

Voices of the Affected

Experiences of Chixoy dam development, subsequent reparation payments and claim making within COCAHICH



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Experiences of Chixoy dam development, subsequent reparation payments and claim making within COCAHICH

Culturele Antropologie en Ontwikkelingssociologie
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Figure 1: Map of Guatemala¹

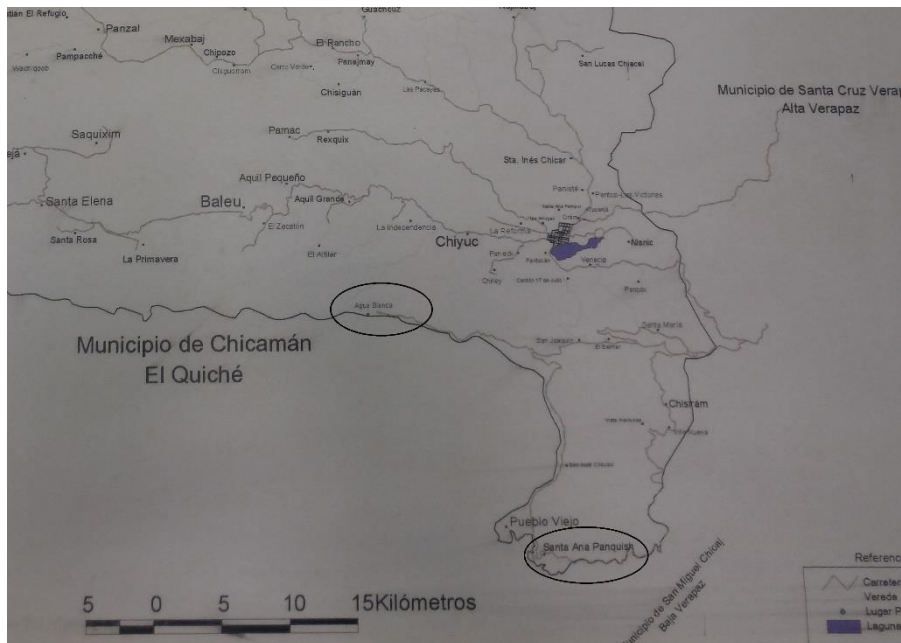


Figure 2: Map of the municipality of San Cristóbal Verapaz, with Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix²

¹ http://www.unicef.org/french/hac2011/images/har11_map_guatemala.jpg, accessed: 24-06-2016

² Photograph of a map in San Cristóbal's townhall, taken on 21-04-2016.

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Tamara Dijkstra & Joanne Ligtermoet

Introduction

After driving through the mountains for an hour, standing in the back of a pickup truck, we arrive at the entrance of the Chixoy dam. There is a checkpoint, and two security guards come up to us, asking us why we want to enter. We explain to him we have a meeting with an engineer working for INDE, who will give us a tour of the dam. They know him and we are allowed to wait for him at the gate. He arrives in his car and drives us to a small office with an outside area overlooking the reservoir of the Chixoy dam. He tells us “it is good what COCAHICH does, fighting for the people and negotiating with the government. The government has the obligation to develop the communities. Many people suffered because of the armed conflict, but it is also time to forget and change the mentality. The children cannot grow up with the same hatred that their parents and grandparents have.”

During the course of our two-month fieldwork, we investigated the consequences of the Chixoy dam, a large hydroelectric development project at the intersection of the regions Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz and Quiché, Guatemala. The Chixoy dam, built during Guatemala’s armed conflict, was completed in 1982 and involved massacres and forced displacements. The livelihood strategies of the communities close to the Chixoy dam were forcibly changed, which has never been compensated. This has resulted in the unification of the 33 affected communities in the organization COCAHICH (the Committee of Communities Affected by the Construction of the Chixoy Hydroelectric Dam), that is fighting for reparations. Our research has focused on COCAHICH’s claim making and identity politics, as well as the consequences of the process of the reparation payments for the communities and regional relations.

This thesis is about the impact of development projects on people who are largely unable to profit from them. While the Chixoy dam - and with it many other hydroelectric projects – indeed delivers green energy to many of Guatemala’s citizens, it has had serious consequences for the livelihood strategies of the communities surrounding the Chixoy dam, who are now living in conditions of serious poverty.

Our theoretical framework discusses the encounter between land grabbers and the people whose land has been grabbed – the clash between the state and indigenous claim makers - and the subsequent mobilization of indigenous communities.

The construction of the Chixoy dam involved practices of resource extraction and land grabbing. These practices stem from neoliberal agendas, as countries need more and cheaper energy. The Guatemalan state has grabbed land and displaced indigenous people, who are often largely neglected by the state. However, they have mobilized to fight for recognition, inclusion and rights. We place this in a broader framework of shifting citizenship regimes (Yashar 2005), focusing on the influence that neoliberal multiculturalism and democratization have had on the mobilization of indigenous people in Latin America.

The change from a corporatist citizenship regime to a neoliberal citizenship regime has politicized ethnic cleavages and this has resulted in the mobilization of indigenous peoples fighting for recognition and citizenship rights (Yashar 2005). Guatemala's indigenous mobilization has happened in a unique way, being largely unable to unite, which resulted in splintered indigenous activism. Hence indigenous movements have emerged, using various strategies in order to gain recognition and rights. Identity politics are often crucial, with the strategic use of self-essentializing identities, emphasizing one's indigenusness. Furthermore, by employing the human rights discourse, the fights have been internationalized.

In the case of the Chixoy dam, the affected communities have organized themselves in COCAHICH. They have been fairly successful in their demands for reparations from the Guatemalan government. In 2014 COCAHICH and the Guatemalan president Otto Perez reached an agreement on the implementation of the 2010 Plan de Reparación that COCAHICH has developed, and in 2015 the first reparation payments were received.

This research includes both a local and a regional analysis. We explore people's experiences of damages of Chixoy dam development and subsequent reparation payments, and we analyze COCAHICH's claim making and identity politics. This has led us to the following research question: how do the the consequences of Chixoy dam development and subsequent reparation payments influence the claim making of affected communities?

In order to answer this research question, we have developed five sub-questions, and each chapter will elaborate one sub-question.

First, our research has focused on the consequences of Chixoy dam development as experienced by the inhabitants of the affected communities, with the goal of understanding how livelihood strategies have been changed by the dam. Hence this focus on livelihood strategies gives us insight into the consequences of Chixoy dam development on a micro-

level. Our first sub-question therefore reads: how has the Chixoy dam influenced livelihood strategies?

The lack of compensation for damages of Chixoy dam development has resulted in the mobilization of the 33 affected communities in the organization of COCAHICH. The second sub-question focuses on their identity politics and claim making, to explore their use of notions of indigenusness in their fight for recognition and rights. This question reads: what is the form and role of claim making within COCAHICH?

Our third sub-question explores the current process of the reparation payments. Some families have already received their compensation, while many others are still waiting. This micro-analysis attempts to understand if the reparation payments are sufficient compensation for the damages of Chixoy dam development. Thus, this questions reads: how do the reparation payments influence livelihood strategies?

The next sub-question still concerns the reparation payments, but proceeds to a macro-level analysis of the effects of the reparation payments on COCAHICH and on relations within and between communities. Since COCAHICH consists of 33 affected communities of different Maya groups and *ladinos*, and since only a few families have received their payments, this question aims to gain insight into regional relations, as influenced by the reparation payments. The fourth sub-questions thus reads: how do the reparation payments influence relations within and between communities?

Finally, our fifth sub-question aims to bring all the previously discussed issues together, in order to answer the question: have the reparation payments and surrounding claim making contributed to a feeling of recognition as indigenous citizens? This chapter concerns both the inhabitants of the affected communities and COCAHICH, to see what the reparation payments and surrounding claim making mean for their experiences as indigenous citizens and for their relation to the state.

