push among feminist researchers for data and information around femicide that emphasises the lived experiences of these women (victims and survivors), as well as their family members who are often left behind and forced to continue to live and work alongside men who are suspected sexual offenders and murders, but who remain untried and unpunished: “sexual violence [has an] impact on women’s lives—their education, work, and family histories” (Godoy-Paiz, 2012:102).

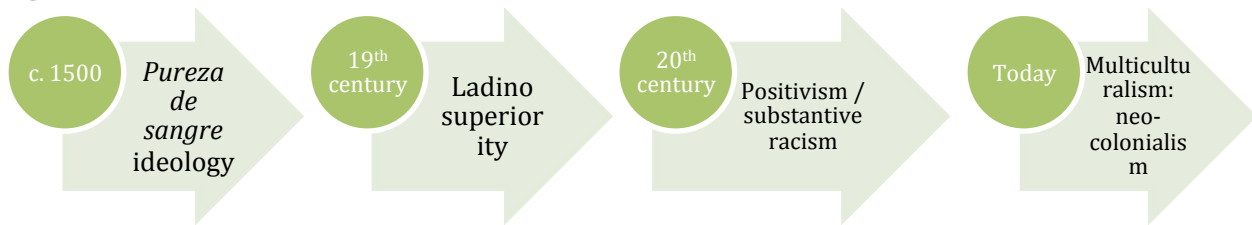
In 1996, with the signing of the Peace Agreements, the 36 years of internal armed conflict have come to a close, starting a new chapter in the nation’s history. The Peace Agreements contain commitments intended to establish the rule of law in Guatemala, to build and strengthen democracy and the possibility of broad participation by the people in national affairs, but above all, to overcome the profound social exclusion and social, economic, cultural and political inequalities that have characterised the country for centuries, affecting the poor, women and the indigenous and rural populations the most.

¹⁸ Although a culture of silence pervades Guatemala and the state does not provide support to women at risk of femicide (Forster, 1999), it is important to note that despite the escalating rates of femicide in Guatemala, indigenous women are not victims of their circumstances and have mobilised around the issue of violence against women in various ways: in 2006, the Comisión Nacional Para el Abordaje del Femicidio (National Commission to Address Femicide) was established to investigate and develop strategies for the government to respond to the mass killings of women; other activist organisations include: Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres (Guatemala Women’s Group), the Red de la no Violencia Contra la Mujer (No Violence Against Women Network), which led to the creation of the National Coordinator for the Prevention of Violence within the Family and Against Women (CONPREVI) (Godoy-Paiz, 2012).

Multiculturalism: Neo-colonialism Disguised

With its roots deeply ingrained in the colonial period, Guatemala is an exclusionary state and political regime. The colonial powers established a “rigid race-based class hierarchy and concentrated productive resources in the hands of a tiny elite”, facilitating three hundred years of colonial domination and two hundred years of centralised, oligarchic rule (Cott, 2000: 2). As shown in Figure 1, racism and ethnic discrimination have evolved and transformed over time:

Figure 1: Evolution of racism and ethnic discrimination over time in Guatemala



To speak of transformation over time is not to say that ethno-racial discrimination has dissolved and there are no longer any traces remaining, but rather that State, institutional, interpersonal and structural ethno-racism persists in new forms in the state-endorsed ‘multicultural discourse’ of the post-civil war Guatemala (Bastos *et al.*, 2007; Roddy *et al.*, eds, 2010). This ideology of multiculturalism is particularly significant as it acknowledges Guatemala’s ethnic diversity and recognises cultural difference through “the now ubiquitous official affirmations that, ‘we are a multi-ethnic, pluri-lingual society’ (Hale, 2002: 492); while the reality remains that belonging to an indigenous or non-indigenous group in Guatemala is an important mode of identification with adverse social, economic, political and cultural consequences.

Because contemporary Guatemala is rooted in historical processes of conquest, colonisation, and the movement of migrants, it is truly a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-lingual country. However, the ideologies that motivated the conquest and colonisation have left the country divided, where the identity and political, economic, social and cultural rights of the Garífuna, Maya and Xinca peoples are neither fully recognised nor respected (Cott, 2000; Vanthuyne, 2009). The indigenous peoples of Guatemala have been particularly subject to genuinely high levels of discrimination, exploitation and inequality on account of their origin, ethnicity, culture, language and the like: “affirmations of [multi-ethnicity and multi-lingualism] are filled with ambiguity regarding the specific collective rights that follow from recognition, the mechanisms required to guarantee full enjoyment of these rights, and the relationship between individual and collective rights” (Hale, 2002: 492).

Today, Guatemala is made up of four main population groups: the Maya, the Garífuna, the Xinca and the Ladino (loosely defined as persons of European and mixed descent). This last group can be further broken down into two groups: the Creoles of European descent and the Ladino of mixed blood, where “ladino” represents an extremely diverse group). From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, there are 24 communities in Guatemala, 22 of them being Maya, one Garífuna, and

the last Xinca. According to the National Statistics Institute, the Maya population accounts for 39 percent of the Guatemalan population and it, in turn, comprises four main groups: the K'iche' (28.8%), the Q'eqchi' (19.3%), the Kaqchikel (18.9%) and the Mam (14%). These four communities represent 81 percent of the country's Maya population.

The contrast between the prevailing ideology of multiculturalism in contemporary Guatemala and the previous notions of citizenship, nation building and societal development that were predicated on the image cultural homogeneity through absolute erasure is stark (Hale, 2002). The edict of multiculturalism calls for relations of tolerance and mutual respect among all identity groups. However, in spite of the transition and its accompanying rhetoric, in reality multiculturalism is simply a disguised form of exclusion and inequality, a form of neo-colonialism in which the political elite and their colonial values have not significantly shifted neoliberal political and economic reforms that create and exacerbate race and class-based societal inequities: it is “a *mestizaje* discourse of the millennium, offering a parallel mix of opportunity and peril” (Hale, 2002: 491).

The last decade has been characterised by a large-scale rise in the mobilisation and activism of indigenous peoples (particularly the Maya) struggling over their representation and the substantive expansion of their rights (Hale, 2002; Bastos *et al.*, 2007; Vanthuyne, 2009). Multiculturalism is paradoxical in that it manifests itself as an acceptance and recognition of the Maya, but in reality it is a failure to relinquish centralised power and responsibility to the culturally oppressed members of society. Furthermore, multiculturalism is managed, in that its proponents, the provincial elite Ladino in highland Guatemala, celebrate cultural pluralism but effect little lasting change for the culturally oppressed group (Goldberg, 1994). This is to say that they limit and structure the space within which cultural activism takes place by attempting to distinguish what rights are acceptable for the culturally oppressed and excluded to have from those that are not. Even more important, this form of neoliberal multiculturalism, as Charles Hale (2002: 490) refers to it, “structures the space cultural activists occupy, define the language of contention, state which rights are legitimate, what forms of political action are appropriate for achieving them, and even weighing in on basic questions of what it means to be indigenous”.

According to Hale (2002: 490), multiculturalism in this form is problematic, particularly for the middle class Ladinos who are reluctant to break away from existing power structures and are afraid that the Maya mean to reverse these powers. All the while, they criticise racism (except the older generations who are generally openly racist) of the past and “believe indigenous culture should be respected, and that a principle of equality regardless of cultural difference ought to prevail. In other words, even those with the most to lose endorse some facets of multiculturalism, *so long as it does not go too far*”.

Today we see a form of internal colonisation and the continuation of a doctrine in which certain groups experience endemic exclusion and are thereby locked into conditions of relative or

absolute poverty for the reason that they do not conform to the ideological conception of Guatemalan national identity (Bastos *et al.*, 2007). Data from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 2003 Annual Report reveals that:

38. In the report's chapter on **the situation of indigenous peoples**, the IACHR remarks that **they continue to be systematically excluded from the country's social, economic, and political life, to the clear detriment of their well-being and development**, both as individuals and as a group. Although the trend of legislation in the past decade has been piecemeal laws for recognition and protection of indigenous rights, in practice this has not resulted in effective implementation of the legal provisions. This situation of social exclusion and marginalization is also evident in the indigenous peoples' lack of access to justice, and the impunity for violations of their human rights committed during the armed conflict. Compensation for victims is unfinished business. Social exclusion is also rife in terms of indigenous peoples' political participation, and the disputes over lands belonging to them.

39. The chapter on **the situation of women** noted **that they too have not been able to participate significantly in public office and have not fully benefited from the fruits of the country's development, because of historical patterns of gender discrimination**. There are still discriminatory domestic laws, such as the requirement that a woman be honorable to be considered a victim of a sexual crime, the difference in the age requirement for women and men to marry, and the lack of precise treatment of women and children in laws on working conditions. There is also concern over the level of violence against women, and their lack of effective access to the legal system to redress it. **Women and men are treated differently in their access to basic services**. It is harder for women than for men to **exercise their economic and labor rights**. The conditions in which they work and the remuneration they receive are unfair and not equal to those that apply to men. Women are proportionately poorer than men, and have less access to education and health services.

Source: OEA/Ser.L/V/II.118, Doc. 5 rev. 2, 29 December 2003

The problem with multiculturalism is that it has been applied more in discourse than in practice: "exclusionary attitudes towards nonwhites are reflected in policies and actions of institutions and individuals at all levels of society" (Handy, 1984; Sanchez, 2003:5). The truth is that the purity of blood ideology exists on a more normative level, implying rather than overtly stating a belief in Hispanic superiority, as people of European origin or lineage continue to lead structured lives that give them a distinct ethno-racial, as well as socio-economic and political advantage over the darker-skinned or simply non-white population. For the Criollo, the main idea behind the purity of blood ideology was "that certain racial features coincided with certain levels of human

development” (Neve, 2009:12). Similarly, modern day institutions favour European descendents (the elite) and lighter-skinned nationals; in Gramscian terms, this fundamental class, whose membership is conferred by a family network, are the spokespersons for the ideology of their group, relaying the social imaginary of their race. They are mediators between one era to another, enabling their family units to preserve the hegemony of their group.

Racial, ethnic, gender and cultural inequalities are a part of the hegemonic mentality that has enabled the regressive modernization of both state and economy in Guatemala since the post-colonial era, well into the late nineteenth century and the present day (González, 2004). “Guatemala remains a colonial society because of conditions that arose centuries ago when imperial Spain held sway have endured” (Neve, 2009: xxvi). These inequalities impact most on ensuring that the country remains the poorest and that development is slow. Poverty is multidimensional and is associated “with (a) a low level and productivity of assets, which constrain opportunities; (b) exclusion from institutional, social and political spheres; and (c) vulnerability to risks and shocks” (GUAPA, 2000). While development is “defined as [the] process of enlarging people’s choices and enhancing human freedoms and capabilities (the range of what people can be and do), enabling them to live a long and healthy life, have access to knowledge and a decent standard of living and participate in the life of their community and decisions affecting their lives” (UNDP, 2009). Reports from 2000 state that the rate of poverty in Guatemala is significantly high with over half, that is nearly 60% of the population, living in poverty: “the drop of poverty incidence since 1990 is slightly lower than what would have been predicted given Guatemala’s growth rates, suggesting that growth is not particularly ‘pro-poor’” (World Bank, 2004).

According to the Executive Director of the Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America, persistent gaps due to race, ethnicity and gender make it highly unlikely that the majority of countries in Latin America will meet the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs; see Box 1 below containing the MDGs and their related targets) for all citizens by the year 2015 (Telles, 2007). Despite the pledge in the year 2000 to achieve the MDGs coupled with the declaration of the World Conference against Racism, adopted by all Latin American and Caribbean countries, ethnic groups continue to suffer from social gaps spurred by ethno-racial and gender discrimination and are thereby left behind when it comes to reaching the MDGs. In Guatemala, exclusion is not inevitable; rather it results from societal and cultural processes that are arbitrary—ethnic groups are excluded due to ascribed rather than achieved features and have been locked into inequality and poverty conditions over generations.

Eleven years ago, Guatemala committed itself internationally to halving hunger and extreme poverty, improving maternal and child health, eradicating illiteracy, combating HIV/AIDS, ensuring gender equality, promoting sustainable development (i.e. MDGs and related targets), and establish a global partnership for development by the year 2015. It did so given that the

nation has been immersed in circumstances of extreme deprivation and continues to experience a crisis of human rights, given that the way in which people are forced to live is contrary to their well-being and violates their dignity. According to Maria Castro from the *Secretariat of Planning and Programming* (SEGEPLAN), Guatemala is making slow and uneven progress towards meeting the MDGs, particularly in the areas of maternal health and education. Persistent problems include high rates in maternal mortality and illiteracy.

Box 1: Millennium Development Goals and related targets ¹⁹	
Millennium Development Goals	Targets
Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	<p>Target 1a: Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day</p> <p>Target 1b: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people</p> <p>Target 1c: Reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger</p>
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education	Target 2a: Ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary schooling
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women	Target 3a: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015
Goal 5: Improve maternal health	<p>Target 5a: Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio</p> <p>Target 5b: Achieve, by 2015, universal access to reproductive health</p>

¹⁹ I am basing myself on the MDGs and not another model, as they reflect the international dominant standard for the progress of development.

<p>Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases</p>	<p>Target 6a: Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS</p> <p>Target 6b: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it</p>
<p>Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability</p>	<p>Target 7a: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources</p> <p>Target 7b: Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss</p> <p>Target 7c: Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation</p> <p>Target 7d: Achieve significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers, by 2020</p>

In terms of eradicating extreme poverty, the government of Guatemala has set objectives to enhance the quality of life and reduce poverty through a process that is said “free, democratic, fair, equitable, prosperous, inclusive, and participatory, affording opportunity for all and ensuring that the fruits of progress are shared by all” (IDB, 2008). However, for some time now, Guatemala has had an irregular record of poverty. According to official statistics, in 2000 approximately 16 percent of the population was living in extreme poverty—on incomes of less than a dollar a day (Benítez, 2009). However, this number rose in 2004 to 21.5 percent, where the transmission of intergenerational poverty was measured at 51 percent in 2006 (IDB, 2008). The current goal is for the percentage of the total population experiencing extreme poverty to fall under 10 percent by 2015 (IDB, 2008; Benítez, 2009). Furthermore, Guatemala is currently facing difficulties achieving universal primary education and improving literacy among ages 15 to 24 years. So much so that the second progress report of the fulfilment of the MDGs in Guatemala in 2006, held data from 2002 in which literacy was estimated to be 82 percent among the aforementioned age groups (Benítez, 2009). Statistics show that rural indigenous women and girls fall the farthest behind by comparison to the rest of the nation, where 6 out of 10 indigenous women cannot read or write (Benítez, 2009).

Thus far, Guatemala has successfully reduced the maternal mortality rate from 248 deaths per 100,000 live births in 1989 to 121 per 100,000 in 2005 (Benítez, 2009). However, the target of 62 maternal deaths per 100,000 in 2015 is still far off since maternal deaths occur primarily among indigenous women in rural areas with the least access to health care (SEGEPLAN, 2009). Maria Castro from SEGEPLAN maintains that “maternal deaths are the principal indicator of exclusion in Guatemala” (Benítez, 2009).

The marginalisation of certain groups in society occurs as part of the legacy of patriarchy and colonialism, and also due to misconceptions of the idea of ‘racial democracy’. The concept of racial democracy is not a negative one; however in many ways it represents the notion that racism is inexistent because of the prevalence of multi-ethnic societies and of multiculturalism, and also assumes that harmonious relations are inherent and prevail within such an environment (Hale, 2006; Sanchez, 2003: 3).

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I describe the theoretical models that I used throughout this study to analyse and explain the problematic of poverty, discrimination and the lack of development opportunities as it impacts Garífuna women in Guatemala:

- (a) Intersectionality as articulated in the integrated and standpoint feminist teachings of Patricia Hill Collins (2000) and Dill and Zambrana (2009);
- (b) The capabilities approach as articulated by Amartya Sen (1985; 2000) and Martha Nussbaum (1993, 2000) who developed the approach from a gender perspective; and
- (c) The theory of emergence for local social innovation as articulated by Margaret Wheatley and Deborah Frieze (2006).

Studying these approaches allowed me to determine what kind of data I was interested in collecting, and by what means. These approaches also helped shape the way in which I chose to design and present my ideas throughout this study. I have chosen these theories also because they complement each other in their concern to create systemic change, and are explicitly founded on social justice principles and the elimination of poverty and social exclusion for marginalized groups, particularly women. To be founded in social justice principles entails a belief that every individual and group within a society has a right to civil liberties, equal opportunities, moral freedoms and responsibilities, and fairness and participation in the educational, economic, institutional/political and social spheres that are valued by the community. Furthermore, each theory is gendered, in that they look at the differential impacts between women and men.

2.1 Intersectionality

The integrated feminist analysis based on the incorporated teachings of African American feminists, the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, and the Association for Women in Development, is centred on the lives and lived experiences of those that are marginalised and specifically employs a multi-dimensional analysis to understand how multiple forces work together and interact to reinforce conditions of inequality and social exclusion. It is important in the context of this study and complements the other theories, in that it accounts for the complexity of women's lives and takes into consideration the full diversity of women's lived experiences.

As an African female feminist researcher, there are two things I strive to apply in research; the first is to write from an anti-oppression standpoint and challenge the existing hierarchical modes of creating and distributing knowledge and power. I do not want to reproduce male-dominated Western social science epistemologies that question women as 'knowers' and that legitimise knowledge that only considers men's experiences and observations (Harding, 1987).

