



Research report

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CONFLICT, FOOD INSECURITY AND MIGRATION IN GUATEMALA

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The Interrelations of conflict, food insecurity and migration in Guatemala

Summary

This study was conducted by the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, FLACSO-Guatemala Office, under the direction of the Conflict and Development Foundation (CDF) and the Center on Conflict and Development, Texas A&M University (ConDev). The study aimed to investigate the relationship between food security, migration and conflict, especially the phenomena of food insecurity, the types of conflict that promote human displacement and problems of rehabilitation of deported persons.

The methodology was based on a quantitative-qualitative, exploratory, non-experimental study with non-probability sampling (polling), which helped establish the existing, direct, indirect or potential linkages between food security, migration and conflict. The units of analysis included communities and households in four regions (dry corridor in the East, West and Central, as well as in the region of South-Southwestern), based on a survey in public places in eight municipal seats on a sample of 800 surveys, depth interviews with key stakeholders in society, government institutions and local governments, as well as focus groups in four regions, which were produced for the respective instruments (questionnaire survey, semi-structured questionnaire of interview and focus group guide) in collaboration with researchers at the Center on Conflict and Development Texas A&M University. The information collected is entered for analysis in databases (Excel and SPSS) and in software of processing qualitative information (Nvivo), resulting in this research report.

The data obtained in this investigation will be used for further studies to be conducted by FLACSO-Guatemala, CDF, ConDev and colleagues.

Keywords: conflict, food security, migration, Guatemala.

INTRODUCTION

The study "The interrelations of conflict, food insecurity and migration in Guatemala" was part of the project run jointly by the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, FLACSO-Guatemala Academic Office and Conflict and Development Foundation (CDF), and Center on Conflict and Development from Texas A&M University (ConDev), also included a preliminary study concerning the "State of the Art on conflict, land status and rural development" and documentary and literature review of publications produced in the thematic object of this study in the past five years in Guatemala. The agreement between CDF and FLACSO-Guatemala also included the publication of the two studies and the presentation of results.

These (exploratory) studies confirmed the similarities of various investigations on the problems that characterize the Guatemalan reality: their root causes and structural nature. Indeed, the problems of inequality, racism and social exclusion in Guatemala are the main elements that give rise to another group of social phenomena; such as poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, social conflict, migration, malnutrition and lack of access to land and other natural resources essential to the livelihood of the population and its survival, with negative effects on the national and regional development.

It can be seen that in both urban and rural areas, the manifestation of these social phenomena have causes, characteristics and different magnitudes, depending on the context in which they develop. For example, public perception of migration focuses, mainly, on the lack of employment opportunities and poor community economies, caused by environmental stresses, while public or social institutions and academic staff working on this subject, perceive this phenomenon as a multi-process, such as the combination of various factors influencing its dynamics and features.

Territorial differentiation play a key role in shaping the migratory multicausality (*Hecht et al., 2012*). Generally, in urban areas, especially in those characterized by high levels of violence, migration becomes a fundamental role as a strategy for protection of life; whereas in rural communities, lack of employment, lower prices of agricultural products and climatic effects on production, give migration a different connotation: primarily as means of survival and as mechanism of improving the conditions of life.

These problems generally have been addressed separately or, in some cases, interactions are discussed in outline. However, in recent years there has been a special interest to know the relationship (direct or indirect) between the social phenomena of food insecurity, migration and social conflicts, considered critical problems for humanity, which translates into a special concern in the main agendas of civil society, academia, national and international governments, through their effects on economic and social development of a country.

Migratory phenomena, food security and social conflicts have been extensively studied separately, but not the relationships between these phenomena; besides, the work related to these problems has not been sufficiently established.

Therefore, in this research are presented as main objectives to establish and analyze the interactions between food security, migration and social conflicts, especially the phenomenon of food insecurity, which causes human displacement and problems of reintegration of deported persons in Guatemala. It also seeks to identify innovative approaches that have worked in the promotion of peace and stability in communities affected by migration. Added to this, we sought to answer the following questions: What are the key interactions between social conflict, food insecurity and migration in Guatemala? What impacts can social conflict have on food security of a population? To what extent food insecurity or hunger may provide conditions for social conflict? How does food security affect in the processes of human migration, whether national or international? And, what are the impacts of deportation on food security and social conflict?

To achieve these objectives, this report is divided into seven chapters, organized as follows: The first chapter contains the arguments for this research, considering its social and political importance, and the need to understand the interactions between these three dimensions of social phenomena; in the second chapter are included the conceptual and methodological strategy implemented. In food and nutrition security, was emphasized conceptual development and the proposed alternatives, such as food sovereignty. It also addresses concepts of social conflict and the types most commonly used in Guatemala, as well as the phenomenon of migration, the main approaches and their relationship with the phenomenon of the deportation of migrants; in the third chapter, Guatemala's social reality in relation to these three social problems is described. A reference to the main actions developed to address them from the State is included; in the fourth chapter a general description of the demographic and socio-economic situations of the manifestations of social conflict and the situation of food security in the four regions (departments) and is selected municipalities; in the fifth chapter the main findings of public opinion polls and surveys to deported and the respective analysis of the data is presented; in the sixth chapter, the information from the focus groups and depth interviews with key stakeholders is analyzed; the seventh and final chapter contains the conclusions.

We express our deep thanks to the Conflict and Development Foundation and the Center on Conflict and Development at Texas A&M University, for their support as counterparts and partners in this work; likewise, we appreciate the cooperation of employees of The Secretariat for Food and Nutritional Security of the Presidency of the Republic (*SESAN*), both at the central level, as departmental and municipal, for been the direct links for the logistic organization of the focus groups. Same mention goes to all the people and institutions who kindly granted their valuable time for conducting individual and group interviews.

CHAPTER I: CAUSE

The problems of food insecurity, social conflict and migration¹ are some of the main concerns of the Guatemalan society and the international community, from its impact on the country's development and the living conditions of the population. While the relationship between these problems has been scarcely scrutinized, it occupies an important place in the discussions and debates in political and academic circles, leading to various local, national and international public policies.

The fact of studying the linkages between food security, social conflict and migration, in principal suggests a series of theoretical and methodological challenges for analysis and understanding. However, a thorough investigation of the vast academic output on these problems, indicates that such social events correspond to greater problems related to the ways in which society as a whole contemplate the economic, social, cultural and political model. This means that in the existent links between these three themes intervene structural and historical elements of development, such as inequality, discrimination and marginalization of the majority of the population.

Each theme is inherently complex, because of wick inquiries about their interrelationship, which is the purpose of this exploratory study, however also present complicated concerns, suggest the need to be studied to obtain initial responses and approaches relevant but equally valid, even from the a priori choices and concerns that could determine: 1. Whether or not there is an interrelation between the three problems; 2. Whether or not there is a interrelation between separate pairs of the three problems; 3. Such interrelation exists, but its degree is incipient and therefore only implies consequences in one direction or in both directions. These general concerns were translated in the problematization of the study and the questions described in Chapter III of this report, also referred to in the introduction thereof.

The study, by its exploratory nature, based on the scope of the project that covers a period of seven months of fieldwork that extended six weeks, only allows us to arrive at approximations, but essentially to new research challenges that guide us towards deepening the options and concerns previously mentioned as one of the primary objectives of this work. In the dimension of its exploratory nature and methodological relevance we raised the need to rely on three types of empirical approaches, the most important and of prominent qualitative value on focus groups and interviews with key stakeholders, and second and with a quantitative and qualitative value bounded by its own limitations in conducting polls in public places in the eight selected municipalities.

¹ Mainly international migration that in recent years has acquired the characteristics of humanitarian crisis.

CHAPTER II: CONCEPTUAL REFERENCES AND METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGY

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Every social phenomenon here mentioned, food security, conflict and migration, has created a unique and ongoing debate that has enabled the development of new approaches, materials, methods and results, enriching it facing new phenomena and variants present in each problem. In this situation, the following paragraph intends in the first instance to identify and analyze possible links between food security, migration and social conflict, how each of these large dimensions of the study interact and affect each other, as well as actions or strategies developed in the context of the territories in which they converge, to mitigate and/or eliminate their effects on the societies in which they are encyst.

2.1.1 Food and Nutrition Security

To address the issue of food security and nutrition, necessarily it must be considered the complex and multidimensional nature it has, and the importance of a multidisciplinary approach for treatment.

The concept of food and nutrition security has had a critical evolution in time, from economic situations of national and international politics and theoretical developments as well as historical milestones in international and national politics, which has led to the creating of a diversity of approaches and institutions linked to the system of international cooperation.

The conceptual reference widely accepted, is that the World Summit on Food Security, held in the year 1996, defined as follows:

“... Food security, at the individual, household, national and global levels is achieved when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient food, certain and nurturing, to meet their dietary needs and food preferences, in order to bring an active and healthy life” (FAO, 2002).

This definition considers four main pillars, namely:

Availability: The availability of sufficient amounts of food of adequate quality at local or national level. To estimate the availability it must have both production, imports, storage and food aid, such as post-harvest losses and food exports. (FAO, 2006: 1)

Access and consumption: Access by individuals to adequate resources (resources that they are entitled to) to acquire appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. These rights are defined as a whole of all product groups for which a person can have dominion by virtue of legal, political, economic and social agreements of the community in which they live (including traditional rights such as access to collective resources). (FAO, 2006: 1)

Stability: To have food security, a population, household or individual must have access to adequate food at all times. They should not risk losing access to food as a consequence of sudden crisis (for example, an economic or climatic crisis) nor cyclical events (as seasonal food insecurity). (FAO, 2006: 1)

Biological Use: It is meant by biological use the assimilation of food ingested by the body, which is closely related to nutritional status and health status of the individual. For proper biological use of food is essential to have basic health of people and sanitation of housing and urban centers, and access to drinking water. It is also important to consider nutritional education, food safety, widespread practices of food preparation and consumption that allow to take advantage of its nutritional potential and appreciation of local consumption patterns with high nutritional value. (Salcedo, 2005: 4)

While this conceptualization of food security is largely constituted as a guide for public action and international development agencies, reactions from social movements, farmers, environmental, non-governmental development organizations and consumers emerge, arguing that the concept of food security has been stripped of its true meaning, raises the certainty of having enough food every day; however, does not refer to the origin of the food or how it is produced.

From this it is proposed as an alternative the concept of food sovereignty, presented at the Global Forum on Food Sovereignty held in Havana, Cuba, in 2001, in which first defined the concept as:

"... The right of peoples to define their own policies and strategies for the sustainable production, distribution and consumption of food that guarantee the right to food for all people, based on small and medium-sized production, respecting their own cultures and diversity of farmers, fishers and indigenous of agricultural production, of marketing and management of rural areas, where women play a key role ... ". (Via Campesina, 2001)

2.1.2 Social Conflict

The conflicts in its various manifestations are matters that constitute social life, which according to its treatment, can lead to issues that affect or enhance social relationships for the management of development in a society. Conflicts, whatever the level at which it occurs have not been set aside, nor make them disappear in the idea of society; that means that all social relations are in some degree of conflict elements.

One thing to keep in mind is that conflict is a normal social fact, a situation that occurs at the same time as society. This confirms the view of the conflict as concomitant to the evolution of societies, which is why the work of analyzing and understanding the conflict is ongoing. But this normally does not attract attention from academia and other sectors, but has consequences for social life and the pursuit of economic development in a society.

From this account, several researchers from different approaches and schools of thought have been busily engaged in understanding the nature, causes and functions of conflict in an attempt to propose alternatives for their solution, even with the certainty that if resolved, new forms of conflict may emerge. In this fact is precisely where the importance for analysis and understanding of dynamic nature lies, where it is necessary to consider the positions against it.

Even with the theoretical advances in social science oriented to its understanding, the term "conflict" has become a very broad, complex, and controversial polysemic concept, unless it is not defined in the phenomenological characteristics that it encompasses. (Ortiz, 1997)

For Ortiz, conflict can be manifested as differences that manifest in the forms of social existence but the definitions are always incomplete and not always achieve consensus, because some aspects escape from it. From these considerations, it is appropriate for this work to take into account the following concepts.

According to Peter Wallesten (cited by Ortiz, 16), the conflict "is a social situation in which at least two parties at the same time are struggling to get the same set of scarce resources." This definition is very general, since it does not establish the specificity of resources in dispute or the situation that causes discomfort. However, it points the efforts to gain control of "scarce resources and scarce positions." (Ortiz, 1997: 16)

According to Lawrence Cardozo, is defined as a "process of contentious interaction between social stakeholders who share cognitive orientations mobilized with varying degrees of organization and act collectively in accordance with expectations of improvement in defense of the status quo or proposing a social counterproject ". (Cardozo, 2001: 12)

For Pablo Ortiz, the conflict implies relationships involving attempts to gain control of scarce resources and positions to influence the behavior of a certain direction. In this sense, the author believes that the conflicts are related to power struggles and opposing actions address change or reservation of power relations. (Ortiz, 1997)

2.1.3 Migration

The phenomenon of migration has led to the formulation of various theories that seek to understand and explain the problems and identify alternatives to address them, where two approaches are proposed: a macro and a micro approach focus.

From a macro-social perspective, the explanation of the causes of migration considers the existence of a series of territorial factors of outward and inflow as triggers of cross-border human mobility. The rationale for this approach is to consider migration as a mechanism allowing to adjust the supply and demand in the labor force between countries with a deficit of labor force and countries with high volume, low availability of capital and low wages. In this sense, migration is seen as a mechanism that allows territorial economical balances between generating countries of the poor -in development- and receiving countries – developed – and that migration would only cease when the territorial differences are balanced and differentials in salaries disappear. (Flores, s/f: 7)

However, other authors such as Wallerstein refute the tenets of this approach, considering its economic determinism that does not consider other social foundations, given the evidence that migration flows do not necessarily exist between rich and poor countries, and that rather poses an approach based on the capitalist world system (world-economy), which examines migration as a result of the penetration of the economic and social conditions in peripheral societies and not as a consequence of the backwardness of certain societies. (Flores, s/f: 7)

This points to a macro perspective of migration from a neoclassical approach, it is complemented by a micro perspective, which refers to the rational decisions made by the individual to assume a change from their usual place of residence and/or place of stay or temporary or permanent origin. From another perspective, migration is considered as a resilience strategy to confront armed, socio-political and environmental conflicts.

To Susan Hecht (*et al.*, 2012), the current marked migrant flow is product of recent policies that have increased the rural insecurity, including changes in the rights of land ownership led to a marginalization of traditional uses and expulsion (Hecht *et al*, 2012:. 19).

From the perspective of local actors, migration is a part of the strategies of rural families for survival, livelihood, investment and resilience. Studies by Hecht *et al* (2012) suggest four current migration patterns; namely: a) a migration increasingly circular; b) migration involving means of rural and urban life; c) migration involving family groups in multiple sites, d) migration involving a variety of different types of labor markets and raw materials. The author adds that the internal or domestic migration is much less expensive, allowing greater circular migration (temporary) and facilitates the flow of goods, information and money across several networks. (Hecht, 2012: 204-205)

2.1.4 Deportees and their situation

Approaches to addressing migration previously analysed, although in an attempt to explain the process of spatial mobility of people, do not explain the problem of deportation as a growing phenomenon that has consequences in the territories of origin, socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental differences that constitute the scaffold to facilitate choices for human well being.

When considering regional inequalities, work experience, apprenticeships, management and mastery of new technologies that currently characterize capitalist societies, not necessarily match the economic, cultural and technological territories of origin of the migrant population conditions.

The territorial dispute, which constitutes an essential factor in the expulsion of human capital, likewise constitutes a determinant factor for the insertion of the deportees in the economic and employment dynamics of an expeller country, being considered as subjects with new business, technological and cultural practices that do not necessarily match those of a country or issues that hinder the employment of the deportees.

For many authors, the so-called voluntary repatriation program that aims to support Mexican authorities of Central American migrants, is loaded with irony. Added to this, the strategy of streamline (short track) of judicial processes applied to hundreds of undocumented immigrants to be tried in the same court, constitute suppression strategies. However, this return of workforce comes to put more pressure on labor markets in which there are no available places for jobs. (Santos, 2010: 298)

2.1.5 Links between social conflict, food insecurity and migration

Not all expressions of social conflict impact on food security and migration. From this perspective it is advisable to analyze the origin of the conflict, the expressions that acquires and its link to food insecurity and migration. Pablo Yuste (2011) considers that:

"... In the case of conflict, food insecurity disrupts the delicate agricultural production cycle, destabilizes markets and transport networks in charge of getting the food to its final destination and increase the costs of food production. The conflict prevents normal food production displacing populations and slowing the arrival of inputs, in addition to deconstruct the markets. The conflict affects all elements of food security to affect the availability of food, access to them and their use. Sometimes hunger is not only a direct result of the conflict, but that in itself is a weapon of war. "(Yuste, 2011: 194)

However, the author considers important to carry out bidirectional studies regarding hunger and conflict and food insecurity since it also has the capacity to generate conflict, caused by the momentum of large-scale agricultural projects, an aspect that has not been widely studied or has been linked to the issue of human mobility. In this regard makes the following observations:

"... The capacity of agricultural production has become a strategic element not only as means of subsistence of the population but also for its strategic value in the battle for raw materials and as source of speculation in the international scenario in which food seems to start to be scarce and the crops become an element of energetic policy. "(Yuste, 2011: 194)

In response to these arguments, it is advisable to analyze specific cases related to land disputes, such as those taking place in the Northern Transversal Strip with the process of land

grabbing by the planters of sugar cane and oil palm (African palm), which has affected livelihoods and production systems of the communities living there, with considerable implications for the production of basic grains, the local economy, food security and migration processes.

Susanna Hecht (*et al*, 2012: 19) consider that the impact of liberalization policies and trade openness, which they call a policy on "cheap food" has hindered the return of annual cropping systems on small farms throughout the tropical world.

2.2 Methodological Strategy

This work is an exploratory research, given the breadth of the main themes and the absence of research establishing the relationship between these phenomena. In this sense, a primarily qualitative methodology was presented that sought to establish and analyze links between the three problems of study, from in-depth interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders in society, government institutions and local authorities, for which the respective instruments were developed.

To argue the collective and individual stories of the key stakeholders, the work strategy was supported by an exploratory qualitative analysis, not experimental, with a non-probability sampling (topographic) by an opinion survey in public places in eight municipalities to establish direct, indirect or potential relationships between food security, migration and conflicts, through a survey certificate prepared for this purpose. Similarly, an exploratory survey was included for deportees, in order to establish the main motivations for migration, paying attention to the links with the social conflict and food insecurity problems.

2.2.1 Units of analysis: Delimitation of areas of study

The units of analysis studied include eight municipalities in four regions of the country, mainly in the regions of the Dry Corridor in the east, west, south and north of the country.

This raises two levels of units of analysis: The first level of the unit of analysis is constituted by the regional distribution of the country, considering for this four regions, these being:

- North Region
- Sourth Region
- East Region
- West Region

The second level of analysis is constituted by municipalities, geographic unit where random surveys were applied in public spaces.

With these criteria we proceeded to define the study area. For the selection of the departments (characteristic of the regions) and municipalities, three main factors will be favored:

- Departments with high incidence of food insecurity
- Departments with high incidence of migration

- Departments with high levels of social conflict

For this, studies were identified that account for the characteristics of the three problems throughout the republic, on the assumption that in the geographic areas where the three social problems under study converge, it is feasible task to establish and analyze existing links in order to understand their relationship.

In this regard, a superposition of rates of the three problems was performed, which are:

- Rate of vulnerability to food insecurity in the municipality
- Map of Social Conflict in Guatemala in the departamental context
- Map of remittance recipients at the municipal area²

The transposition of these elements allows municipalities to define work in the four regions:

Table 01. Selected municipalities in the regional context

No.	Region	Departament	Municipality
01	North	Alta Verapaz	1. San Pablo Tamahú 2. San Miguel Tucurú
02	South	Suchitepéquez	1. Santo Tomás La Unión 2. San Pablo Jocopilas
03	East	Chiquimula	1. Camotán 2. Olopa
04	West	Huehuetenango	1. San Idelfonso Ixtahuacán 2. Colotenango

2.2.2 Raising of opinion surveys

2.2.2.1 Opinion surveys of general public in the eight municipalities

An opinion survey was raised in public places in the eight selected municipalities, in order to find items for the argument of the collective and individual stories that establish the direct, indirect and potential relationships between the three dimensions of the study.