This thesis is the product of two months of qualitative anthropological research in the region of Alta Verapaz, Guatemala. During our field research, we employed different methods in order to be able to answer our research question. Our research consisted predominantly of life-story interviews in order to gain insight into the situation before the Chixoy dam and into the change of livelihood strategies. Furthermore, we employed semi-structured interviews with the leaders of COCAHICH. To complement our interview data, we also employed

document analyses by exploring books and documents provided to us by the presidents of the COCODES of different communities.

Extensive participant observation was not possible, as we were not living in an affected community. Instead, during our field research, we were staying with a host family in San Cristóbal Verapaz, and reaching the affected communities Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca thus involved lengthy travels. Nevertheless, by developing a friendly relationship with various employees of the museum in San Cristóbal, we were able to visit and explore multiple affected communities and interview the inhabitants.

Many people are still scared to share their experiences of what happened to them and their families in the past, but because of our connections to the museum and CECEP³, we were able to develop rapport with the communities' inhabitants and gain their trust, and we were thus able to gather the relevant information we needed.

We always ensured that we informed people about the purpose of our visit and our anthropological research, and we always emphasized that we did not represent any organization or government. A guide, working with San Cristóbal's museum, always accompanied us, helping us with the local dialects and with the development of rapport. Hence we were always conscious about informed consent, making sure people understood what we were doing and then letting them decide whether or not they wanted to participate in our research.

We were not allowed to record our conversations with the inhabitants, because of the sensitive nature of the issues discussed. We therefore worked together during all conversations, with one focusing on the interview and the other taking notes. As previously mentioned, our research consists of a local as well as a regional analysis. We decided to investigate both levels together, without developing a clear task division, because of the complicated situations in the communities. By doing so, we believe we were able to gain the highest amount of relevant information.

However, inhabitants of the communities are pursuing a political goal, which probably biased the information they gave us. For both COCAHICH's leaders and the inhabitants of the affected communities it is crucial to filter the information in order to maintain their (international) support. For this reason we talked to many people outside the communities who still have a lot of knowledge about the subject matter. The employees of the museum and

³ Centro Comunitario Educativo Pokomchi (CECEP). This is an indigenous non-profit educational organization that focuses on conserving Pokomchi culture.

employees of INDE in particular have provided us with more critical ideas about the communities, which we used in further questions and observations.

This first chapter of this thesis consists of the theoretical framework relevant for our research, focusing on neoliberal practices of resource extraction and land grabbing, indigenous mobilization and identity politics and claims of citizenship. As these debates are pertinent to the Chixoy dam, Chapter 2 applies the theoretical explorations to the Guatemalan context and our case study. Then in the following chapters we present our empirical findings.

Chapter 3 focuses on the inhabitants' experiences of the construction of the dam and the changed livelihood strategies, focusing on the communities Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca. Having a clear understanding of the current situation, we move on to the (mostly) indigenous mobilization that has followed. Chapter 4 elaborates COCAHICH's fight for recognition and rights, focusing on their strategies and discourse. We then move back to a local analysis, and Chapter 5 explores the consequences of the initiated reparations process for livelihood strategies, focusing again on Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca, although these communities have not yet received reparations. Chapter 6 proceeds from there and elaborates the consequences of the initiated reparation process for COCAHICH and for relations within and between communities. The final empirical chapter explores the impact and meaning of the government's apologies and initiation of the reparation process, to see if people are feeling more recognized as (indigenous) citizens.

Finally, in our conclusions we discuss the relevance of all issues presented in relation to our theoretical framework and we answer our research question.

Chapter 1: Neoliberalism, citizenship and indigenusness

This theoretical study explores the confrontation between indigenous claim makers and the state, and the subsequent mobilization of indigenous communities. Starting with a discussion of the development project, we focus on neoliberal practices of resource extraction and land grabbing, in particular hydroelectric projects. As the state grabs land and forcibly displaces indigenous people, they mobilize to fight for recognition and rights. We place this discussion in a broader framework of shifting citizenship regimes, focusing on the influence that neoliberal multiculturalism and democratization have had on the mobilization of indigenous people in Latin America. The last section of our theoretical background focuses on the indigenous movements that have developed in Latin America and their strategic use of essentialized identities. The context introduces Guatemala, as our case study concerns the Chixoy dam: a hydroelectric project developed during Guatemala's armed conflict, that has forcibly displaced and massacred many indigenous people living there.

1.1 The development project

Joanne Ligtermoet

1.1.1 Neoliberalism

The development project has its roots in the Enlightenment idea that there is progress towards an ideal society. Greig et al. (2007) provide us with an overview of development theory and practice in the 21st century. After the second World War modernization theory came to dominate development thinking. It regarded development as a linear path from traditional society to modern society: the process of modernization, which meant that societies had to go through certain stages in order to reach the end goal of modern society. Dependency theory came to critique this approach, as they saw 'underdevelopment' as the direct consequence of the development of western countries. This can be seen as a part of structuralist approaches that pay attention to the world's power structures and the way developing countries are 'trapped' in these structures.

In the 1980s inequality increased and the Western countries and western-based development economics and theorists recognized the failures of modernization-guided state-led development policies, while also rejecting the structuralist critiques. Neoliberalism became the key approach: a market-oriented development with minimal state control and export-oriented industrialization. Konings points to neoliberalism's self-description as the subordination of governmental authority to the pressures of disembedding markets (2012:89).

Indeed, there seems to be a ‘state versus markets’ dichotomy in neoliberal thinking. This is true insofar as it concerns the importance of free trade, as states are forced to open their markets in order to allow for global free trade. Konings however argues that neoliberal practices were never about the subordination of public and private actors to the market, but that it involved the creation of new institutional mechanisms of control (Konings 2012:86). On the other hand, as Greig et al. point out, the financial architecture of neoliberal development (the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO) have come to dominate international flows of capital. Critics have argued that these institutions have created a blind spot to the issue of inequality, or even that they have institutionalized the system of global economic inequality (Greig et al. 2007:125).

Neoliberalism regards globalization as ultimately positive and it presumes that with free trade all countries are able to move forward. This approach however is ethnocentric and fails to recognize historical inequalities and power. Furthermore, neoliberalism has generated new inequalities and exclusion. Neoliberal reforms in Latin America in the 1980s and the 1990s inserted a new instability into the countryside as poverty and inequality rates rose (Yashar 2005:67). Biglaiser and DeRouen Jr. (2004) also point out that in Latin America strong economic recovery is more the exception than the rule, despite more than 15 years of neoliberal market-oriented reforms.

1.1.2 Resource extraction and land grabbing in Latin America

Up until 1945 Latin American countries had different experiences of growth, which points to differing relations with international capital and markets. From 1945 to 1973 larger countries industrialized, agriculture was largely neglected and income distribution worsened, although standards of living improved. However, inflation became a widespread problem and in 1973 the price of oil quadrupled. There was a sudden increase in external funds and a sudden withdrawal after 1982 (Thorp 1998:8-9). The 1980s became the ‘lost decade’. Countries were unable to solve their debt crises and were therefore forced to neoliberal adjustments and had to give up democratic control of their economies to international actors.

Bebbington argues that since the last decade there has been a deepening of the extractive economy in Latin America. According to him resource extraction could be defined as the history of Latin America. Since the mid-1990s there has been a rapid expansion in the mineral and hydrocarbon sectors. Foreign, as well as domestic, investment has grown and this

has led to an expansion of resource extraction in new areas and an intensifying of extraction in many areas with long traditions of mining and hydrocarbons (Bebbington 2009:7-8).

Land grabbing is part of this resource extraction as it grabs land (or land control) in order to use its resources for large-scale projects. The people who own the land are forcibly displaced, often without any form of compensation. In a context of neoliberalism and free trade, many resources are needed and indigenous people in particular have to make way for neoliberal needs. Borras et al. have developed the following definition of contemporary land grabbing:

Contemporary land grabbing is the capturing of control of relatively vast tracts of land and other natural resources through a variety of mechanisms and forms that involve large-scale capital that often shifts resource use orientation into extractive character, whether for international or domestic purposes, as capital's response to the convergence of food, energy and financial crises, climate change mitigation imperatives, and demands for resources from newer hubs of global capital (Borras et al. 2012:851).