In order to challenge these hierarchical modes of knowledge and power, my work emphasises the importance of examining the personal and lived experiences of women in mainstream society and seeks to reveal knowledge about their social worlds, which would otherwise remain obscured by traditional androcentric (or male-centric) claims of universalism.²⁰ I do this by accounting for ‘interlocking systems of oppression’ (Collins, 2000) and applying an intersectional analysis; this means realising throughout the research process and in the presentation of my data that women face multiple challenges and opportunities, and that they live many varied experiences. There is no single factor that defines the outcome of a woman’s life; rather there are multiple factors that must be taken into consideration at all times. Research conducted from an intersectionality framework is attentive to issues of difference, the questioning of social power, resistance to scientific oppression, and a commitment to political activism and social justice (Hesse-Biber et al., 2004: 3).

I chose the theory of intersectionality as it is both a feminist theory and a methodology for research that addresses multiple discriminations and helps us understand how different sets of identities impact on access to rights and opportunities. An intersectional analysis is characterised by four theoretical interventions:

- “(i) Placing the lived experiences and struggles of people of colour and other marginalised groups as a starting point for the development of theory;
- (ii) Exploring complexities not only of individual identities but also group identity, recognising that variations within groups are often ignored and essentialised;
- (iii) Unveiling the ways interconnected domains of power organise and structure inequality and oppression; and
- (iv) Promoting social justice and social change by linking research and practice to create a holistic approach to the eradication of disparities and to changing social and higher education institutions” (Dill and Zambrana, 2009: 5).

While most women are in some ways subject to gender discrimination, other factors such as race and skin colour, ethnicity, ancestry, culture, geographic location, language, age, caste, sexual orientation, religion, socio-economic class, ability, and status as a migrant, indigenous person, refugee or internally displaced person, child, person living with HIV/AIDS, among others, combine to determine one’s social location. “Intersectionality is an analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways in which gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege” (AWID,

²⁰ In the context of this study, the term ‘universalism’ refers to the assumption that whatever is found to be true for men is automatically also true for women, and thereby fails to account for the differences in male and female experiences (Hesse-Biber, 2004).

2004: 1).²¹ The idea is not to list every form of oppression, but rather to ensure that every individual is taken into account.

My secondary objective is to first admit that I am not a neutral observer, analyser or narrator; that I act from within the social relations and subject positions that I seek to change, and must therefore remain connected to the best of my ability to the research process and subsequently to my research subjects (Razack, 1998). That is to say, that I strive to remain situated as a researcher on the same plane as the researched, such that we are similarly positioned within the knowledge-building process. Pursuing research from this standpoint has enabled me as a researcher to generate new qualitative knowledge about the Garífuna from the viewpoint of the Garífuna community. The act of situating oneself in partnership with the researched, as opposed to being above and beyond them, allows for a more multidimensional perspective on the way in which communities are structured economically, socially and politically, also on the way in which members of the community promote or inhibit socio-economic or socio-political activism (AWID, 2004). It is important to note that this study does not seek to create the impression that the Garífuna, in particular Garífuna women, have only been victims, but rather that they are effective social agents with the capability and agency to adapt and negotiate space on their behalf and on behalf of others.

2.2 Capabilities Approach

The core focus of the capabilities approach is on human development, in terms of what individuals are able to do (capable of doing) for themselves, with an emphasis on individual differences, balance of materialistic and non-materialistic factors for well-being and welfare, concerned with the distribution of opportunities in society. “The premise of this theory is that human beings share some nearly universal capabilities; what makes a human life fulfilling is the opportunity to exercise these capabilities” (Vogt, 2005:111-123). The theory builds on equality of opportunities and substantive freedoms that make a difference in what individuals are capable of achieving for a full life.

The basic goal of development is to create an environment that enables people to enjoy a long, healthy and creative life – this aspect of development is often overshadowed by the preoccupation for economic growth, the creation of wealth and the accumulation of material goods and money.

In principle, human development shifts the concern for all things economic to focus on people, who are both the beneficiaries of development and the agents who can improve their lives. Simply defined, human development is the process of enlarging choices—whether they are economic, social, political or cultural—to achieve the optimum level of well-being. Given that

²¹ In the context of this study, the focus is on gender as it intersects with race and skin colour, ethnicity, language, ancestry, culture, geographic location, and status as an indigenous person.

people are the focus of development efforts, then development efforts should aim at augmenting the range of choices in all areas of human undertaking for every human being.

According to the combined teachings of Amartya Sen (1985; 2000) and Martha Nussbaum (1993, 2000) and the first Human Development Report (1990), enlarging choices for every human being is fundamentally linked to two things: capabilities and opportunities. Aside from valuing consumable goods and services, human beings also value things that cannot be consumed, such as activities or functions that reinforce human dignity and self-respect; namely being well nourished, living long and healthy lives and taking part in the community. It follows that, the capability of a person stands for the diverse combinations of functionings and activities a person can achieve; it represents the substantive freedoms to achieve functionings and activities.²² Enlarging choices for a person entails the formation or enhancement of capabilities. Human capabilities can be increased through the development of human resources, including: good health and nutrition, education and skill training (knowledge), a decent standard of living and human freedoms, and cultural liberty (UNDP, 2004).

However, capabilities are essentially useless unless opportunities exist for them to be used. Such opportunities include leisure, productive purposes or participation in social, political or cultural affairs. Economic opportunities can be created through improved access to productive resources, such as employment or even receiving a form of credit, and the like. Political opportunities require polity and other conditions.

When viewed as an equation, human capabilities plus economic, political and social opportunities to use those capabilities are equal to human development, in so far as there is an appropriate balance between capabilities and opportunities. Human development is both a process and an outcome – as a process, it is about the course through which choices are enlarged and as an outcome, it is about expanding the number of people that have enhanced choices and can increasingly value the non-consumable aspects of their lives.

The human development concept implies that people must influence the processes that shape their lives; this is to say that people must participate in decision-making processes, in the process of implementing those decisions, and lastly in the process of monitoring and making changes to improve outcomes whenever necessary. Human development is development for and by people; it involves the process of building human capabilities through the development of human

²² For Nussbaum, who elaborates the capabilities framework from a gender perspective, she views Sen's perspective on 'freedoms' as being too vague. In her opinion "we must make commitments about substance" (Nussbaum, 2003:33); that is, develop and specify a central list of capabilities that will not constitute a complete theory of social justice but rather serve as "the basis for a decent social minimum in a variety of areas" (Nussbaum, 2000: 74-75).

resources and implies that the benefits of growth will translate into the lives of people such that they are able to participate actively in influencing the processes that shape their lives.

The capabilities approach has emerged as the dominant approach with the human development paradigm. At the same time, it has received a lot of criticism as a theory of development (Mukherjee-Reed, 2008). Some shortcomings of this theory include the fact that it is centred too much on individual agency and advancement; that it pays insufficient attention to social structures and groups, to resources and, in general, to the environment, all of which can influence the way we consider well-being, and the way we choose the ways and means towards well-being. The capabilities approach is critiqued for its Marxian liberal focus on distribution (of non-material goods, such as rights, opportunity, power and self-respect), which is said to ignore and obscure the institutional context in which this distribution takes place, as well as the structures or practices and the rules and norms which guide them. It is argued that, this liberal distributive model is premised on “accommodating political demands *within* existing structures of property rights, gender relations, and divisions of labour and cultural norms” (Mukherjee-Reed, 2008:14). In many ways, the distributive model normalises the existing structures and can actually increase the potential for exploitation of certain social groups, which is in direct contradiction of the tenets of human development.

The theory of emergence, discussed below, complements the capabilities approach by placing emphasis on the importance of connections and the creation of networks to engender communities of practice that will institute a participatory transformative change.

2.3 Theory of Emergence for Local Social Innovation

The theory of emergence promotes the concept of transformative change and is particularly relevant in this study of the Garífuna community, in particular women, in that it teaches the progressive and sustainable dismantling of and liberation from oppressive systems to create an innovative way of being that cannot be undone. This theory de-emphasises change from a top-down, preconceived strategic plan, or from the mandate of any single individual or boss; it is participatory and inclusive. The teachings of the theory of emergence are very much in line with the tenets of integrated feminism, which seeks to challenge power and privilege, and above all validate alternative worldviews and knowledge.

The theory of emergence for local social innovation as proposed by Margaret Wheatley and Deborah Frieze (2006) has been most instrumental in allowing me to understand the relevance of generating a system-wide transformative change that would emerge locally but would grow to not only impact Garífuna women but benefit indigenous women as a whole and contribute to advancing sustainable human development at the national level (Refer to Chapter 5, section 5.3).

The emergence theory evolved out of an initiative to learn how local social innovation can provide solutions to many ‘intractable’ community issues. Emergence theory maintains that: “change never happens as a result of top-down, pre-conceived strategic plans, or from the mandate of any single individual or boss. Change begins as local actions that spring up simultaneously in many different areas. If these changes remain disconnected, nothing happens beyond each locale. However, when they become connected, local actions can emerge as a powerful system with influence at a [larger] or comprehensive level” (Wheatley and Frieze, 2006: 3).

The theory of emergence begins with the principle that the world does not change one person at a time; rather it is participatory and occurs as a result of the formation of networks of relationships among people sharing a common cause and vision of what is possible. The idea in bringing about this type of change is not convincing the greatest number of people or sensitising a critical mass to the need for change; the idea is to foster critical connections with ‘kindred spirits’ to develop new knowledge, new practices, renewed courage and commitment that will lead to a transformative change. Transformative change is a different initiative in the sense that it opposes itself to working within existing structures and frameworks, which are oppressive and exclusionary:

“As networks grow and transform into active, collaborative communities, we discover how Life truly changes, which is through emergence. When separate, local efforts connect with each other as networks, then strengthen as communities of practice, suddenly and surprisingly a new system emerges at a greater level of scale. This system of influence possesses qualities and capacities that were unknown in the individuals. It isn’t that they were hidden; they simply don’t exist until the system emerges. They are the properties of the system, not the individual, but once there, individuals possess them. And the system that emerges always possesses greater power and influence than is possible through planned, incremental change. Emergence is how life creates radical change and takes things to scale” (Frieze and Wheatley, 2006:1).

Transformative change is directed towards altering structures and frameworks that do not support the participation of all members of society, the formation of critical connections, collaborations and communities of practice, and presenting alternatives to these structures and frameworks.

Using the theory of emergence throughout this study was both a successful endeavour and a challenge. It is very much unlike any Western assumption of how change should occur and its understanding requires a difficult process of unlearning what is ingrained in us. For this reason, the theory and its application takes some time to understand.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Information and Data Collection

In keeping with the theories presented in the previous chapter, I focused on collecting qualitative data and privileged a bottom-up approach towards research. I began by asking questions about how women and men actually live their lives in Guatemala, building upwards from there, accounting for the various influences that shape the lives and experiences of the different ethnic groups, then of women's lives and experiences within these groups. As per the teachings of intersectionality and standpoint feminism, I collected specific data about the experiences of women living at the margins, about the poorest of the poor, and women suffering different types of oppression. My research is informed by personal accounts and testimonies, by the experiences and views, and the data is disaggregated according to race, ethnicity, sex and other identities. The analysis aims to reveal how practices and policies in Guatemala shape the lives of those impacted as compared to the lives of those not subject to similar influences.

My analysis of the poverty and lack of development opportunities does not end at finding that women are disproportionately poor in given regions, but continues on to explore which groups of women are the poorest and lack development opportunities; which policies and practices contribute to their poverty and lack of opportunities; and whether existing development projects and policy initiatives are addressing the specific problems faced by different groups of women.

I analysed intersecting discriminations among the different groups of women to reveal those who are most marginalized. The intent is not to show that one group is more victimised or privileged than another, but rather to reveal the meaningful distinctions and similarities in order to overcome inequities and put the conditions in place for all people to fully enjoy their human rights, freedoms and capabilities (AWID, 2004; Sen & Nussbaum, 2000).

The information and data I have collected focus on the processes that lead to poverty and the lack of development opportunities for the Garífuna community, in particular women. In focusing on Garífuna women, my hope is to ultimately propose some recommendations on ways and means to empower them as they have the least access to rights and resources and are in need of assistance towards advancing their rights and equality as women.

In terms of the method chosen for data collection, I found the individual semi-structured in-person interview format most suitable to use while I was on location in Guatemala. Interviews allow to better account for the perceptions of the interviewees and their singular experiences as individuals. Interviews provide “direct access” to the lived experiences and knowledge of the respondents. Due to the limited time available to me for this research and the distance of the territory in which the respondents reside (Livingston is an 8 hour car ride from Guatemala City),

I also used a questionnaire that was sent to respondents electronically via email once I returned to Canada.

Between 10 and 15 people were initially approached for this study and were selected using the method of purposive sampling: the use of “special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population. In some instances, purposive samples are selected [...] to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study” (Berg, 2004). I specifically approached women and men who are actively advocating Garífuna or Indigenous rights and occupying leading positions in the Garífuna community in terms of their political and social involvement towards improving the Garífuna standard of living. I also sought the contributions of women and men based on their expertise and specific knowledge of Guatemalan politics and/or of the history and treatment of the Garífuna, Maya and Xinca communities. Candidates included but were not limited to persons living in Guatemala or of Guatemalan origin, and included persons from Belize and Honduras as well.

A total of 16 people contributed to this study and were either interviewed in-person or by phone, or completed a questionnaire; of this total there were an even number of women and men. Interviews were conducted in Spanish and the questionnaire was available in both English and Spanish for respondents to choose their language preference. You may refer to Annex II for the interview questions and Annex III for the questionnaire. The few decision-makers in government I approached with some help from my Guatemalan colleagues said they did not have time to participate.

Information about the respondents

All respondents were asked to sign a consent form in which they were informed that they would be asked to provide information based on personal experiences and that their participation would be confidential and anonymous. Please note that the names and personal details of these contributors have been altered for confidentiality and anonymity purposes.

Respondent 1 is an indigenous woman and identifies as Maya. She works in an international organisation where she proudly wears her traditional outfit to keep claim to her roots. She was interviewed for this study.

Respondent 2 accepted to be considered a member of the Garífuna within this study; however there is an important nuance to consider in her ethnic background. She is born in Honduras where there are two large groups of afro-descendants: the Garífuna and Anglophone afro-descendants. Her mother comes from the Island of Bahia and is an Anglophone afro-descendent, while her father is Garífuna born in Punta Piedra, Colón. Respondent 2 left Honduras encouraged by her mother to have a life with more opportunities and less hardships. She currently resides in

Canada with her husband and children and owns a business. She contributed through the e-questionnaire and follow-up interview.

Respondent 3 resides in Guatemala City with his family and describes himself as Ladino. He currently works at the national level in the non-governmental sector. He contributed through discussions and the e-questionnaire.

Respondent 4 identifies as Garífuna and is from Livingston, Guatemala. He is an academic by profession and is very familiar with life as a Garífuna in the United States as well as Guatemala. He was interviewed and also contributed to the study through an e-questionnaire.

Respondent 5 identifies as a Garífuna. His mother is Garífuna and his father is Q'eqchi, which is part of the Maya community. He works in the tourism industry in a small estate on a reserved and protected area of Izabal. He participated in the study through an e-questionnaire.

Respondent 6 describes her ethnic background as Ladina. She and both her immediate and extended families live in urban areas in Guatemala. She works in an international organization and is continuing her studies at the Universidad de San Carlos. She contributed to this study through an e-questionnaire.

Respondent 7 identifies as Garífuna and is originally from Honduras now living in Guatemala, in Livingston, where his primary occupation is cultural and artisanal development. He is a member of the Garífuna Bonitos group, which consists of 150 people that are predominantly women with only a handful of men. The mandate of this small organisation is to raise awareness at the national and international level about the value of Garífuna culture. He contributed in an interview.

Respondent 8 identifies as Garífuna and is from Livingston, Guatemala. She works in the Department of Land Affairs of the Presidency and contributed to this study via an e-questionnaire.

Respondent 9 is of Spanish origin and has been residing in Guatemala City for the last 6 years. As a foreigner turned honorary Guatemala, one of his greatest pleasures is to road trip through the countryside exploring new parts of Guatemala and learning more about the diverse communities. He works in an international organization and was interviewed in addition to participating in this study through an e-questionnaire.

Respondent 10 resides in Guatemala. She describes her ethnic background as being “ladino de poco mestizaje” (Ladino with little intermixing) on her father’s side; her great grandfather obtained land expropriated from indigenous communities in the Pacific piedmont for coffee cultivation. Her great-great-grandfather was from Asturias, Spain. There is more intermixing on her maternal side, a great-grandfather was Belgian, the other was from Oaxaca, Mexico, and her

great-great-grandmother from Honduras. She belongs possibly to the latter ethnic group, but she cannot say for sure. She contributed to the project through the e-questionnaire.

Respondent 11 lives in Livingston Guatemala and describes his ethnic background as Garífuna. He is currently self-employed. He participated in this study through the e-questionnaire.

Respondent 12 lives in Livingston, Guatemala and identifies as Garífuna. She works at the Livingston Museum, which is part of the Committee of Self-Managed Tourism of Livingston in the private sector. The committee concerns itself with the well-being of the municipality as well as the safety of tourists. Respondent 12 also has experience working closely with the United Nations in the area of alimentation and food products. She contributed through discussions and an interview.