Based on the methodological strategy established, questionnaire surveys were conducted in public (municipal parks, markets, internal transport terminals, etc.) in eight municipal headquarters, with a sample of 877 surveys (835 valid): 100 surveys by town/ 200 by region, respectively, as detailed in the following table:

² No recent migration data at the municipality level was found. However, it was considered for the selection of the municipalities, the national survey of remittances, with the assumption that remittance receiving locations are places where there is migration.

Table 02. Details of surveys raised in the eight municipalities

No.	Municipalities	Places	Coordinates
01	San Pablo Tamahú	Market, municipal park, internal transport terminals	15°18'28.8"N 90°13'60.0"W
	San Miguel Tucurú	Market, municipal park, internal transport terminals	15°17'35.6"N 90°07'05.0"W
02	Santo Tomás La Unión	Market, parks and stores	14°37'52.5"N 91°24'45.6"W
	San Pablo Jocopilas	Park, church, stores and Chocolá community.	14°37'54.5"N 91°24'41.0"W
03	Olopa	Market, municipal park, agro veterinaries, public institutions, internal transport terminals	14°35'47.6"N 91°26'19.2"W
	Jocotán	Market, internal transport terminals, agro veterinaries, waiting room of the health center.	14°37'08.9"N 91°25'32.1"W
04	San Idelfonso Ixtahuacán	Market, stores and bus stops	14°41'29.6"N 89°20'57.4"W
	Colotenango	Market, stores and municipal park	14°49'16.5"N 89°23'25.0"W

2.2.2.2 Opinion surveys of deportees

To learn about the experiences of deportees in relation to the main motivations for the decision to migrate to the United States, an opinion survey in La Aurora International Airport has conducted to a total of 111 people.

2.2.3 Focus groups

For the planning of focus groups in eight municipalities, coordination with the territories of the Secretariat for Food and Nutritional Security was established, who referred the departmental and municipal delegates for the process of outreach and logistical support.

Through this coordination it was achieved to identify and convene key stakeholders involved in the issue of food security, primarily, although the participation of people with knowledge about social conflict and migration was also promoted. Most of the stakeholders who participated in the focus groups were representatives of bodies such as the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Education, National Literacy Committee (*CONALFA*), Ministry of Food and Nutritional Security *Pacto Hambre Cero*; Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food (*MAGA*), Municipal Office for Women, Presidential Secretariat for Women (*SEPREM*), representatives of the municipalities, the National Development Fund (*FONADES*) and some international institutions in some regions such as Vision World.

2.2.4 Interviews to key stakeholders

Interviews with key stakeholders were conducted to deepen the narratives of the focus groups and the results obtained from the surveys, and from this, to have an institutional and governmental view of the problem. In this regard, the respondents are officers of public bodies to develop actions in each of these three issues, including: The Secretariat for Food and Nutritional Security (*SESAN*), the National System of Permanent Dialogue (*SNDP*), the National Council of Migrant Service in Guatemala (*CONAMIGUA*) and the Pastoral of Human Mobility of the Episcopal Conference of Guatemala (*CEG*).

CHAPTER III: PROBLEMS OF STUDY

Guatemala has a rich history and culture, as well as a variety of natural resources that makes it attractive and creates conditions for development; however, social indicators, especially in terms of human development, are very disappointing. Factors such as social inequality, poverty and malnutrition, conflict and violence, have considerable economic and social impact for the economic development of its people. This makes Guatemala a country with many faces, which must be analyzed and considered for visible paths to development.

3.1 Problems of malnutrition in Guatemala

3.1.1 The numbers of malnutrition

There is a consensus across the country that the current model of development is exclusionary, bordering the great majority of situations of economic, educational, social, cultural and political deprivations, even of access to land and other natural resources essential to improve their living conditions.

In this context, in terms of food insecurity the country has high rates and prevalence in chronic malnutrition, anemia, overweight and obesity, which affects 50% of the population of preschool children and women of childbearing age. (Palmieri and Delgado, 2003: 7)

Official data on child malnutrition in Guatemala demonstrate the difficult situation in which a majority of the Guatemalan population lives. The V National Reproductive Health Survey RHS 2008-2009, and the Third National Census of Weight and Chronic Malnutrition reflect the following indicators:

- Prevalence of chronic malnutrition or underweight of 49.8% of children between 3 and 59 months, of which 21.2% has severe growth failure, representing one million three hundred thousand Guatemalan children. (RHS 2009: 47)
- Boys and girls living in rural areas are more vulnerable to malnutrition (49.7%) compared with children living in urban areas (28.3%).
- Malnutrition is also linked to the educational level of mothers. The data establish that six out of ten children whose mothers have primary or no education have malnutrition problems, in contrast to cases where mothers have secondary or higher education are indicators of malnutrition in the order of two to ten minors.
- Inequality is particularly critical for children: six in ten Indigenous infants, children of uneducated mothers are chronically malnourished -65.9% -. (ICEFI 2011: 7).
- According to the USAID Nutrition Report 2010, the country still has a chronic malnutrition rate of 49.8%, a situation that is even worse in rural areas (58.6%). This information positions Guatemala in the first place in Central America and sixth in the world context in chronic malnutrition in children under five years of age.

- The country ranks 122 out of 182 countries evaluated using index of Human Development of the United Nations Development program. (*PDH* 2012: 21)

3.1.2 Key actions to address malnutrition

The most important action that the government of Guatemala implemented to address the problem of malnutrition in Guatemala, focuses on the *Plan del Pacto Hambre Cero*, which prioritizes 166 municipalities that have high prevalence rates of chronic malnutrition found among students of first grade and aged six to nine years in the Third National Height Census conducted in 2008. For the selection of the municipalities, those with a prevalence of malnutrition higher than the national average (42.8%) were considered.

Plan Hambre Cero is based on an element of the Strategic Plan for Food and Nutrition Security (*PESAN*). This plan is based on several strategies, including the National Strategy for the Reduction of Chronic Malnutrition (*ENRDC*), the Scaling-Up Nutrition Initiative -SUN- denominated in Spanish, Promotion of Nutrition and the Strategic Plan of the West (*PLANOCC*).

The process of implementation of the *Plan del Pacto Hambre Cero* was designed gradually. Thus, a first group consists of 33 municipalities (**Group 1**) with higher prevalence of malnutrition at 70% in the Third Height Census; then, a second group consists of 50 municipalities (**Group 2**) with prevalence of malnutrition above 60% and below 70%, and a third group is made up of the remaining 83 municipalities (**Group 3**) where the prevalence of chronic malnutrition in scholars is 42.9% less than 60.0%. (*SESAN*, 2012)

The population object of the plan are children under 2 years; children aged 0-5 years, pregnant women, nursing mothers and women of childbearing age and population at risk of food and nutrition insecurity. The plan is made up of 5 direct components, 6 components of viability and sustainability and 6 transverse axes, each with actions and work areas with established governmental and non-governmental actors, all aimed at achieving the objectives of the plan: a) Reduce 10% the prevalence of chronic malnutrition in children under 5 years, by the end of 2015, promoting early childhood development; b) prevent and reduce childhood mortality in less than 5 years, associated with acute malnutrition; c) To promote food and nutrition security for all Guatemalans, the foundation of the integral development of the human person; e) Prevent and address food emergencies related to climate change and natural disasters. (*SESAN*, 2012)

TN: Plan Hambre Cero (Zero Hunger Plan) is a social program introduced by the actual Government of Guatemala in 2012 with the goal of eradicating child malnutrition and extreme poverty.

3.2 Social conflict

Guatemala is characterized by high political, economic social and cultural conflict, which is only possible to understand from the historical configuration of social structure and power relations, especially those that are linked to agricultural and economic structure. The complex historical conflict adds up new manifestations of conflict that are not appropriate forms of solution, causing various protests, which easily become violent confrontations. (Hurtado, 2006: 23)

For Ortega, in Guatemala are still emerging social conflicts as an expression of the deepness of economic, social and cultural gaps that remain in the country. In this sense, structural conflicts such as the related to land, add to other forms of conflict such as socio-environmental, expressed mainly in water conflicts, construction of hydroelectric and mining, among others, and of conflict related to citizen insecurity and the levels of violence that are intrinsic. (Ortega, 2011: 2)

According to National System of Permanent Dialogue (*SNDP*), Guatemala has three types of conflict (the primary): agrarian conflict, social conflict and environmental conflicts related to public safety.

Table 1

Agrarian conflict

The agrarian conflict is seen as a "social subsystem involving large populations, fueled by the interaction of social, economic, political and cultural factors that in the particular circumstances of the Guatemalan agrarian history, maintain a high susceptibility to generate local tensions and at other levels, sometimes leading to violence." (Ortega, 2011: 5)

For Carlos Camacho, agrarian conflict in Guatemala has its historical roots in the lack of legal certainty and the opposition between the national law and customary land rights and land management, which emerge to converge with other factors. (Camacho, 2003: 21)

Socio-environmental conflicts

Disputes related to concentration and limiting of the use of natural resources (access to or use of water, forests, mining, hydropower construction, use of land located in protected areas, planting new crops, etc.). Often contact the ends of the social scale: global enterprises and the poor.

It relates to the use and management of natural resources that tend to account for expressions of social and economic problems due to conflicting interests between the natural and social world and, therefore, calls for a multidisciplinary and multisectoral approach to address it. (Ortega, 2011: 5)

Conflicts related to public safety

"A collective state of vulnerability produced by daily experiences or symbolic perceptions of individual and collective human security threats, rights and well-being resulting in various forms of violence and exclusion of the physical and social spaces of the city, limiting citizen participation." (Ortega, 2011: 5)

For the Office of Human Rights in Guatemala (*PDH*), the problems that make the social conflict in the country have a cyclical and recurring nature, which include: deficiencies in health services, unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, poor transport, disaster areas, lack of access to land, child abuse, violence and insecurity, violence against women, young people and children, as well as environmental pollution and poor waste management, coupled with pollution and deforestation. (2013)

Issues such as poverty, extreme poverty, social exclusion and marginalization of the majority of the population increase rather than decrease, affecting Guatemalans. (Presentation of the Human Rights Prosecutor, 2012)

Key actions for its approach

The National System of Permanent Dialogue (SNDP)

From the government level, it has the National System of Permanent Dialogue (*SNDP*) as the main instrument for a democratic, representative and participatory governance. This is a government entity that runs an instance of the Presidency of the Republic, established by Government Decision 84-2009, with the objective of: a) institutionalize dialogue as co-responsible way to find the solution of strategic problems of the country, b) Promote democratic governance through the development of public policy proposals, legislation and institutional changes arising from the dialogue process.

Among the functions of *SNDP* include: a) Attend and propose solutions to national problems; b) Encourage citizen participation and responsibility in the management of public policy at all levels; c) Contribute through ongoing dialogue to a democratic, representative and participatory governance; d) To facilitate the processes of sectoral, regional dialogue and solving problems posed by indigenous populations and, e) Manage the conflict to maintain governance.

The *SNDP* develops, according to its strategic objectives, three levels of dialogue: the prevention of conflicts; those related to conflict management in crisis, and the referred strategic dialogues that address problems of long term.

3.3 Migration situation in Guatemala

To Susanna Hecht (*et al.*, 2012), migration in history has always been a "resilience strategy for dealing with the consequences of armed, socio-political and environmental conflicts." They add that recent policies have accentuated the triggers of migration as rural insecurity, changes in land tenure. (Hecht *et al.*, 2012: 19)

In terms of human mobility, the country is characterized for deporting people for a number of reasons, including the lack of economic, employment, education, and food opportunities, product of the reduced capacity of the State to meet the needs of citizens, as well as to protect social phenomena that affect individual development in the country. To this must be added the globalization trends that pose a futuristic vision of the possibility of individual fulfillment in other territories. Estimates of the United Nations Children's Fund -UNICEF- and the International Organization for Migration -IOM-, realize that about 10% of the Guatemalan population lives outside the country's borders. Every day it is estimated that about 14 people leave the country with the intention of international migration (IOM and UNICEF, 2011).

CHAPTER IV: CHARACTERIZATION OF THE FOUR REGIONS OF STUDY

The next section gives a general characterization of the demographic and socio-economic status, social conflict and food security situation of the four selected departments and municipalities, considered as case studies for this research.

4.1 North Region: Alta Verapaz

The municipalities of San Pablo and San Miguel Tamahú Tukurú belong to the department of Alta Verapaz, located in Region II (North) of Guatemala, with an area of 8,686 km². In 2010 a population of one million people was estimated, of whom 78% live in rural areas. 89% of the population is indigenous peoples primarily Maya Q'eqchi', 79% and Poqomchi' 10%. (PNUD, 2011: 3-4).

79% of the population of the department is located under the poverty threshold (36% not extreme and 43% in extreme poverty), with a strong impact on the indigenous population (48% of indigenous population is located in extreme poverty), Human Development Index³ (HDI in extens) is of 0.623, far lower to the national average of 0.702. (PNUD, 2011: 6)

4.1.1 Municipalities of San Pablo Tamahú

San Pablo Tamahú is located 45 km from the provincial capital of Alta Verapaz and 198 km from Guatemala City. It has an area of 112 km², and is located 1,049 m above sea level. Its political administrative structure is composed of the municipal capital, 29 villages and 6 small towns. (PMD, 2010: 9,10).

It was estimated in 2009 a population of 17,897 inhabitants (INE), of which 97% are indigenous⁴, 93% live in rural areas. 88.6% of the population is in poverty. (PMD, 2010: 9.10), with an IDH of 0.474, far lower to the provincial average of 0.702 (UNDP, 2011: 6).

Agrarian conflicts figure prominently in social life, and are related to boundary disputes between populated places, with implications in community organization for the management of public services, infrastructure investment and local political representation. Furthermore, one must consider the problem of legal certainty of land in rural areas, which prevents families to access financial services and capital to improve their productive activities. (PMDT, 2010: 28).

³ The Human Development Index (HDI) is an indicator that expresses three basic dimensions of human development: health, education and living standards. The HDI value can be between 0 and 1, where 0 indicates the lowest level of human development and 1 indicating a high human development.

⁴ According to INE 2002, the Maya Poqomchi' population represents 73.21% and el 26.62% is Q'eqchi'. (PMDT, 2010:13)

In terms of public safety, the municipality has a police station that provides security for the residents. For 2010 a ratio of one police officer was established per 4,497 residents and per each 28 km². (PDMT, 2010: 28)

In occupational field, the Economically Active Population (EAP in extenso) of the municipality is 28%. It is estimated that 49.69% work in unskilled jobs, the 24.31% in agriculture, 24.77% as laborers and artisans or other trades, and 4.81% in trade. (PDMT, 2010: 38).

Regarding the dynamics of migration, it is stated that 11% of the population migrates to other cities or other regions of the country to search for jobs (Cabrera, Mirza, 2009: 23). The lack of employment opportunities and low productivity and economic vitality of the town, promotes conditions of migration, mainly to other population centers or to the departments of Izabal, Escuintla, Chiquimula and Guatemala City to develop activities related to agriculture and provide security services. (SEGEPLAN, 2009, cited by PMDT, 2010: 38).

The main productive activities of the municipality are: production of basic grains for subsistence, coffee, cardamom and Pacaya production. The main source of income is constituted by the labor for agricultural activities (PMDT, 2010: 38). The production activities of coffee and cardamom are considered as the engine of local development.

In terms of food insecurity, the municipality is ranked 33 out of 166 municipalities prioritized by the *Plan Hambre Cero*, with a very high category of nutritional vulnerability. (SESAN, 2012).

4.1.2 Municipality of San Miguel Tucurú

This municipality has an area of 96 km², located in the region known as the Polochic Border, the southern part of Alta Verapaz department, from 63 km to 210 km away from the city of Guatemala. The location of this municipality as a crossing route to other municipalities, makes it an important area for business and provision of services.

Its political and administrative organization is integrated by populated settlements. Its population for 2009 was estimated in 37,921 citizens, with a predominantly indigenous⁵ (97%) and rural (88%) population. (PDMT, 2010:10). From the 90.4% of population living in poverty, a 49.28% lives in extreme poverty (PDMT, 2010:22), which is reflected in the HDI that is 0.461, inferior from the departamental average. (UNDP, 2011: 6).

The main productive activities in households are located in the production of basic grains, coffee and cardamom, citrus and bananas. Sales for agricultural workforce to the coffee plantations (mainly, covering 34% of the total of populated settlements), become the main source of incomes

⁵ 90 % of the population is Q'eqchi' and a 10 % Poqomchi'.

for the families. 92% of the production of coffee comes from plantations while 8% comes from small scale family's production. (*PDMT*, 2010:21).

According to the Municipal Development Plan, the lack of employment opportunities causes the migration of the citizens to work as agricultural workers in estates in Playa Grande, Escuintla, Esquipulas, Chiquimula and Zacapa, or the enrollment in the army or as security agents in the cities. The migratory phenomenon takes place from June to December, period in which food reserves run out, having repercussions in the food and nutritional security in the municipality (*PDMT*, 2010:41).

The municipality has the highest level of agricultural conflict from all the department. The most common cases documented by different entities are: illegal occupation of private lands, feuds for employment rights, borderline and boundaries, dispute over rights and others (bounds, illegal occupations, dispute over rights), with effects over the development of the municipality and social peace. For many authors, this problems lie mainly in the land ownership, due to the fact that most of the territory belongs to private estates. (*PDMT*, 2010:32).

In matter of citizen security, for 2009 the municipality had a crime rate of 4.12. For 2010, the municipality had an estimate of one police agent for every 3,447 citizen and one police agent had to cover 9 km², showing the high vulnerability of the population against criminal organizations. (*PDMT*, 2010:29).

The municipality has a high nutritional vulnerability due to natural threats, which causes the communities to face a high risk. The municipality has the 93 position amongst the 166 prioritized municipalities that have a high nutritional vulnerability rate. (*SESAN* -Secretariat of Food and Nutritional Security-, 2012).

The elements that influence in food security are: unemployment, decrease of production and price increase for basic grains, specially between May and August, months of food scarcity. Also, family production has a limited area to cultivate, and it lasts for 5 to 8 months. During August and November, there is food crisis as a result of basic grains scarcity, period in which migration for employment purposes takes place. (*PDMT*, 2010:21).

4.2 Eastern Region: Chiquimula

The department of Chiquimula, located in the III Region (Northeast) from Guatemala, with an area of 2,376 km². For 2010 the populaion was estimated to be of 362 thousand citizens, from which 74% live in rural area. 14.8% of the populaion is from de Chortí indigenous group. (*UNDPa*. 2011:4)

59% of the population live amongst the poverty threshold (28% extreme poverty), with a substancial occurrence amongst the indigenous population (60% of the indigenous citizens live in extreme poverty), with a Human Development Index of 0.656. (*UNDPa*, 2011:5)

In the Chortí Region is integrated the Bureau of Development and Food and Nutrition Security for the Chortí Area (Jocotán, Camotán, San Juan Ermita and Olopa), an instance for institutional coordination, with the main goal to fight poverty and malnutrition of the citizens in the area, worked through the exchange of information and experiences, as well as the analysis of them. (*PDMO*, 2010:30)

4.2.1 Municipality of Santiago Jocotán

The municipality of Santiago Jocotán has an area of approximately 247.4 km², and it is located in the Chortí Region of the department of Chiquimula. It is 29 km away from the departmental capital and 204 km from the capital city. Its political and administrative organization is integrated by the municipal capital, thirty two villages and one hundred and twenty five hamlets. By 2010, the INE estimated a population of 53,960 inhabitants, 89.41% being a rural population, and 61.43% from the Chortí ethnic group.⁶ (*PDMJ*, 2011:10-14)

82.13% live amongst the poverty threshold, from which 18.62% live in extreme poverty, with an illiterate population of 37.97% (*PDMJ*, 2011:28). Their HDI is of 0.400 a much lower rate from the departmental average. (*UNDPa* 2011:6)

The lack of employment opportunities causes a migration flow towards the bordering municipalities, among which Esquipulas, Concepción las Minas, Camotán, Olopa and others are included, to sell the unskilled labour in agricultural activities for coffee harvest. The percentage of temporary migration is of 0.99% and from permanent migration of 3.26%, specially to the United States and other places such as Petén.⁷ (*PDMJ*, 2011:14)

As for social conflict, it is highlighted the existence of a socio-environmental conflictivity due to the hydroelectric project “El Orégano” over Río Grande or Jupilingo,⁸ which may lead to encroachment, eviction, and displacement of communities from the communal land ownership, as well as the creation of areas to cultivate corn and beans. As for violence, Jocotán is considered as one of the most violent municipalities. The municipality has a Peace court, a sub-station of the National Civil Police and the citizen security boards, stated as organizations that collaborate with authorities using preventive strategies. (2011:35)

The Economically Active Population (EAP) from the municipality is of a 21.52%, from which 50% works as freelance in agricultural activities, 5% in public institutions that work in the region, 13% in unpaid work. Among the main productive activities in the municipality, there are the production of corn and beans, sorghum and coffee growing, and, on a smaller scale, growth of fruit trees, cultivation of vegetables (pepper, tomato and cucumber) and livestock. (*PDMJ*, 2011:56-58)

⁶ Likewise there is presence in smaller numbers of the Quiché and Kaqchiquel ethnic groups.