There seems to be a state-market dichotomy within neoliberalism thinking, as it often assumed that states have lost their importance. However, when it comes to resource extraction and land grabbing, the state is often the 'grabber', although possibly forced to do so by or in alliance with global forces (Borras et al. 2012:859). The problem is that taking what is yours is not considered 'grabbing' (Borras et al. 2011:31). Hence the clash that we will be focusing on is between indigenous people and the state, and less so with international companies and the like.

As becomes apparent in the definition provided by Borras et al., energy is a resource that can be extracted. Hydroelectric projects have become an important part of neoliberalism. Dams created many economic benefits for some, but many large dams failed to meet projected energy and economic goals. However, states have a lot to benefit from hydroelectricity. The costs are relatively low, it is flexible, it avoids hazards and indirect health effects and it creates no waste. In order to be able to provide their middle class with enough (clean) energy, many countries started building hydroelectric dams, as hydroelectric projects produce electrical power through the use of water. But hydro-engineering generates both immediate and long-term societal costs for host communities (Johnston 2010:341). The World Commission on Dams has brought global attention to the social and environmental costs of large dam development. These costs often involved the forced displacement of

indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities, ethnocide and damage to ecosystems (Johnston 2010:341).

1.1.3 (Post-)Development and indigenous people

Drawing on postmodernism, post-development has come to question the whole process of development (Greig et al. 2007:207). Post-development theorists argue that development as it is often does more harm than good and they believe that if the world really wants to improve situations in poorer countries, the only way is by bringing development back to the people. Indeed, Escobar argues that the voices of different groups of people in the 'Third World' have to be listened to and that the awareness of the suffering caused by human institutions and actions has to be renewed (Escobar 1991:678). This is a call for a bottom-up approach. Grand narratives of development tend to ignore local values and potentialities of traditional communities. Furthermore, those on the receiving end of development indeed often gain little from development projects. Although this is true for many, we will be focusing on indigenous people.

Briggs and Sharp argue that the local knowledges of people on the receiving end of the development project must be allowed a more thorough challenge to the agenda (2004:673). Escobar has argued that voices that are local and indigenous to a certain area are deemed to challenge dominant development needs because of their deviation from the norm of Western knowledge. Indeed, indigenous knowledge is not supposed to challenge the content, the structure of the value-system of the current scientific/development worldview (Briggs and Sharp 2004:662,665).

Escobar has noted that peasants were seen in purely economic terms ('seeking a livelihood in the rural areas'), but not as trying to make a whole way of life viable (1995:162). He concludes that 'capitalist regimes undermine the reproduction of socially valued forms of identity; by destroying existing cultural practices, development projects destroy elements necessary for cultural affirmation' (1995:171). This argument has become crucial in identity movements, as they have become a repertoire for protest and the proposal of alternatives. Alternatives to grand narratives of development attempt to incorporate indigenous knowledge in development thinking, as well as de-westernize social emancipation. Popular groups in the 'Third World' have become organized around the defense of cultural difference and the valorization of economic needs and opportunities that are different from those of profit and the market (Escobar 1995:226).

Land grabbing entails an encounter between indigenous claim makers and the ‘grabbers’, and thus leads us to the crucial issue of indigenous rights. The tension between development needs and indigenous rights is mobilizing indigenous communities. As their lands are grabbed, they are demanding compensation. They are often claiming to be the rightful owners of their lands, as their families have been there for centuries. This encounter between indigenous people and people depriving them of their rights (in particular the state) is making apparent that most indigenous people lack basic citizenship rights. Indeed, indigenous movements are fighting for recognition and the rights that they see as belonging to them.

1.2 Contesting citizenship

Joanne Ligtermoet

1.2.1 Citizenship and rights

When states operationalize rights into concrete form, it is about citizenship, which points to the political character of citizenship. Turner proposes the following definition of citizenship:

‘that set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups’ (Turner 1993:2).

Citizenship concerns drawing boundaries: who is and should be a citizen, and who is not? These boundaries are drawn to define and uphold the political community. Another component is the content of citizenship: what rights do citizens have? These components provide the formal context within which societal actors operate (Yashar 2005:50). This notion of citizenship points to the different rights and obligations that are connected with different citizens or social groups within a society. Rights and citizenship are shaped by differing social, political and cultural contexts. Furthermore, in a context of both globalization and localization, the spaces for the construction of citizenship are multi-tiered and perceptions of rights are shaped by both global discourses and local indigenous practices (Gaventa 2002:13-14).

Social citizenship is considered a crucial aspect of any wider notion of citizenship and rights. It focuses on the universal right of citizens to state-guaranteed economic and social arrangements for livelihood and social security. According to Marshall, social citizenship would guarantee the inclusion and participation of all members of society (Dwyer 2010:4).

Contemporary citizenship theory conceptualizes citizenship as practiced rather than as given, and in doing so it aims to bridge the gap between citizen and state (Gaventa 2002:5).

Ellison (1999) warns that a universal view of citizenship right may marginalize the already marginalized and worsen social exclusion (Gaventa 2002:7). This means that considering all citizens the same might hide actual differences within this group, as there are people with less access to resources. A universal view and approach of citizenship will not grant special rights to marginalized groups, who might need them.

This brings us to a discussion of neoliberal multiculturalism. First it is important to note that those with resources, power and knowledge are able to shape definitions of rights and how they are put into practice and they are therefore able to turn these discourses to their advantage. Furthermore, it is unlikely that voices that come from unrecognized identities, such as indigenous people, will be heard.

Latin American states have not historically accepted their ethnically diverse populations as full citizens (Yashar 2005:286). Radcliffe shows how indigenous peoples have been the targets of violence in the context of weak and racialized states, poor guarantee of citizenship rights and lack of development (2007:386). “Neoliberal development prompts indigenous groups to mobilize to demand recognition (as racially discriminated groups whose ethnic recognition under corporatism was removed) and redistribution (a voice in macroeconomic and national decision making)” (Radcliffe 2007:390). A political discourse in which marginalized people could make claims for citizenship rights was created. This brings us to an exploration of the social processes surrounding democratization in Latin America.

1.2.2 Neoliberalism, multiculturalism and indigenous people

During the Latin American military regimes, peasant organizations were suppressed and state programs (some in favor of the indigenous people) were reversed (Yashar 1998:23). There was nearly no political attention for indigenous identification and the state policy was aimed at the adjustment of indigenous people to national culture and values (Jackson and Warren 2005:551). New political opportunities arose in the late-1970s and 1980s due to regime changes. States demilitarized and legalized freedom of associations and freedom of speech.

In the 1980s and 1990s many Latin American states reformed their constitutions in order to recognize their societies as multicultural. Corporatist regimes were replaced by neoliberal citizenship regimes. Dagnino points to two aspects of neoliberal redefinitions of citizenship. First, there is a reduction of the collective meaning to a strictly individualistic understanding. Second, neoliberal discourses establish a connection between citizenship and

the market, and thus came to define the rights of citizens mainly in terms of inclusion in market consumption (Dagnino 2007:2478).

With the transition to democracy, Latin American institutions granted the right to participate as citizens to all individuals, independent of ethnic origins (Yashar 2005:33). This implied extending a series of recognitions and collective entitlements to indigenous people (Sieder 2007:213). Combined with aggressive neoliberal policies, multiculturalism forms part of an emergent governance style. Although one would expect multiculturalism to open spaces for empowerment of indigenous people, Hale argues that ‘‘these reforms tend to empower some while marginalizing the majority’’. The rhetoric of multiculturalism seems to promise to eliminate racial inequity, but the Latin American reforms reconstitute racial hierarchies in more ingrained forms (Hale 2004:16).

Indeed, Sieder points to the concept of ‘neoliberal multiculturalism’: ‘‘a project that recognizes certain aspects of cultural difference while advancing economic policies that contradict indigenous rights to autonomy in practice’’ (Sieder 2007:214). This is similar to Hale’s argument that neoliberalism entails a cultural project of which the essence is a partial acceptance of indigenous people (Hale 2002:509). This is the concept of ‘Indio permitido’, which implies that the state only accepts those indigenous people that conform to the state’s ideas and ideals, and it points to the paradox of multiculturalism.