Respondent 13 describes herself as Garífuna and lives in Livingston, Guatemala. She works with the Asociación de Mujeres Garífunas de Guatemala (ASOMUGAGUA). She contributed through an e-questionnaire.

Respondent 14 is Spanish born and moved to Guatemala for employment reasons. He has been living in Guatemala City since 2005. He was interviewed and also contributed through an e-questionnaire.

Respondent 15 resides in Canada and works at the international level in the non-governmental sector. She describes her ethnic background as being of mixed race with 25% Chinese descent. She participated through the e-questionnaire.

Respondent 16 lives in Guatemala and works as an Officer in an international organisation. He describes his ethnic background as being Indigenous Maya. He participated in the study by completing a questionnaire.

Table 1 summarises the different categories of Respondents.

Table 1: Demographic Profile of the Respondents of this Study

		Female	Male
Age Group	20-29 years	1 respondent	1 respondent
	30-39 years	4 respondents	2 respondents
	40-49 years	3 respondents	4 respondents
	50-59 years	n/a	1 respondent
	> 60 years	n/a	n/a

Garífuna Community	Yes or No	4 Yes, 4 No	4 Yes, 4 No
Marital Status	Single, Married, Divorced or Other?	4 single, 2 married, 1 divorced, 1 other	4 single, 4 married
Employment Sector	Government	n/a	n/a
	NGOs/International Organisations	3 respondents	3 respondents
	Academia	1 respondent	1 respondent
	Other	4 respondents	4 respondents
Category	Housewife/Husband	n/a	n/a
	Self employed	1 respondent	1 respondent
	Seeking paid employment	n/a	n/a
	Part-time paid employment	1 respondent	n/a
	Full-time paid employment	6 respondents	6 respondents
	Unemployed	n/a	n/a
	Unknown	n/a	1 respondent

3.2 Information and Data Analysis

Throughout the collection of information and data analysis, I looked closely at what types of identity are key organising principles for Guatemalan society; that is to say, beyond gender, I considered race, ethnicity, status as an Indigenous person, and geographic location. Based on

these identities, I explored who are the most marginalised in the community (women, girls, boys and men) and why this is the case.

In order to determine what the needs of the Garífuna community, in particular the needs of women are, I collected information about the social and economic programs that are available to the different groups in the country—I looked also at programs that are available for Garífuna women within the Garífuna community. My data analysis required information about those who have and do not have access or control over productive resources and development opportunities, and also why this is the case. In addition, I looked into which groups have the lowest and the highest levels of public representation and why this is the case. It was equally important to assess what legislations or decrees, policies and organisational practices limit access to opportunities for the different groups and what opportunities facilitate the advancement of different groups. Lastly, I focused on collecting information about what initiatives would address the needs of the most marginalised and/or discriminated groups in society.

3.3 Limitations of the Research

After leaving the country, members of the Garífuna community were hard to reach. Upon introducing the project, I was able to garner a lot of interest; however once the questionnaires were sent several potential respondents became unreachable. This was perhaps due to the content of the study and nature of the data collection (e-questionnaire) or maybe even the length of the questionnaire. It was difficult to gain or keep the trust of respondents who might have otherwise been more devoted to the study had we had the chance to meet and discuss in person. Upon receiving an outline of the project and a copy of the e-questionnaire, several contributors initially accepted to participate in the study but eventually declined or simply did not return emails and follow up calls. I was also not able to get any participation of decision-makers from the government.

For language reasons and time restrictions, I did not have the chance to include women and men from the Maya and Xinca community, whose voices are central to the discussion about processes that lead to poverty, exclusion, vulnerability and the lack of development opportunities.

Having the support and backing of a community organisation would have drawn more attention to the study and garnered the interest of key members from the different groups within the country.

Ideally I would have liked to make the questionnaire even more accessible by translating the questions into Garífuna so that respondents could have the choice between three languages and to enable the Garífuna to express themselves in their mother tongue.

Chapter 4 Results

I summarize below the inputs of the people who were interviewed or responded in writing to the questionnaire. The interview questions and the questionnaire are in Annex II and Annex III respectively.

4.1 Race and Ethnicity

Questions	Responses
<p>1. What does it mean to be an afro-descendent in Guatemala and, if possible, in Belize, Honduras and Nicaragua (where the Garífuna communities live)?</p>	<p>Most (12) respondents (including all Garífuna respondents as well as the Ladina and Maya respondents) said being an afro-descendent in Guatemala is to belong to the most discriminated and marginalized ethnic group in society.</p> <p>The Ladino respondents (3), one citing a 2009 ethnographic study,²³ pointed out that the majority in Guatemala do not believe the Garífuna are rationally discriminated against based on colour or ethnicity, but by national ignorance about the existence of black Guatemalans in the country;</p> <p>One respondent of mixed descent said having very little knowledge about the Garífuna and afro-descendents.</p>
<p>2. The Garífuna are a minority in Guatemala in terms of race and ethnicity. How does this affect their relations with the rest of Guatemala?</p>	<p>Most (13, same as for question 1 and the respondent who had little knowledge about the Garífuna) respondents said the Garífuna do not figure into the collective national imagination of the country. They are so unknown as if they do not exist or are considered as foreigners;</p> <p>The Ladino respondents said the Garífuna have good relations with the rest of the country and</p>

²³ This ethnographic report refers to a study by UNICEF and Vox Latina.

	feel Guatemalan.
3. What are some of the inequalities the Garífuna face and the ways in which their rights are disregarded?	<p>Almost all the respondents (15) acknowledged that the Garífuna lack opportunities or do not use the available opportunities. However, most respondents noted there are very few mechanisms in place to assist Garífuna.</p> <p>The mixed race with Chinese descent respondent could not express an opinion on the inequalities Garífuna face.</p>

4.2 Gender Inequality

Questions	Responses
<p>Is gender equality and issue in the country? Are Garífuna women victims of human rights abuses that men are not?</p>	<p>At least 15 of the respondents (all the Garífuna, including one from Honduras and the Maya respondents) said that it is a patriarchal society and macho culture;</p> <p>A Ladino respondent expressed that the analysis on gender equality and women's empowerment in Guatemala is incomplete.</p>

4.3 Marginalisation and Socio-Economic Exclusion

Questions	Responses
<p>Described the social pyramid in the country.</p>	<p>Five respondents said that the social pyramid is directly associated with the ethnic and racial composition of the country: people of European descent are at the top, ladino in between, and the indigenous population (Maya, Garífuna, Xincas) at the bottom living in extreme poverty;</p> <p>Ten respondents (all Garífuna and Maya) said the Garífuna are among the poorest of the poor.</p>

	<p>One respondent (Ladino) said that Guatemala is highly uneven, with significant percentages of overall and extreme poverty. Exclusion patterns have delineated significant differences between groups in society.</p>
<p>What actions is the government taking?</p>	<p>Nine (all Garífuna respondents and a Ladina respondent) said none;</p> <p>Six respondents said there are many programs running for the overall development of women but not all actions contemplated are explicitly defined for gender and ethnic equity; actions that can be taken to modify the structure of the pyramid will have very limited effect and will take time to see changes; all programs related to the development of women target predominantly indigenous populations living in poverty and extreme poverty.</p> <p>One mixed descent respondent expressed not being aware of the government's actions in Guatemala having lived abroad so many years.</p>
<p>What measures are being taken by the Garífuna community?</p>	<p>Seven Garífuna respondents reported that the Garífuna in Livingston (and Honduras) mobilise to take action and focus on raising awareness in the community about the status of the Garífuna and empowering youth to bring about change;</p> <p>One Maya respondent and a Ladino respondent explained that measures taken should include prevention, education and sensitisation actions, as well as better organisation to achieve adequate political participation and representation at the local, municipal, departmental and national levels.</p> <p>Seven reported not having any idea what actions are or should be taken.</p>

4.4 Sustainable Human Development

Questions	Responses
<p>Discuss the level of progress towards promoting cultures and eliminating stereotypes in your country.</p>	<p>Half the respondents (Garífuna, Ladino and Maya respondents) expressed that there have been advances in legislation and political discourse (both in Guatemala and Honduras). Racial stereotyping is recognised as an issue and is discussed in the media and by government entities; however they are great advances in recognizing the rights of the Maya.</p> <p>Six respondents (Garífuna and Ladina) expressed not thinking there is any progress in this regard since the country has to face many economic crises resulting from natural disasters, unemployment, crime, etc. and there is no budget to promote different cultures.</p> <p>Two could not say with certainty what type of progress has occurred towards cultural promotion and the elimination of stereotypes.</p>
<p>What measures should and/or are being taken by the Garífuna community to contribute to the elimination of stereotypes?</p>	<p>Twelve Garífuna and Ladino respondents said there already exists a public institution dedicated to tackling racism and discrimination and although this entity has a budget it needs more political support. There is still much to be done for the prevention of racism and discrimination that affects the indigenous population in particular. We need the persistence of indicators that outline the unfavourable situation of the Garífuna, community participation and policy changes to overcome the situation;</p> <p>Three Garífuna (2 Honduran and 1 Guatemalan) said that the Garífuna in Honduras already mobilise to raise awareness</p>

	<p>around the elimination of stereotypes against the Garífuna, there are several publications and the issue is discussed in the media.</p> <p>One mixed descent respondent expressed having no idea what the Garífuna are doing, or if they want to contribute to national development, or how they could do so given the history and circumstances.</p>
<p>What measures should and/or are being taken by the government, NGO's and other key functionaries to contribute to the elimination of stereotypes?</p>	<p>Seven Garífuna and Ladino respondents believed the following measures are needed: an effective pro afro descendent public policy management and the consolidation of coordination mechanisms responsible for planning in order to ensure coherence between policies and public spending. Also continued efforts towards alignment, harmonization and ownership of international cooperation, as a way to fulfil the commitments set out in the policy agenda of the country, particularly in the areas of concern contained in the Policy Development and Integral Development of indigenous groups.</p> <p>Nine respondents (Ladina respondents and mixed Chinese descent respondent) expressed not knowing exactly what is being done as it is not effectively publicised.</p>

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Factors that Contribute to Poverty of the Garífuna Peoples in Guatemala

The questions of the interview and questionnaire were designed to determine, based on respondents' perceptions, how the Garífuna identify themselves and are identified by others and what space they occupy in the country that might or might not contribute to their poverty. As specified in chapter one, various factors that can be traced back to the 16th century intertwine and maintain certain groups of people in poverty.

At the outset, it is important to note that the number of people who were interviewed and/or responded in writing to the questionnaire was small. Thus, any generalisation should be considered as provisional and more as a guide for more detailed and systematic studies for which resources were not available.

As expected, Garífuna people confirmed what we knew already that they felt they were discriminated in the Guatemalan society based on the fact that they are 'black'. Other groups who also feel discriminated i.e. indigenous peoples such as the Maya also recognised the discrimination of the Garífuna. In this study, people from families with European descent, at the top of the pyramid (as described in section 5.1.2 below) have limited or no knowledge of the Garífuna and their problems, willingly or not. This ignorance is one of the explanations of the exclusion of the Garífuna from society and from opportunities offered in the society especially when the people who ignore are decision- and policy-makers.

The following are the predominant factors highlighted by the respondents in the case of Guatemala's indigenous peoples.

5.1.1 Race and Ethnicity

Responses for the questions on discrimination were split and opinions fell into three groups: (i) those who believe the Garífuna are discriminated based on their race and ethnicity, including the Garífuna themselves, the two Maya respondents and some ladinos/ladinas; (ii) those who believe that discrimination is not the problem but rather ignorance of the Garífuna culture and existence (ladino respondents); and (iii) those who do not know much about the Garífuna (ladina with Chinese descent).

Discrimination refers to any form of distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference having an effect on a person, usually but not only, by virtue of an inherent personal characteristic (such as race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin, gender, etc), irrespective of whether or not there is any justification for these measures. Discrimination may be the result of an action or an omission. It may also be intentional or unintentional, having "the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and

fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life”.²⁴

i. Discrimination

When asked about their experiences in Guatemala and, if possible, in Belize, Honduras and Nicaragua where the Garífuna communities live, the majority of respondents (12 out of 16) stated clearly that historically afro-descendants such as the Garífuna in Guatemala are the most marginalised and discriminated ethnic group in the society because of their black skin colour.

As one of two respondents put it:

“[In Guatemala] colour weighs heavily. Pejorative terms/expressions are very strong. Here they call you ‘black’ but it is derogatory, and this is why we have opted to be called Garífuna [;] negritude or black identity is not assumed proudly in Guatemala. For black women, colour weighs even more horribly in Guatemala; one learns this very quickly” (Respondent 13, Garífuna).

“While in the city, people have come up to me and touched my arm to see whether the colour would come off like dye” (Respondent 12, Garífuna).

In the cases of Honduras and Belize, racism and ethnic discrimination against the Garífuna is more overt and is often expressed through racial slurs in the media; more specifically through pejorative comic strips in the newspaper, derogatory songs on the radio, or face-to-face insults (Bo, 2008).

“Normally when they see us, some common reactions and stereotypes are to first assume that we are from Belize or Honduras. More often than not, they assume that the Garífuna are tourists and attempt to communicate with us in English” (Respondent 5, Garífuna).

This was also noted by Mario Ellington, the Representative of the Organización Negra Guatemalteca (ONEGUA),²⁵ who wrote in a press release for the Centre for Informative Reports on Guatemala (CERIGUA, 2010) that the Garífuna face obstacles in their ability to identify as Guatemalans. They are mostly viewed as foreigners in the country, and due to the colour of their skin they encounter major difficulties when it comes to identification. Ellington further noted that this problem of the identification of the black population of Guatemala is aggravated by mistrust particularly when Garífuna are applying for passports and other related documents, especially their identity cards. On a daily basis the Garífuna are often asked to provide more

²⁴ Article 1, paragraph 1, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (General Assembly resolution 2106 A (XX) annex).

²⁵ Black Guatemalans Organisation

documentation than other citizens. The lack of reliable data on the Garífuna population in the country is a factor that is encouraging the invisibility of and ignorance about Garífuna culture. For example, within the National Registry of Persons (Registro Nacional de las Personas, RENAP), the Garífuna face several inscription problems and have thereby refused to register altogether arguing that they are not identified as Garífuna rather they are identified as ‘blacks’, which implies that they are foreigners and further stigmatises them.

The Garífuna mostly consider themselves Guatemalan; however, the national sentiment they feel differs somewhat from the national sentiment of other Guatemalans. This is primarily the case because very few people are aware of the existence of the Garífuna culture in Guatemala. One of the respondents noted that the situation of Garífuna is similar in Honduras (Respondent 2, Garífuna).

Afro-descendent issues have been obscured by a greater institutional willingness to address the theme of exclusion as it applies to indigenous Mesoamerican communities. As a result, Mesoamerican communities have thereby developed a stronger organisational and advocacy capacity (Sanchez, 2003: 3; Buvinić, 2004). Their stronger capacity is also due to greater data availability on Mesoamerican issues and also to the proportion and size of the population in those groups in relation to the smaller numbers in the Garífuna group (Telles, 2007).

In an interview with COHA, Danilo Mejía, director of the Garífuna development non-profit organization Asociación Afroguatemalteca (AFROGUA), confirms that the current direction of the Peace Accords’ implementation reflects the prioritization of the Maya: “...the government only brings up the Maya people in its exhibitions. Discrimination against the Garífuna by the government and partly by the Maya people drives this dialogue – they often solely speak in favor of the Maya and use the name of the Garífuna people when it is convenient. The Maya have their own institutions, but the Garífuna do not have the necessary budget for such institutions, neither from local nor from foreign governments. Cases in point are the gift shops at La Aurora International Airport: one can find all kinds of Maya artisanry, but nothing Garífuna” (Barrett, 2010).

ii. National Ignorance

In order to explain the situation in Guatemala, 3 Ladino out of 16 respondents discussed the difficulty of associating the situation of the Garífuna with discrimination. One cited an unnamed ethnographic study for 2009 in which the majority of interviewed “do not believe that the Garífuna are discriminated against rationally based on colour or ethnicity, [but because of] national ignorance about the existence of blacks in Guatemala”.

“Afro-descendents do not exist in the collective national imagination. It is known that they are ‘there’, far...and it really does not matter that they do not exist” (Respondent 10, Ladina).

One of the difficulties that often arises in the collection of data on the Garífuna in most Central American countries is that there are innumerable terms used to categorise afro-descendants; all of which are racially determined and which ultimately keep the identification of afro-descendent individuals in surveys ambiguous: *trigeño* (wheat coloured), *moreno* (brown), *zambo* (half-indigenous), *pardo* or *mulatto* (half-white), *quadroon* (three-quarters white), *octoroon* (seven-eighths white), *preto* (dark). The invisibility, ambiguity or under-recognition of the Garífuna in quantitative data directly reflects the low regards with which African connections or mixed heritage is held. In Guatemala, the Garífuna have their own category; however, most of the information that is available (such as censuses) only use the categories of indigenous or Ladino. The Garífuna tend to be considered as a part of the indigenous community. Garífuna views on this and the impact that this may have on the recognition of their specific development needs have yet to be recorded (Caumartin, 2005). In many ways, falling under the indigenous category in censuses and surveys contributes to the under-recognition and invisibility of the Garífuna community.

iii. Lack of Knowledge

Respondent 15 (Ladina with Chinese descent) expressed not having knowledge of the beginnings of the Garífuna community in Guatemala but believes that it sounds better to be an afro-descendent than it does to say Arawak or Caribbean descendent, which is why the Garífuna identify as such. “I lived in the capital of Guatemala all my life” she wrote “and there are very few Garífuna community members who live or work there, therefore and because they are different from the rest of the population they are treated with curiosity”. In terms of the inequalities the Garífuna face, she was unable to give an opinion.