⁷ In this last case, is to search for land to cultivate.

⁸ According to a statement signed by Chortí communities. Visited on August 2014, in: <http://www.albedrio.org/htm/otrosdocs/comunicados/waqibkej-055.htm>

The census of 2008, carried out by *SESAN*, established that 72.8% of children under 5 years old has chronic malnutrition. It is worth mentioning that there are cases of acute and mild malnutrition. (*SESAN, MINEDUC, 2008*). *SESAN* locates the municipality in the 23 position of the prioritized municipalities, in the category of high vulnerable municipalities. (*SESAN, 2012*)

The high incidence of food insecurity issues, has allowed the implementations of several initiatives to support families that live amongst the poverty threshold and extreme poverty. The organizations join in the initiative “Bureau of Development and Food Security”, a space to generate policies, strategies, plans and projects with great impact. Furthermore, there is a nutritional recovery center in this municipality, which offers rehabilitation programs for infants with malnutrition problems. (*PDMJ, 2011:27*)

4.2.2 Municipality of Olopa

Olopa is located in the Chortí Region of the department of Chiquimula. It has an area of 156 km², and is administratively divided in their municipality capital, 24 villages and 35 hamlets. The population for 2010 was of 22,994 citizens, from which 92.17% lived in the rural area and 65.21% belonged to the Chortí ethnic group, concentrated in the rural area. (*PDMO, 2011:14-16*)

The incidence of general poverty is of a 84.85% (extreme poverty is of a 26.28%), condition that positions the municipality as one of the poorest from the department (*PDMO, 2010:18*). Data from 2009 established that 29.05% of the population is illiterate, aged from 15 years and older. The HDI for the municipality is 448. (*UNDPa, 2011:6*)

The migration to other areas or out of the country, has become a common practice, specially for the male population. The projected migratory dynamic for 2010 was of a 4.36% for permanent migration, whereas for temporary migration (mainly agricultural) a 0.85%. The places to migrate are usually: south coast (where they work in sugar cane picking during harvest season), toward the municipalities of Esquipulas for coffee harvest, and to the bordering municipalities during agricultural activities such as corn and beans production. (*PDMO, 2011:54*)

By the end of the crop activities in October, men usually migrate from November up to the beginning of January for the coffee harvest. Migration to municipalities with corn and beans production are usually carried out in April-May and August-September. (*PDMO, 2011:54*). It is important to highlight that during coffee harvest season the whole family sells unskilled labour, including children, situation that impacts in poverty, and a consequent limitation on opportunities to improve their incomes in the future. (*PDMO, 2011:18*)

This phenomenon occurs as a result of the poverty levels, lack of opportunities to have a local employment, the marked agricultural seasonality, the poor productive quality of the land (low profitability), as well as the small holding, which is a product of the structure of land ownership, that benefits and stays concentrated in few families. (*PDMO, 2011:54*)

The problems of social conflict are characterized by border conflicts with other municipalities, as well as among the different communities. The municipality is considered as a region with low incidence of violence. The municipality counts with the presence of the National Civil Police, responsible for the public security in coordination with the municipality. The community organization, the integration of local security boards (there is only one), or civil organizations, support the public safety in a municipality that reflects low rates of violence, but that certainly, impacts in the reduction of this indicators. (*PDMO*, 2011:41)

The main source of income are the activities that involve unskilled labour, mainly in coffee harvest in the seasons from November to February. 54% of the EAP work as freelance in agricultural activities, primarily coffee growing. 4% work with the government, 16% in the private initiative, 18% is a family unpaid EAP and only an 8% with employers. (*PDMO*, 2011:53)

Coffee growing is the main productive activity in the municipality, which reaches significant volumes of exploitation considering its characteristic of high-grown coffee; nevertheless, the production of basic grains like corn and beans, is in which most of the population is involved, and in these relies the economy of the citizens. Other activities are: livestock, agribusinesses of the processing of coffee, agroforestry, craft and mining. This last one (mining) is the one that generates a certain level of conflict in the municipality. (*PDMO*, 2010:58)

Olopa has one of the highest level of chronic malnutrition, with a 72.8%. *SESAN* places the municipality in the 26 spot of the 166 prioritized municipalities, in the category of high vulnerable municipalities (*SESAN*, 2012). For the established entities in the municipality, malnutrition is the result of multiple factors: frequent infectious diseases, inappropriate practices of hygiene and nutrition, unhealthy environment, insufficient consumption of nutritious food, and the vulnerability to the climatic effects that causes losses in the annual production of crops such as corn and beans, being these the basic products of the diet among the population in general. (*PDMO*, 2010:30)

4.3 South Region: Suchitepéquez

The department of Suchitepéquez is located in the VI Region (Southwest) from Guatemala. It has an area of 2,510 Km². By 2010 the estimated population was of 504 thousand citizens, from which a 57% lived in rural areas. 37% is indigenous population⁹. (*UNDPb*. 2011:3)

55% of the population live amongst the poverty threshold (14 % extreme poverty), with a strong incidence for indigenous population (21% living in extreme poverty), with a HDI of 0.657. (*UNDPb*, 2011:7)

⁹ There are four ethnic groups in the territory, with population mainly of K'iche' ethnic with a 26%, then Kaqchikel with a 12.8%, Tz'utujil 6.2% and Mam 1.1%.

4.3.1 Municipality of San Pablo Jocopilas

The municipality of San Pablo Jocopilas is located at 10 km from the departmental capital of Mazatenango and at 159 Km from Guatemala City. Its territorial organization is integrated by the municipality capital, a farm, a land divided into plots, a microparceling, and four agrarian communities.

It has an area of 68 km². The estimated population by 2010 was of 16,666 citizens, from which 80% was indigeneous, mainly K'iche'. 86.43% live in rural communities (*PM DSPJ*, 2010: 9,10). 66.8% of the population is living in poverty, with a higher incidence in the rural area 85.97% (*PMD*, 2010:38). The HDI is of 0.567 (*PNUD*, 2011:6).

The migratory flows in the municipality go from immigrations to intermunicipal emigration. Data from 2008 about recent intermunicipal emigration, show that a total of 383 people emigrated, while a total of 679 arrived at the municipality, concluding that the municipality receives people from different origins. (*PDMSPJ*, 2011:12)

A survey carried out in 2011 by Norma Cun, estimated that 30% of the interviewed families had a member that had emigrated. 40% emigrated to other departments, 1% to the capital city and 59% to other countries. The reasons to migrate are: 80% employment, 14% because they married people from other places, to study a 3% and for other causes a 3%. (Cun, 2012:21)

From external migration, most of them travel to the United States. A survey carried out by Norma Cun in 2011, established that 56% of the families receive by remittances an estimated of Q900.00 monthly, 20 % an average of Q1.350.00 and the rest 24% have an income over Q3,000.00 per month. (Cun, 2012:43)

A large proportion of the agrarian conflicts have been resolved in the municipality by the transformation of the land ownership, as a result of the state policies to provide land to agrarian communities. The census of 1979 showed that the 85% of land concentrated in private owned estates and tenant farming, as for the census of 2003 showed that 98% is integrated by peasant families, as an outcome of the disolution and distribution of lands from the National Estate Chocolá plus its annexes. (Cun, 2012:23)

The municipal EAP is of 6,264 persons, from which 70.54% dedicate to agriculture, 6.79% to commerce and 5.7 % to the industry. 49% of the EAP relies on a private employer, and 22% develop unpaid work, situation that impacts on the general levels of poverty. (*PDMSPJ*, 2011:37)

Among the main productive activities, agriculture has a leading role representing 96.99%, mainly in coffee production¹⁰ (coffee 95.99%, basic grains 0.15%, rubber 0.39%, sugar cane

¹⁰ Data from PDMSPJ 2011, establishes that for the cultivation of coffee 1,670 small farmers participate organized in Associative Farm Enterprises, since 1980.

0.43%). Crafts and commerce, although have an important role, are not predominant in the municipality economy. (*PDMSPJ*, 2011:41).

In food security matter, the municipality ranks at the 137 spot of the 166 prioritized municipalities, with a category of high vulnerability on food security (*SESAN*, 2012). Access to food in households, depends on regional commerce for the basic food basket products, specially basic grains. In general, local production is insufficient and the complementary acquisition for family consumptions is also limited, a condition that generates difficulties in food security. (*PDMSPJ*, 2011:18).

4.3.2 Municipality of Santo Tomás La Unión

Santo Tomás La Unión has an area of 80 km², located in the boca costa region of the department of Suchitepéquez, 160 km away from the capital city. (*PDMSTU*, 2011:10),

By 2010 there was estimated that the municipality had a population of 11,668 citizens, from which 77.3% were indigenous,¹¹ 65 % lived in rural areas (*PDMSTU*, 2011:12). 65.70% of the population is poor, whereof 14.59 % live in extreme poverty (*PDMSTU*, 2011:21), with a HDI of 0.607. (*PNUD*, 2011:7)

Production of coffee in plantations, makes it a receiver of temporary immigrants, whom sell their workforce during harvest seasons. Recent data estimate that 471 persons migrate in contrast of the 197 that emigrate, which gives a positive balance of 274 persons (*PDMSTU*, 2011:12), reassuring the municipality characteristic of migrants' receptor.

A survey carried out at 377 households showed that 24.67% of the families have a family member that had emigrated, from which 92.48 % have migrated to the United States for work, 2.18% traveled to the capital city to study and 3.25% for marital reasons or change of residence. (Ramírez, 2012:14).

Social conflict in Santo Tomás La Unión is confined to border disagreements between communities. As for citizen security, since the implementation of a municipal program for crime prevention, violence rates have decreased. For this purpose, the municipality has a police station, that articulates conjoint actions with the Citizen Security Committee, a lawfully established group, that seeks to assure the municipality safety. Among the Committee strategies are to obey the mayan punishment when a crime is committed, as well as night surveillance. (*PDMSTU*, 2011:30).

The EAP of the municipality is of 3,823 persons, from which 54% work in agriculture, 9% work in commerce, 10% on construction, 9% in manufacturing textiles and food, 6% in services, 4% in education, 3% in transportations and 5% in other activities. (*PDMSTU*, 2011:42).

¹¹ The largest group is K'iche' with 75.8% of the population, followed by Mam group with 1.5%.

The production of coffee in nine plantations constitutes the main productive activity of the municipality. For small plots, there is production of coffee associated with banana and in a lower scale the production of fruit trees and a manufacturing industry developed in workshops of sewing, carpentry, tapestry, bakery, ice factories, coffee cooperatives, etc. (*PDMSTU*, 2011:42).

The strategic location of rural communities settled down at the base of the Guatemalan volcanic chain, allows the municipality to be a center of commerce, activity that concentrates in the municipal capital, where agricultural and daily products are marketed. (*PDMSTU*, 2011:43).

In food and nutritional security matter, Santo Tomás La Unión municipality is ranked as one of the prioritized municipalities, with a high vulnerable rate for food security. It has the 164 spot from 166 prioritized municipalities to be attended by government programs. (*SESAN*, 2012).

4.4 West Region: Huehuetenango

The department of Huehuetenango is located in the VII Region (Northwest) from Guatemala, with an area of 7,403 Km². By 2010 there was an estimated population of 1.1 million citizens, from which 57% lived in rural areas. 58% were indigenous population.¹² (*UNDPc*, 2011:3)

71% of the population is living amongst the poverty threshold (22% extreme poverty), with a high incidence for indigenous population (25% in extreme poverty), with a HDI of 0.644. (*UNDPc*, 2011:5)

4.4.1 Municipality of San Idelfonso Ixtahuacán

The municipality of San Idelfonso Ixtahuacán is located in the southern part of the department of Huehuetenango. It has an area of 184 km². Its location is 48 km from the departmental capital and 298 km from Guatemala City. The municipality is integrated by the town centre and eight villages, which are also divided in 51 hamlets, with an approximate total of 40 thousand citizens. (Gonzales, 2005:5)

The *INE* estimated that by 2010, the population of the municipality was of 41,200 citizens, from which 85% lived in rural areas (Pacheco, 2005:10), the population is mainly Mam indigenous and reaches a 93%. 93.33% lives in poverty, and 76.44% in extreme poverty (Lima, 2005: 71- 81). They feature a HDI of 0.517. (*UNDPc*, 2011:6).

The dynamic of human mobility shares the same characteristics with the region, generally originated by social or economic causes. A study developed in 2003 estimated that 83% of the temporary migratory population are a result of study and work purposes, as for permanent migration

¹² The existing ethnic groups in the territory are: Mam 24.8%; Q'anjob'al 17.2%, Chuj 7.4% Jacalteco 5.2%, Akateko 4.5%, K'iche' 2.4% and Awakateko 1.1%.

reaches an 11%, and has as the main destiny the United States (Pacheco, 2005:12). The remittances become relevant for the household economy.

It was determined that temporary migration is an option for the citizens that work as agricultural workers in coffee and sugar cane plantations in the south coast of Guatemala, as well as the coffee and bananas plantations in the south of Mexico. (Lima, 2005:83)

Due to the lack of recent data, the last estimations made in 2003 establish an EAP of a 24% from the total population, whereof 83% sell their unskilled labour for agricultural activities. (Lima, 2005:77)

Agriculture represents the most important activity for the population, specially the crop of corn, beans, potatoes, broad beans and others, intended for family subsistence. Some families cultivate coffee and vegetables to trade them. Along with the agricultural activities, in a smaller scale livestock activities are developed, specially pig, sheep and poultry livestock, crafting, specially textile, is even lower. (Pacheco, 2005:31).

The municipality registers a prevalence in stunting of a 64.1%, in the category of high nutritional vulnerability. (SESAN, 2012) It has the 60 spot among the prioritized municipalities. Nevertheless, a diagnosis conducted by AFOPADI in three communities, established that 78.1% of school children suffer from chronic malnutrition. (AFOPADI, 2012:5).

The report adds that the families in these communities live in a constant situation of food insecurity, as a result of extreme poverty, climatic change and lack of access to education and basic services (health). It adds that this problem is also an effect of landlessness. (AFOPADI, 2012:9).

4.4.2 Municipality of Colotenango

The municipality of Colotenango has an area of 62.33 km². It is located 25 km away from the departmental capital and 275 km from Guatemala City. The municipality is integrated by the town centre, nine villages and 43 hamlets, that add up to a total of 53 settlements. (PDMC, 2011:10).

The INE projected for the municipality a population of 25,900 citizens by 2010, from which 98.10% are indigenous Mam. 92.45% live in rural areas. 95.72% of the population are poor, whereof 60.22% live in extreme poverty (PDMC, 2011:13-14), with a HDI of 0.513. (UNDPc, 2011:6).

One of the characteristics of the population from this municipality is that a representative portion migrates temporarily or permanently to several places. The immigration takes place in certain periods of the year, specially to different Mexican states, just as to the south coast of Guatemala, to sell unskilled labour in agricultural activities in coffee plantations and industries. Permanent migration is driven towards the United States; it is estimated that 20.40% of its population live in different states of the U.S. (PDMC, 2011:14).

A study developed in 2008 about the impact of the remittances, established that 29% of the households receive them. In total, the municipality received Q2,997,477.00, sum that was used for family supplies, house constructions, and in a smaller percentage, for the development of productive activities and businesses. (*PDMC*, 2011:46).

As for social conflict, crime, alcoholism and extorsions are considered as predominant, specially in the municipal capital. Althogught in a lesser degree, murders have been committed and have led to violent riots involving the population. The municipality has a sub-station of the National Civil Police, responsible fot he safety needs of the municipality. (*PDMC*, 2011:29).

The EAP of Colotenango is at 40.86%, from which 87.25% is dedicated to agricultural activities, 7.95% to provide public services, 1.06% to constructions and 0.92% to commercial activities (*PDMC*, 2011:46). This data place the agricultural activity as the predominant in the municipality, and is the one that takes on most of the temporary migration.

The main productive activities are the corn and beans cultivation for family subsistence, and is the one that absorbs the workforce of the communities. The second activity is the coffee planting, and at a smaller scale, the growth of fruits in the lower part of the municipality. (*PDMC*, 2011:46).

Colotenango has the highest rate in prevalence of stunting, which is in a 73.8%, with a 29.6% with severe stunting. The municipality ranks at the 19 position from the 166 prioritized municipalities, with a high vulnerability rate. (*SESAN*, 2012).

CHAPTER V: LINKS BETWEEN SOCIAL CONFLICT, MIGRATION AND FOOD SECURITY. The perceptions of the population

Guatemala is a small country in size (108,000 km²), but with a complex social reality constructed by the combination of physical and natural phenomena, factors of historical, political, cultural, economic and geopolitical character. It has in its territory vast natural resources, a medium growth economy, small social groups with high living standards and economic strength, but also with a huge population immersed in a precarious situation.

In this study, these aspects are analyzed from three social phenomena (migration, social conflict and food insecurity) which form part of the main current concerns over the alarming figures presented, but above all for their effects on current and future conditions of Guatemalan society.

In this chapter, the main findings of opinion surveys in public places are presented, as well as the survey of people deported from the United States in La Aurora International Airport in Guatemala City, in order to determine the perceptions of the causes of migration, food insecurity and conflict.

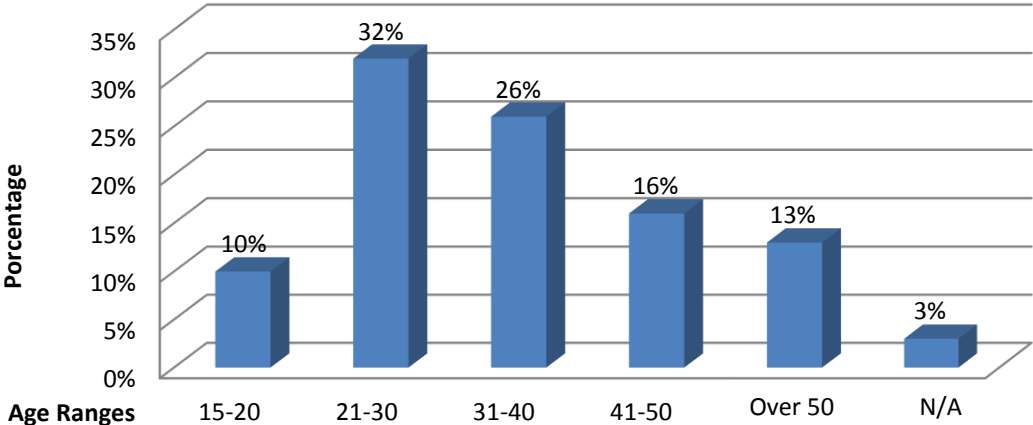
5.1 Interaction between social conflict, migration and food and nutrition security

The content of this section corresponds to the results of the opinion survey of public places to persons resident in the eight municipalities of the four departments studied. The questionnaire was organized into five sections to meet the objectives of the research: in the first section the general characteristics of the people and household is collected, while the second was aimed at establishing the effects on household level regarding the various manifestations of social conflict, and perceptions of their causes; the third section is to establish the relationship of social conflicts and food security; in the fourth, the interaction of social conflicts with migration, and in the last section, questions are asked to establish the interaction between food security and migration (see attached questionnaire).