There is a growing recognition of different cultures, but also a clear affirmation of the limits to that recognition. Indigenous people who support the state’s plans and programs have the space to express ideas and enjoy cultural rights and thus deserve ethnic recognition, while people who fight for rights and autonomy are seen as a threat and are repressed (Fisk 2005:21-22). This is why Hale argues that the increasing indigenous presence ‘in the corridors of power’ should not be equated with indigenous empowerment (Hale 2004:17-18).

Hence Hale points to the built-in limits to spaces of indigenous empowerment. As a first principle, indigenous rights cannot violate the integrity of the productive regime, especially those sectors that are most closely linked to the global economy. This explains why within the development project there is a distinction between policies that are focused on the reduction of poverty - these are heavily supported - and policies intended to reduce inequality. These policies are not as supported, as they tend to criticize the hegemonic project of neoliberalism. Secondly, neoliberal multiculturalism permits indigenous organization only as long as it does not gather enough power to bring basic state privileges - such as deciding the

rights and obligations of all citizens, including their access to resources - into question (Hale 2004:18-19).

Democratization thus opens up spaces where things can happen. While it has expanded political opportunities for the development of civil society, weak or non-democratic state institutions often have restricted political access, participation and local autonomy – driven by a neoliberal logic (Yashar 1998:24). This is especially true for the historically marginalized, such as indigenous people. This brings us to political liberalization and the mobilization of indigenous people. In the spaces that were created by democratization, indigenous people found a way to organize themselves in order to claim citizenship rights.

1.2.3 Indigenous political mobilization in Latin America

Yashar (2005) explains the location and timing of indigenous organizing in Latin America in a context of neoliberalism and multiculturalism. By the end of the twentieth century indigenous movements formed to contest contemporary citizenship and to redefine the content of citizenship (Yashar 2005:34). Her argument is that a change of citizenship regimes affected the politicization of ethnic cleavages. Mid-20th century corporatist citizenship regimes had unintentionally provided local spaces in which indigenous communities survived. Corporatism recognized indigenous people as peasants and in this way granted them rights and access that they were previously denied (Yashar 2005:61). Corporatism created and promoted labor and peasant organizations and relatively unmonitored local spaces where indigenous people could sustain their local indigenous identities and autonomy (Yashar 2005:57,60).

Corporatist citizenship regimes were replaced by neoliberal regimes. Neoliberalism aimed to shatter the corporatist class-based model and social rights, and to replace them with more individuated state-society relations. However, this challenged the indigenous local autonomous spaces that corporatism unintentionally had created, as it challenged their local autonomy and the viability of local indigenous communities (Yashar 2005:283).

With the third wave of democracy and the economic crises of the 1980s and the 1990s, politicians started to debate individual autonomy and responsibility, based on granting individual civil rights (not necessarily social rights) and the promotion of free markets (Yashar 2005:65-66). State-run social programs were cut and the spaces for class-based organizing were reduced.

Indigenous people have lost their formal ties and access to the state, as they had as peasants within the corporatist citizenship regimes. The indigenous movements, therefore, have come to demand that the state officially recognize indigenous communities (Yashar 2005:68-69). Hence shifting citizenship regimes challenged local autonomy and politicized ethnic cleavages that existed under the corporatist regimes. Social networks provided the capacity to organize beyond local communities and to scale up into regional and national organizations (Yashar 2005:79).

The fight of indigenous movements has developed in different ways, although there are general patterns. Ethnicity often is of crucial importance in indigenous social movements, who actively use their indigeness in order to claim citizenship rights and autonomy. But as there are little ties between and among communities, it is extremely difficult to organize and launch protests. Networks provide a solution for this, as they fostered the communication and cooperation that was essential for transcending barriers (Yashar 2005:71).

1.3 Identity politics and indigeness

Tamara Dijkstra

As described above, indigenous movements have emerged as a consequence of incomplete processes of democratization and they challenged the limited political access that existed (Yashar 1998:24). Indigenous movements strived for self-determination, autonomy and reforms, which involved territorial rights and access to natural resources, as well as reforms of less military influence on communities (Jackson and Warren 2005:550). In order to achieve their goals, indigenous communities had to work together to form a front against the state.

Hence different ethnic communities organized themselves in confederations on a national and international level. These indigenous communities were challenging the historical image as subverted and undeveloped that was imposed on them. These newly formed organizations focused on the issue of strengthening their own indigenous identity (Jackson and Warren 2005:550). Different external elements – such as churches and NGOs - created trans-community networks that were the basis for indigenous movements. Local identity spread beyond the borders of communities by means of networks that created a space to recognize commonly accepted leaders. These leaders were given tools like literacy to present their ethnic values and demands to the government (Yashar 2005:73-75). The trans-community networks employed different strategies to get international support. The strategy

of historical and cultural recovery is one that employs a self-essentializing discourse. The other strategy we discuss is the use of a human rights discourse.

According to Yashar, state institutions are important in creating identity politics, as they seek to create and coordinate national citizenship (2005:282). However, they cannot impose preferences or displace certain groups (Yashar 2005:5-6,8). Indeed, states do not have all the power. Ethnic identities can be politicized. As described above, this is likely to occur where state policies challenge the local community autonomy of indigenous people (Yashar 2005:282-283).

The first strategy used by indigenous movements is the strategy of historical and cultural recovery, which entails expressing indigenous values and traditions to gain the government's attention. This way of presenting oneself is a fluid process that easily changes (Castaneda 2004:49). The process is fluid in the sense that people's indigenousness is not something static and factual, even though they tend to present it this way. This strategy is aimed at achieving ethnic recognition on a national and international level and self-determination within a state that maintains exclusive policies (Jackson and Warren 2005:554). Kuper argues that terms as 'indigenous' and 'native' are often used in the same way as 'primitive' (2003:389). The claims of indigenous collective rights are based on the underlying assumption that the traditional inhabitants of a country should receive privileged rights, such as the right to their lands and resources (Kuper 2003:390). However, Kuper is critical of this alleged indigenousness and argues that claims of indigenousness are contemporary political constructs, instead of truths based on demonstrable and unbroken cultural continuity of indigeneity (Kuper 2003).

The strategic use of notions of indigenousness is self-essentializing, by which anthropologists mean "the process of freezing and reifying an identity in a way that hides historical processes and politics within which it develops" (Jackson and Warren 2005:559). Although a self-essentializing strategy is not scientifically legitimized, it is an important political tool for indigenous movements in their pursuit of collective rights (Kuper 2003:399). Hence identity politics was focused on gaining recognition, but often without a focus on economic development aspects and the unequal distribution of wealth (Fisk 2005:26).

The second strategy in the struggle for recognition and rights is the use of the human rights discourse. After the end of military rule social movements exposed human rights violations and demanded responsibility and compensation from the state. The struggle for human rights has been internationalized, in order to leverage pressure for a condemnation of

ongoing human rights violations and impunity by the international community. The adoption of the human rights discourse makes groups eligible for funding from international foundations and NGOs that support this type of work. The existence of this transnational network contributes to the construction of an opportunity structure that favors the adoption of a human rights discourse (Blacklock and Macdonald 1998:136,149). This has been facilitated by the extension of the human rights frame to cultural rights, including – amongst others – the United Nations Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO Convention 169), with the goal of promoting and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples, as ‘indigenous peoples continue to face struggles in relation to their rights, culture and ancestral domains’ .

To conclude, neoliberal practices of resource extraction and land grabbing have become widespread, and often to the disadvantage of indigenous peoples. We have discussed the history of neglect of indigenous rights and then focused on the issues surrounding hydroelectric projects. We have conceptualized this as an encounter between the grabbers (the state and allies) and indigenous people, who have mobilized in order to fight for recognition. Since the fight for recognition is presented as a fight for citizenship rights, we discussed processes of contesting citizenship. Processes of democratization and neoliberalism have politicized ethnic cleavages and mobilized indigenous people, creating spaces for indigenous peoples to voice their claims and ideas of citizenship and collective rights. This claim making is part of a tactic of essentializing identities, which serves a political goal. Since claims of indigeness are contemporary political constructs, they indeed serve a political purpose. Hence indigenous movements have attempted to gain political ground and they have sought national and international support.