5.1.2 Lack of Development Opportunities

Several respondents identified marginalisation and exclusion as being an important root cause for the lack of opportunities which contribute to the poverty of the Garífuna community and other marginalised indigenous peoples. The lack of opportunities entails: a lack of political representation and participation; the lack of visibility (in national censuses and surveys) and voice; the lack of access to adequate education opportunities; the lack of access to remunerated employment and/or professional opportunities;

Exclusion refers to “the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups of society upon others”, and for Garífuna women in particular, it entails “the inability [...] to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society in which she lives” (Buvinić, 2004: 5). Exclusion refers to the unequal lives that people are leading and the situation of disadvantage in which groups are seen, where they are socially isolated, their specific and essential needs are not met, and they lack access to fundamental services and opportunities—exclusion is caused by calls the “relational roots of deprivation”, which is at the root of poverty and disadvantage from a viewpoint of rights, resources, relationships and opportunities (Amartya Sen, 2000). Exclusion constitutes social, economic and political

processes through which individuals or groups are excluded, whether partially or fully from complete participation in the society in which they are living. This interpretation of exclusion considers the inter-relationships between poverty, productive employment, and social integration (Sanchez, 2003).

For at least 10 out of 16 of the respondents (Garífuna, Maya and Ladino), the marginalisation and exclusion of the Garífuna is directly associated with the ethnic and racial composition of the country: Descendants of European families who form a minority (0.001%) of the population, but handle 80% of the GDP sit at the top of the pyramid (HDR, 2005), and “many are inclined to act, individually and collectively, to defend that privilege, which makes them powerful arbiters of [...] cultural-political assertion. Although this racial hierarchy certainly is changing, it shows little signs of going away” (Hale, 2006:18); ladino are in between having greater social mobility; and the indigenous population (Maya, Garífuna, Xincas) who form 60% of the population (HDR, 2005) sit at the bottom living in extreme poverty and having the least social mobility owing to less opportunities, education, and remunerated employment.

For years during Spanish occupation, administrative policy aimed at eliminating all African or black influence at home and in their colonies (Sanchez, 2003). Hispanic “societies have consciously or unconsciously continued this process and sought to support *emblaquecimiento* or ‘whitening’ of their populations”. *Emblaquecimiento* is the process of elevating all things white or European, while denigrating and excluding all non-white cultures and races. Essentially, in keeping with the *pureza de sangre* ideology, the less white the racial features of a person, the lower they feature on the social ladder and the more ethno-racially based inequalities they experience and setbacks to their human development. “Those classified as black and as indigenous have often been blamed for the worsening state of the nation, and historically have not been accorded [...] the same rights and benefits as others” (Sanchez, 2003: 5).

Respondent perceptions were divided into three groups: (i) Garífuna perceptions about the marginalisation and exclusion of Garífuna peoples, (ii) Maya perceptions about the experiences of the Garífuna, and (iii) perceptions of other respondents (Ladino and mixed descent) about Garífuna experiences of marginalisation and exclusion.

i. The Garífuna Experience

The Garífuna mostly feel that national stereotypes as well as the lack of visibility and recognition creates barriers to their access to opportunities, and that the Maya who are also on the margins of society have access to and benefit from greater opportunities than do the Garífuna.

“The Garífuna suffer the most racism and discrimination. It is most apparent in two cases: first, in the fact that there exists a problem in national identity; here neither black women nor men are recognised as citizens. Instead we are perceived as persons of Belizean, African or Jamaican origin, it is never contemplated that

we are Guatemalan. And if in the case of Mayan women they are offended when they are called “Maria” or they are told to remove their clothes because they stink, for us Garífuna, we are associated with the idea that we only know how to make coconut bread, to dance Punta, or in the worst case, that we will always smell like fish. These are only some of the worst stereotypes” (Respondent 8, Garífuna).

“In the Guatemalan context, it is difficult to recognise negritude or black identity, particularly for women or afro-descendent Garífuna. In my experience, being black in Guatemala is extremely difficult, first as there is a lack of visibility for black female professionals; second, because we have never been in decision-making positions. Furthermore, where Maya women have little opportunities, we (Garífuna women) have even less. We live in poor living conditions without opportunity, and are solely associated to dance or the practice of braiding hair. For example, when someone sees me, the first thing they say is that surely I am good at dancing, but they never ask what my profession is or what my thoughts are on a particular subject” (Respondent 13, Garífuna).

“From my experience the Garífuna are given a truly small space within the political sphere. To my best recollection, the previous government held an estimated fourteen or fifteen Garífuna figures; however in the current government there is only one Garífuna figure. The lack of representation at such a high level means that the opportunity for the recognition and acknowledgment of the Garífuna is very small—there is the capacity, but there is no space. It is not that the government does not want to give the Garífuna the space; the issue is that government officials are not sensitised in relation to the people that belong to the country. As a result, they do not prioritise the needs and necessities of these people or communities that need to be rescued; the reality is that the diverse population in Guatemala makes for a very attractive characteristic and should be taken advantage of” (Respondent 11, Garífuna).

“The greatest problem for the Garífuna is that we are isolated and lack access to basic services and employment opportunities. The Garífuna make-up 0.05 percent of the population and within the group of the most impoverished within Guatemala, they are lacking real opportunities for development. Livingston is a coastal town that is cut off from the main economic centre, along historically determined borders, such that people are forced to have their own small businesses and many live off very few dollars a day” (Respondent 12).

“Political life in Guatemala is slow in its progression. Political life places the Garífuna at a disadvantage because there is a lack of instruction and of information regarding political life; not just partisan politics but also the politics

of life and living—such as citizenship participation; civic rights; how to ensure that politics are functioning and reflecting people as individuals—how to make it such that everyone is empowered by this information and able to apply it to their own lives. The Garífuna have the capacity, what is missing is the creation and opening up of spaces to the pertinent people; thereby enabling them to connect the community” (Respondent 4, Garífuna).

To support this, data from a Vox Latina and UNICEF study expresses that the Garífuna are seeking more inclusion and shows that “the greatest challenge the Garífuna face in Guatemala is the lack of decent employment opportunities. In terms of attention to public services 49% of the Garífuna believe that attention should be improved in terms of government health services. 75% believe that the national government has done nothing or little has been done to ensure equality against other ethnic groups in the country” (Alvarez, 2009).

ii. The Maya Perceptions

The two Maya respondents reported that the Maya and Garífuna share similarities in their experiences of marginalisation and exclusion, but in many ways they perceive the Maya peoples as experiencing greater conditions of disadvantage than Garífuna peoples.

“The demographic minority status is an additional disadvantage and an advantage for the Garífuna, at least in Guatemala. For one, their minority status does not allow them to have the same voice as other excluded groups; at the same time, the Garífuna are considered as an indigenous people in the country since the Peace Accords and this has opened up opportunities for participation. (Respondent 1, Maya)”.

“The country's social pyramid is explained by large socioeconomic inequalities that are deeply rooted in historical origins. [The social pyramid] is a determinant of structural poverty, rather than transitory poverty (which can be reversed in less time compared to structural poverty). Therefore, the actions that can be undertaken to modify the structure of the pyramid will have very limited effect and will take time to see the changes. Perhaps the best way to change this pyramid is to expand education to the entire population, and in this regard there has been significant progress but still insufficient when it comes to the rural and indigenous population. In the case of the Garífuna population is important to note that average schooling rate is higher than the rest of the indigenous population and is even higher for Garífuna women. For example, the average years of schooling for youth ages 15 to 24 is 6.5 years for males and 7.1 for females in the Garífuna population, which is even higher than the national average (5.4) or the non-indigenous population (6.4). This contrasts with the schooling of Maya groups

where the average amount is less than 4 years, even three or two years of schooling (Source: UNDP Guatemala, 2005) (Respondent 16, Maya)".

Upon further investigation of this data, it is true that Garífuna women have higher rates of education than women in other indigenous groups. However, one issue that kept recurring in my research is that young Garífuna girls face barriers to their education, due in particular to the lack of bilingual (Garífuna-Spanish) education.

Data from the Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo (INGUAT) shows that the majority of Garífuna schooling in Livingston and Puerto Barrios²⁶ is done in Spanish. Pre-primary school girls in Puerto Barrios are among the very few receiving an education in their native language under the tutelage of the only Garífuna-Spanish teacher in Puerto Barrios. In Livingston education in Garífuna is eradicated by the use of Spanish and the principle of acculturation. To quote Nicole Cotayo Norales (the bilingual teacher), the small number of educated children is demonstrative that "it is important that the Ministry of Education [...] worry a little more about creating open spaces, because bilingual education is given only during pre-primary school and is a service that receives no monitoring at all" (2003). To support this, Aurelia Satuyé, Director of the Department for Public Works of the First Lady (SOSEP)²⁷ in Izabal and member of the *Asociación de Mujeres Garífunas de Guatemala* (ASOMUGAGUA), explained that losing the habit of speaking Garífuna is becoming one of the greatest threats to Garífuna culture. She disclosed in a 2001 UN Verification Mission to Guatemala that the country is showing little progress in intercultural and bilingual education for afro-descendents (Sanchez, 2003).

iii. Ladino Perceptions

Ladino respondents had mixed perceptions about the marginalisation and exclusion of the Garífuna. Several perceived the Garífuna peoples experiences of exclusion and marginalisation as being no different than the experiences of the Maya peoples. Having lived abroad for several years, Respondent 15 (Ladina with Chinese descent) expressed having very little knowledge about the Garífuna and could not comment on their experiences in Guatemala.

"Guatemala is an oligarchic state based in exclusion and racism. All those who do not belong to the power group (criollos or whites and a few Ladinos, especially military) are outside of all types of development opportunities. Here there are no differences between [the] Maya and Garífuna: both groups are discriminated against and excluded. The radical difference is that the Maya possess the only wealth that carries the most interest in the country so far: land. Historically Central America has developed towards the Pacific, so while the Garífuna stay in

²⁶ The Garífuna also live in Puerto Barrios, near Livingston in the province of Izabal. However, they are fewer in numbers in Puerto Barrios than they are in Livingston.

²⁷ Secretaría de Obras Sociales de la Esposa del Presidente.

the Atlantic, there will be no problem...unless the tourism industry in the Caribbean booms which is a serious threat, not only for themselves but also for this important coastal-marine ecosystem.” (Respondent 6, Ladina).

“The Maya have numerical pressure and the indispensability of their labour as the economic motor of an exclusionary state working in their favour.²⁸ The Garífuna identify as afro-descendent because, indeed, in this country of mixtures, they are the only ones to have African genes. As a negative result, they lack any attention from the state, which is to have zero cultural belonging. On the positive side the state has left them in peace, and they have been able to preserve their institutions and livelihood according to their culture. In fact, Livingston is the most peaceful town, the second most violent country in the world. That says a lot.” (Respondent 10, Ladina).

Even ladino respondent, Respondent 3, who previously expressed that he does not believe that the Garífuna are discriminated against based on race and ethnicity but more so as a result of national ignorance was able to comment on the lack of opportunities for the Garífuna peoples and stated that:

“In general the Garífuna say that they have good relations with other Guatemalans and the vast majority (98%) feel Guatemalan. In general they do not feel discriminated against and do not believe they discriminate, but only 51 percent recognized that their rights are fully respected. The biggest problems that push the Garífuna to migrate to the capital and especially abroad are due to the lack of local opportunities and education” (Source: unnamed ethnographic study, 2009) (Respondent 3, Ladino).

5.1.3 Gender Inequality

Of the 134 countries that have been evaluated by the World Economic Forum regarding the freedoms of women in various social realms for the annual *Global Gender Gap Report*, Guatemala ranked 112nd in 2011 (where it ranked 96th in 2006) and is the lowest ranking country in the whole Latin America and Caribbean region due to its high gap in education, low political empowerment for which it is ranking 118th and low economic participation and opportunities for which it is ranking 113rd (Hausmann *et al*, 2012).

Existing legislations against discrimination include the 1985 Constitution of Guatemala and the Penal Code. The Constitution text does not include specific provisions about gender equality;

²⁸ Their main function is as the economic engine that generates 80% of GDP for the enjoyment of the highest rungs of society (HDR, 2005).

however Article 4 upholds the principle of equality for all individuals. The Penal Code was amended by decree in 2002 to criminalise discrimination, but does not contain explicit requirements about gender. In many cases, gender equality and the empowerment of women are contingent on the government's willingness to apply the recommendations set forth by the

Article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women:

“For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field”.

Presidential Secretariat for Women (SEPREM) in the National Policy for the Promotion and Integral Development of Women 2008–2023.²⁹ Gender-related legislation is applied in too few cases and strong patriarchal traditions persist in the judicial administration.

Data from the seventh periodic CEDAW report of Guatemala (2009),³⁰ in which the Committee has examined some of the factors and difficulties affecting the State's implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) show that stereotypes are among the principal factors of concern. The report states that

“Notwithstanding various measures taken by the State party to eliminate gender stereotypes, the Committee is concerned at the pervasiveness of patriarchal attitudes and deep-rooted stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men in the family, in the workplace, in political life and society, which constitute serious obstacles to women's enjoyment of their human rights. The Committee is also concerned that certain groups of women, in addition to being affected by gender stereotypes, face multiple forms of discrimination on grounds such as their ethnicity or their sexuality.”

Alongside racial and ethnic gaps, Garífuna women have to contend with sexism and gender gaps in social areas as well as in levels of participation that prevent them from exercising their right to citizenship. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), included in the 2006 Human Development Report, shows that the level of advancement in women's standing in society is 44.1

²⁹This national policy was previously referred to as the *Advancement and Development of Guatemalan Women and Equity Plan 2001-2006*, before it was evaluated and new conditions were integrated including the incorporation of an ethnic-cultural vision with specific cross-cutting actions and specific proposals derived from the Articulated Agenda on Mayan, Garinagu and Xinca Women (Agenda Articulada de las Mujeres Mayas, Garífunas y Xincas).

³⁰ (CEDAW/C/GUA/7) at its 881st and 882nd meetings, on 3 February 2009
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/co/CEDAW-C-GUA-CO7.pdf>

per cent of that of men, which situates Guatemala between Samoa (in 89th position out of 109 countries, with 43.1 per cent) and Qatar (in 87th position, with 44.5 per cent).³¹

As it stands, Garífuna women who form a part of an excluded population and who by virtue of the legacy of patriarchy already feature at the bottom of the echelons, have lower earnings and social welfare than women in other groups.

As stated by Respondent 3 (Ladino), in Guatemala,

“[T]he analysis of gender equality and empowerment of women would be incomplete without looking at the phenomenon of violence, by the effects it has on the lives of women, their chances of developing and exercising their economic, social, political and physical autonomy. Violence against women is associated with discrimination and the restriction of their rights “to life, to equality before the law and the family; to physical and mental health; fair and favourable employment conditions; to not being subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, freedom and personal security”³² .

Answers to the questionnaire confirmed the perception that Guatemala is a fundamentally patriarchal country. The majority of respondents (14 out of 16, the Garífuna, Maya and Ladino) expressed this view, including the respondent from Honduras, who explained that this is also the case in her country. They added that the patriarchal nature of the country was founded on sexism and machismo. The remaining 2 out of 16 respondents (one Garífuna and the Ladina with Chinese descent) were not familiar with the legislations around gender or of human rights based abuses that might or might not impact Garífuna women.

In Guatemala, machismo or the prevailing notions of manhood have serious consequences for women and girls. For example, typically, being a man entails being physically and emotionally tough, brave, aggressive in some cases, and invulnerable. As a consequence, risk-taking behaviours, such as substance abuse, unsafe sex and the like, are often ways of manifesting and affirming manhood (Gargallo, 2006). Gendered attitudes and behaviours render everyone vulnerable and have far reaching implications for individuals, families and communities. Nevertheless, the most consistently negative effects occur for women and girls.

In terms of impressions on gender inequality and on the violations to Garífuna women’s human rights, responses were split between (i) those who acknowledge that both Garífuna and Maya women experience violations but that Garífuna women’s experiences are different than Maya

³¹ The GEM, created by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is a social indicator that measures the level of opportunities open to women; in so doing, it also measures inequalities in three dimensions of women’s participation.