5.1.1 General characteristics of respondents and household-level data

After a filtering process of total 877 ballots, 835 valid questionnaires were selected for the analysis process. Of that total, 44% was answered by women, while 56% by men. The age of the respondents is found in ranges from 15 years or more 50. 32% of respondents are in the range of 21-30 years, 26% are in the range of 31-40 years as demonstrated in the following graph:

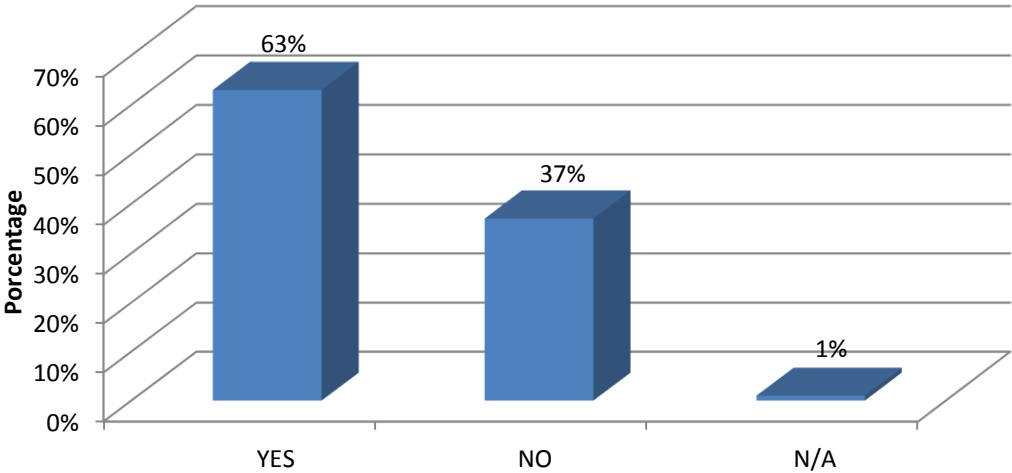
Figure 1. Percentage distribution of respondents by age



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

As to whether the respondents were residents of the municipalities, 89% said they reside in the areas where surveys were conducted, against 10% who responded to come from rural areas of the populated places. 1% did not answer the question. Regarding his role in the home, 63% are heads of households, 37% said no and 1% did not answer the question.

Figure 2. Percentage distribution of respondent heads of households

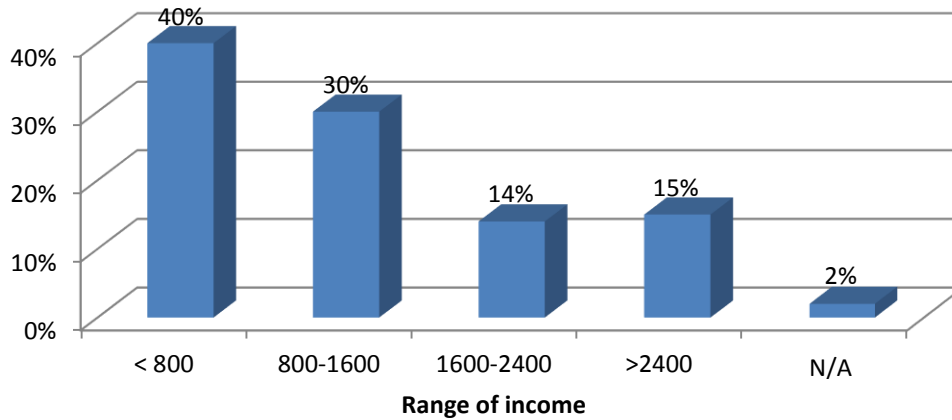


Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

Of the 37% (308 respondents) who said not to be heads of households, 45% are wives or mothers (139 respondents), the other 45% said to be sons and daughters (140 respondents) and 9% did not answer the question.

5.1.1.1 Range of income at the household level and its origin

Figure 3. Percentage distribution of respondents by income range

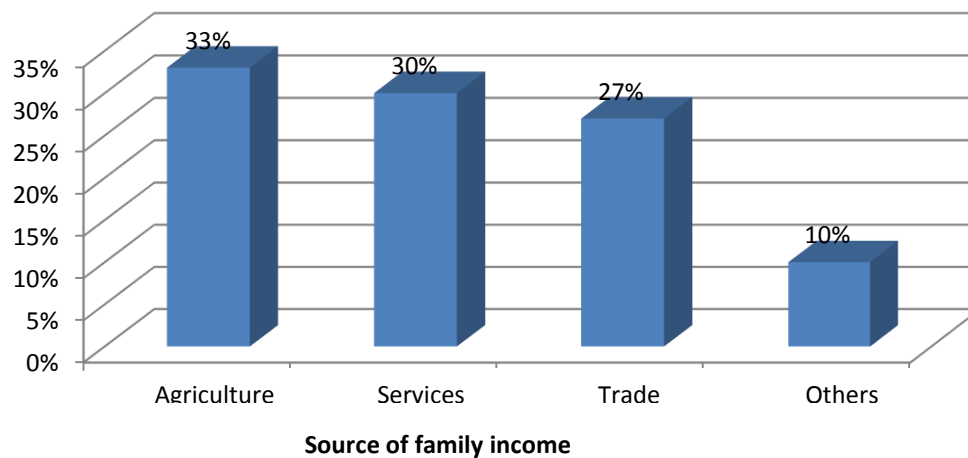


Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

In terms of household income of respondents, it is stated that 40% of households have a less than Q800.00 monthly income, 30% of households are located between Q800.00 and Q1,600.00 per month, 14% between Q1,600.00 and Q2,400.00 and 15% has a higher monthly income to Q2,400.00. None of the income ranges prevailed in the eight municipalities surveyed indicating similarity of the household-level economic conditions.

Regarding the origin of the household income of the respondents, it is stated that the total respondents, 33% comes from agriculture, 30% of provision of services, 2% of trade and 10% of other activities.

Figure 4. Percentage distribution of source of family income



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

5.1.2 Situation of social conflict in the regions

A total of eight options were included in the ballot, to establish in what percentage each of them has affected households of the interviewed during the last two years. Within the options, recreational problems directly related to social conflict (land disputes and protests) and facts that value perceptions about insecurity (gangs, theft, drug trafficking, threats, kidnappings and extortion) were combined. The results of the survey are summarized in the following table:

Table 1: Situations that affect households

Affectation	Never	Occasionally	Very Often	Always	No Opinion	Total
Land conflicts	59%	23%	6%	5%	7%	100%
Protests	59%	28%	4%	3%	6%	100%
Gang violence	77%	10%	3%	2%	8%	100%
Theft	52%	27%	9%	5%	7%	100%
Drug Trafficking violence	84%	6%	1%	1%	8%	100%
Threats	69%	18%	5%	2%	6%	100%
Kidnappings	86%	5%	2%	1%	6%	100%
Extorsions	79%	10%	2%	2%	7%	100%

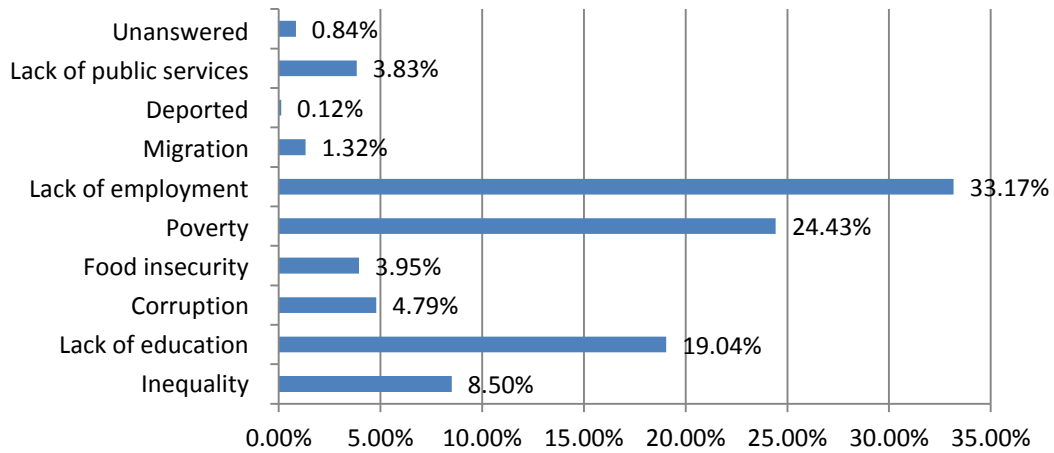
Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

The above data does not reflect a direct effect of these problems in households. The land disputes, protests and theft cover between 23% and 28% of respondents who say their homes are occasionally affected by these three problems. At a lower level, are extortion, threats and violence caused by gangs (10% to 18%) that occasionally affect the homes of respondents and to a lesser extent the other manifestations.

5.1.2.1 The main causes of social conflict in the municipalities

The 33.17% of respondents felt that lack of employment is the main cause of social conflict in the municipalities, while 24.43% believe that poverty is. A 19% think it is lack of education and 8% that is inequality.

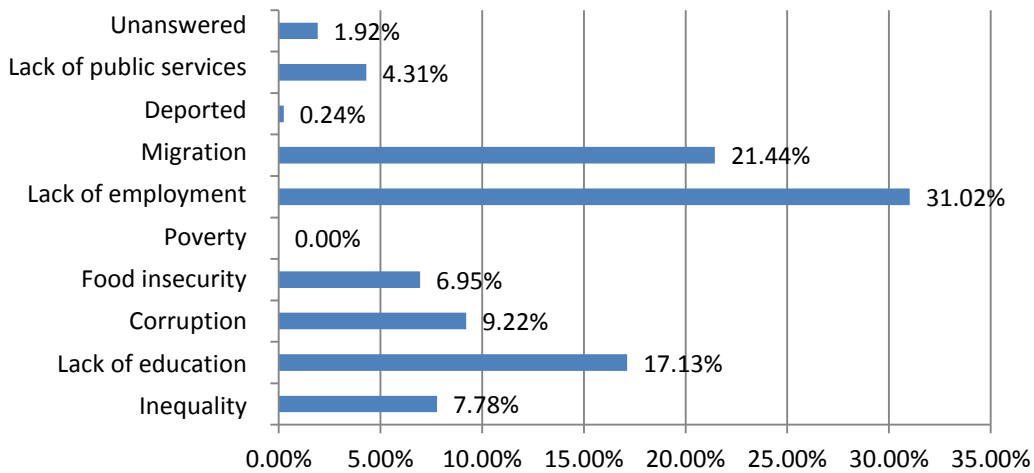
Figure 5. Leading cause of social conflict at the municipal level



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

With regard to the second cause of social conflict at the municipal level, 31.02% of respondents felt that is the lack of employment, 21.44% say that is migration, while 17.13% believe it is the lack of education. A lesser percentage point to other causes, as detailed in the following figure:

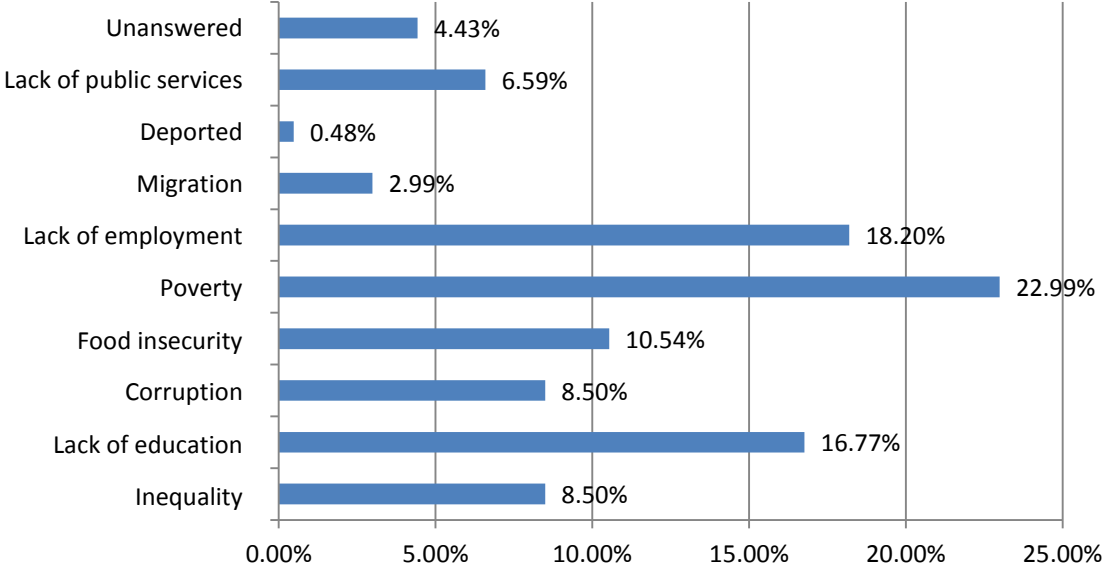
Figure 6. Second cause of social conflict in the municipalities



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

The third cause of social conflict, 22.99% of respondents believe that it is poverty, 18.20% lack of employment, 16.77% lack of education, 10.54% food insecurity, and in a smaller percentage were referred to the other options provided at a survey level.

Figure 7. Third cause of social conflict in the municipalities



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

While the three questions sought to establish the perception of the first, second and third causes of social conflict at the level of the eight municipalities, when proceeding to integrate the results of the three questions, the main causes of social conflict are: lack of employment, education, poverty, migration, inequality and food insecurity.

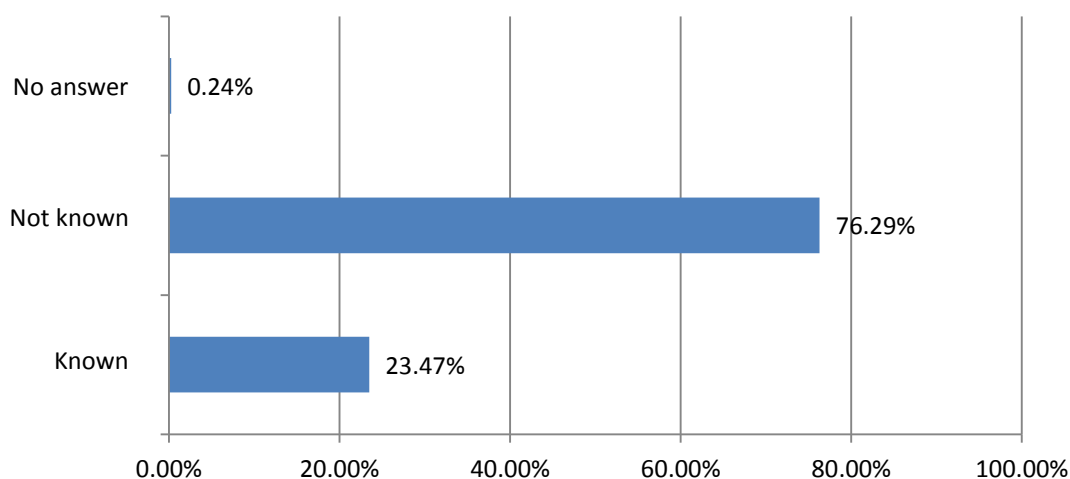
Issues such as corruption, inequality, lack of public services appear in smaller percentage in the responses of the respondents, which, while highlighting their presence in the minds of the people, these are not seen as the main reasons for social conflict.

An important element of analysis is that the deportees have little impact on the cause of social conflict, as it appears with minimum percentages in the three graphs presented, a situation that can be contrasted with the stigma of which are the subject by the population.

5.1.2.2 Knowledge of programs or projects to redce social conflict

In terms of knowledge of the programs or projects aimed at reducing levels of social conflict in the context of municipalities, 76.29% of respondents said they did not know such programs or projects; a 23.47% said to know one.

Figure 8. Knowledge of programs or projects to reduce social conflict at the municipal level



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

The 23.47% who claimed to know projects or programs identified the following actions implemented in their municipalities: government programs such as *Plan Hambre Cero*, social projects, programs of the Ministry of Social Development (*Bono Seguro*, *Bolsa Segura*) of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food such as fertilizer programs, family farming, extension workers; from the Ministry of Education (Citizenship Education); of the National Civilian Police and the coordination that they have with safety groups or committees or local crime organizations (coordination of patrols and surveillance in the municipalities).

Also, as mentioned actions of organizations like SHARE, Center of Legal Action for Human Rights, Municipal Offices for Women, Children and Youth, Save the Children, World Vision, Counsel for Human Rights, Agrarian Platform, Association for Rural Development, the Municipal and Community Councils –*COMUDES* and *COCODES*- and the Technical Training Institute, *INTERVIDA*, International Plan, USAID, Mercy Corps, and Local Associations for Culture and Development.

Interestingly, government social programs are recognized as actions that help reduce the levels of conflict at the level of municipalities. This recognition by the people as argued in the previous data, where unemployment, poverty, lack of education and inequality are linked as main causes of social conflict.

TN: *Bono Seguro (Secure Bonus)* from the Ministry of Social Development for the contribution of improving human capital in families in poverty and extreme poverty with children from 0 to under 15 and pregnant and/or lactating women, through conditional cash transfers to promote access to health services and education, with active participation of women.

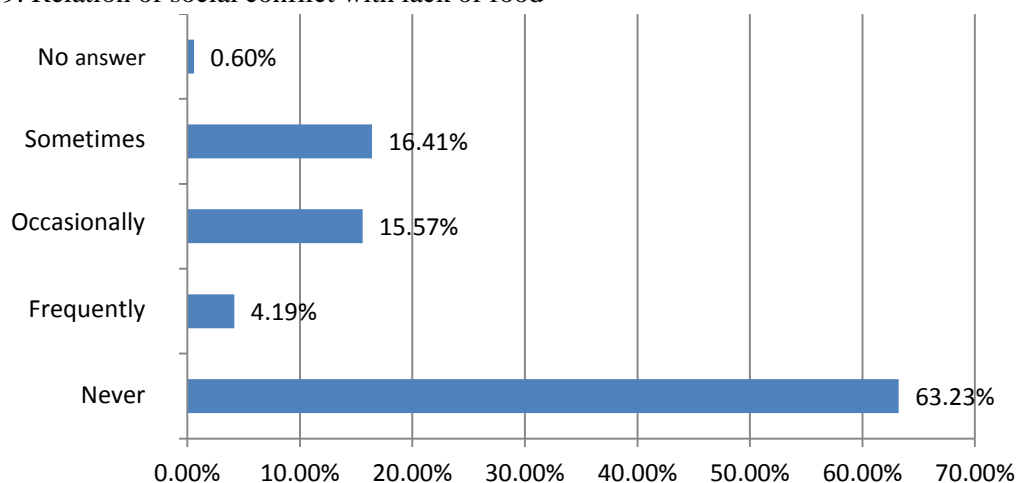
Bolsa Segura (Secure Bag) from the Ministry of Social Development which main objective it to contribute to strengthening the capacity of families living in poor urban areas or suffer from crises affecting their access to food, through delivery of food rations, counseling and empowerment of women.

5.1.3 Situation of social conflict and its interaction with food security

A 63.23% of respondents answered that the conflicts have not generated hunger or lack of food in the cities. A 4.19% said frequently, 15.57% responded occasionally and 16.41% said sometimes.

The answers offered by respondents to the options frequently, occasionally and sometimes were smaller in percentage in all municipalities.

Figure 9. Relation of social conflict with lack of food



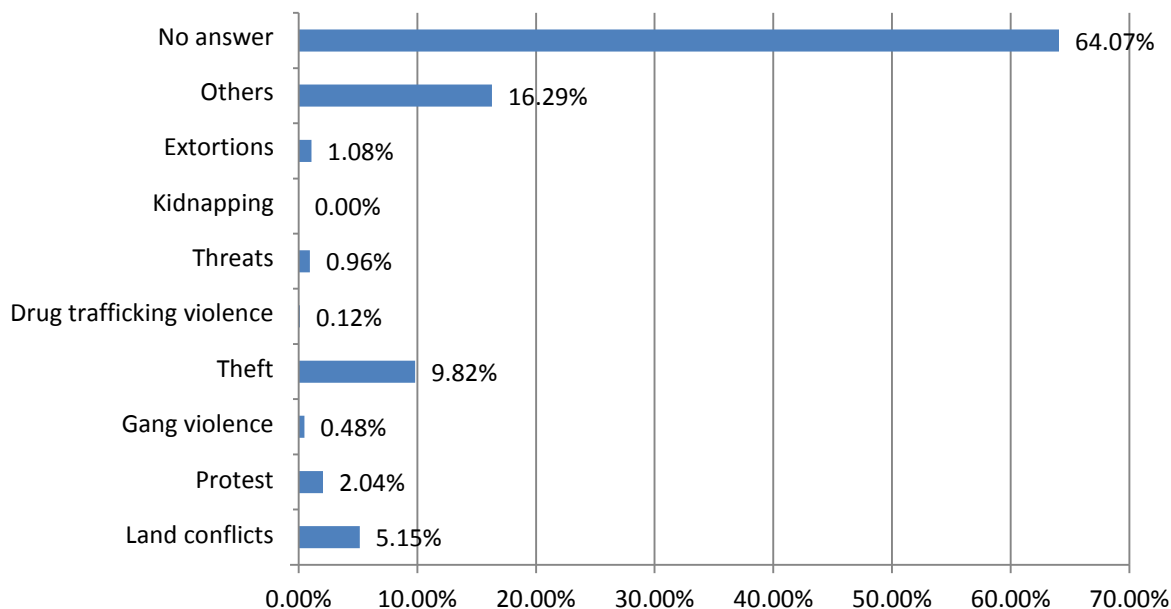
Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

5.1.3.1 Conflicts that have caused famine or lack of food

Eight alternatives were provided to respondents to identify what has caused famine or lack of food at home. Of the total respondents, 9.82% claimed that robberies have been the cause of the famine in the household, 5.15% consider conflicts over land, 2.04% social protests, while 16.29% consider that other social events have caused famine and lack of food.