We will now discuss these concepts and processes in the context of Guatemala, as that is the larger context of our case study: the indigenous mobilization surrounding Chixoy dam development.

Chapter 2: Context

This section applies the previously discussed processes of social change to the context of Guatemala. Guatemala too has a history of neglect of its indigenous peoples. With neoliberal practices of resource extraction and neoliberal citizenship regimes, ethnic cleavages have become politicized and indigenous communities have mobilized, although in a considerably weaker manner than in other Latin American countries.

We explore indigenous peoples and movements in Guatemala, focusing on issues of multiculturalism and citizenship rights, after which we turn to our case study of the Chixoy dam. This dam involved the forced displacement of indigenous people, as well as massacres, as the construction took place during the armed conflict. Affected communities have mobilized as victims of Chixoy dam development, pressuring the Guatemalan government to start paying reparations.

2.1 Indigenous peoples in Guatemala

Tamara Dijkstra

The mobilization of indigenous peoples against the state is based on a long history of exclusion, neglect and racism of indigenous people in Guatemala. The military coup in 1954 ended a period of corporatist citizenship under democratic rule and began to repress peasants and indigenous people. As a consequence peasants lost their widespread networks and were marginalized (Yashar 1998:31). Indigenous people suffered most from the armed conflict between the government and different rebel groups supported by various Mayan communities. State violence and the use of counterinsurgency tactics resulted in genocidal campaigns directed at indigenous citizens (Viaene 2009:2). This explains the political weakness of the indigenous movement in Guatemala after democratization. Yashar, explaining why Peru has failed to mobilize along ethnic-based lines, argues that the political violence of the civil war destroyed political associational space, foreclosing opportunities for grand-scale organizing by and across communities (2005:240). Indeed, Guatemala's indigenous movements have been largely unable to unite, which resulted in splintered political activism.

The peace process, which ended in 1996, created a separate agreement on the 'Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Peoples' which was signed in 1995. The agreement obligated the Guatemalan state to implement various constitutional reforms recognizing indigenous collective rights (Warren 1998:55) (Sieder 2007:217). However, Valji (2004) argues that this agreement has been implemented to the least degree.

Indigenous organizations started to outline proposals for the constitutional reforms, regarding self-determinations, protection of land and the freedom to develop their own ways of law (Sieder 2007:237). The peace process provided indigenous people access to the judiciary system, but as a result of limited participation, social movements came to focus on collective rights and gaining respect of the state (Sieder 2007:227).

Multiculturalism in Guatemala is weak, as there is little sense of membership and strong feelings of alienation and division are noticeable among the indigenous peoples (Hale 2002:489). In 1999 a referendum took place in which the Guatemalan population rejected the proposal of the implementation of indigenous equal rights, as Guatemalan elites were afraid of a multicultural citizenship in which indigenous peoples could reverse existing power structures (Carey Jr. 2004:69). Thus elites were enjoying rights while the subordinated indigenous people were not, which is what Fischer and McKenna Brown call 'internal colonialism' (1996:21). Infrastructure programs, including the creation of highways, the development of hydroelectric dams and mine projects were important for the Guatemalan elites and state (Grandia 2013:234).

Valji, in her explanation of the implementation of the Agreement on the Identity and Rights for the Indigenous Population, notes that land access is an issue of critical importance both because of its spiritual and economic significance to the indigenous population, as well as the need to address the historic scarcity of Mayan land and the challenges this poses to deep-rooted economic privilege. Nevertheless, all commitments in the Accords that would have improved access to land for the indigenous peasant population have been rescheduled due to non-compliance by the government, including measures for restitution. Valji (2004:n.p.) later describes how Brett, in personal communication, argued that citizenship in Guatemala remains partial:

Rights pertaining to language, dress, sacred sites, gender, political participation and fundamental human rights that do not threaten the status quo, have received a degree of coverage. However, rights that seek the integration of indigenous peoples in the Guatemalan nation-state on their own terms but that derive from issues such as land, socio-economics and political autonomy, and hence fundamentally continue to challenge the state, are left unrealized.

Hence indigenous people in Guatemala have mobilized to fight against neoliberal practices and to demand recognition and citizenship rights.

2.2 Indigenous social movements in Guatemala

Tamara Dijkstra

In the 1990s the indigenous population demanded indigenous rights related to social differences. Indigenous people decided to work together, which resulted in ‘The Second Continental Meeting of Indigenous and Popular Resistance’ in 1991. The indigenous movement of Guatemala was built (Yashar 1998:26). Blacklock and Macdonald (1998) argue that in Latin America actors promoting expanded citizenship have frequently mobilized the discourse of human rights in this struggle rather than that of citizen rights. Popular contestation in Guatemala from the mid-1980s to the present has been for and about human rights, and has been framed in terms of universal human rights. Because popular actors have also strived to expand the political inclusion and participation of the popular classes, this struggle can also be characterized as a struggle for and about citizenship (Black and Macdonald 1998:132-134).

Calderon et al. argue that ‘the state is a referent for almost all social movements. Whether it is being approached, opposed, or kept at a distance, in the end the state acts as a fundamental referent’ (1992:25). Because of the distance that indigenous people were trying to create in their fight for local autonomy, fragmentation became central in society. As a consequence of this difficult relationship with the state, diverse social movements emerged in different areas (Calderon et al. 1992:25).

Guatemala experienced a period of ethnic-based movements focused on attempts to reformulate the concept of citizenship by focusing on gaining indigenous rights based on cultural differences. These indigenous movements searched ethnic alliances and formed new ‘pan-ethnic’ groups (ethnic related groups) in which the ‘Indian’ identities were socially constructed (Eckstein and Wickham-Crowley 2003:44-45). According to Warren, Mayas applied the belief of ‘unity within diversity’. Although there are more than 20 different Maya language groups in the country, there is resemblance of local culture within the communities and therefore the movement attempted to unite them, as all Maya languages are legacies from a common past. They proposed a ‘multicultural model for participatory democracy in which different cultures are recognized’ (1998:13).

Within the Guatemalan movement there was a group of Mayan intellectuals who expressed their criticism about the Guatemalan history of racism within communities (Eckstein and Wickham-Crowley 2003:44-45). However, this points to a structural problem. The leaders of the movement are in general educated and urban elites and they experience

difficulties in convincing the indigenous people of the importance of using legal mobilization strategies in the struggle for collective rights and justice (Sieder 2007:241).

2.3 The Chixoy Dam

Joanne Ligtermoet

The Chixoy dam was built during Guatemala's civil war. It was financed by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank and completed in 1982. The construction of the Chixoy dam began without legal acquisition of the land and the dam was completed without a resettlement action plan in place. Complaints against the dam were interpreted by the military government as evidence of insurgent influence, which is why the Army declared these 'resistant communities' subversive. More than 3,500 Maya Achi people were forcibly displaced and more than 6,000 families living in the area also lost their lands and livelihoods (International Rivers 2015).

In 1994 the Río Negro survivors formed the Association for the Integral Development of the Victims of the Violence of the Verapaces Maya Achi (ADIVIMA) in order to encourage exhumations and the prosecution of those responsible. They are concerned with the cultural identity of Maya Achi survivors and they frame part of their organization in terms of human rights and violations of human rights.

The 'Law of National Reconciliation' of 1996 stipulated reparations for the massacres. The World Bank concluded that bank responsibilities had been met - basically, that they were not responsible for the massacres - but acknowledged problems with local implementation of the social program. However, in 1999 still no meaningful reparation had been materialized. Dam releases occurred without warning and the resulting flash floods destroyed crops, drowned livestock and sometimes killed people. Displaced communities lived in profound poverty but people were unable to complain or to negotiate assistance in the face of climatic disasters (Johnston 2010:344).