³² Source: CEPAL. Ni una más. Del dicho al hecho: ¿Cuánto falta por recorrer? Chile, 2009.

women's experiences and in many cases Maya women's experiences are more intensified than Garífuna women's experiences, and (ii) those who expressed that Garífuna women's experiences are the same as Maya women's. Responses have been arranged according to the different perceptions on gender of the Garífuna, Maya and Ladino:

i. Garífuna Perceptions

In interviews it was easier to broach the subject of machismo and patriarchy with Garífuna women than it was men and even in the questionnaires, Garífuna men were less forthcoming in their responses. Male respondents acknowledged the existence of machismo and: Respondent 11 and Respondent 5 dismissed the concept, explaining that it is more a question of gender roles (women and men have their respective places in society); Respondent 4 explained that Guatemala is patriarchal but that the Garífuna is a matrifocal community;³³ while Respondent 7 shared very openly his impressions. Machismo is defined as the type of relationship between men and women, where power and control are centred on the man; machismo is an important aspect of life that is deeply imbedded in both the household and in the political sphere. Some respondents noted:

“Yes we are living in a macho society; we simply have to be honest with ourselves. To an extent it is an excuse to treat women badly; meaning to be very unfaithful or to drink and become aggressive with women. Men almost do not care because they can do it; it is almost their right” (Respondent 7, Garífuna).

“Machismo is stronger than in any other culture in the country, I would say, it is more insidious. Men always want to lead movements, to dominate in words and opinions, and do not let women speak. It is also experienced through the closed house door. There is violence and familial disintegration. Perhaps it is not known because women do not mention it, because our culture is very conservative, and my neighbour can be beating his wife while I am nearby but I do not want to know anything, because we do not like to be put into problems” (Respondent 13, Garífuna).

Another respondent went a step further by noting that the frustration that women undergo makes gender inequalities even worse. She wrote that:

“Machismo is part of the problem but there are also problems with discrimination. [Women's] self-esteem decreases when they are asked not to speak their language, when they are associated with Punta dancing, in addition to the low value that they are given, and for this reason many have taken it obediently.

³³ Matrifocal refers to women-headed households run by mothers, grandmothers, aunts, etc (Palacio, 2005; Gargallo, 2006).

Culturally, a Garífuna woman does not complain and is very careful about what she says. She has many ideas, but she is not expressive” (Respondent 8, Garífuna). She is resigned to her fate.

Another Garífuna respondent expressed this resignation clearly:

“What is happening is that we have not found the route by which to direct things. There are no adequate conditions through which we can excel, and therefore we’ll always be living in Livingston (thirty-five kilometres away from the capital). There are no employment opportunities and we are just a group of women offering to braid hair. What are we talking about, an even playing field? No. There are opportunities for the Maya population, but not for us black women. I do not know of any self-sustaining (capacity building) project to help the Garífuna” (Respondent 12, Garífuna).

ii. Maya Perceptions

Maya respondents noted also the patriarchal nature of the society in Guatemala. One of them (Respondent 16) wrote:

“There exists a consensus between independent analysts, academics and policy makers that the State and society in Guatemala have a deeply patriarchal orientation. Although there have been advances in the approval of legislations and of policies oriented towards improving gender equality, the implementation of the said legislation and policies has been very limited. [...] Garífuna women are exposed to treatments of racism and discrimination, same as other indigenous women.” (Respondent 16, Maya).

In addition, when they discussed the gender and human rights of Garífuna women, the Maya respondents felt the need to make comparisons with Maya women. For Respondent 1, the comparison was a question of expressing that a greater focus on Maya issues is justified due to their experiences during the Civil War. However, for Respondent 16 it was not so much a question of comparing the Maya and Garífuna but rather of stating that Garífuna and other indigenous women were all victim of racism and discrimination. Here are some of the comments regarding gender inequalities experienced by Maya women in Guatemala:

“In Guatemala, Mayan women experience the brunt of human rights violations and by comparison Garífuna women are lucky as they did not experience the consequences of armed conflict and femicide the way that Mayan women did (Respondent 1, Maya)”.

Data suggests that the Garífuna were actually more involved and impacted by the Civil War than the literature generally discloses (in reality the majority of the literature makes no reference to

the Garífuna in the Civil War). It is reported that the Garífuna were among the specifically targeted victims of the ethnic cleansing and continue to experience other human rights abuses such as the femicides in the form of unreported domestic violence and abuse; also during the armed conflict their economic situation suffered critically: “From 1950 to 1968, there were only coloured people in Puerto Barrios docks. Then they were laid off with the excuse that the company went bankrupt. In reality, it had to do with the racial problem!” (Barrett, 2010).

iii. Ladino Perceptions

For most Ladinos, Garífuna women are treated in the same way as women from other communities in Guatemala and many other countries:

“Same as in other countries, the condition, situation and position of women in Guatemala is determined by social, political and economic relations as well as cultural models that reproduce inequalities, inequities and hierarchy and are products of a historical process that refer to schemes, norms and practices that have shaped the roles of women and men in society” (Respondent 14, Ladino).

“A lot of indigenous women do not even enter in the civil register, so they have no identity and do not legally exist. I do not know if this occurs for Garífuna women, I guess not, because this is an extreme. The right to work and fair remuneration is also violated, but it’s the same with 90% of Guatemalans” (Respondent 10, Ladina).

One Ladina confessed that she did not have adequate knowledge of the laws in Guatemala and that she had never seen or read about the abuse of the rights of Garífuna women. Nevertheless, she believed that Guatemalan society is sexist in its roots but that this would change with the new generations.” (Respondent 15, Ladina).

5.2 Consequences of the Lack of Access to Opportunities for Garífuna Women: Quality of life, Well-being and Personal Accomplishment

Vulnerabilities “are events and conditions beyond the control of individual households that influence the well-being of its members [...] traditionally, weather events are included in this category, but other types of incidents, such as reduces remittances, food price changes, and crime and violence, are also important” (World Bank, 2009: 15).

Garífuna women are vulnerable. They are impacted by two types of vulnerabilities; some that are linked to individual factors, such as health (high rates of mortality and morbidity, as well as the loss of income) and others that are connected to external factors, such as the tourism industry and the fluctuating economic climate in the U.S.

Protective opportunities: Garífuna women do not benefit from any kind of state sponsored protective security or relevant social safety nets against their vulnerabilities.

i. Individual Factors

In Guatemala, the Garífuna live in the municipalities of Livingston and Puerto Barrios, which are located in the department of Izabal. A small percentage of the Garífuna also live in El Estor, Morales y los Amates, in the same department of Izabal. According to government records on maternal health from 2005, it is reported that the department of Izabal possesses one of the highest rates of maternal mortality in the nation—the statistics on maternal health are not disaggregated by ethnicity, thus making it difficult to give an exact percentage of the number of affected Garífuna women. In any case, the factors contributing to such high mortality rates include: limited access to services; the lack of awareness in terms of using health services; little knowledge regarding risks and the availability; and the lack of quality treatment (SEGEPLAN, 2009). It is reported that the high incidence of maternal mortality presents itself differently based on class structure (SEGEPLAN, 2009). Also, it is most frequent among the populations living in the municipalities of Livingston (Garífuna, the Q'eqchi, and Hindu) and El Estor, where the voice of women is not included in the decision-making process (SEGEPLAN, 2009).

For the Garífuna community in Livingston, the health system is a significant area of concern as it does not ensure or provide quality services and there is a lack in necessary hospital equipment to meet basic medical standards. Livingston itself does not possess a hospital but rather it houses a poorly staffed health centre which faces a number of constraints that all infringe on the provision of proper treatment and adequate services to patients. For example, based on surveys documented by the Organización Negra de Guatemala (1999), given the total population of Garífuna in Livingston, there is a severe lack of medical personnel and competent paramedics to account for the overall number of inhabitants. Of the existing medical personnel and staff, there are often reports of poor human relations (between personnel and patients) and complaints about the high incidence of patients' mistreatment (ONEGUA, 1999). Health problems lead to increased absenteeism and the loss of already poor incomes.

Thus far, Guatemala has successfully reduced the maternal mortality rate from 248 deaths per 100,000 live births in 1989 to 121 per 100,000 in 2005 (Benítez, 2009). However, the target of 62 maternal deaths per 100,000 in 2015 is still far off since maternal deaths occur primarily among indigenous women in rural with the least access to health care (SEGEPLAN, 2009). Maria Castro from SEGEPLAN maintains that “maternal deaths are the principal indicator of exclusion in Guatemala” (Benítez, 2009).

In terms of HIV/AIDS and other diseases, Guatemala has successfully reduced the transmission of HIV. However, progress reports show that the proportion of women infected with HIV/AIDS

is rising rapidly, such that women have almost reached parity with the number of infected men (Benítez, 2009). Women face higher rates of HIV/AIDS infection due to the pronounced extra-marital activities of men in the community; the two create barriers and stigmatisation between women and men (Gargallo, 2006).

Olivia Nineth Núñez, president of ASOMUGAGUA and nurse practitioner at the Hospital Amistad Japón-Guatemala shares some of her experiences and explains that hospitals are rarely visited by the Garífuna. As a nurse practitioner she has had the opportunity to realise how few people, in particular women, seek medical assistance or aid from a health centre. Most often, people prefer to follow the recommendations of natural medicine; thereby keeping in line with traditional ways (INGUAT, 2011). This is a positive trait among Garífuna women, who use traditional home remedies to treat illnesses in their community, all the while preserving ancestral knowledge and traditions: “with regards to the health situation, women, as part of their traditional role are concerned with the general health problems of their children and other family members” (Buchanans and de Lacayo, 1995:12). On the negative side, it is often the case that women will wait until they are in critical condition before seeking the help of a physician. Even when they do, the health centre in Livingston is not in a position to provide full services, and lacks the required tools to effectively care for emergency patients and fatal cases. Emergency patients are usually transferred to Puerto Barrios on a bumpy boat ride of at least thirty minutes in duration (INGUAT, 2011; ONEGUA, 1999).

Given the low medical standards and the absence of adequate services, some of the primary causes of morbidity in the Garífuna community include: intestinal parasites, nutritional anaemia, and the like. According to nurse practitioner Núñez, the main health threats among women include anemia, matrix problems, cancer of the uterus as well as breast cancer. There are also a number of sexually transmitted disease which manifest themselves in both women and men alike, such as gonorrhoea, AIDS, urogenital trichomoniasis, genital herpes, etc. For all of these illnesses, the majority of women fail to seek treatment in time. This is the case in part because the government has failed to offer access to basic health services—we see particularly in the case of cancer patients, where neither public nor private health centres offer programs for the recovery of cancer patients. Currently, according to Núñez, women are commonly referred to the National Cancer Institute (INCAN in Spanish), where they are required to pay unaffordable extra treatment costs that they cannot afford (INGUAT, 2011). In addition, there is a large scale lack of campaigns encouraging women to visit doctors regularly for mammograms or Pap tests. The result is that women only seek help when they are at the terminal stage.

Furthermore, the lack of government support for the Garífuna is reflected in the fact that family planning does not have a space in the media of the region as it should. Therefore, basic information about taking advantage of vaccination campaigns and other public activities are not disseminated among the general public (INGUAT, 2011).

ii. External Factors: Dependence on Ecotourism or Commerce and Remittances

Dependence on Ecotourism and Street Commerce

In terms of its current economy, Livingston has shifted from the more traditional reliance on female-led agricultural production and male-led fishing to a heavy reliance on the ecotourism industry and artisanal street commerce.

“There are less and less fishers than in the past and now the Garífuna mostly dedicate themselves to other work activities: some are in business offices (these are very few as there are not many opportunities for the Garífuna to develop in terms of the professional workforce); some, particularly women, have dedicated themselves to hair-braiding as a more temporary occupation; there are a few professionals and doctors, often graduates” (Respondent 12, Garífuna).

Although ecotourism and artisanal street commerce are now the primary mode of subsistence for the Garífuna, it increases the vulnerability of the Garífuna community in two ways: first, despite the strong cultural foundation of artisanal work, artisanal fishing, and commerce of the Garífuna community, they are not able to use this as an economic asset: “in general, craft products do not have a solid market niche and therefore investment funds are limited [and] neither the state nor civil society [...] formally promotes traditional craft production as a driving force in social, cultural and economic development” (Sanchez, 2003: 9). Numerous families have been forced to sell their properties; others managed to obtain loans and open small businesses that mostly include shops and small hotels catering to tourists—women often become the managers of these businesses and employ other women so that they will not be forced to emigrate in order to have work (Gargallo, 2006). Because they are not official recognized and protected by the state, local Garífuna tourism and artisanal street commerce industries are easily susceptible to competition and exploitation from external companies and entrepreneurs (Sanchez, 2003); thereby contributing to the vulnerability of the Garífuna.

Second, in general in the Garífuna communities tourism is met with a great deal of resistance. This is particularly the case in Honduras where tourist-oriented publicity typifies the Garífuna and creates stereotypes about their lifestyle (Gargallo, 2006). For example, the Garífuna have become very popular for their Punta music and are always associated with dancing and partying, rather than with other characteristics and values which are important and relevant to them: “We would like to eliminate the stereotypes, because we are not only people who dance well; we are a people who can produce and contribute to the development of the country” (Alvarez, 2009: 2).

Based on data from the Organizacion Negra de Guatemala (1998), the ideal situation would be for ecotourism, crafts, commerce and fishing to be elevated into more formal enterprises and for

the Garífuna community to create their own development opportunities through the creation of a socio-economic system, based on a collective open market scheme that would allow them to become less dependent on the already unresponsive state.

Dependence on International Remittances

As mentioned previously in this study, the Garífuna typically started migrating to the United States in the early 1950's in search of better employment and more professional opportunities. International migrants are predominantly men and male adolescents in the Garífuna community who travel for years at a time, typically leaving behind three generations of women (grandmothers, mothers and young women) to take charge of the well-being and continuation of the families and community (Palacio, 2005). Some women migrate as well but do so nationally usually moving to Guatemala City to become housemaids or industrial workers; where a meagre two percent become professionals (Gargallo, 2006).

There are widely divergent estimates of Garífuna settlement and migration patterns, depending on what statistics are used and which national population is being measured (keeping in mind that the Garífuna live in Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua). A conservative estimate of the total world population of Garífuna is at about 200,000 (World Fact Book, 1999). Based on this approximation, the number of Garífuna in the United States out of the total world Garífuna population is calculated to be between 50,000 and 100,000 (Palacio, 2005). However, given that a number of Garífuna migrants are living illegally in the United States, more precise estimates have been difficult to make. The table below consists of figures drawn from various sources, some of which are from national censuses, while others are from more informal sources. Based on the gathered population estimates in Table 2 below, about one half of the world Garífuna population currently resides in the United States; where roughly 2/3rds come from Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua while the remaining 1/3rd is from Belize.

The portions of the Garífuna population remaining in their respective countries usually rely on their migrant relatives to send remittances to contribute to the continuation of the family. This is also true of Guatemala, where 57% of Garífuna received a salary of less than 500 quetzals in 1998, which is insufficient for meeting basic family needs; in which case international remittances are playing a crucial role in bringing 68% of mostly female-headed Garífuna households out of poverty (ONEGUA, 1998).³⁴ Data from the Guatemala Poverty Assessment shows that both international and national remittances have “doubled [...] with twice as many households receiving remittances in 2006 compared to 2000, and an average size of transfer rising to 30 percent in real terms” (World Bank, 2009:14). The downside in a context that does not support the creation of employment and participation opportunities for Garífuna women in

³⁴ Unofficially, it is estimated that 60% of the Garífuna in Guatemala has migrated (ONEGUA, 1998).

Livingston is that Garífuna women are becoming increasingly dependent on remittances to contribute to their livelihoods.

Table 2:. Garífuna population estimates by year and location.

Year	Total	Guatemala	Honduras	Belize	New Orleans	Los Angeles	New York
1960				4,147			
1974/75	70,000-80,000	3,101					
1980			60,900				
1984/85		3,000		10,600			
1987	200,000						30,000
1992	100,000-200,000					4,000-10,000	
1997			100,000-200,000		2,000-4,000		
1998						25,000	
1999			126,320 (all blacks)	16,730			

Source: Gonzalez 1988, Palacio 1992, Ferguson 1997a, Ferguson 1997b, O'Connor 1998, World Fact Book 1999, Davidson as cited in Gonzalez 1988, Cruz based on Davidson and as cited in Gonzalez 1988

This dependence on remittances for their livelihood is critical in increasing the vulnerability of Garífuna women; particularly as the economic climate in the United States is worsening and becoming increasingly volatile.

Protective opportunities: Garífuna women do not benefit from any kind of state sponsored protective security or relevant social safety nets against their vulnerabilities.

5.3 What are the Garífuna doing to address discrimination, social exclusion and their vulnerability?

The Garífuna own a number of non-governmental organisations, some of which are run by Garífuna women for awareness raising about issues concerning women's economic empowerment, self-esteem, discrimination, domestic violence, and sexual health. These NGOs also deal with the promotion of Garífuna culture, and representation of Garífuna in decision and policy-making processes.