16.29% of the respondents that argued other causes, cited the following: alcoholism, lack of unemployment, family problems, natural disasters, domestic violence, loans (debts or credits), tax increases, low crop prices, agricultural plots theft, mismanagement of resources, corruption, poverty, discrimination, poor education.

Figure 10. Conflicts that have caused food shortages in households



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

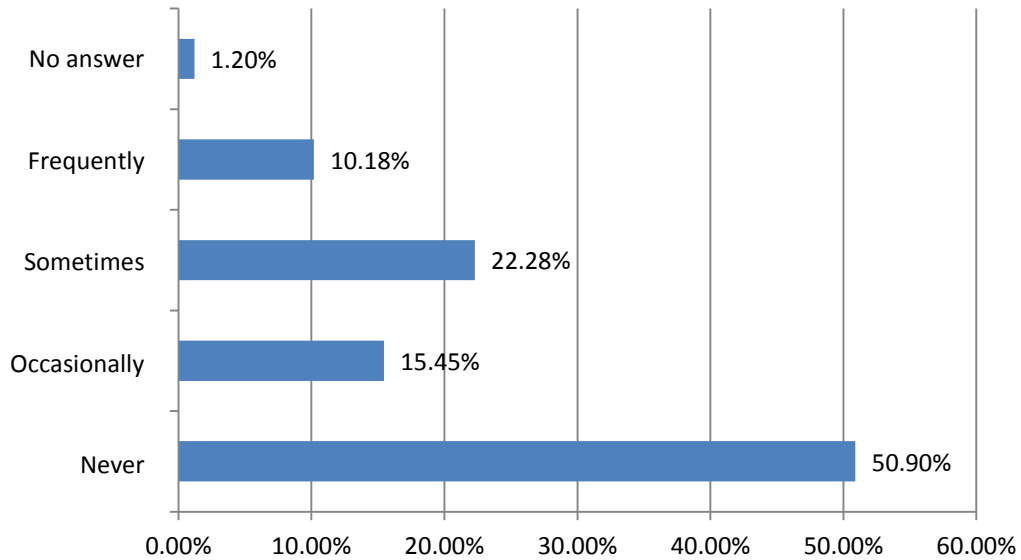
Other causes include land disputes and lack thereof (maldistribution), social conflict, lack of opportunities for people, reduced productive capacity of the land, lack of resources, lack of initiative by the people, job instability, crops affected by climate variations, theft by the need to feed, lack of moral values, lack of security in the sector, low coffee prices, rising crime, high rates of extortion and direct threats, discrimination of ethnicity and age.

5.1.3.2 Concerns about lack of food

Respondents were asked whether in the last twelve months the members of their household had the worry of running out of food. Of the total interviewed, 57.4% said yes, while 41.6% said they had not had this concern. 1.08% did not respond.

The 50.90% of respondents said that the lack of food did not generate social conflict in the municipality, while 22.28% considers that sometimes, 15.45% state that occasionally 10.18% that frequently and 1.2% did not respond any.

Figure 11. Hunger has generated some kind of social conflict

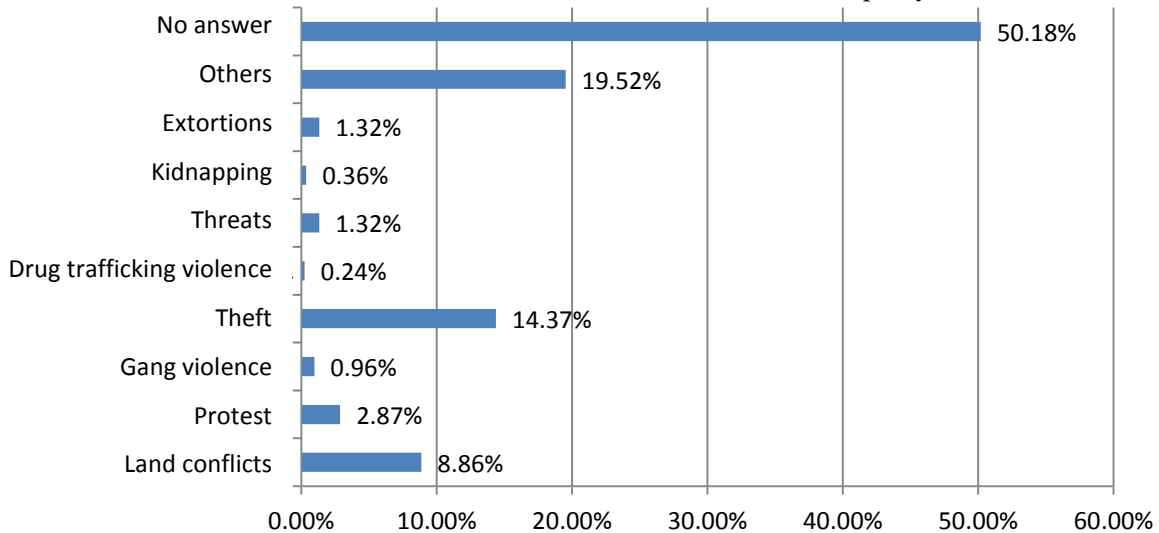


Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey.

Regarding the type of conflict associated with food shortages and hunger, 14.37% consider that generates burglaries in houses and plots and a 8.86% land conflicts. At a smaller percentage aspects as extortion, kidnapping, threats, gang violence and protests were mentioned.

A 19.52% that points other aspects as cause the lack of employment, illiteracy, family disintegration, domestic violence, corruption, health problems, poverty, low coffee prices, crime, lynching, natural phenomena, social conflict, lack of land, disputes with local authorities, for example, with the Community Development Councils (*COCODES*).

Figure 12. Social Conflict associated with the lack of food in the municipality



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey.

5.1.3.2 Knowledge of programs and projects aimed to reducing food insecurity

The percentage of the population with knowledge of programs or projects implemented in the municipality for the reduction or attention to the problem of food insecurity covers 23.95%, a 30.39% said they knew of no program and 45.39% did not answer the question . This is less than a quarter of the population, which shows not only ignorance of these programs or projects, but the magnitude of the problem at the household level.

As for the programs and projects being implemented, as well as the entities in charge, the following are mentioned: in relation to the programs that stand out, *Programa Hambre Cero*, *Bono Seguro*, *Bolsa Segura*, *Salud y Alimentación*, ALFASAN, fertilizer program, Family Agriculture, poultry production by CFK, school meal and *Mi Familia Progresas*. The last one draws attention, considering it was one of the programs of the previous government; between the entities referred to are: MAGA, Ministry of Social Development, SESAN, Action against Hunger, PROCOMIDA, *Colegio Fe y Alegría*, World Vision, FINIT, Mercy Corps, CFCA, International Plan, ADRI and local organizations.

5.1.4 Situation of social conflict and its relations to migration

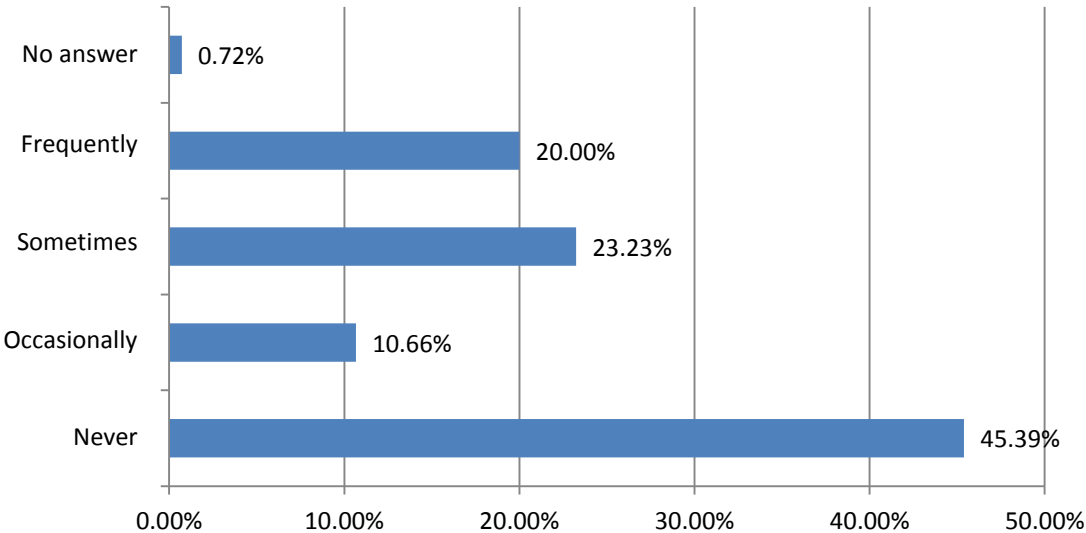
5.1.4.1 Social conflict and migration at household level

Regarding the question of the incidence of social conflict in the migration of household members, 45.39% of respondents felt that social conflicts have never generated migration at home, a 10.66% said that rarely, 23.23 % said sometimes and 20% said often. The results reflect the experiences at the household of respondents as to how social conflicts in its various manifestations, influence the migration of its members.

TN: *Salud y Alimentación (Health and Food)*

Mi Familia Progresas (My Family Progress) a program by previous government that purpose is to generate human capital in extreme poor families with children under 15 years and pregnant women, promoting investment in education, health and nutrition.

Figure 13: Opinion about social conflict and migration



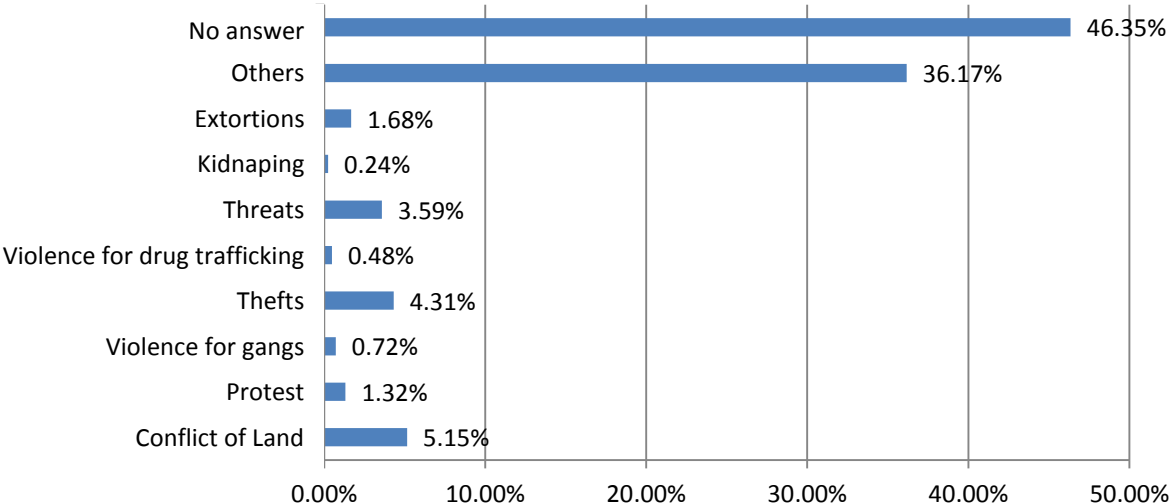
Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

5.1.4.2 *Types of conflict that cause migration at household*

As to what kind of conflict is the main cause of migration at the household level, we found that 5.15% of respondents considered that land conflicts is the cause of migration at the household level, 4.31% state thefts are, 3.59% notes that are threats, 1.68% by extorsions, 36.17% consideres other causes and at a lesser percentage (less than 1%, which corresponds to less than ten people), argues that gang violence, kidnappings and drug violence, while 46.35% had no opinion about it.

The other causes mentioned, consider that migration is due to the lack of jobs and low wages, poverty, family problems (violence and disintegration), the lack of security in the sector, lack of financial resources, lack of opportunities and inequality, lack of education, food insecurity, lack of land (for crop development), inequality in access to public services. This shows that the main motivations for migration are related to the lack of economic, employment and political opportunities primarily.

Figure 14: Percentage distribution of opinion of respondents regarding the type of social conflict as the main cause of migration.



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

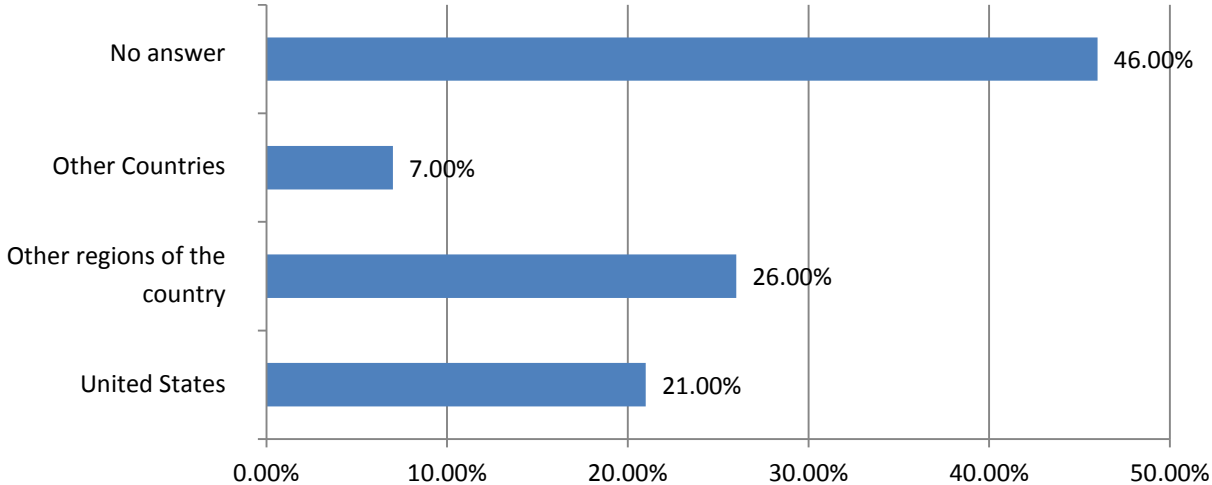
5.1.4.3 *Destinations of emigration*

As to the main places of migration, 26% of respondents felt that a migration to other regions of the country is given, 21% said they migrated to the United States and 7% that they go to other countries in the region or border. A 46% of respondents did not answer the question. The above data reflect from family experiences of respondents, that national migration and in border countries prevail, in situation of conflict.

7% of respondents mentioned that family members migrate temporarily to El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico and Belize; countries were they offer their unskilled labor, often for agricultural activities.

Regarding the type of migration that household members at social conflict perform, 12% responded that it is a permanent migration, 36% that is a temporary migration, while 52% did not answer the question. Regarding the types of work performed by household members who have migrated prevail agricultural in coffee farms, sugar cane and oil palm plantations; work in the construction industry; as security; domestic services; trade in general, including crafts; professional services in government agencies and non-governmental organizations, and for education reasons.

Figure 15. Areas of migration of people in situations of social conflict

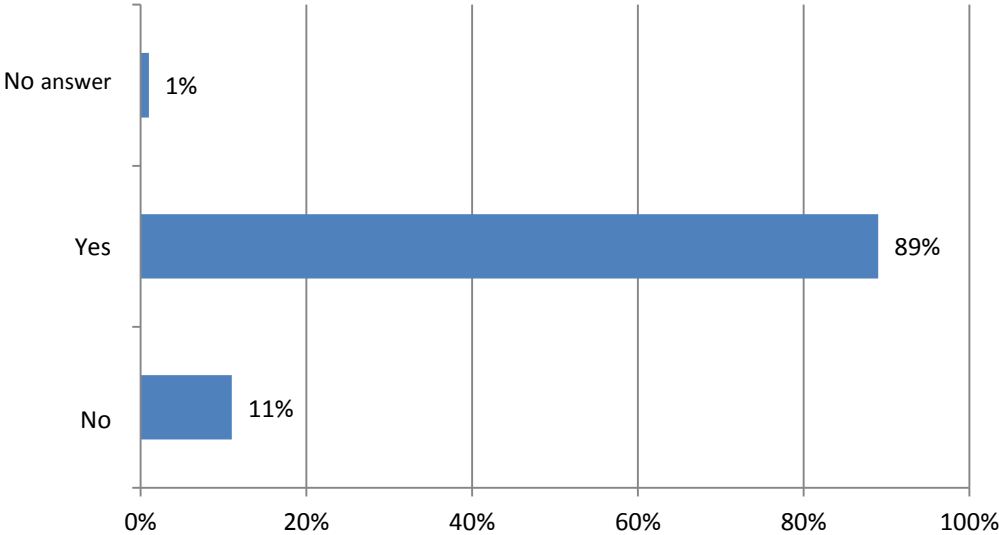


Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

5.1.4.4 Situation of migrants and deportees in generating social conflict

The responses of the respondents on the link or incidence or deported migrants in generating social conflict at the community level gave the following results: 11% considered to play an important role in generating social conflicts, while 89% think not; 1% (six respondents) gave no opinion.

Figure 16. Percentage distribution of opinions regarding the involvement of migrants and deportees in generating social conflicts.

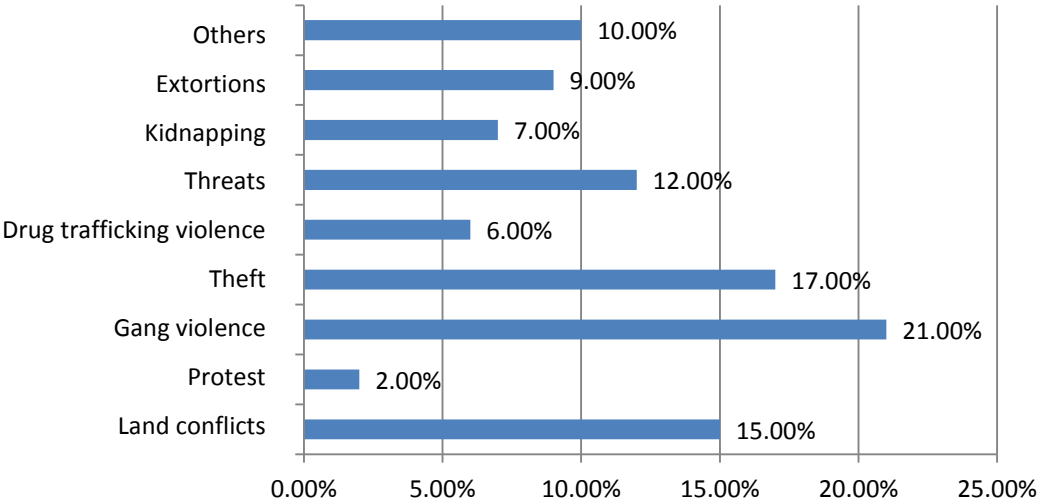


Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

Likewise, it was also inquired about the type of social conflict with which migrants or deportees are associated. 11% of respondents gave opinion on this topic. Of the total opinion, 21% believe that migrants and deportees are linked to violence by gangs, 17% say they are linked to

robberies, 15% with land disputes, 12% believe that they are involved in threats, 6% linked them to the violence generated by the drug trafficking, 9% considers that they are related to kidnappings and 7% to extortions, while 10% links them to other forms of violence without specifying.

Figure 17. Distribution of opinion of respondents regarding the link of migrants or deportees with specific social conflict.