In 2003 men and women from villages from Baja Verapaz, Alta Verapaz and Quiché met to form an assembly of dam-affected communities, with the goal of pursuing just compensation and reparation. Also present were representatives from Rights in Action Guatemala and International Rivers (Johnston 2010:345). The organization was called the Coordinating Committee of Communities Affected by the Construction of the Chixoy Hydroelectric Dam (COCAHICH). COCAHICH's 2010 Reparations Plan focuses on reparations, truth and justice, investigation of human rights violations and a restitution of land

rights and lost infrastructure. Reparations include compensation for material and nonmaterial damages and losses in the amount of USD 154.5 million for the affected communities.

The atrocities committed during the construction of the Chixoy dam are placed in a context where the state has long violated the human rights of its indigenous population. In trying to make sure this does not happen again, COCAHICH focuses on the human rights of the indigenous communities and the restitution of their cultural identity and practices. For more than 20 years survivors have called upon the Guatemalan government and the financiers of the dam to pay reparations for the damages.

On October 14, 2014, Guatemalan president Otto Perez and COCAHICH reached an agreement on the implementation of the 2010 Reparations Plan for affected communities. With this agreement the Guatemalan government has formally acknowledged and apologized for their violations of human rights. This was because of pressure from the United States, who placed conditions on new loans (Johnston 2014). On October 15, 2015, a group of surviving family members of the Chixoy Dam massacres and evictions received their first reparations payments, 33 years after the atrocities were committed.

The Chixoy dam was constructed at the border of three departments: Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz and Quiché. Most inhabitants of Alta Verapaz speak Poqomchi', while in Baja Verapaz the majority speaks Achi and in Quiché Uspenteko and K'iche'. The department Baja Verapaz was most stricken by the armed conflict, as they suffered multiple massacres. Apart from this, Valji (2004) argues that in these rural highlands there has historically been little state presence. These regions have instead existed outside the reaches, or interests, of the state.

During the course of our two-month research we were living in San Cristóbal Verapaz, Alta Verapaz. We focused our research on the two affected communities that are part of the municipality of San Cristóbal: Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca. We visited the two communities multiple times and conducted interviews with the inhabitants. The following vignette describes our journey from San Cristóbal Verapaz to Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix.

At 8.00 in the morning we, and our guide Eric, take a local mini-bus from the center of San Cristóbal to El Cruce de Santa Cruz, which takes us half an hour. While we are waiting for the next bus, many overcrowded buses pass by, with drivers screaming the names of various destinations to gather more people for their journey. Then our next mini-bus arrives and although we barely fit in the overcrowded bus, we are on our way to El Cruce del Sid. Twenty minutes later we get out and the first thing we see is a huge billboard of the Chixoy dam, saying the Chixoy dam is 15 kilometers away. Our driver is waiting for us, wearing his straw-hat and waving at us standing next to his white pickup truck. We climb in the back of his truck, and three women join us. The roads are unpaved and very bumpy, which makes this journey a little challenging. It is extremely warm and we sometimes have to cover our faces to protect them from the dust from the road, as our truck speeds through the mountains. The area around us is green and we see people working on lands. After a while, the truck gains speed and climbs a very steep hill. We have an amazing view of the valley and the river, including the tunnel that was constructed by INDE. Going downhill, we see the first houses of Agua Blanca (see Appendix A, photograph 1). Halfway down the mountain, we stop and the driver points to a small track on our left, telling us that is how we can get to the house of the president of the COCODE.¹

An hour later we climb back into the back of the pickup truck. Our next destination is Santa Ana Panquix. We drive the same way back, going up and down the steep mountain. We pass another huge billboard of the Chixoy dam and drive for approximately half an hour before arriving at the Chixoy dam. A huge sign, that says the Chixoy dam is a hydroelectric project for all Guatemalans and that it brings development to the whole country, welcomes us. We then have to pass the checkpoint (see Appendix A, photograph 2). Two men wearing uniforms and carrying weapons stop the truck and ask who we are and why we want to pass. We show them our documents, arranged by San Cristóbal's mayor, that explain our research and the purpose of this journey. After a short consultation, we are allowed to pass and our driver drives up to the dam. After going through a tunnel, we zigzag up the dam and have an amazing view of the river on the one side and the reservoir on the other side. Moving on to Santa Ana Panquix the surroundings rapidly become less green and rockier. Soon we are surrounded by bare mountains. After another half-hour driving through the mountains, we suddenly see a small community of little houses on the slope of the mountain (see Appendix A, photograph 3). The driver stops and points to a house a little higher up the mountain, which is where the president of the COCODE lives.

Chapter 3: The Chixoy dam and livelihood strategies

Tamara Dijkstra

“We are now living in poverty as a consequence of the construction of the dam.”⁴

This chapter explores the impacts of the construction of the Chixoy dam. The information in this chapter is based on testimonies of the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca, two communities close to the Chixoy dam. The purpose of this analysis is to provide insight into the effects of the construction of the Chixoy dam on the environment and livelihood strategies of the affected communities.

We will first discuss the construction process of the dam, and then we elaborate the specific consequences for Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca.

3.1 The construction of the Chixoy dam

The Chixoy dam, finished in 1982, was the biggest hydroelectric project in Central America. The generated energy is green, cheap, clean and safe. A retired employee of INDE explained that “the construction of the dam was good because of the light. All Guatemalans now have light in their houses because of the construction of the dam”.⁵

Nevertheless, as explained in Chapter 2, many people affected by the dam did not benefit from it. The dam was constructed during Guatemala’s armed conflict, in an atmosphere of violence and intimidation of indigenous people (Viaene 2009:2). The inhabitants of the communities surrounding the Chixoy dam were displaced from their lands and people who initially refused to leave their lands, eventually did leave because of promises made by INDE. The retired employee of the INDE explained:

I had to investigate the area that would be flooded when the dam was constructed and I had to report the number of people living there, houses, and productive lands.⁶

INDE promised new land and well-constructed houses to various communities, but to this day those promises remain unfulfilled, and as a result communities are still suffering.

A dam was placed in the middle of the Chixoy river, resulting in a large reservoir on the one side, and a tiny stream on the other side of the dam. Inhabitants living in the community of Santa Ana Panquix, located on the reservoir-side of the dam, had to relocate to a region higher up the mountain, as the water level rose and submerged their lands. This

⁴ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

⁵ Retired employee of INDE, 30-03-2016.

⁶ Ibid.

resulted in them living in a barren area on the mountain. Inhabitants living in the community of Agua Blanca, located on the other side of the dam, have lost access to natural resources, as the river has dried up. Hence, communities on both sides of the dam have been negatively affected in a different way due to the construction of the dam.

When we reach the community by pickup truck, we see 15 little houses standing close together on the hillside. The houses are made of wooden planks and the roofs of sheet metal (see Appendix A, photograph 4). Most houses have small wooden cabins next to them that are being used as latrines. The only sturdy buildings are two community churches and a school made of stone. During our walk to the house of one of the elders of the community, we notice that the land is dry and barren with no plants or crops growing in the surrounding area. When we reach the house, we meet a half-blind man and his wife, sitting in front of their house. The man is wearing a white striped shirt with stains and he is wearing his black shoes on the wrong feet. Sitting next to the entrance in a large tire, with his knees pulled up and a large stick in his hands, he leans against the wooden house.

3.2 Santa Ana Panquix

The man recalls that before the construction of the dam the main livelihood strategy of the community was agriculture: ‘we cultivated mangos, tomatoes, corn and beans. We were happy and lived well’.⁷ Inhabitants of the community used to live on a private finca (estate) down the mountain, closer to the river that was owned by a patron. According to the president of the COCODE, they were allowed to work on the land and sell their products. As a result they could afford to pay a monthly rent to the patron.

However, when INDE started the construction of the dam, this changed. According to the representative of Santa Ana Panquix, inhabitants of the community were not given notice in advance, but INDE suddenly arrived and started to construct a road and investigate the area. Afterwards, they ordered the inhabitants to leave their houses because their lands would be flooded. One inhabitant explained that ‘nobody said or explained anything. They just came and told us to leave, in 1982’.⁸ Another inhabitant told us about what happened next:

⁷ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 77, 10-03-2016.