Garífuna women-led organisations include:

- (a) *Asociación de Mujeres Garífunas Guatemaltecas (ASOMUGAGUA)* – Guatemalan Garífuna Women's Association. This association was founded in 1997 in Izabal by a group of nine Garífuna women working in both the professional and informal sector to

provide support to Garífuna women in the communities of Livingston and Puerto Barrios. The group's specific objectives are:

- (i) Raise awareness about the issues concerning women's self-esteem and sexual health;
 - (ii) Strengthen leadership capabilities;
 - (iii) Promote the participation of the Garífuna community, and Garífuna women in particular, through the promotion of socio-cultural projects and productive endeavours in order to combat poverty and ensure some representation in the national society;
 - (iv) Struggle against all forms of discrimination and violence.
- (b) ***Asociación de Mujeres AfroGuatemaltecas AfroAmerica XXI – Association of Afro-American Afro-Guatemalan Women.*** The objectives are:
- (i) Increase visibility and improve conditions of the life of Afrodescendants;
 - (ii) Contribute to economic empowerment and sustainable development.
- (c) ***Comité Político de las Mujeres Afroguatemaltecas – Afro-Guatemalan Women's Political Committee.*** On July 25, 2012, the Political Committee introduced the Garífuna Women's Political Agenda to Sonia Escobar from the Presidential Secretariat for Women. The rationale of the Agenda was that attention be brought to the specific needs and demands of Garífuna women and Afro-Guatemalans.
- (d) ***Desarrollo de las Mujeres Afro-Guatemaltecas***

The Garífuna community at large is running some organisations that are also relevant to the combat against discrimination and socioeconomic exclusion of Garífuna women. They include:

- (a) ***Organización Negra Guatemalteca (ONEGUA) – Black Guatemalan Organisation.*** Established in 1995, ONEGUA emphasises the importance of serving the needs and interest of Guatemala's Garífuna and Afrodescendant populations. With regards to the organisation's work, ONEGUA endeavours to support local development initiatives that address both Garífuna and Afro-Guatemalan communities' social, cultural and educational needs. In order to ensure that its activities satisfy the highest possible standards, ONEGUA has focused its work in two areas:
- (i) Researching and promoting Garífuna and Afro-Guatemalan culture, including the Garífuna language, Garífuna and Afro-Guatemalan cuisine, handicrafts, religious beliefs, and traditional medicines.

- (ii) Assessing and encouraging educational initiatives that target the specific requirements of both the Afro-Guatemalan and Garífuna communities.
- (b) ***Fomento y Salvaguarda de la Cultura Garífuna*** – *Promotion and Safeguarding of the Garífuna Culture*. This association, located in Puerto Barrios, plays an integral role in the dance performances and other public events by Garífuna in Labuga. They pride themselves on promoting the development of the Garífuna people, through research, education, training and documentation of cultural expressions.
- (c) ***Organización Garífuna “Sanchez-Diaz” - IBIMENI*** – *“Sanchez-Diaz” Garífuna Organisation (IBIMENI)*. In celebration of the founding father of Livingston, every 25th and 26th of November the Garífuna celebrate the foundation of Livingston as well as the government ratified National Day of the Garífuna, a celebration of the “Dignity of the culture and rights of the Garífuna people”.
- (d) ***Parlamento Garífuna*** – *Garífuna Parliament*. In 2011, the Garífuna Parliament successfully proposed the creation of the *Institute for the Integral Development of the Garífuna* (also known as the Garífuna Institute) to the President of the Congress.

Throughout my research, it was easier to find information about Garífuna-led organisations in Belize, Honduras and Nicaragua where the respective total Garífuna populations exceed that of the Garífuna in Guatemala. The literature about the Garífuna and written by the Garífuna is more abundant in these countries than it is in Guatemala and there is more evidence of their mobilisation to bring about a change in their community by their community. Even so, the Garífuna organisations in Guatemala are closely linked to those in Honduras, such as the Organización Fraternal Negra Hondureña (OFRANEH); the Organización Negra Centroamericana (ONECA) – which is the largest umbrella organisation for Black communities in Central America; or the Organización de Desarrollo Etnico Comunitario (ODECO).

The government has also put in place a number of legislations, institutions and tools that support programmes and activities undertaken to redress the situation of Garífuna women and, in general, Guatemala’s female indigenous community. They include:

- (a) The ***Conditional Cash Transfer*** initiative is less specific to the Garífuna, but seeks to impact the lives of indigenous women. The idea is to expand opportunities for vulnerable groups in ethnically diverse contexts and reduce the barriers indigenous women face by building their capacity to effectively use their income within rural households.
- (b) The ***Trust Fund for Local Development*** seeks to contribute to poverty alleviation and reinforcing the democratic process of development in Guatemala for groups that are excluded from development opportunities. This initiative increases access to financial services towards income generation and habitation for the poor and supports NGO’s cooperatives and the like in their microloan programs. Similarly to the Conditional Cash

Transfer initiative, the Trust Fund for Local Development is not limited to the Garífuna community.

- (c) The *National Day of the Garífuna* was instituted in line with the International Year for People of African Descent 2011. The National Day activities form part of the resolution 64-169 approved by the United Nations General Assembly, through which the year 2011 was declared the International Year for People of African Descent.³⁵ At the international level, the objective was to recognise the role that people of African descent play in development and to right the wrongs of the historical legacy of the transatlantic slave trade. At the national level, the idea was to transform Guatemala into a more inclusive, pluralistic and equal society for the ethnic groups (Prensa Libre, 2011) and to create a culture that takes into consideration and preserves the different facets of Guatemalan heritage (Leonardo, 2011). In 2011, the National Day of the Garífuna initiative took place at the National Palace of Culture, it included celebrations as well as academic, sports, cultural and religious activities and was attended by delegates from the Presidential Commission against the Discrimination and Racism of Indigenous Peoples in Guatemala (CODISRA).

Private sector initiatives such as the Conditional Cash Transfer and the Trust Fund for Local Development have been largely critiqued for missing a crucial component: the contribution of a competent and engaged public sector. Seen more as an extension of the neoliberal agenda, these private sector initiatives are part of an elite effort to play a central role in shaping the national development agenda and occupy the space of the local state and civil society (Ogelsby, 2004). This vision is troubling as these initiatives position capital itself “as a key actor in the arena of civil society” and are rooted in “particular class trajectories” and socio-political historical landscapes that de-emphasise the push for more inclusive social and political participation of the groups they are aiming to help (Ogelsby, 2004: 553) or that call for “popular participation as long as [it] is channelled ‘correctly’” (Ogelsby, 2004: 565; Hale, 2002). According to Ogelsby:

“Research is needed on the ways in which the capacity of the public sector might be strengthened, and, in this veins, at least two fundamental changes are required: (1) a strengthening of the state’s capacity to ensure the rule of law, as well as to guarantee access to basic services such as health care and education; and (2) respect for the right of workers and communities to organize freely, without fear of physical or economic reprisal” (2004: 569).

- (d) A number of legislative agreements and decrees:
- (i) Creation of the Presidential Secretariat for Women, Legislative Agreement 200-2000.

³⁵ In fact by simply visiting the general International Year for People of African Descent 2011, one quickly comes across a photo of members of the Garífuna community near Tela, Honduras, followed by a brief description of the Garífuna community and heritage.

- (ii) Reform of the Criminal Code defining the offence of discrimination including discrimination on grounds of gender, Decree No. 57-2002
- (iii) The Act on Promoting Education against Discrimination, Decree No. 81-2002.
- (iv) Reforms to the Criminal Code defining offences of domestic violence and sexual harassment and providing for increased penalties for offences against women, Initiative No. 2630.
- (v) Institution of the National Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Violence against Women and provision for the participation of the National Statistical Institute (which is considered to be an essential and strategic element for efficient monitoring of the recording of complaints), Legislative Agreements 417-2003 and 421-2003.
- (vi) Creation of the National Compensation Programme (which is based on the principles of equity, justice, accessibility, social participation, and respect for victims' cultural identity; it provides for the inclusion of a representative of women's organizations on the Commission), Legislative Agreement 258-2003.
- (vii) Establishment of the Third Vice-Ministry for Intercultural Bilingual Education within the Ministry of Education (of particular significance from the historical perspective of the discrimination suffered by Guatemalan women and girls), Legislative Agreement 526-2003.

5.4 Proposed additional actions to address and control the causes of discrimination and exclusion?

Because the Garífuna are marginalised institutionally, economically, and socially, there are very few development programmes that specifically target their needs: "While most development agencies would argue that their mandate is to help the marginalised, Afro-descendants do not usually benefit from general development programmes"; furthermore, they "do not have a significant voice in the planning, design or implementation of policies and activities that directly affect their lives and regions" (Sanchez, 2003: 1). Moreover, there is a failure to recognise that the majority of the most marginalised people in society are women and girls.

"We need to work intensely in the area of citizen formation in the education sector and create opportunities through these formations. Even in the theme of reproductive health there is little knowledge, and a lack of education. Women are afraid of pap smears given that what a pap smear consists in has never been explained to them and neither has the procedure" (Respondent 13, Garífuna).

“I think with how strong the development of the indigenous movement is in the country, it would do well to ally the Garífuna with other indigenous peoples to demand the right to self-determination and free, prior and informed consultation” (Respondent 10, Ladina).

The following suggestions and recommendations to control the discrimination and exclusion of the Garífuna, in particular women, emerged directly from the inputs of respondents, contributors who were not interviewed and did not respond to questionnaires, and from the literature.

Table 3 lists under seven thematic areas what the Guatemalan government, Garífuna women and other indigenous/local communities and the private sector can do in addition to their respective ongoing activities to control the causes of poverty (including discrimination and socioeconomic exclusion) and lack of development opportunities for the Garífuna. The table is based on the inputs of respondents and gaps identified in the available literature on the Garífuna.

Table 3: Possible actions that can be taken to further address the causes of poverty and lack of development opportunities for the Garífuna as well as issues of discrimination, socioeconomic exclusion and vulnerability of Garífuna women and their rationale/context

Thematic Areas	General Context	Recommended Actions
<p>1. Gender Equality</p>	<p>Women form a majority of society's marginalised and excluded population and experience intersecting inequalities. There is a need for greater gender recognition, gender justice (human rights) and gender effectiveness that would contribute to poverty eradication, reduction of maternal mortality, control over impact of HIV/AIDS, etc.</p>	<p>To reduce gender inequality, the following is recommended:</p> <p><u>Government should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on the most marginalised people in society, recognising that the majority are women and girls. • Reflect an understanding that women's poverty is, in part, a result of their socially enforced gender roles and relations. • Mainstream gender equality – develop gender sensitive indicators based on need rather than data availability; agree on specific targets that take into account gender barriers; increase availability of gender disaggregated data by sex. • Scale up political participation of indigenous communities from the local to the national level. • Encourage the re-interpretation of national identity that takes into account the participation of Garífuna women and men. <p><u>Garífuna should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement self-reliance programs, encourage decision-making among women and men, as well as family-based groups. • Create and share a document of gender-specific priorities and/or to address the exclusion of the poorest and most marginalised, in particular women and girls. • Provide and develop gender-sensitive

		<p>indicators based on Garífuna-specific needs and reflecting Garífuna women's priorities (representation, education, health services, employment).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commit to tackling the roots of and undoing machismo and sexist behaviours by creating leadership trainings for women to build their capacity for self-management , and organize training and information sessions for men.. <p><u>Other indigenous/local communities should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join forces to prioritise the comprehensive care of indigenous women in every development area so as to create a greater impact. • Join forces to create mechanisms that capitalise on the leadership roles of indigenous women.
<p>2. Data collection, analysis and usage</p>	<p>There is a lack of clear data or statistics that are being collected about the Garífuna in Guatemala. Where data is collected it is not effectively compiled, analysed or disseminated.</p>	<p>To improve data collection, analysis and usage, the following is recommended:</p> <p><u>Government should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a national protocol on recurrent data collection, analysis and dissemination systems of ethno-racial and gender disaggregated data.. • Expand national monitoring systems, census and surveys to include more specific information about the Garífuna. • Present annual or bi-annual report on trends, impacts or effects of ethnic, racial and gender invisibility. <p><u>Garífuna should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share indicators on the outcomes of invisibility on the community. • Provide support on the development of protocols regarding data collection methods. • Develop and disseminate annual or bi-annual report on community analysis of trends, impacts or effects of ethnic, racial and gender invisibility.

		<p><u>Other indigenous/local communities should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join forces to encourage a re-interpretation of national identity that takes into consideration the different ethnic groups in the country in statistics and demographic studies. • Undertake advocacy on the elimination of discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation based on the data and knowledge generated through research and interaction with the Garífuna, in particular women.
<p>3.Policies and Procedures</p>	<p>Since the 1996 Peace Accords that ended the civil war, Guatemala has established operating procedures to recognise the rights of indigenous peoples and has criminalised ethnic and racial discrimination. Yet, political exclusion, discrimination, and economic marginalisation still occur due to a lack of resources and political will enforce the accords.</p>	<p>To ensure that policies and procedures are established and implemented:</p> <p><u>Government should, among other things:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen the implementation by the government of the legislative agreements and decrees listed in section 5. 3 above • Strengthen the rule of law and prioritise the development of national protection strategies and systems to include indigenous peoples affected by discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation. • Name a unit or agency with clearly defined roles and responsibilities for coordinating matters pertaining to Garífuna affected by discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation. <p><u>Garífuna should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find ways to play enhanced role in the Presidential Commission against Discrimination and Racism, and in the Presidential Secretariat for Women • Establish a special unit to address discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation and seek to develop: a) national platform of actions and guiding principles to include Garífuna, b) express their specific needs-for, c) assist government in establishing and implementing their policies and procedures.

		<p><u>Other indigenous/local communities should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join forces to increase the voice and representation of the Garífuna community so that they can have a greater political impact at the national level.
<p>4.Social Services</p>	<p>The Garífuna affected by discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation face challenges accessing basic social services.</p>	<p>To help ensure access to social services:</p> <p><u>Government should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Strengthen its ongoing initiatives. ▪ Set up networks to identify Garífuna affected by discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation and ensure that, whenever necessary, the Garífuna are referred to relevant agencies. ▪ Set up procedure for creating programmes and opportunities that could retain Garífuna from migrating. <p><u>Garífuna should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share best practice models and methodologies relating to social services, while making references to Honduras, Belize and Nicaragua when possible. • Encourage a form of assistance fund to which the government and donors can contribute to assist community systems. <p><u>Other indigenous/local communities should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join forces to prioritise the better management and transference of resources and basic services.
<p>5. Education</p>	<p>Some Garífuna face difficulties integrating into the mainstream education due to colour, language barriers, unavailability of funds.</p>	<p>To help ensure access to education:</p> <p><u>Government should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enforce employment policy, so that all students are represented among faculty and staff. ▪ Establish language centres that provide support to children of indigenous families to develop bilingual language competencies. ▪ Include teacher/professor training curriculum and tools to positively deal with ethno-racial and cultural differences of students. ▪ Incorporate special curriculum on the appreciation of cultural differences and inclusiveness (ex. life skills programmes or health and family education).

		<p><u>Garífuna should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reaffirm the right to access primary education and secondary education. ▪ Lobby for a form of teacher-education task force to strengthen curriculum in dealing with multicultural and social issues. <p><u>Other indigenous/local communities should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join forces to prioritise the comprehensive care of indigenous communities, particularly girls and women in every development area to create a greater impact.
<p>6. Health</p>	<p>Some Garífuna rely on their community network to receive private/spiritual healthcare due to culture but also due to lack of adequate public services or knowledge about available services.</p>	<p>To help ensure access to adequate and efficient health services:</p> <p><u>Government should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen health centres and expand community culturally-sensitive rights-based outreach programmes on health, sanitation and hygiene. • Develop national or enhance international policies which promote universal access to HIV/AIDS prevention treatment and care, etc. <p><u>Garífuna should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reaffirm access to basic health care and adequate services. • Support networks or initiatives which promote health and reduce social vulnerability of adults, adolescents and children. <p><u>Other indigenous/local communities should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join forces to prioritise the comprehensive care of indigenous communities, particularly girls and women in every development area to create a greater impact.
<p>7. Investment in human and financial resources</p>	<p>The government should engage in medium to long term development planning to ensure that human and financial resources (social expenditures) are available to support human and social planning, programmes and policies for all of Guatemalan society, particularly indigenous peoples.</p>	<p>To help ensure that there is investment in human and financial resources:</p> <p><u>Government should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Form and sponsor positions in labour market, social services, education and health. • Create incentives for private sector to contribute human and financial resource initiatives. • Allocate budget to provide funding to support professional training for

		<p>under-represented population.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engage in participatory budgeting to help under-represented population to help determine/analyse the required investment based on specific indicators. <p><u>Garífuna should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote joint meetings between relevant ministries or councils to discuss social expenditure, budgetary allotments and long-term planning. Implement self-reliance programs, encourage decision-making among women and men, as well as family-based groups; where knowledge will be transmitted across generations, breaking the transmission of disadvantage between generations. Participate in the organisation of associations, networks and partnerships within the community and with other communities in Guatemala and in neighbouring countries <p><u>Other indigenous/local communities should:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Join forces to increase the investment in civil society and civic engagement
--	--	---

There is certainly a need to prioritise these recommendations – such prioritisation is best done by the stakeholders, using a participatory approach. Some of the activities listed can be carried out in combination. The following criteria can be used for the prioritisation: urgency, the keystone position of certain recommendations in the chain of actions (for a domino effect), feasibility and availability of resources and linkages to ongoing actions and programmes.