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey

5.1.4.5 Programs or projects to reduce migration

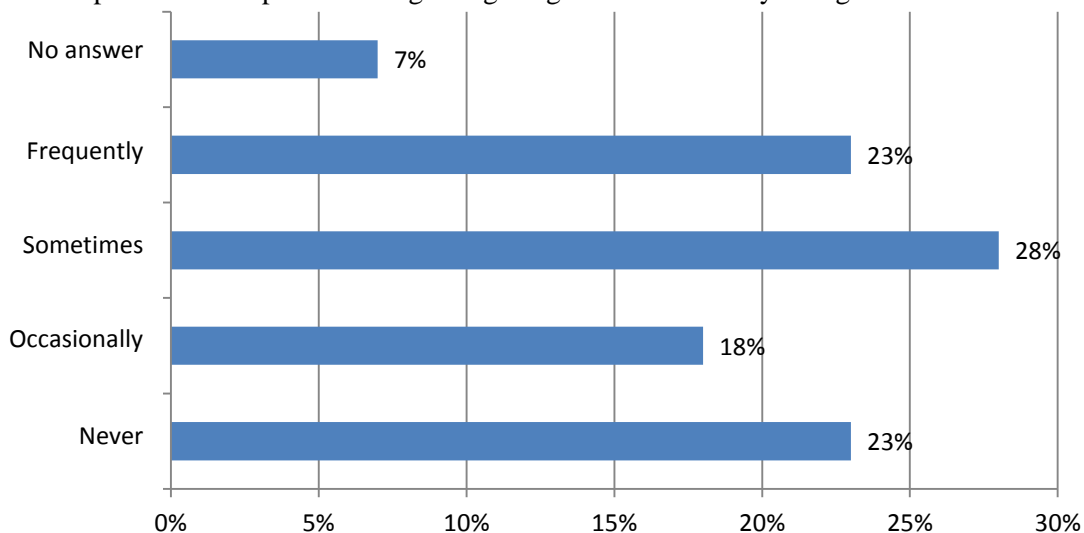
In regards to knowledge of programs or projects that aim to reduce migration in the municipalities, 3% said they knew of shares in the municipalities, while 90% said they do not know. 7% did not answer the question. The 28 people (3% of respondents) who claim to know the actions that are being developed at the municipal level to reduce migration mentioned the following initiatives: *Plan Hambre Cero*, *Proyecciones Juveniles*, *Empleo Seguro para el Migrante*, and microcredit programs provided by various entities.

Among the entities that are in the implementation of these actions include: Save the Children, the Catholic Church, government bodies and Santa Teresa Hydroelectric as part of their social responsibility policies.

5.1.5 Situation of food and nutrition security and its relation to migration

If hunger or lack of food in the home situation has caused migration of family members to the municipalities, 23% think that never, 18% said occasionally, 28% think that sometimes, 23% responded often and 7% did not respond.

Figure 18. Opinion of respondents regarding migration caused by hunger or lack of food.



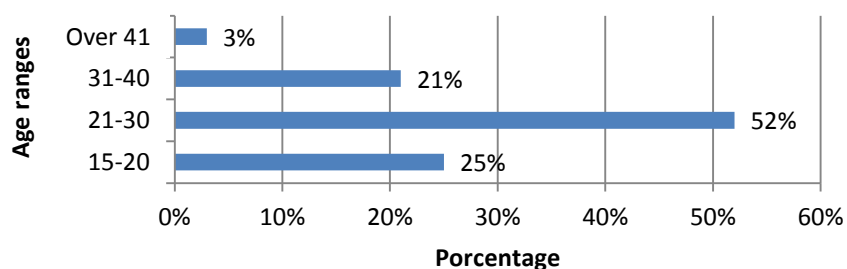
Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey.

5.1.6 The situation of deportation: Reasons for border migration

A survey was applied to a total of 110 people deported, who arrived at the La Aurora International Airport. The sample consisted of 85 men and 25 women (77% men and 23% women).

Of the total population surveyed, 52% is between 21 to 30 years old, 25% in the range of 15-20 years old, 21% between 31 and 40 years of age, while people over 41 years is barely 3% of the population deported. This shows that, in most cases, the young population is having more willingness to emigrate to the United States.

Figure 19. Percentage distribution of respondents by age

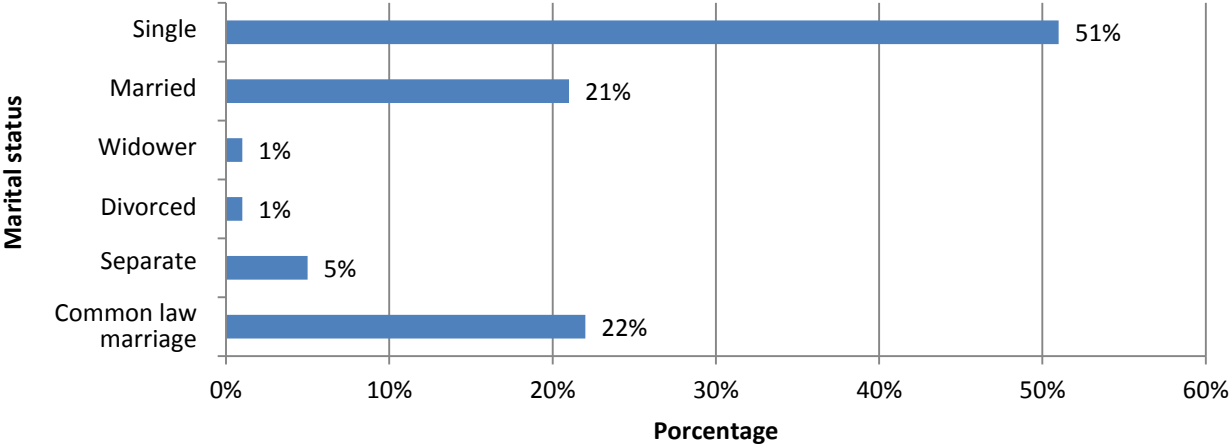


Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey.

As for the civil status of surveyed deportees it was established that 51% live alone, 22% cohabiting, 21% are married, a % responded to be separated, while divorced and widowed reach 1% of respondents. These data show that more and more young singles are in the population that decides to emigrate to improve their lives and families, given the lack of opportunities in Guatemala.

Of this total, it was established that 95% of those who emigrate or seek to immigrate to the United States is literate, while 5% is not. They were asked if they speak English, 88% said no and 12% said yes. Those who claim to speak English, are people deported with several years of stay in the United States, or persons living in the department of Guatemala.

Figure 19. Percentage distribution of respondents by marital status

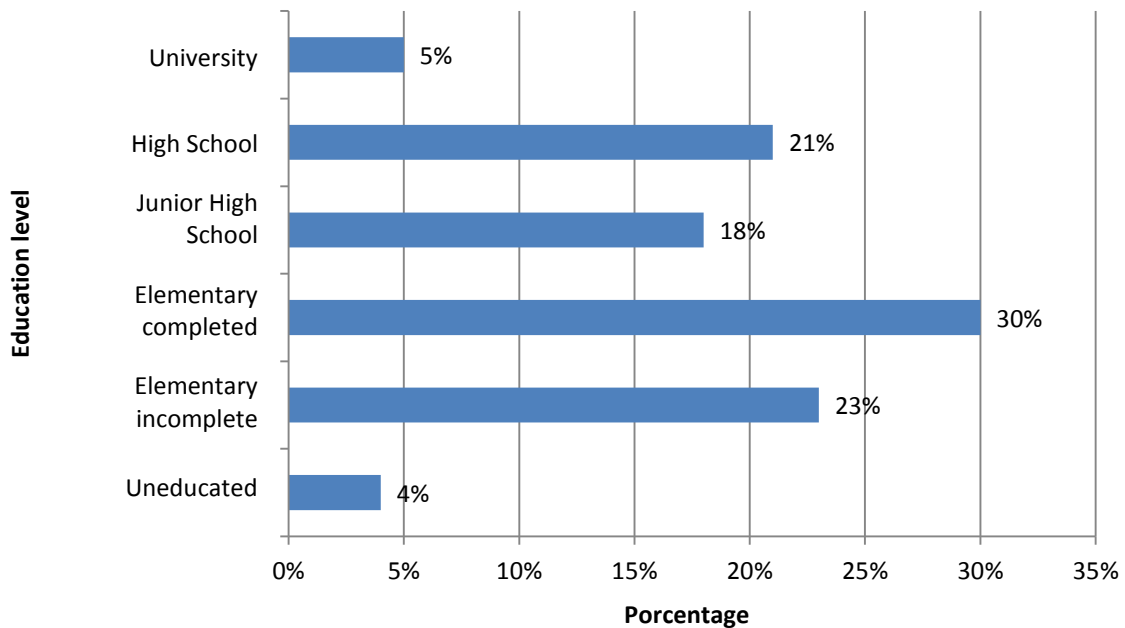


Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey.

The education level of the deportees is very diverse. 5% have university education up to two years, 21% have high school level, 18% with junior high school, while 30% have completed primary school. 23% have completed some years of primary and 4% had no formal education.

It is noteworthy that people with up to four semesters of college and young graduates in a teaching career, decided to emigrate to the United States, forming a large population that can not find opportunities for professional development and professional advancement.

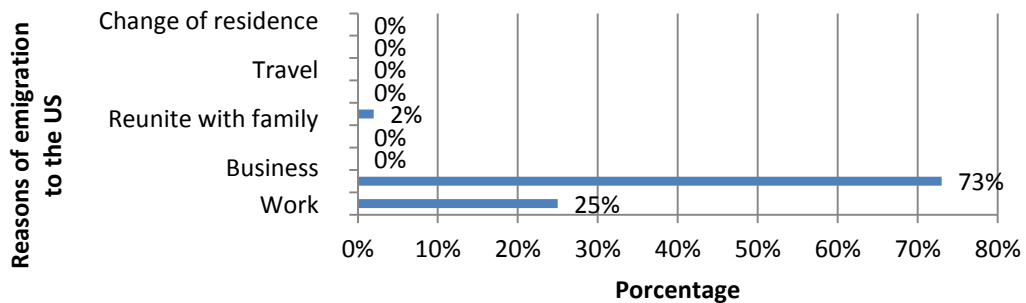
Figure19. Percentage distribution of respondents by level of education



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey.

The reasons why people travel, in general are related to finding employment opportunities that the country does not offers. Thus, 73% of the population surveyed responded that their main motivations for emigration is job search, while 25% said they were migrating for work. Of this total, only 2% said they immigrated illegally to join relatives in the United States.

Figure19. Percentage distribution for reasons of migration



Source: Prepared by author based on data from 2014 survey.

Overall, the surveyed population of deportees poses as the main reason for emigration to the United States seeking employment options, or choose to work in various trades that do not necessarily coincide with their training.

While some have a mid-level training, even with low skill levels of education in Guatemala, migrants sell their labor as unskilled in agriculture and construction, without having access to any security social.

CHAPTER VI. INTERRELATIONS OF MIGRATION, FOOD INSECURITY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT. The vision of the key stakeholders. Three dimensions of inequality.

In this section the information gathered is made known in the focus groups (FG) and in-depth interviews with key stakeholders. At a focus group level, a guide of questions was designed to establish in first instance, the migration situation in the municipal sector, the main manifestations of social conflict and food security and the situation of food security, emphasizing each problem, project or program innovative in its approach. In the interviews with key stakeholders, the same guide was used, considering for it the specific theme (see focal group guides in the attachments).

6.1 The situation of food insecurity

The situation of food insecurity in the eight municipalities is closely related to access and quality of land for the production of basic grains, the problem of climate change and climate variability and their impact on production systems, the lack of jobs in terms of the territories, and access to public services in education, health and infrastructure (primarily roads to transport goods), which together results in poverty and marginalization, coupled with the situation of population growth in the area of communities.

"... The causes of this problem are structural: Poverty, lack of employment, lack of State in rural areas, problems with damage to the environment. Everything has a negative impact on the poor and no real development in the field is achieved ... " (FG Olopa)

"... A situation that those responsible for the health center have noted is the prevalence of malnutrition cases in rural areas. This is because they change their eating habits when moving to urban areas, when they no longer have land to grow, or have very little land available, overcrowding of families is given and thus famine ... " (FG Olopa).

Another important element to highlight of the perceptions of the stakeholders in the territory is related to the ignorance of the magnitude of the problem by the parents of children in situations of malnutrition, ignorance leading to inadequate management of the nutrition of children, as well as inadequate crop management for obtaining financial resources for the family. For the stakeholders, this situation is summarized in the lack of awareness among parents.

"... Another key factor is that people do not know that there is a problem; they do not know the consequence of malnutrition in a child under five years. We are committed to

education, to training, because it is the only resource that is in our power, we do not offer anything else... “(FG Santo Tomas La Union).

“... In addition to these structural problems, there is no pro-nutrition and exploitation of the resources culture available. People leave for sale the best quality of production and consume the waste. They sell high quality nutritional products and with the value they get, they buy junk food ... “(FG Olopa)

The above conditions only favor the prevalence of problematic conditions that must be analyzed in detail to understand the complexity of the issues and promote actions consistent with it. Otherwise, actions that are developed will be of palliative character that shall not result in a transformation of thinking and actions at the household level, as often happens in the territories.

“... The communities that have more cases of malnutrition are often the same; they relapse, are the farthest and have less access to all services, with few access roads. People do not have money to move in means of transportation, cannot travel to health centers, struggle to access food therefore remain in extreme poverty, and usually are always affected communities ... “(FG Jocotán).

Overall, there are many challenges at the household level to counteract the problem of food insecurity, including:

6.1.1 The importance of education in parents

For stakeholders who develop various actions to address the situation in the territory, many parents are still unaware of the problems of food insecurity and its consequences for the development of children.

This ignorance of the problem and its effects on humans, leads to in many cases, in adoption and improper practice of eating habits, poor hygiene practices at home, situations that can be countered with education on the issue of Food Security and Nutrition, as confirmed by the experiences developed in the municipality, which demonstrate the importance of education for the change of mind.

*“... Educational processes that have been taking place years ago had a positive impact on the population, since they have accomplished to manage quite well the cases of malnutrition. People have been slowly learning how to nurture children, store hygiene, etc., but above all they have understood that it is the responsibility of the family when a child is malnourished, and they see it as an embarrassment. There is always reluctant mother to cooperate with the health center when a child is diagnosed malnourished, some mothers do not show up to the monitors and who refuse to take their children to the recovery center, mainly because they have no one to leave their other children ... ”
(FG Olopa)*

This compression of the problem has led the entities performing actions at the level of municipalities to focus on education for both mothers and fathers, but also with a long-term approach, working with youths:

"... We are committed to education, to training, because it is the only resource that is in our power, we do not offer other things. If we educate people, we need to say what the problem is and look for a solution ... " (FG Santo Tomas La Union)

"... by changing the mindset of people without losing the cultural view, we are getting to the bottom of problems. It is thought that the young man has nothing to do, when that's where you should start, they can create change not only upwards ... " (FG Colotenango)

6.1.2 Food paternalism

Stakeholders consider that there is a situation of paternalism fostered by humanitarian actions in the field, this is also analyzed as acts that cause an accommodation of families in their precarious situation and generate recidivism malnutrition.

According to these participant stakeholders in the focus groups, the lack of knowledge of the problem, coupled with the lack of initiatives to make better use of land and income generation, allows families to come into conformity with the handout and patronage practices of the government.

"... In Guatemala it is being attacked the opposite: prizes are given to those who are sick, when they should be rewarded and strengthened when they are healthy, so when people see that it is to the healthy who they give, are endeavor to have beautiful and healthy children. As people say if the child gets better, they will not give us anything ... " (FG Olopa) consists.

"... Because of the abundance of food, people settled and got used to not work but only receive donations and rations that were given to them. Many families prefer to have a malnourished child as long as they were given aid coming to the municipality. Since 2008 programs in which food is given away are over ... " (FG Olopa) were completed.

"... In Jocotan, there are families who prefer that the situation of malnutrition in their children continue, in order to receive equal attention and integrate in assistance programs. There have been cases of families who reoffend, so that they can be in social programs and receive even a small financial contribution or food ... " (FG Jocotán).

6.1.3 Overpopulation and family planning

Population growth and family planning are aspects that were extensively analyzed and discussed in terms of the territories. While these expressions are based on a Malthusian approach to the problem, it is equally important to note the indications emerged in the debates, whereas in most communities where machismo prevails, are taboo subjects.

"... It would be excellent if in a decade Jocotán families would have no more than three children each, to relieve pressure on resources. Since in the poorest villages households, have an average of between 7 and 10 children. There are users of bono seguro programs with up to 13 and 15 children. Birth Control: taboo. People do not accept family planning, this is a bottleneck, families cannot ensure food security of ten children, some families have thirteen children ... " (FG Olopa).

"... The other thing that maybe is not mentioned is overpopulation. How a father of 12 children will maintain many children, there is no choice but to go to a farm and send the other abroad to support in this regard. An endless number of factors that influence. Another thing that has to do with it is the cultural part in alcohol use that generates a lot of poverty ... " (FG Colotenango)

6.1.4 Adaptation strategies to climate variability

SESAN Reports indicate that the last two years have been characterized as years of poor harvests of basic grains, as well as the crisis in the coffee rust, impact significantly in reducing jobs for laborers. The recent drought has impacted more than 70% of the territory of the country and the affected population is part of the 54% poorest segment, which accounts for half of chronic malnutrition in children under five (SESAN, 2014).

This situation has also been analyzed at the level of local actors. Found arguments are, for example:

"... The drought last year prevented families to stock up on basic grains and save for this time of year 2014. In the months of June and July cases of malnutrition soared reaching 126 cases of acute malnutrition so far this year . The staple diet of every family is corn and beans, and it is this that has been affected by these environmental factors, and families are not prepared to respond to these situations ... " (FG Jocotán).

6.1.5 Consequences of temporary family migration

Environmental issues and their effects on the productive systems of families, has implications in terms of national and international temporary migration for the development of agricultural work. However, this strategy of life, has implications in terms of nutrition and education of children, who have to accompany parents for long periods of time.

"... People who migrate for work come with poor health, with no distinctive customs, with influences that at that time damage their health and development in their own communities. Children who return, is when the Ministry of Health captures more acutely malnourished children. Upon returning from work they come back malnourished, the goal of the family to work is to get a hold of economic resources, that implies less quality food ... " (FG Ixtahuacán)

"... The child leaves in September and returns in November, pick up corn and beans and then go to the Huista region to (work in) the harvest season from December until March, the month in which many children return to school, and lose about five months

of classes. What can the principal do in that regard, and if a family leaves takes it all, and how to continue the process: (this) is truncated, and what effects does it (have) in indicators. That is when problems arise because there is no drinking water, just jagüeyes for consumption ... " (FG Colotenango)

6.1.6 Programs or projects regarding the problems

Being the eight municipalities surveyed prioritized by the government, the actions that take place to address the problem of malnutrition articulate the *Plan Hambre Cero*. From this action, progress is measured in interagency coordination, which while not at a desired level, there are many achievements in placing the issue at the level of municipalities and the articulation of the various institutions to the Municipal Commissions of Food Security and Nutrition, *COMUSAN*, an entity that has legal basis in *SINSAN* Act.

Under the *Plan Hambre Cero*, each instance (especially governmental) develops a number of activities all geared to the objectives of the plan. Among the actions mentioned in the municipalities include:

- a) Ministry of Health. Chancellor of the process, through the work of educators give personalized monitoring of malnutrition cases, by monitoring the weight, height, training to mothers. Another advance of the health ministry in coordination with *SESAN* is conducting nutritional scanning to detect cases of malnutrition, and facilitating Vitacereal to the families with cases of malnutrition in the care centers.
- b) *SESAN*. Coordinating entity of the actions of *SAN* nationwide. As part of the programs of *SESAN* monitoring of malnourished children is done.
- c) *MIDES*, is the body responsible for the management of government social programs, among which we can emphasize:
 - i. *Mi bono seguro* includes responsibilities in health and education, people who meet the responsibilities have their bonus Q300 which are bi-monthly deposited, in order to ensure food security of families and the access to health services and education.
 - ii. *Mi bolsa segura* works as a immediate response system in severe cases of drought, crop loss or other, in which monitoring is performed first. Currently *bolsa segura* only works in the capital city because of security issues - extortion, deliveries of cash cannot be made.
 - iii. *Mi beca segura* is a scholarship program at various educational levels, from elementary to university level.
 - iv. *Jóvenes protagonistas* is a program aimed at training young people in computing, sports and crafts, completely free.

TN: *Mi beca segura (My Secure Scholarship) is a program from the Ministry of Social Development to support regular attendance and retention of adolescents and youth in poverty to the various class levels of the school system, applying to the principle of gender equality and indigenous people (ethnicity). Jóvenes protagonistas (Young protagonist) is a program from the Ministry of Social Development to generate through processes of extracurricular training, optional educational opportunities/training to develop skills and competencies that support youth to transform their adversities and build new realities.*

- a) *MAGA* implements the national program of rural extension programs. They work with groups organized through the Learning Centers for Rural Development *CADERES* in focusing on issues of family agriculture, food production (protecting the environment) and revenue generation focused on strengthening the rural economy. It also implements the fertilizer program to support peasant agriculture, food ration program for families who have been affected by coffee rust.

6.2 The migration phenomena from the local perspective

“In our municipality there is no work”
(Focus Group, Tukurú)

6.2.1 Overview of migration at the level of municipalities

While ecological, cultural, social, economic, productive and political contexts of the four regions and the eight municipalities studied are different and in some way distant, with particular territorial dynamics, peasant families (indigenous and non-indigenous) to some degree share logical strategies to ensure their livelihoods and survival of its members, in consideration with the options offered by these territories.