⁸ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, 10-03-2016.

‘within three days of the beginning of the construction of the dam, the water level rose really fast and we were confused and afraid and did not know what to do.’⁹

One of the elders of Santa Ana Panquix mentioned that when the dam was constructed, INDE told them to move to an area called San Antonio Panec. This place is located at a higher altitude in the mountains. After a while, they moved to another area, now called Santa Ana Panquix, because it was not possible to construct houses in San Antonio Panec, as the mountains are too steep. This land, higher up the mountain and provided by INDE, was infertile and inadequate for agriculture. After the construction of the dam, livelihood strategies drastically changed, as people were forcibly displaced to infertile lands when their former lands submerged. The vice-president of COCAHICH explained:

Inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix were evicted just like us. The problem is that they put them on a finca, which belongs to the INDE and the government does not want to cede the lands to them.¹⁰

All inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix were very negative about the construction of the dam and explained that one of the main consequences is their lack of access to water. INDE provided the community with just one water-well, which had to be shared by all twenty-four families living there. Indeed, an inhabitant told us:

The only water here has been arranged by INDE, but it is for the entire community and thus not enough. Other than that, we have absolutely nothing. We are poor, and we have nothing.¹¹

Furthermore, another major damage caused by the dam is the loss of fertile lands that were crucial for crop cultivation. One inhabitant declared that ‘we are suffering here. We cannot plant anything, the lands are not productive, and so nothing will grow.’¹² As agriculture is no longer a source of income and sustenance, people are living in serious poverty.

The president of the COCODE explained that agriculture lost its importance in daily life as the lands are too dry and barren to cultivate, and he then added that ‘we do not have water, electricity and no light. We are poor and we do not have resources as a consequence of the construction of the dam’.¹³

Because of the loss of their fertile lands, inhabitants now make a living from selling *palma* (dried palm tree leaves), *petate* (bedrolls made of palm leaves) and *acortar leña* (cutting

⁹ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 82, 15-03-2016.

¹⁰ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

¹¹ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, 10-03-2016.

¹² Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, 10-03-2016.

¹³ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 06-03-2016.

and selling firewood) (see Appendix A, photograph 5). The community's schoolteacher explained that, in most cases, selling these products does not generate enough income to support the family because they sell their products very cheaply, due to lacking knowledge on prices. Therefore, most people have to find work outside of the community. Most young men in Santa Ana Panquix work on a finca for a couple of weeks and then return with the little money they earned. One member of Santa Ana Panquix mentioned that 'we sometimes have to travel to Mexico in order to find work because there are limited work opportunities in Cobán or in Guatemala-City.'¹⁴ The construction of the dam has therefore also resulted in the separation of families.

While walking from the house of the president of the COCODE to the houses located downhill, we notice a number of houses situated far apart from each other. We pass a church made of stone, and although inhabitants are living in wooden houses of poor quality, they do have water wells next to their houses (see Appendix A, photograph 6). As we look down, we see the large tunnel constructed by INDE (see Appendix A, photograph 7). Moreover, it is a rather green area and the land is moist and looks relatively fertile. When we approach the foot of the river, we see a tiny stream, with little water and lots of stones (see Appendix A, photograph 8). After one hour of walking downhill we arrive at the house of one of the inhabitants. We shake hands and we sit down to begin the interview. All of a sudden we notice a huge lizard, on a chain, to the right of the bench. The man we are interviewing explains us that the lizard is their pet. He then continues to explain us the consequences of the Chixoy dam.

3.3 Agua Blanca

Before the construction of the dam the river was stronger, although its flow varied throughout the year. The water was clean and people used it for fishing and for washing clothes and themselves. One inhabitant explained:

¹⁴ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, brother of the president of the COCODE, 10-03-2016.

My father used to live lower down the mountain. I used to go fishing a lot, I would catch many fish and sell them in communities around here. That was how we could earn money to buy food.¹⁵

Aside from fishing, agriculture played an important role in sustainment and generated a livable income. However, once again we learned that after the construction of the dam the way of life of the inhabitants changed drastically.

The majority declared that they were not informed well enough about the construction of the dam. An inhabitant of Agua Blanca told us that when the dam was completed, INDE warned them that the water would rise. This happened so suddenly that the approximately four families, living close to the river had to move in a short space of time to avoid a greater catastrophe. Another inhabitant was upset about the way INDE lied to them:

They said that they were going to build the dam and that we would get new lands. They promised us new lands and houses, but we never received anything. They did not make their promises true and that is very bad.¹⁶

According to another inhabitant, the construction of the dam caused a considerable amount of damage, as INDE made some mistakes. Consequently, “water came up from a tunnel close to the community, and destroyed a house further down the mountain”.¹⁷ Although most people in this community did not have to move, most inhabitants feel affected because of the constant threat to their lives, as they are afraid the dam will break or will open and flood the community. The vice-president of COCAHICH explained:

They are living below the dam. In other countries, it has happened that when the dam breaks these poor people will die. Before this happens, we have to get them out.¹⁸

We were told by many inhabitants that the floodgates have been opened by INDE on occasion without giving them any warning. As a result the water rushing into the river causes an upsurge of giant rolling stones, which is highly dangerous for the inhabitants that use the river for bathing purposes and for washing their clothes. The methods used by INDE in the operation of the dam in this way may cause serious injuries or even death. Despite this constant danger most people, apart from a few families, have not left Agua Blanca.

¹⁵ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 21-03-2016.

¹⁶ Female inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 53, 21-03-2016.

¹⁷ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 21-03-2016.

¹⁸ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

The majority told us they are unable to fully utilize the river. One of the elders of the community declared that ‘‘the construction of the dam blocked the flow of the river and the water is dirty.’’¹⁹ This was confirmed by the president of the COCODE:

There is almost no water anymore and the water level of the river is very low. There are many mosquitoes, it seems like a river pollution.²⁰

Due to the contamination and almost drying up, the river is no longer a source of income and sustainment. According to many inhabitants, this problem has created a situation of poverty. Some inhabitants now earn some money by selling chickens and products made from palm leaves. Although the lands in Agua Blanca are fertile, many people lost income this year because the harvest failed as a consequence of drought.

Hence we can conclude that the two communities on both sides of the dam suffered from practices of land grabbing, which implies not only forced displacement but also loss of access to natural resources (Borras et al 2012:851). In Santa Ana Panquix, located on the reservoir side of the dam, land has been flooded and therefore people have been displaced. In Agua Blanca, located on the other side of the dam, people are living in a dangerous situation and they have lost access to the advantages of the river. Indeed, inhabitants have suffered by neoliberal needs, since the dam caused environmental and economic destruction, as it has forcefully changed livelihood strategies.

The lack of compensation in both Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca has resulted in the local inhabitants living in serious poverty. If these inhabitants had received compensation or new fertile lands, the construction of the dam would not have had such a major effect on livelihood strategies. However, in an effort to fight this lack of compensation, the inhabitants of the 33 affected communities have organized in the organization of COCAHICH to fight for their rights, which will be elaborated in the next chapter.

¹⁹ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 62, 05-04-2016.

²⁰ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 06-03-2016.

Chapter 4: COCAHICH and claim making

Joanne Ligtermoet

In Chapter 1 we have seen how both Yashar (2005) and Radcliffe (2007) have emphasized the lack of inclusion of indigenous people. ‘‘Neoliberal development prompts indigenous groups to mobilize to demand recognition (as racially discriminated groups whose ethnic recognition under corporatism was removed) and redistribution (a voice in macroeconomic and national decision making)’’ (Radcliffe 2007:390). Indeed, this created a political discourse in which marginalized people could make claims for citizenship rights. This chapter discusses COCAHICH, the organization that resulted from the mobilization of the 33 communities affected by the Chixoy dam, focusing on its current strategies and discourse.

4.1 Brief history of COCAHICH

The official foundation of COCAHICH was in 2003, but their fight started earlier. COCAHICH is connected to ADIVIMA, an organization that is working with Maya victims of the armed conflict.