I suggest as a starting point the following activities:

- (a) For Garífuna women:
 - Upscale their non-governmental organisations for education and awareness-raising etc.
- (b) For the Garífuna community at large
 - Strengthen networking within the country as well as in neighbouring countries
 - Join efforts with other indigenous groups, such as the Maya to have voices at the national and regional levels
 - Take ownership of relevant governmental programmes
- (c) For the government:

- Implement existing legislations against discrimination or for women, 1996 Peace Accords, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and other national commitments e.g. MDGs, including by:
 - Improving registration and statistics (data collection, analysis and usage of information) about the Garífuna;
 - Facilitating and encouraging access to social services, education, adequate and efficient health services
 - Invest in capacity building for Garífuna women and Garífuna in general
- (d) For other communities, indigenous/local communities, religious groups, NGOS, private sector:
 - Join forces to prioritise the comprehensive care of indigenous women in every development area to create a greater impact

Conclusion

This study shows that the direct and underlying causes of the poverty of Garífuna women include essentially: their marginalization (in the society due to the fact that they are a small population without a significant impact in the economy, also they are considered as foreigners or tourists before being taken into consideration as part of indigenous communities), socioeconomic exclusion and discrimination emerging from the historical gender inequalities, racist attitudes and doctrines in the Guatemalan patriarchal society. Garífuna women's needs are ignored as a result; and their access to development opportunities and representation in decision-making denied. The vulnerability of Garífuna women is enhanced by gender issues within the community (particularly sexism and the machismo of Garífuna men and men in general). A terrible consequence is that many Garífuna women become resigned to this situation, lose their self-esteem and withdraw from national life.

I followed closely the tenets of the capabilities approach offered by Amartya Sen (1985; 2000) and Martha Nussbaum (1993; 2000). The capabilities approach begins with the premise that human beings, people, do not only value consumable goods and services but that we also value things that cannot be consumed, such as activities and capabilities that reinforce our human dignity and self-respect. Human development is therefore about an expansion in the number of people that can increasingly value the lives that they lead, as well as their substantive freedoms, their capabilities, and their choices (including political freedom, guaranteed human rights and self-respect). What's more, people are the beneficiaries of development as well as the agents who can improve their lives. Although resources, income, institutions, or political and social guarantees are important policy targets, the success of development is ultimately defined in terms of the lives that people lead and the capabilities they possess. In line with the opening words of the 1990 Human Development Report, "people are the real wealth of a nation. The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to live long, healthy and creative lives" (UNDP 1990).

Thus is stating that Garífuna women are lacking development opportunities I am referring to the lack of an enabling environment for Garífuna women to lead long, healthy and creative lives in which they can engage in all that they value. Garífuna women are deprived in one dimension or another of their freedoms, their capabilities and their choices. The lives of Garífuna women are impacted by poverty and the lack of development opportunities; that is, they neither have the opportunities to enhance their capabilities nor the freedom to achieve some of the different things that they value. Garífuna women value visibility and recognition, participation and representation, access to professional opportunities, access to more adequate health services and health information, and access to education that values their culture and heritage. Some Garífuna women are aware of their values and capabilities. They have joined efforts through associations among women, or within the Garífuna community or with other communities in Guatemala and

in neighbouring countries to raise awareness, promote the Garífuna culture and language, have a voice and combat discrimination and socioeconomic exclusion.

It is primarily these efforts by Garífuna women that need to be encouraged, supported and up-scaled through communities of practice (as per the emergence theory proposed by Deborah Frieze and Margaret Wheatley, 2006) composed of the government, funding agencies, other communities. For sustainable results in terms of progress towards development, Garífuna women need to be aware of their capabilities and use them to emerge from poverty. They need to be aware of ongoing (governmental and others) programmes, relevant legislative agreements including the 1996 Peace Accords and decrees aimed at controlling the causes of discrimination and exclusion. They can speak out and let others be informed and take into account their specific needs.

In order to address the high levels of poverty of the Garífuna community, in particular women, it is imperative to remove the substantive non-freedoms that leave the Garífuna, in particular women, with little choice and opportunity. In line with the intersectionality feminist framework, efforts to transform Garífuna women's lives must be grounded in their lived experiences and by making links to their communities to move towards action. Various legislations and programmes at the community and national level for ending discrimination and socioeconomic exclusion of Garífuna women are supported by agreements and initiatives undertaken at the international level. As an example, in the final document of the Rio+20 entitled "The Future We Want", the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development held in June in 2012, the world community strongly reaffirmed:

- (a) the right to gender equality and women's empowerment;
- (b) the need to achieve social equity while enhancing gender equality and women's empowerment, and equal opportunities for all; and
- (c) their commitments to ensure women's equal rights, access and opportunities for participation and leadership in the economy, society and political decision making (para 31) while (i) recognizing that gender equality and women's empowerment are important for sustainable development and our common future, and (ii) noting that some of the obstacles to the development of women are the persistent social, economic and political inequalities and informal harmful practices acting as barriers to gender equality

Once we have witnessed the situation of Garífuna women, we cannot remain inactive. On my part, inspired by people like Rigoberta Menchu Tum, Nobel Prize Winner 1992, I would like to

- (a) Share knowledge about Garífuna women, because *"they are there [but] they do not form a part of the collective national imagination"* – (a Ladina respondent)

- (b) Contribute to bringing about change in the situation of Garífuna women, in particular through interactions with members of the Garífuna communities and relevant NGOs
- (c) Contribute to raising awareness about their isolation and marginalization, and barriers that impact the community; and
- (d) React and be an active participant in ensuring that the rights of women and girls from marginalised Garífuna communities are protected and enforced.

Bibliography

"Acuerdo Global Sobre Derechos Humanos." *Acuerdos De Paz - Misión Permanente De Guatemala Ante Las Naciones Unidas*. Misión Permanente De Guatemala Ante Las Naciones Unidas, 29 Mar. 1994. Web. 12 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.guatemalaun.org/paz.cfm>>.

Altman, Andrew, "Discrimination", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2011 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/discrimination/>>.

Amnesty International, *Guatemala: No Protection, no Justice: Killings of Women in Guatemala*, 9 June 2005, AMR 34/017/2005, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/45bf6e4d2.html> [accessed 22 December 2012]

Arrivillaga, Alfonso Cortés. *Marcos Sánchez Díaz: Ahari Fundador y Protector de Gulfu Iyumou (Notas Sobre La Historia de Livingston)*. Guatemala City: Casa Laruduna, 2005. Print.

Arrivillaga Cortes, Alfonso. *The Garífuna: a Nation Across Borders - Essays in Social Anthropology*. Ed. Joseph O. Palacio. Second ed. Benque Viejo Del Carmen, Belize: Cubola Productions, 2006.

Barrett, Alice. "Garífuna Voices of Guatemala: Central America's Overlooked Segment of the African Diaspora." Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), 14 June 2010. Web. <<http://www.coha.org/garifuna-voices-of-guatemala-an-overlooked-segment-of-the-african-diaspora/>>.

Bastos, Santiago. "Ser maya en el siglo XXI: el proceso de construcción y difusión de una identidad política." *FLASCO Guatemala* (2004).

Bastos, Santiago, and Aura Cumes. "Mayanización y Vida Cotidiana: La Ideología y El Discurso Multicultural en La Sociedad Guatemalteca." *Mayanización y Vida Cotidiana: La Ideología Multicultural En La Sociedad Guatemalteca (Book, 2007)* [WorldCat.org]. FLASCO Guatemala, 2007.

Beltran, Elizabeth P. *Una Aproximación a La Problemática De Género Y Etnicidad En América Latina*. Issue brief no. Mujer Y Desarrollo. Naciones Unidas, CEPAL, Apr. 2004. Web. <<http://www.bvsde.paho.org/bvsacd/cd16/aproximacion.pdf>>.

Bo, Teresa. "Tourism Threat for Honduras' Garífunas." *AJE - Al Jazeera English*. 20 July 2008. Web. <<http://english.aljazeera.net/news/americas/2008/07/200872013931747232.html>>.

Brett, Roddy, and Marta Casaus Arzu, eds. "El racismo y la discriminación étnica en Guatemala: una aproximación hacia sus tendencias históricas y el debate actual." *Stockholm Review of Latin*

American Studies 6 (2010): 1-77.

<http://www.lai.su.se/gallery/bilagor/SRoLAS_No6_2010.pdf>.

Brondo, Keri Vacanti. "When Mestizo Becomes (Like) Indio ... or Is It Garífuna?: Multicultural Rights and "Making Place" on Honduras' North Coast." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 15.1 (2010): 170-94. American Anthropological Association. Web.

Casaús, Marta Elena. "Lineaje y racismo en Guatemala". Costa Rica: Publicaciones FLASCO, 2007.

Casaús Arzu, Marta. *Genealogía de los conceptos de racismo y discriminación en las ciencias sociales Guatemaltecas (1950-2006)*. 2007.

CEDAW. *Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women Combined Third and Fourth Periodic Reports of States Parties*† Guatemala*. Rep. no. CEDAW/C/GUA/3-4. United Nations: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 2002.

"Celebrarán La Semana Del Pueblo Garífuna." *Prensa Libre*. 21 Nov. 2011. Web.

<http://www.prensalibre.com.gt/noticias/Celebraran-semana-Pueblo-Garifuna_0_595140801.html>.

Central American Department, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, and Latin America and the Caribbean Region. *Guatemala Poverty Assessment: Good Performance at Low Levels*. Report No. 43920-GT. World Bank, 2009.

CEPAL (Comisión Económica Para América Latina y el Caribe). "El desafío de La equidad de genero y de los derechos humanos en los albores del siglo XXI". *Serie Mujer y Desarrollo*. N. 27. Santiago De Chile: CEPAL, 2001.

CGRS. *Guatemala's Femicides and the Ongoing Struggle for Women's Human Rights: Update to CGRS's 2005 Report Getting Away With Murder*. Rep. Centre for Gender and Refugee Studies, Sept. 2006. Web.

<http://cgrs.uchastings.edu/documents/cgrs/cgrs_guatemala_femicides2.pdf>.

Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge Press, 2000.

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination Seventy-sixth Session 15 February–12 March 201. Rep. no. CERD/C/GTM/CO/12-13. UN International Convention on All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 19 May 2010. Web.

Cott, Donna Lee Van. *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2000.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," rpt. in Anne Phillips, *Feminism and Politics*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 314–343, 1998.

Dill, Bonnie Thornton., and Ruth E. Zambrana, eds. *Emerging Intersections: Race, Class, and Gender in Theory, Policy, and Practice*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers UP, 2009.

Feiring, B. *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: The Cases of Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua*. London: Minority Rights Group International, 2003.

Ferguson, H. (1997a). Black Hondurans try to Preserve Culture; Emigration, Development Trouble Garífuna. The Times-Picayune. New Orleans (?): A1.

Ferguson, H. (1997b). Many Garífuna Moving Families to New Orleans. Times-Picayune. New Orleans (?): A4.

Forster, Cindy. Violent and Violated Women: Justice and Gender in Rural Guatemala, 1936-1956. *Journal of Women's History* 11.3 (2009): 55-77.

"Gender Equality and Social Institutions in Guatemala | Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI)." *SIGI Ranking 2009*. Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI)/OECD. 12 Nov. 2010. <<http://genderindex.org/country/guatemala>>.

Godoy-Paiz, Paula. "'Not Just Another Woman': Femicide and Representation in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 1.17 (2012): 88-109.

Goldberg, David Theo, ed. *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

González, Nancie. *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garífuna*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH). "Guatemala: Memory of Silence." *AAAS - The World's Largest General Scientific Society*. American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1999. Web. 30 July 2010. <<http://shr.aaas.org/guatemala/ceh/report/english/toc.html>>.

"Guatemala's Femicide Law: Progress Against Impunity?" Guatemalan Human Rights Commission (GHRC), 2010. Accessed 12 Dec. 2012.

Gudmundson, Lowell, and Justin Wolfe. *Blacks and Blackness in Central America: between Race and Place*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2010.

Hale, Charles R. "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34.03 (2002): 485-524. *Cambridge Journals*. Web. 15 Oct. 2012.

Hale, Charles R. Mas Que Un Indio: Racial Ambivalence in Neoliberal Multiculturalism in Guatemala. New Mexico: School of American Research, 2006.

Harding, Sandra, Ed., Feminist Methodology: Social Science Issues, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1987.

Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura D. Tyson, and Saadia Zahidi. The Global Gender Gap Report. Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2009.

Hausmann, Ricardo, R., L. D. Tyson and S. Zahidi (2012) The Global Gender Gap Report 2011. World Economic Forum (accessible at <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/global-gender-gap-report-education-2011-en.pdf>)

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy., Michelle L. Yaiser, and Patricia Leavy. "Feminist Approaches to Research as a Process: Reconceptualizing Epistemology, Methodology, and Method." *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*. New York: Oxford UP, 2004. 3-26.

Horta, Oscar. "Discrimination in Terms of Moral Exclusion". *Theoria: Swedish Journal of Philosophy*, 76, 346-364 (2010).

Hulme, Peter. "French Accounts of the Vincentian Caribs." *The Garifuna: a Nation Across Borders - Essays in Social Anthropology*. Ed. Joseph Orlando. Palacio. Second ed. Benque Viejo Del Carmen, Belize: Cubola, 2006.

INE. *Marco Conceptual Para Enfocar Estadísticas De Pueblos Indígenas*. Rep. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2009.

"International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination." *OHCHR Homepage*. OHCHR. Web. 18 May 2010. <<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm>>.

Leonardo, José Roberto. "Realzan Legado De Cultura Garifuna Con El "Corredor Cultural Caribe"" *Prensa Libre*. 26 May 2011. <http://www.prensalibre.com/cultura/cultura-presentacion-Corredor_Cultural_Caribe-En_Clave_AfroCaribe_0_487751448.html>.

Lippert-Rasmussen, Kasper. "Private Discrimination: A Prioritarian, Desert-Accommodating Account", *San Diego Law Review*, 43, 817-856 (2006).

Lister, Ruth. *Poverty (Key Concepts)*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004.

Mukherjee-Reed, Ananya. *Human Development and Social Power: Perspectives from South Asia*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Nussbaum, Martha C., and Amartya Sen. *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

Nussbaum, Martha. *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge, UP, 2000.

Nussbaum, Martha. 'Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice'. *Feminist Economics* 9 (2003):33-59.

O'Conner, A.-M. Column One: American Threat to a Proud Heritage. Los Angeles Times. Los Angeles: Part A, Page 1, 1998.

Ogelsby, Elizabeth. "Corporate Citizenship? Elites, Labor, and the Geographies of Work in Guatemala." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22 (2004): 553-72.

ONEGUA. *Información General Sobre Livingston y la Comunidad Garífuna*. ONEGUA,1998.

Palacio, Joseph. "A RECONSIDERATION OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN AND AFRICAN ROOTS OF GARIFUNA IDENTITY." *Kacike: The Journal of Caribbean Amerindian History and Anthropology*. Caribbean Amerindian Centrelink (CAC), 2001. Web. 09 Feb. 2010.

Plant, Roger. *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty Reduction: A Case Study of Guatemala*. Rep. Inter-American Development Bank, 1998.

Popay, Jennie, et al. "Understanding and Tackling Social Exclusion: Final Report to the WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health From the Social Exclusion Knowledge Network." World Health Organisation Social Exclusion Knowledge Network, Feb. 2008. <http://www.who.int/social_determinants/knowledge_networks/final_reports/sekn_final%20report_042008.pdf>.

Razack, Sherene. *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms*. Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1998.

Russell, Diana E. H., and Roberta A. Harmes. "Introduction: The Politics of Femicide." *Femicide in Global Perspective*. New York: Teachers College, 2001. 3-25.

Rust, Susie Post. "The Garífuna: Weaving a Future from a Tangled Past." *National Geographic Magazine*. National Geographic Society, 2001. Web.

Salvesen, Hilde. *Guatemala: Five Years after the Peace Accords - The Challenges of Implementing Peace*. Rep. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Mar. 2002. Web. 30 July 2010. <http://www.prio.no/files/file44990_guatemala_report_salvesen.pdf>.

Sanchez, Margarita, Maurice Bryan, and MRG Partners. Afro-descendents, Discrimination and Economic Exclusion in Latin America. Working paper. London: Minority Rights Group International, 2003.

Satzewich, Vic, and Nikolaos Liidakis. *'Race' & Ethnicity in Canada : a Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford UP, 2010.

Sen, Amartya. *Commodities and Capabilities*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1985.

Sen, Amartya. *Development as Freedom*. First ed. New York: Anchor, 2000.

Trejo, Alba. "GUATEMALA: Para Una Mujer Negra, El Color Pesa." *Marta Zabaleta*. 29 June 2009. Web. 05 Aug. 2010. <http://martazabaleta.blogspot.com/2009_06_01_archive.html>.

UNDP Guatemala. *Ethnic and Cultural Diversity: Citizenship in a Plural State*. Human Development Report 2005. Guatemala City: UNDP, 2005.

UNDP. *Human Development Report 2010-The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development*. 20th Edition ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

UNDP. *Human Development Report: Concept and Measurement of Human Development*. Rep. New York: Oxford UP, 1990.

UNDP. "Human Development Reports: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World." *Reports (1990-2011)*. United Nations Development Program, 2004.

UNDP. *UNDP and Indigenous Peoples: A Policy of Engagement*. New York: UNDP, 2001.

UNHCR. "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 24 Apr. 2003. Web. 19 Dec. 2012.

UNICEF, and DEMI. *LOOK AT ME! Status of Indigenous Girls in Guatemala*. First ed. Guatemala City: UNICEF, 2008.

Vanthuyne, Karine. "Becoming Maya? The Politics and Pragmatics of "Being Indigenous" in Postgenocide Guatemala." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review (POLAR)* 32.2 (2009): 195-217. *American Anthropological Association*.