Among the diversity of strategies that make livelihoods, migration is in all its modalities, with which it seeks the resilience of their livelihoods against the difficulties posed by economic, political and social natural phenomena.

There is a wide consensus that the lack of jobs in the community, local and national recurrent economic crisis, coupled with environmental effects on agricultural production, whether for labor or production for subsistence, causes a decrease in food reserves, temporary and permanent migration occurs.

Environmental problems such as climate change and its effects on the main productive activities of municipalities, has an effect on migration, by reducing production levels and the sources of employment. Very recurrent in the stakeholder analysis is the rust problem that hit the coffee plantations in 2013, and the production of corn and beans on a large scale, especially in the east of the country that demands for labor for cultivation, situations that have affected the migration periods of the population.

For example in the municipality of Jocotán, rust disease that affected coffee plantations, constituted a productive activity that generates employment in the area, forced workers to migrate to other areas.

The stakeholders in the territory mentioned among the causes of migration the following, in order of importance:

- Lack of employment, that affects both adults and young people seeking for a job.
- Effects of environmental problems at the production level. The problem of climate change (drought and rust).
- Overcrowding or large families.

Importantly, each age group, based on their life expectancy and marital conditions, defines its shapes and mechanisms of migration, which can be temporary or permanent, as well as national or international. However the main motivation is to seek job opportunities that are combined with address needs for improved living conditions.

"... In the municipality there are no sources of employment, young people graduate and cannot find where to work. There are professionals working on other things as construction, so they decide to migrate to the capital or to the United States, to see if they find better opportunities ... " (FG Olopa).

"... In the 70s was due to political conflicts, and then migration occurs often because of the lack of employment, because of low wages in Guatemala. Migration is also not only to the United States but is also taking place here in the departments; we have a family that they left here because there is no work and if there are, are low paying job. The families are very numerous, then is no longer enough to buy, to eat, and migration starts during coffee harvest, we see the children leave school because entire families go to work ... " (FG Santo Tomas La Union).

"... Migration has always existed, people migrate to the farms for a period of two to three months and then return to the community with money to cover the rest of the year, this will continue until there are jobs. At the municipal level, few people migrate due to violence, it is more for a need of money ... " (FG Ixtahuacán).

The places where people migrate are varied. In many cases depends on traditional migration strategies, as well as those dependent on climate phenomena, or those of frontier character.

Table 06. Causes of migration identified in the focus groups

Municipality	Migration places
Olopa	To Belice, for harvest of oranges. To Esquipulas, migration of women for domestic work in hotels. To Quetzaltepeque, Ipala and Esquipulas, for corn and bean sowing. To Guatemala City, to provide services.
Jocotán	To Olopa, Esquipulas and Honduras, for coffee harvest To sugarcane farms in the South Coast of Guatemala To Ipala for the production of corn and beans. To El progreso and Teculután in melon-producing farms.
Tucurú	To Honduras, to work on coffee farms. To the South Coast to work on sugar cane. To Petén and Northern Transversal Strip to work in Oil Palm. A minority migrates to the United States.
Tamahú	People migrate temporarily to coffee areas, mainly Honduras, as well as internal migration to other regions of the county. To the South Coast to work on sugar cane. El Estor, Petén and Izabal for oil palm, to the banana plantation in Izabal. Capital City as domestic workers and security guards.

Colotenango	Coastal farms for coffee harvest. México to work on coffee farms. México to lease land for cultivation. Huiستا Region of Guatemala for coffee harvest.
Ixtahuacán	México, Cancun to work in construction. Belice to work on farms to harvest Xate and Orange. To México for construction works.
Santo Tomás La Unión	To the Estados Unidos Ciudad Capital u otros departamentos, para la prestación de servicios.
San Pablo Jocopilas	Hacia Estados Unidos City Capital or other departments, for the provision of services.

Temporary migration, generally is practiced by people who sell their unskilled labor mainly in agricultural activities. This situation has determined national, as well as regional, agricultural areas that will receive migrant agricultural workers.

Permanent migration usually is for the United States. The eight municipalities considered manifest the characteristic that is young people who migrate in "pursuit of a better future."

"... There is an overlap in several places where young people are those who travel to the United States. While they do not have the capacity and assets needed for credit, family members are who mortgage or sell their assets such as land to defray travel expenses ... "(FG Colotenango).

"... There are no sources of employment locally, one really goes elsewhere for money. This is the situation of people, if the economic situation does not change it will not change and will go further if employment oportunities are reduced, as in the US..." (FG Ixtahuacán).

This aspect is supported by theoretical approaches that refer to territorial disparities as a factor of human migration.

"... One of the participants commented that aproximately 10 years ago that the crisis began in the municipality, work began to wane and people to migrate. The length of stay of temporary workers is changing but it can be from 2 months to 6 months. The months of seasonal hunger are the hardest, so they are also the months when most people are looking where to work and migrate, there is no production of corn, beans and corn scarse from May to August, and is harvested in September ... " (FG Tucurú).

6.2.2 Problems of migration of children

For stakeholders, the migration of children is a reflection of the worsening of family problems in terms of the economy and precarious livelihoods. The dynamism of productive activities considered "growth engines" in the various municipal development plans, has a patent effect on the decisions of families to migrate, whether certain family members or in its entirety, with the impact that this can lead to so much for family integration. This situation is causing both children and young people to migrate to the United States.

"... In Ixtahuacán, children who have migrated to the United States are rural children. The United States policy of locating relatives of migrant children to take care of them, provoked strong migration of children with parental consent ... " (FG Ixtahuacán).

"... In Colotenango, there are many cases of migrant children, some have gone to work and others because they have relatives in the United States. Relatives send them because they know the children are not deported, and to benefit from the work they can do ... " (FG Colotenango).

6.2.3 Initiatives to reduce migration

While migration is a phenomenon that has its roots in the history of the Latin American region. The analysis of the impact at communities, regions and country level, has not involved the development of programs and/or projects aimed at reducing migration. Development projects are more indirect strategies to facilitate conditions for the communities although they are not the solution.

6.2.4 Family impact on migration: Territorial transformations

Migration is not a one-way issue that only results in economic benefits for families and the revitalization of the community economy. In this process, migrants and family members are under economic, psychological and emotional stress that can be translated into crisis at the household level.

From the perspective of the residents, migratory processes entail a series of unwanted situations which in some cases affects the individual, the home and the community, among which are:

- Family breakdown, before the migration of one of the householders
- Loss of family
- Low agricultural production and y feminization of the agricultural activities
- High dropout rates, especially in those regions where temporary migration for agricultural activities take place
- Unsustainable indebtedness
- Loss of productive assets by mortgage of immovable property.
- Weakening of social and productive organization.
- Family differentiation and of rural areas, because poor families fail to incursion in the circuit of migrations and the resources that circulate.

6.3 The situation of social conflict

Social conflict in terms of the eight municipalities, according to the analysis of the stakeholders, does not raise alarming situations. While there are manifestations of agrarian and environmental conflicts, these do not acquire a considerable magnitude that may affect settlers causing migration and food insecurity.

Among agrarian conflicts, boundary disputes between municipalities and communities are common and their effects at the level of project management infrastructure. While the socio-environmental conflicts, which cause some wear out at a community organization level, but were not widely discussed in the focus groups.

With regard to the conflicts related to public safety, it has been a topic widely discussed at focus groups, but with the conclusion that this is not an alarming situation at the level of the eight municipalities. Overall, the eight municipalities surveyed do not have high crime rates, nor any cases of extortion, kidnapping and illegal groups.

"... Conflicts fail to violence, there are few cases of men who get drunk and fight with machetes, but these are isolated cases that do not affect the general population ..." (FG Olopa).

In connection to the incidence of social conflict in migration and food insecurity, it is considered that it has no influence on them, rather in some cases migration is triggered in conflicts related to public safety.

"... When young people (men) have migrated to the capital of Guatemala and return to their municipality, they bring habits that are not accepted in the community, such as: vocabulary, smoke, drink, like to go out at night and make gatherings in dark courts, wear earrings and long hair, wear very loose clothes. Some have wanted to turn to crime, but the civic organization have not allowed it. These young people are hesitant to commit crimes in their municipality where they are known, but they go to other regions to commit criminal acts. Sometimes they have seen local youth in the press who have been captured elsewhere, for committing various offenses ... " (FG Tukurú).

Each town has different strategies and actions to address the issue of public safety. Among the various initiatives are, vigilance committees that link to various entities at the municipal level, including neighborhood groups, the National Civil Police, Justice of the Peace Courts, the municipality among others, conducting patrols at night.

6.4 Institutional visions of the problem

The document refers to the institutional visions to the problem, perceptions of civil servants working in entities focused on addressing each of these problems involved, as well as the views of key stakeholders of civil society. In consideration of the foregoing, we will reflect from interviews with professionals responsible of government and civil society instances.

6.4.1 Migration, a problem of multiple points of view

There is a broad consensus that the issue of migration in Guatemala is continuous and systematic. Is also of multicausal nature, some structural and other circumstantial (these last ones usually are

new to add to existing) causes that largely have links to the problems of social conflict and food insecurity.

"... The phenomenon of migration in Guatemala and in the region is continuous and systematic. Some factors influence for the phenomenon to grow or shrink, which may be social conflict, climate change, rumors of immigration laws, and so on. In some seasons the flow of migrants drops and in others increases from the influence of these factors. ... " (Interview CONAMIGUA).

"... In terms of the causes of migration, we see that many remain, but they are rotated, new elements are added, depending on the situations that force people to take the decision to migrate. What do I mean by that?, if it is true that most people migrate for economic reasons, to these factors others are added, even factors in the country's macroeconomic, that cause general crisis at unemployment, violence levels, a natural phenomenon, crucial in the increase of the migratory flow ... " (Interview PMH-CEG).

To the structural aspects such as poverty and land problems, in the past 15 years a number of factors linked to the global economic crisis and the occurrence of natural weather events that deviate from the normal range (droughts and rainy seasons) have impacted in agricultural production systems as well as the livelihoods of the population, especially the rural population, with effects on the dynamics of migration. The exemplifications of the crisis in coffee prices in 2000 are very recurrent, which led to a massive influx of people, as listed in the stories.

"... In the history of migration in Guatemala, we mention the coffee crisis in 2000 which led to a massive outflow of people; then there is plenty of incidence of migration flows in storms and natural disasters, in cases like Honduras has been devastating. Recently, the rust disease increased migration in southern Mexico. As for drought, it has come to our attention that as to the origin of the flows, there is growing interest from the east, what we have not reviewed is the specific source. We see that the factors leading to migration are not only economic, or social, but that natural phenomena affects as we have mentioned before ... " (Interview PMH-CEG).

To CONAMIGUA, the main reason or reasons that leads people to the decision to migrate, in order of importance are:

- a) Economic reasons, job search for subsistence
- b) Construction of housing
- c) Family reunification
- d) Violence, threats or extortion

These factors must also be taken into account in addition to the ones of family or personal order, that have nothing to do with the above, which in isolation may have no impact, but when analyzed globally if they have an impact on migration flows, such as cases of irresponsible parenting, family debts or misdemeanors.

"...young heads of households" migrate alot, meaning, that due to the irresponsible fatherhood and motherhood or family breakdown, many young people in our country have to take over the maintenance of their brothers. This, due to the lack of employment opportunities in the country, and sometimes they are large families, leads them to migrate to send remittances to support their brothers. Another reason for migration, although on a smaller scale is when people have debts here and want to flee to avoid being caught, or cause them physical harm; and also to be able to pay those debts ... " (Interview CONAMIGUA).

6.4.2 Profiles and characteristic of migrants

For the Pastoral Care of Human Mobility of the Episcopal Conference of Guatemala, in the country exists an information gap in relation to reliable statistics regarding the migrant population and destinations. To this must be added the "irregular and unauthorized" feature of the dynamics of migration in Guatemala, a situation that does not allow certain quantification and update of information. However, are taken as constants the following aspects:

- There is a strong indigenous presence,
- There is a strong presence of migration from rural areas,
- Migration of children oscillate from 10 to 17 years.
- Global migration, with ages between, mostly 17 and 35 year.
- Male migration is stronger than female migration, but it is growing every day. There are increasingly migrating women and households.
- Education levels are mostly low.
- Migration strategies of people depend on their economic means.
- There is no single cause that leads to the final decision to migrate, but a combination of several causes.
- Migration is stronger in departments at the borders.
- The migration of people from the capital city is increasing and is linked to a high percentage of violence
- The places of origin of migrants is located on the map in places of higher prevalence of poverty, exclusion and inequality. Since they leave, they are vulnerable and in a situation of disadvantage by their lack of ability to negotiate and the propensity to abuse and lack of respect for their human rights. (Interview PMH-CEG)

The profile of migrants, is as complex and varied as the causes and characteristics of the population (whether it is urban or rural). Generally it is considered that people from families with access to material and financial assets are those most likely to migrate, however, in recent years there have been cases of people living in poverty, who migrated to the United States.

"... In general, there is the idea or assumption that people who migrate have some resources (to hire a coyote, they must pay amounts between 50 thousand and 60 thousand quetzals) but note that it is not like that. Most people who leave, are very poor people, who do not carry money. That since they pass to Mexican territory, they begin

to work as farm workers, day laborers, domestic workers, waiters, etc. and that is how they manage to save a little for another part of the way. In these cases, the migrants take 3 to 6 months on the way from Mexico to the United States. During this time they are victims of labor exploitation, collection, bribes, violations and abuses of many kinds ... " (Interview CONAMIGUA).

The Pastoral Care of Migrants, considers two profiles of migrants, especially if they are young:

- a) On one hand they have their life project: the American dream they want to achieve;
- b) Then there are the young like the ones from the West, that is not a matter of a life project, but migrate for economical reasons to complement their income and obtain additional resources that enable them to improve their lives: education, health, housing construction, and so on.. (Interview PMH-CEG).

6.4.3 The relationship between migration and social conflict

Overall, it is considered that although Guatemala has high levels of social conflict in many areas, this has no decisive influence on migration. Although warned of the need for further analysis considering regional differences and characteristics of the population, such as rural areas and urban areas, although issues have been addressed on a regional basis, they should be evaluated from territorial approaches.

To the Commissioner of the National System of Permanent Dialogue, there are territories, especially the border, where it links with trafficking of persons, with the migrant flows and organized crime, without them necessarily influencing the migration of persons.

"... This does not happen in Guatemala, unless we could define it in very specific contexts. One cannot see, you absolutely are indiscriminately killing to say that people here are going for that But still you find a flow of strong migration in the East, which has nothing to do with violence, but are other conditions that make them migrate, even tradition ... "(Interview SNDP).

"While it is true that there are more cases of people who migrate because of violence, I do not see that this factor is very significant, perhaps cases of people who are directly threaten and therefore migrate, but the truth is that in Guatemala we all are at risk because of violence. Extortion has spread and is also due to migration, and (by) gang recruitment. These phenomena of violence affect mainly people from the Capital. However in the West or East of the country, the reasons are mainly poverty. This is interesting, because the Guatemalan territory is so diverse, that depending on where people live, that will be the reasons motivating them to migrate, because it is not the same the Capital as the West or Dry Corridor. But I do want to emphasize that the main reason for migration remains the economic ... " (Interview CONAMIGUA).

6.4.3.1 *The incidence of deportees in social*

As a starting point, it is pertinent the warning of the Pastoral Care of Migrants in relation to the widespread idea, and to some extent shared by the people on the stigmatization of deportees, as troublemakers, a fallacy that not only affects the dignity of people but also has impacts on the family, social and workplace areas.

"... We believe that it is a stigma that we do not want to be spread, and we do not want it to have echo. This part of the violence is the great concern around the flow of deportees, it is something that makes sense in a cultural country like ours, where we want to blame always the outsiders, and that the threat comes from outside. I see this more as a concern for what is built and what can be echoed in the near future, as communities assume that the threat comes from outside, with the deportees, as well as with the gangs, what happens is that young people do not commit crimes in their own communities, by the punishments that may suffer as everybody knows them, but they go to commit a crime to neighboring communities ... " (Interview PMH-CEG).

"... What we've seen around this is an issue of failure, emotional, which can lead to violence, because the person feels a failure because did not reach its target, returns penniless and in debt. We have not systematized this, but there has not been personal issues noticeable that have generated violence. It would be interesting to study the effects of that guilt (that sentiment of guilt) ... " (Interview PMH-CEG).

"... If we talk of conflict, it is necessary to expose the problem of deportees or returned because you have the perception that with the deportation the main problem is that families are separated, and is not, as 75% of the returned/deported persons are captured or intercepted at the border, many have not spent a day in the USA, in the way they were captured and returned. These cases are the worst, because people come to Guatemala with nothing, no job, they left with no money and came back worse, without money and in debt. This is when they take advantage of them because lenders, or sometimes coyotes, foreclose, or take away their piece of land or the house they had. This is a situation that leaves them completely adrift ... " (Interview CONAMIGUA).

6.4.4 *The relationship between migration and food security*

There a consensus at the instances level where situations such as food insecurity or lack of food at the household, results in irregular migration flows in Guatemala, a problem that is related to other major elements such as access to land, availability of employment and consequences on production. Although this view differs from the results of the survey presented in previous sections where the population believes that the lack of opportunity for jobs and economic situations force people to migrate, you can find the link to the problem of inequality and lack of opportunities.

"... A large percentage of people migrate because of food insecurity and hunger. When people have, even tortillas and beans to eat, they stay in Guatemala, but when they get desperate and decide to migrate is when they do not have even that to feed their children. We are talking about people in poverty and extreme poverty who have no food

to eat, adult men or single mothers are in these conditions and decide to migrate, although they fear, but feel it is worse to do nothing and starve here. This happens more in large, rural families living from agriculture. Keep in sight there is a decrease in harvests of the people and the social problems that this entails ... " (Interview CONAMIGUA).

"... If you look at the phenomena that are associated with the agrarian matter, itself produces displacement in the country, from the people who go to work in Mexico, to the ones that travel to the South Coast farms to work in the sugar factories. Clearly the objective conditions of life of the population have a lot of weight: lack of opportunity, lack of wage, displacement to the farms, the rust impacted very much, greatly lowered wages in the field, etc. All these very specific phenomena, tend to generate survival mechanisms ... "(Interview SNDP).

CHAPTER VII. CHALLENGES OF THE COUNTRY REGARDING MIGRATION, SOCIAL CONFLICT AND FOOD INSECURITY

1. The socioeconomic status of households surveyed is mostly poor by having lower incomes than minimum wage, because over 70% of respondents reported income between Q800.00 to Q2,400.00. Crossing the data, a third part indicates that their main income-generating activity is agriculture and a lower percentage servicing and trading. This situation constitutes a major indicator of precariousness in which the population of four municipalities by registering a similar trend in the percentages of the elements assessed.
2. In terms of the impact at home by social conflicts, occasional conflicts over land, protests and theft cover between 23% and 28% of households, and a smaller percentage, 10% to 18 % of households are affected by extortion, threats and violence caused by gangs. A minimum of households according to respondents, would be affected by other forms of social conflict such as violence by drug trafficking, threats, kidnapping and extorsions.. Over half of the respondents indicated that they have never been affected by any of these manifestations of social conflict.
3. The causes of conflict are many and these are given according to regional contexts. Overall, it is stated that the lack of employment, lack of education, poverty, migration, inequality and food insecurity are social problems affecting peace and social tranquility. While corruption, lack of public services are issues mentioned by respondents in smaller percentage, which emphasizes its presence in the minds of the people, without these being seen as the major primary causes of social conflict.

It is important to emphasize, that at the level of municipalities programs or projects focused in handling the problem of social conflict in all its manifestations, and actions aimed at improving the economic situation of the population indirectly fulfill the function of addressing the causes of social conflict.

It is interesting how government programs are recognized as actions that help reduce the levels of conflict at the level of municipalities. This recognition by the population, it is argued in the previous data, where it links the main causes of social conflict, the problems of unemployment, poverty, lack of education and inequality.

4. With regard to the deportees, it is stated that they have little impact on the cause of social conflict, a situation that can be contrasted with the stigmatization to which they are target from the population. It is important to differentiate the deportees (those who have lived in the United States) and returnees (who failed to reach their final destination).

Generally the deportees, because they have lived in different conditions than those in their place of origin, are implementers of different practices, which usually are causes of discord among the community. This leads to situations such as public scandals, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, among other unlawful practices.

5. It was not possible to establish, in the case of the municipalities studied, a close relationship between social conflict and famine or food insecurity, remaining as the leading cause access to land for agricultural production and other natural resources, that in connection with other factors such as alcoholism, unemployment, family problems, natural disasters, domestic violence, loans, low harvest in agricultural plots, theft, mismanagement of resources, discrimination, poor education, increase the vulnerability of families in situations of famine and food insecurity

The existence of programs or projects that address the problem of food and nutrition insecurity at the municipal level, is little known by the population that is just under one quarter, demonstrating not only ignorance of these programs or projects, but the magnitude of the problem at the household level. It stands separately the government actions through different entities and the support of development agencies in the locality, without articulating the *Plan Hambre Cero* and all its components and the actions that it developes.

6. Social conflicts have little effect on the migration of the population, and when they do, is in a small percentage of the population. In general the main cause of national and international migration at the level of households, is the lack of jobs and low wages, poverty, which shows that the main motivations for migration, is rooted mainly in the lack of economic, labor and political opportunities.
7. It is important to emphasize the role of government in the issue of migration. The perception is that the problem is not a priority in the agenda to the state, even with the financial and economic returns accounting for various sectors (such as banking and telecommunications companies), product of the remittances that are not considered at the level of public and financial policies.
8. On the other hand there is little interest in research investment, considering the multiple causes and manifestations of problems. In the immigration case, it is usually approached from a single focus, which shows weaknesses in establishing links with other subjects that can generate valuable information for comprehensive care with other subjects as well as in other lines of further research.

- a. Migration and gender
- b. Migration and sexual violence
- c. Childhood and migration
- d. Youth and migration
- e. Citizen security and migration
- f. Climate change and migration
- g. Status of deportees. Emotional, economic and family implications
- h. Migration in rural and urban areas

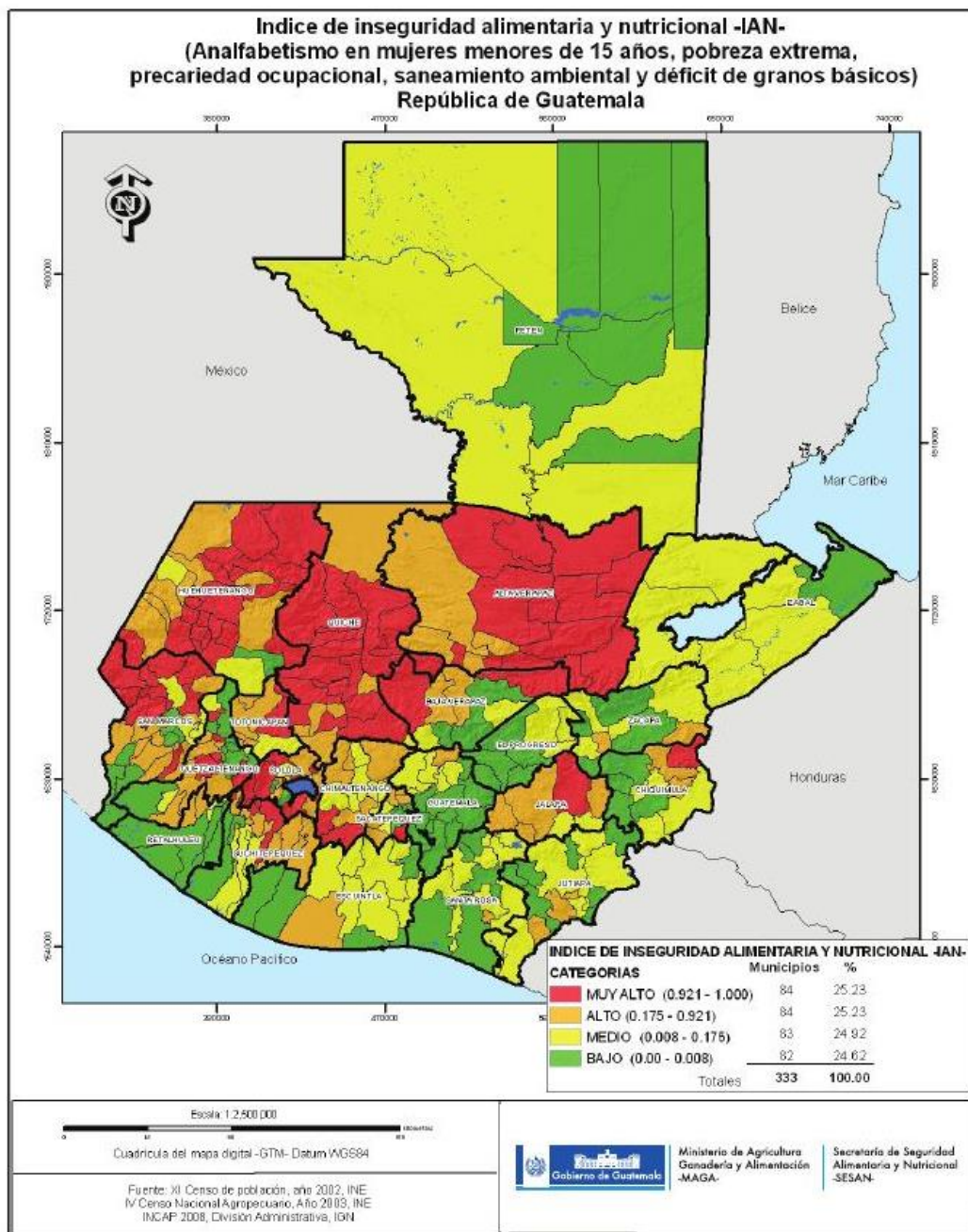
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ANNEXES

Annex 1. Map of precarious employment rate.



Source: SESAN 2012:40

* Index of food and nutrition insecurity -IAN- (Illiteracy in women younger than 15 years, extreme poverty, precarious employment, sanitation and shortage of basic grains.)
Republic of Guatemala

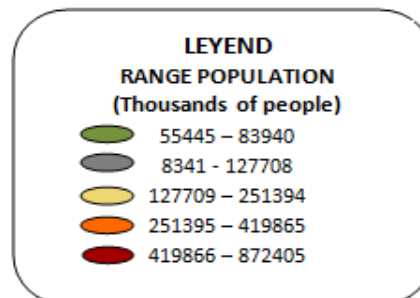
INDEX OF FOOD SECURITY AND NUTRITION -IAN- CATEGORIES		
	Municipalities	%
■ VERY HIGH (0.921 – 1.000)	84	25.23
■ HIGH (0.175 – 0.921)	84	25.23
■ MEDIUM (0.008 – 0.175)	83	24.92
■ LOW (0.00 – 0.008)	82	24.62
Totals	333	100.00

Annex 2. Map of the population beneficiary of remittances.

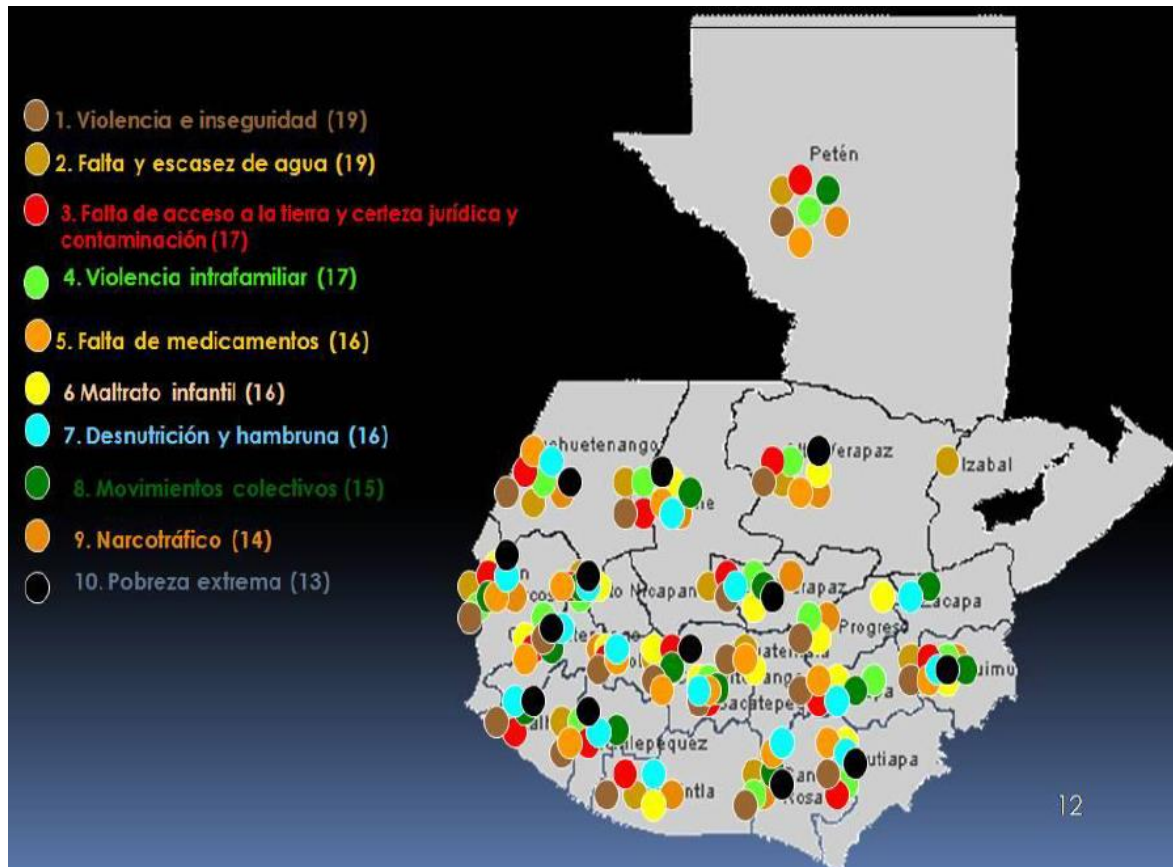


Source: *INCEDES*

*MAP OF BENEFICIARIES OF REMITTANCES
BY DEPARTMENT (2008), GUATEMALA, C.A.



Annex 3. Map of social conflict in Guatemala 2011



- 1. Violence and insecurity (19)
- 2. Lack and scarcity of water (19)
- 3. Lack of access to land and legal certainty and pollution (17)
- 4. Domestic violence (17)
- 5. Lack of medicine (16)
- 6. Child abuse (16)
- 7. Malnutrition and famine (16)
- 8. Collective movements (15)
- 9. Drug trafficking (14)
- 10. Extreme poverty (13)

Annex 4. Focus group guide

QUESTIONS GUIDE FOCUS GROUPS

Presentation

Good morning/afternoon, on behalf of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences FLACSO-Guatemala, I want to thank you for accepting our invitation to participate in this focus group where we will talk about migration, food security and social conflict in the municipality of (**name the municipality**). My name is (**name of facilitator**), I am the moderator of this session and I would like everyone to participate, I want to tell you that you are perfectly free to express your opinions, comments and thoughts.

To tell you about this project, we share with you that FLACSO jointly with the Conflict and Development Foundation and the Conflict and Development Texas A&M University Center. both from Texas, United States, are running a research project that aims to identify and analyze the relations between social conflict, food security and migration in four regions of Guatemala, also, identify and characterize innovative proposals developed in these areas to address these problems.

Objectives of the meeting

The objective of this meeting is to obtain relevant information on the problems of food insecurity, migration and social conflict in the municipality of (**name of municipality**), as well as actions that the various entities are carrying out to improve the situation of the population and results obtained.

Methodology of the meeting

For the development of our meeting, we felt it is important to establish the following rules:

- Only one person can talk at a time, who will have to ask to speak in order to do so.
- While the person who has asked to speak is talking, others listen.
- Do not interrupt the exposure of people speaking.
- Respect the views of individuals, we should not criticize it.
- Interventions should be concrete, we will control the time in order to facilitate the participation of all present. (Summary of ideas)

Finally, we let you know that we will be recording the conversation in a collective voice recorder for later analysis of the dialogued. Our dialogue answers a series of questions that we will be launching, for you to share your opinions, experiences, insights and knowledge.

Introduction

Indicated the above, we proceed to initiate the activity, stating your name, institution that you represent and their main activities.

QUESTIONS ABOUT MIGRATION AT MUNICIPALITY LEVEL

1. Could you tell us how is the situation of migration in the municipality?
2. To what places people migrate?
3. What are the socio economic conditions of people who migrate to different places? (Based on the above answers, specify the question of the places to where they migrate)
4. Are there programs or projects that seek to reduce migration of people in the municipality?
5. Which entities are those running these programs and projects?
6. Are there deportees in the community who had been a long time in the United States?
7. Today, are these people in the municipality or out of town?
8. What do deportees that are in the municipality do?

QUESTIONS ABOUT SOCIAL CONFLICT

9. Could you tell us in relation to the manifestations of social conflict prevailing in the municipality? (consider the type of social conflict considered for the study)
10. What kind of social conflict is causing the emigration of people from the municipality?
11. Do you consider that social conflict is affecting the food security of the population? How is it affecting?
12. Are there programs or projects (or actions or technologies) that seek to reduce or attend social conflict in the municipality?
13. What entities are those involved in the development of these programs or projects?
14. Do deportees or people who have returned from the United States influence in the social conflict? If yes, how?

QUESTIONS ABOUT FOOD SECURITY

15. Could you tell us about how you visualize the situation of food insecurity in the municipality?
16. From your perspective, what are the causes of food insecurity?
17. Do you consider that food insecurity is causing migration of people to other places?
18. Do you consider that the situation of hunger is creating social conflict in the municipality?
19. Are there programs or projects (or actions or technologies) that seek to reduce or attend food security in the municipality?
20. What entities are those involved in the development of these programs or projects?

CLOSING QUESTIONS OF GENERAL CHARACTER

21. Could you mention what they think about the economic situation of the population of the municipality?
22. What is produced in the municipality? ¿How are products commercialized (agricultural, handcrafted, industrial, etc.)?
23. What time of the year scarces the income generation (independent or salaried work)?
24. What do people do during this period?

Anexo 5. Inquiry form for deportees

SURVEY ON CONFLICT, FOOD SECURITY AND MGRATION

No. of survey: _____ Date: _____

Name of interviewer: _____

This form seeks to gather information to define the interactions between social conflict, food security and migration in Guatemala. The information we must collect in this section is accurate, timely, based on knowledge based on the knowledge that the population generally has. The researcher will gather the responses of the interviewees, in public spaces in the municipalities identified by the research team. The researcher must record the answers in the form in an accurate and clear way.

I. General Data

- P 1. Place of the interview: _____
- P 2. Gender of the respondent: Masculine Femenine P 3. Age of the respondent
- P 4. Are you a resident of this place? Yes No P 5. ¿From what place?
- P 6. Are you the head of household? (If yes, go to question 8) Yes No
- P 7. What is your relationship to the household head?
 Spouse Child Parent Other (please specify)
- P 8. ¿What is the monthly household income, on average?
 Less than Q800 Q800-1600) Q1600-2400 More than Q2400
- P 9. What percentage of your income comes from activities: Agricultural _____% Services _____ %
 Trade _____% Others _____%

II. Social conflict in the region

P10. To what extent have affected your home the following conflicts during the last two years?

Affectation	Never	Occasionally	Very often	Always	No opinion
Land conflicts					
Protests					
Gang violence					
Theft					
Drug trafficking violence					
Threats					
Kidnappings					
Extorsions					
Others					

- P11. In your opinion, what is the primary cause of social conflict in your municipality?
- Inequality Lack of education Corruption Food insecurity
- Poverty
- Lack of employment Migrants Deportees Lack of access to public services
- What is the second cause of social conflict in your municipality?
- Inequality Lack of education Corruption Food insecurity
- Poverty
- Lack of employment Migrants Deportees Lack of access to public services

What is the third cause of social insecurity in your municipality?

- Inequality Lack of education Corruption Food insecurity
 Poverty
 Lack of employment Migrants Deportees Lack of access to public services

P 11.1 Do you know of programs or projects that seek to reduce social conflict in the municipality?
Yes ____ No _____ (If answer is No, go to question 12)

P 11.2 Could you give the name of the program and what entity is implementing it? _____

III. Interaction of social conflict and food security

P 12. Has conflict generated hunger or lack of food problems in your home?
 Never Occasionally Sometimes Frequently (If your response is Never, go to question 14)

P 13. ¿What type of conflict has caused the situation of hunger or lack of food in your home?
 Conflicts over land Protests Gang violence Theft
 Drug trafficking violence Threats Kidnapping Extortions
 Others _____
Why? _____

P 14. Over the past 12 months, have you worried that you will run out of food at home?
 Yes No

P 15. Has hunger or food shortages led to some social conflict in your community or region?
 Never Occasionally Sometimes Frequently (If you answer never, go to question 17)

P 16. ¿What kind of social conflict is associated with hunger or lack of food in your community?
 Conflicts over land Protests Gang violence Theft
 Drug trafficking violence Threats Kidnapping Extortions
 Otros _____
Why? _____

P 16.1 Do you know of programs or projects that seek to reduce food insecurity in the municipality?
Yes ____ No _____ (If your answer is No, go to question 17)

P 16.2 Could you give the name of the program and what entity is implementing it? _____

IV. Interaction of social conflict with migration

P 17. Has social conflict generated migration situations in your community?
 Never Rarely Sometimes Frequently (If you answer never, go to question 21)

P 18. What type of conflict is the main cause of migration in your home?
 Conflicts over land Protests Gang violence Theft
 Drug trafficking violence Threats Kidnapping Extortions
 Otros _____
Why? _____

P 19. To what places are household members migrating before a situation of social conflict?
 United States Other regions of Guatemala Other countries _____

- P 20. What type of migration do household members perform?
 Permanent Temporary
- P 21. What types of work do household members perform outside of the community?

- P 22. Do you know of any situation in which migrants or deportees have generated social conflict?
 Sí No (Si responde no, pase a pregunta 23.1)
- P 23. What type of conflict usually is associated with migrant or deportees.
 Conflicts over land Protests Gang violence Theft
 Drug trafficking violence Threats Kidnapping Extortions
 Otros _____
 Why? _____
- P 23.1 Do you know of programs or projects that seek to reduce migration in the municipality?
 Yes ____ No _____ (If your answer is no, go to question 24)
- P 23.2 Could you give the name of the program and what entity is implementing it? _____

V. Food security and migration

- P 24. Has hunger or lack of food generated migration situations in your community?
 Never Rarely Sometimes Frequently
- P 25. Does your household have a family member who has migrated from hunger or lack of food?
 Yes No (If you answer no, finish the survey)
- P 26. To which place did your family emigrated? _____
- P 27. ¿To what places do members of your household generally migrate by famine or lack of food?
 United States Other regions of Guatemala Other countries _____

Annex. 6. Inquiry form for deportees

SURVEY ON CONFLICT, FOOD SECURITY AND MIGRATION SURVEY FOR DEPORTEES

No. of survey: _____ Date: _____

Name of interviewer: _____

This questionnaire seeks to gather information to establish the connection between migration, food insecurity and social conflict in Guatemala. The researcher will collect the responses of respondents in the Migration Office. The researcher must record the answers in a precise and clear way.

Filter question

1. ¿To what type of situation obeyed your decision of traveling to the United States?

01 Violence / social conflict. (*Complete the questionnaire. Go to question 2*)

02 Lack of food. (*Complete the questionnaire: go to question 5*)

03 Job search. (*Finish*)

04 Family reunion. (*Finish*)

A.

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2. ¿Which of these conflicts motivated your trip to the United States?

01 Conflict over land

02 Protests

03 Gang violence

04 Theft

05 Conflicts for drug trafficking

06 Threats

07 Kidnapping

08 Extortions

09 Others: _____

A.

--	--

3. ¿In your opinion, what are the three main causes of social conflict in your community or municipality?

01 Inequality

02 Lack of education

03 Corruption

04 Food Insecurity

05 Poverty

06 Lack of employment

07 Migrants

08 Deportees

09 Lack of access to public services

A.

1st.		
2nd.		
3rd.		

4. ¿Do you know any programs or projects that seek to reduce social conflict/violence in your community or municipality?

01 Yes

02 No.

A.

--	--

5. ¿Hunger or lack of food in your community generated migration in your community?
 01 Never
 02 Occasionally
 03 Sometimes
 04 Frecuently
- A.
6. In addition to you, ¿is there any family member in your home that has migrated due to hunger or lack of food?
 01 Yes
 02 No.
- A.
7. ¿To which place has your family member emigrated? _____
 04 United States
 05 To other regions of Guatemala
 06 Other countries (specify): _____
- A.
8. ¿Do you know of the existence of programs or projects that seek to reduce hunger or lack of food situation in your community or municipality?
 04 Yes
 05 No.
- A.