Vogt, Christopher P. Maximizing Human Potential: Capabilities approach and the Professional Work Environment. *Journal of Business Ethics* May 2005, Volume 58, [Issue 1-3](#), pp 111-123.

Warren, Kay B. *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1998. Print.

Wheatley, Margaret and Deborah Frieze. *Using Emergence to Take Social Innovation to Scale*. Washington: The Berkana Institute, 2006.

World Bank. *A World Bank Country Study: Poverty in Guatemala*. Report No. 27586. Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank, 2004.

World Bank. *Poverty in Guatemala*, Report No. 24221-GU. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2003.

World Factbook. Facts & Figures (Honduras), ABC-CLIO, Inc. Kaleidoscope. [Population statistics originally excerpted from the following: Europa World Year Book; The World Factbook; World Population Prospects], 1999.

Annex I: Map of Guatemala



Annex II: Interview Questions

Race and Ethnicity

1. What does it mean to be a Garífuna in Guatemala?
2. What is your experience as a Garífuna in Livingston, Guatemala? What is life like?
3. What is the relationship between the Garífuna and the rest of Guatemalan society?

Gender Relations

4. Is gender inequality an issue in Guatemala?
5. What about within the Garífuna community?

Marginalisation and Exclusion

6. What kind of space is afforded to the Garífuna in Guatemala?
7. Would you say that the Garífuna are included or excluded in Guatemalan society?

Sustainable Human Development

8. What are some of the needs of the Garífuna?

Annex III: Written Questionnaire

Exploratory Study of the Discrimination, Socio-economic Exclusion and Vulnerability of the Garifuna Community in Guatemala, with a Focus on Women

***Please note:** This questionnaire can be filled electronically and emailed directly to my personal email address or it may be completed manually, scanned and then emailed to the same address. Please use a different font, colour, or highlight your text in order to distinguish your answers from the questions. Please provide examples from personal experience, newspapers and other publications with all your answers, particularly where requested. You are welcome to attach images, video or audio footage and other links.*

Date:

Full name of the participant:

Location:

Telephone number:

Email Address:

1. Please select the following option(s)
 - I accept to be quoted directly in the written project
 - I prefer a disclaimer stating that my views are not necessarily represented in the project
 - I agree to be mentioned in the acknowledgement
 - I prefer to remain anonymous and ask that my identity remain unrevealed in the project

2. To which age group do you belong?
 - 20-29 years
 - 30-39 years
 - 40-49 years
 - 50-59 years
 - > 60 years

3. Are you a member of the Garifuna community?
 - Yes
 - No

Briefly describe your ethnic group:

4. Sex:
 - Female

Male

5. What is your social status?

- Single
- Married
- Divorced
- Other:

6. Are you a member of:

- Government
- Non-government organisation
- Academia
- Other

Please specify and briefly describe your position _____

7. Which categories apply to you?:

- Housewife/Husband
- Self employed
- Seeking paid employment
- Part-time paid employment
- Full-time paid employment

RACE AND ETHNICITY

1. Historically, what does it mean to be an afro-descendent in Guatemala? Why do Garífuna self-identify as afro-descendent given that Garífuna heritage is shaped by a unique blend between Arawak, African and Caribbean traditions?
2. The Garífuna are a minority in Guatemala in terms of race and ethnicity. How does this affect Garífuna relations with the rest of Guatemala?
3. Please discuss some of the inequalities that Garífuna face and the ways in which their rights are disregarded.

GENDER INEQUALITY

1. Please discuss the application of gender related legislation in Guatemala. State whether or not you find that strong patriarchal traditions persist in the judicial administration.
2. Would you say that gender equality is contingent on the government's willingness to apply the recommendations set forth in the national development policy for Guatemalan women?

3. Discuss human rights abuses of which Garífuna women are victims and men are not. Please comment if you feel that this is not the case. In your answer, please provide a definition of human rights and human rights abuses. In addition, feel free to make comparisons with women and men in other ethnic groups. Please provide examples from experience or published literature.

MARGINALISATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC EXCLUSION

1. Please describe the existing socio-economic pyramid of Guatemala, naming the ethno-racial groups that sit at the top, in the middle, and those dwelling at the bottom. Feel free to give some historical background as well as provide current examples from literature.
2. In light of this social pyramid, please identify and describe the actions that the government is taking to ensure the equality of the Garífuna group and provide examples.
3. What measures should and/or are being taken by the Garífuna community to contribute to the elimination of stereotypes? Please provide examples of proposed actions.

SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

1. In terms of the promotion of cultures and the elimination of stereotypes in Guatemala, please discuss the level of progress that is being made over the years.
2. What measures should and/or are being taken by the Garífuna community to contribute to the elimination of stereotypes and how can these measures be linked to the Garífuna contribution to national development? Please provide examples of proposed actions.
3. What measures should and/or are being taken by the government, NGO's and other key functionaries to contribute to the elimination of stereotypes and how can these measures be linked to the Garífuna contribution to national development? Please provide examples of proposed actions.

Annex IV: Ethnography of the Garífuna

The ethnogenesis of the Garífuna as an ethno-racial group takes place on the island of St. Vincent in the Lesser Antilles during the eighteenth century. The Garífuna as we know them, came into being after two colonial ships, loaded with enslaved West Africans, dedicated to trade in slaves for skilled labour for the lucrative business of mines and plantations in the New World were wrecked near the island of St. Vincent in 1635 (Arrivillaga, 2005; Rust, 2001). The survivors of the shipwreck sought refuge on the island of St. Vincent with the Island Caribs. The Island Caribs are believed to have emerged in the Lesser Antilles at a time when the Carib-speaking peoples of the Amazon left their riverine homes to trade with and later conquer the Arawak-speaking groups that were already residing on the island (Arrivillaga, 2005; Gonzàles, 1988). Some anthropologists suggest, however, that the events took place inversely, where the Arawak-speakers invaded the Caribs in the Lesser Antilles, with the help of the Spaniards several decades following European discovery (Gonzàles, 1988). Shortly after their initial contact with the Europeans, the Island Caribs began to merge with individuals of both European and African descent.

Although the accounts regarding the process by which the Amerindians and Africans became fused are few, the explanations that have been offered over time by both scholars and modern Garífuna acknowledge that the generations of intermixture between the surviving Africans and the Island Caribs on St. Vincent was great enough to completely alter the phenotype of the Island Carib, such that by the 1700's a new society of Caribs that were racially, culturally and linguistically distinct had emerged. The Caribs were later classified by the British into groups and were distinguished by the colour of their skin: yellow (Island Caribs), red (Arawak Caribs) and black (the Garífuna). The Black Caribs, later known as the Garífuna, developed a self-conscious ethnic and political identity that depended upon the existing complex colonial society, which was composed of Yellow Caribs, French and British colonialists, missionaries and military personnel, enslaved Africans, a small group of Maroons, and 'free coloureds' (Gonzàles, 1988).

The colonial structure of society in St. Vincent was far from functional, and consisted in ongoing warfare between the Caribs and the French. The warfare was a direct result of the competitive transatlantic slave trade and more particularly of the Franco-British struggle to rank as the greatest importer of slaves. Having established itself in the Caribbean as a mercantile superpower and temporarily seizing the *Asiento* or monopoly contract to supply slaves in the seventeenth century, France achieved an advanced level of industrial production at home and closely equalled England in foreign and colonial trade. Needless to say, this did very little to alleviate the prolonged rivalry between France and England, who were constantly vying for the other's colonies and slaves in an effort to gain national superiority and global wealth (Rawley and Behrendt, 2005).

Life in St. Vincent can be characterised as having been sporadic and chaotic. French occupied St. Vincent was founded upon the proclamation of ideals of freedom, but was flawed by white racism, and heroism in battle was demonstrated by placing enslaved peoples in the front lines against the British (Rawley and Behrendt, 2005). On the one hand, the British were hostile and antagonistic, often seeking to force the Caribs off their lands in order to expand British rule, and

on the other, the French engaged in “dubious purchases” that kept the natives on their side (and therefore against the British),³⁶ in the hopes of expanding their power and hold on the colonial-commercial empire (Hulme, 2006; Gonzàles, 1988). By 1748, Britain and France came to an agreement that from then on St. Vincent would be considered neutral territory belonging solely to the Caribs. However, at the end of the Seven Years’ War, the British decided to renege the agreement and began considering the island theirs, setting out organising the sale of land for their plantations (Hulme, 2006; Arrivillaga, 2005). The failure of France to become self-sufficient in the slave trade, and therefore achieve supremacy in empire and economic development entailed that by 1796 the British troops outnumbered them and gave instructions to deport the Caribs and Garífuna alike from St. Vincent (Rust, 2001; Gonzàles, 1988). The British procured whatever vessels they could to transport the Caribs and Garífuna into exile (Rawley and Behrendt, 2005; Gonzàles, 1988). However, the Garífuna and the Caribs resisted the British and rose up in armed conflict against them. In the end, defeat by the British required the unconditional surrender of the Caribs and the Garífuna, who lost both their homeland and culture—an estimated 5,080 Caribs surrendered by October 26, 1796 (Palacio, 2006; Gonzàles, 1988). Those refusing to surrender were hunted down, their houses burned and their crops destroyed.

During their expulsion from St. Vincent, the Garífuna are said to have suffered a great ordeal, living in poor conditions, many suffering and dying from typhoid fever, emaciation and weakness prior to their arrival at the Baliceaux holding station; the survivors amounted to 4,044 people (Gonzàles, 1988). On March 17, 1797, a meagre 2,248 Garífuna were forced to re-embarked in direction of the island of Roatán, in the Bay Islands of Honduras where they were eventually abandoned by the British and even less are said to have survived (Palacio, 2006; Arrivillaga, 2005). The exact figure of survivors to have disembarked on the 12 April 1797 is unknown; however, estimations declare a total of 2,026 survivors (about 75 percent less than the original population to have departed from St. Vincent), 664 of which were men and the remaining 1,362 of which were women and children (Palacio, 2006; Arrivillaga, 2005; Gonzàles, 1988).

Once in Honduras, the Garífuna began to disperse and establish themselves over several communities along the Caribbean coasts of Belize, Guatemala and Nicaragua, and in the last 30 years many have migrated to the United States. As such, the Garífuna community has international and interethnic links and support. Honduras continues to have the largest Garífuna population, estimated at 250,000 or 2 percent of the country’s population across 48 communities (Brondo, 2010). Upon settling throughout Central America, the Garífuna rapidly broadened the span of their intermixture to include the Miskito, the Creoles as well as the Maya; it is said that “the fact of being mixed within an ever increasing framework has remained integral to their group consciousness” (Palacio, 2006:48). Despite complex cultural intermixtures, the coastal Garífuna communities retain practices stemming from their African and Amerindian roots, including artisan fishing, the cultivation of *yucca*, as well as the performance of *dugu* religious rights and practices such as ancestor worship and shamanism. As far as the communities in Guatemala go, the Garífuna are established predominantly in the cities of Livingston and Puerto

³⁶ In terms of ‘dubious purchases’, it is estimated that by the early eighteenth century, the French shipped an average of 5,000 slaves annually, making a total of 18,000 in 1737 to over 40,000 in 1783 (Rawley and Behrendt, 2005).

Barrios. Livingston itself is situated along the Caribbean coast, and can be accessed solely by boat via waterway. From experience, approximately two ferries a day disembark in Livingston, in addition to a number of smaller boats affiliated with hotels and estates. The Garífuna of Guatemala co-exist with the Q'eqchi, Ladino and even Hindu cultural groups.

Annex V: Demography of Guatemala by Ethnicity and Sex

Department	Population by Ethnic Group				Population 2002		Population 2011	
	Maya	Garífuna	Xinca	Ladino	Women	Men	Women	Men
REPÚBLICA	4,411,964	5,040	16,214	6,750,170	5,740,357	5,496,839	7,539,798	7,173,966
GUATEMALA	294,757	704	1,322	2,229,846	1,320,202	1,221,379	1,616,352	1,539,932
EL PROGRESO	766	8	35	138,640	70,432	69,058	81,919	76,174
SACATEPEQUEZ	100,992	16	18	146,018	125,761	122,258	160,746	155,892
CHIMALTENANGO	350,757	23	52	94,779	227,133	219,000	312,524	300,449
ESCUINTLA	33,746	99	148	503,750	266,823	271,923	348,429	352,587
SANTA ROSA	3,427	45	3,592	294,168	151,180	150,190	179,121	167,469
SOLOLA	295,899	8	12	11,507	155,529	152,132	221,354	215,791
TOTONICAPAN	333,438	4	9	5,640	179,275	159,979	249,496	226,873
QUETZALTENANGO	323,848	604	95	297,995	324,391	300,325	410,938	378,421
SUCHITEPEQUEZ	189,558	110	391	209,949	204,395	199,550	263,773	252,694
RETALHULEU	49,607	24	539	190,749	122,196	119,215	155,203	148,965
SAN MARCOS	228,444	147	207	564,193	402,583	392,368	521,503	498,217
HUEHUETENANGO	531,970	40	69	300,011	435,224	411,320	606,373	537,514
QUICHE	579,067	8	48	76,044	338,414	317,096	490,141	462,886
BAJA VERAPAZ	125,694	20	38	89,646	110,728	105,187	140,920	129,601
ALTA VERAPAZ	718,223	26	22	57,692	389,027	387,219	558,607	554,174
PETEN	109,068	67	92	257,238	179,507	187,228	308,606	329,690
IZABAL	68,504	2,958	84	242,292	157,747	156,559	209,028	204,371
ZACAPA	948	35	155	198,915	101,498	98,669	115,617	106,029
CHIQUMULA	45,558	20	76	255,921	155,273	147,212	193,500	177,391
JALAPA	26,279	57	33	206,850	124,342	118,584	164,726	153,694
JUTIAPA	1,414	17	9,177	378,327	198,697	190,388	230,922	205,154

Major Ethnic Groups in the Guatemala for the Year 2002

Population by Ethnicity in the Guatemala, year 2002	
Maya	4,411,964
Garifuna	5,040
Xinca	16,214
Ladino	6,750,170
<i>Population by Sex, year 2002</i>	
Women	5,740,357
Men	5,496,839
<i>Population by Sex, year 2011</i>	
Women	7,539,798
Men	7,185,047

Population by Ethnicity in Izabal, year 2002	
Maya	68,504
Garifuna	2,958
Xinca	84
Ladino	242,292
<i>Population by Sex, year 2002</i>	
Women	157,747
Men	156,559
<i>Population by Sex, year 2011</i>	
Women	209,028
Men	204,371

Source: <http://www.ine.gob.gt/np/poblacion/index.htm>

Annex VI: Matrix of Decrees, Conventions and Legislations for the Protection of Human Rights in Guatemala

Education as a Right

- a. Section four of Chapter Two (articles 71 to 81) of the Constitution of Guatemala indicates that the State must provide free and compulsory education to all children and young people of the country. Article 71 states: “The State is under the obligation to provide and facilitate education for its inhabitants without any discrimination”.
- b. National Education Law, Decree 12-91 ascertains the principles and purpose of education. Article 1, paragraph a, states that: “education is a right inherent to human beings and an obligation for the State” and paragraph b state that education must be based “on respect for human dignity and effective fulfillment of human rights”.
- c. Governmental agreement No. 22-2004, establishes the comprehensive application of bilingual education and the compulsory use of national languages in instruction as national linguistic policy through the Directorate-General for Bilingual Intercultural Education (DIGEBI) of the Ministry of Education. Under this agreement, the teaching and practice of multiculturalism and interculturalism in the classroom in the Garífuna, Xinca or Mayan languages and/or Spanish is compulsory (CERD/C/GTM/CO/12-13).

Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

- Creation of the Presidential Secretariat for Women (Legislative Agreement 200-2000).
- Reform of the Criminal Code defining the offence of discrimination including discrimination on grounds of gender (Decree No. 57-2002).
- The Act on Promoting Education against Discrimination (Decree No. 81-2002).
- Reforms to the Criminal Code defining offences of domestic violence and sexual harassment and providing for increased penalties for offences against women (Initiative No. 2630).
- Institution of the National Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Violence against Women and provision for the participation of the National Statistical Institute, which is considered to be an essential and strategic element for efficient monitoring of the recording of complaints, (Legislative Agreements 417-2003 and 421-2003).

- Creation of the National Compensation Programme, which is based on the principles of equity, justice, accessibility, social participation, and respect for victims' cultural identity; it provides for the inclusion of a representative of women's organizations on the Commission, (Legislative Agreement 258-2003).
- Establishment of the Third Vice-Ministry for Intercultural Bilingual Education within the Ministry of Education, of particular significance from the historical perspective of the discrimination suffered by Guatemalan women and girls, (Legislative Agreement 526-2003).

Indigenous and Tribal Peoples

- a. Article 1 of the ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples states that "a people are considered indigenous based on account of their descent from populations that inhabited the country or geographical region to which the country belongs/belonged at the time of the conquest, colonisation or the establishment of present State boundaries and who, whatever their legal status, retain their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions or a part thereof".

Peace Accords

Accord on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Indigenous Accord): a commitment to promote and respect certain specific rights for indigenous people within a framework of national unity and integrity.

Commitment to strengthen local indigenous institutions, to establish mechanisms for indigenous participation at all levels, and to respect indigenous communal lands.

Racism and Racial Discrimination

- a. October 2006 saw the adoption of the Public Policy on Coexistence and Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD/C/GTM/CO/12-13).