COCAHICH is recognizing the violations of the human rights in the Chixoy case. Directly about the Chixoy case. ADIVIMA is recognizing the violations that happened in the year 1982. About kidnappings, they killed children and women. They work with that. And we too, in the same year, when we were evicted, and those who did not want to leave, that is what happened in Río Negro, with all the victims. So this is a violation of the state of Guatemala.²¹

COCAHICH’s president himself is one of the many victims of the armed conflict, as his wife and two sons were massacred in Río Negro. For many years, people were afraid and felt unable to speak up and to fight the government. COCAHICH’s president explained:

Before they only talked about us as Indians and that is how they treated us before. You see that by all the violations that were committed, so before we did not know if we had rights or if we did not have rights. [...] Then when we realized that we also have rights that is when we started to demand from the government. There is not one more, we are all equal, that is why when the hydroelectric was built, well, we all did something, something to protest, to resist, but there were so many massacres because they say that the Indians do not have rights, that only the *ladinos* have rights.²²

²¹ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

²² President of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

Hence before COCAHICH's official foundation in 2003, they initiated an identification of the damages of the Chixoy dam. According to Agua Blanca's representative 'the fight began in Río Negro in the year 1994, with an extensive investigation. An investigation of the damages of the dam'.²³ The inhabitants of the 33 affected communities were interviewed, after which all damages of the Chixoy dam were documented. Families were free to decide if they wanted to participate in the fight for reparations, and the majority of affected families joined COCAHICH.

There was finally a context in which it became possible to express demands from the government based on past violations of rights, something that was not possible until the 21st century. In the context of Guatemala, indigenous people have never enjoyed the same rights as *ladino* citizens, and especially after the armed conflict and its massacres, for many years people were afraid to speak up. This changed slowly, with organizations like ADIVIMA and the foundation of the National Reparations Plan, carrying out compensations for the victims of the armed conflict. Thus, in 2003 the political context finally allowed an active remembrance of what had happened and (indigenous) people were able to voice demands of compensation from the government.

Over the course of our research we were able to meet the president and vice-president of COCAHICH twice, both times in their office in Rabinal, which is also the office of ADIVIMA. We were warned that they would be closed and unwilling to answer our questions, which turned out to be partly true. COCAHICH's president was indeed rather closed, while the vice-president answered our questions more enthusiastically.

He explained us that the main objective of COCAHICH is to 'recuperate from the damages and losses caused by the construction' [of the Chixoy dam].²⁴ COCAHICH's president added that the objective is to improve the quality of life in the affected communities, by means of the individual reparation payments and the collective projects that the communities will receive.²⁵

In 2004 the first manifestation with all 33 affected communities united took place, which is when the organization of COCAHICH 'really' arose, according to Santa Ana Panquix's representative.²⁶ Together the 33 affected communities are fighting for reparation payments. Many people emphasized the importance of this togetherness. One inhabitant from

²³ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 06-03-2016.

²⁴ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 03-03-2016.

²⁵ President of COCAHICH, 02-03-2016.

²⁶ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

Agua Blanca explained that ‘‘it would not make sense to fight as one community, because if you would fight alone, the government would not want to listen nor talk to you. But together we have achieved this’’.²⁷

On November 04, 2014, the *Política Pública de Reparación* was signed, which included all negotiated agreements between COCAHICH and the Guatemalan government. It cannot be changed and lasts until 2029, after which the government is obligated to develop a new one if they have failed to fulfill all. Agua Blanca’s representative argued that this was an important turning point, because ‘‘before [the signing] nobody believed in the fight for reparations’’.²⁸ COCAHICH’s vice-president explained that there were many doubts in the communities, because ten years (from 2004 to 2014) is a long time to be fighting without any real results. Hence people were getting tired, which made the signing of the Reparations Plan indeed a crucial turning point. It can thus be argued that claim making was successful.

COCAHICH currently consists of the three main leaders. The director is living in the United States, while the president and vice-president are working from the office in Rabinal. Furthermore, all affected communities are represented by one or two local leaders.

4.2 Strategies of COCAHICH

COCAHICH seems to have weak internal memory, as there are considerable uncertainties about past strategies. Many organizations have been associated with COCAHICH, but COCAHICH’s president and vice-president were unable to elaborate on this. They mentioned countries (e.g. Switzerland and Germany) who have been helping, but they did not know how exactly. The only organization that they were sure about is Rights in Action, which has been helping financially. The following conversation with COCAHICH’s vice-president is telling of their explanations of former strategies.

- *With what NGOs are you working?*

National, no one. We are currently working with... It is international, from the Netherlands. I do not know if that is Holland?’’

- *Yes, that is Holland, so that is interesting for us! With what organization from Holland?*

I cannot remember. It is that companions are managing this, I am in another project.²⁹

²⁷ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 05-04-2016.

²⁸ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 06-03-2016.

²⁹ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

This weak internal memory might be telling of grassroots organizations, who might not have the know-how or the desire to focus on strategic plans. COCAHICH is an organization with a practical and factual approach. They do not employ grand narratives of subordination nor are they implementing strategic plans, but they seem to make it up as they go.

COCAHICH's current main strategy is building international pressure. According to COCAHICH the Guatemalan government does not voluntarily comply with the Reparations Plan and they therefore have more faith in the Senate of the United States, that has been pressuring the Guatemalan government to compensate people for the damages of the Chixoy dam by means of a U.S. Democrat parliamentary who is supporting COCAHICH's fight. COCAHICH's vice-president explained 'there is an international pressure, and without it we would not have had a case, because we have fought a lot with no results'.³⁰ When we came back for interviews a second time, we asked him about the specifics of the United States' involvement.

- *In what ways are the United States helping exactly?*

Just in politics. Juan de Dios knows more about how it functions. He has incidence directly with the people there. The Senate of the United States.'

- *So the government of the United States is in dialogue with the government of Guatemala?*

Correct. I do not know how they do it to be honest. You should talk to Juan de Dios about that.³¹

Hence it became clear that there also exist uncertainties about current strategies, as neither the president nor vice-president were able to give detailed explanations of the international pressure. COCAHICH's president explained that if the Guatemalan government does not comply, they will be unable to receive any more loans and military aid from the United States. This means a dialogue with regard to the Chixoy case has been created between the two governments.

Furthermore COCAHICH is training youth in the affected communities. Two to six persons per community, 129 in total and both female and male, are being informed and trained in order for them to take over the fight when necessary. The *Política Pública* lasts until 2029, which means there are still 13 years to go and COCAHICH's current leaders are unsure if they will still be there in the coming years. The youth are therefore being taught

³⁰ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 03-03-2016.

³¹ Ibid., 08-04-2016.

about the *Política Pública*, so that they will be able to continue the fight until all reparations are paid.

4.3 Communication

COCAHICH organizes assemblies in their office in Rabinal every month. Each affected community is represented by one or two representatives. Furthermore, each community has its own COCODE, whose members are also invited to COCAHICH's assemblies, as well as other local leaders, as 'everybody is working together'³², Agua Blanca's representative explained us. He is both the president of the COCODE and representative for COCAHICH, but this does not seem to be the rule. COCAHICH's vice-president explained that the government has to comply with the Reparations Plan, but the communities have to be well organized, which is why both the representatives and COCODES are present in the assemblies.³³

In the assemblies COCAHICH, the representatives and the COCODES discuss the advances, what the government has said, what COCAHICH is doing, and they try to solve problems that have come up. In the assemblies the communities are also able to say what their necessities are and what collective projects they need. After the assemblies, the representatives communicate what was discussed to their communities. According to Agua Blanca's representative, COCAHICH also visits the affected communities 'so that people will become more aware'.³⁴ Lastly, COCAHICH organizes meetings with the mayors of different municipalities in order to inform them about the reparation payments and what is going to happen in every community.

While we were made to believe by COCAHICH that all communication with the representatives and affected communities runs smoothly, we quickly learnt this is not the case. Although the representatives of Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix always go to COCAHICH's assemblies and then communicate the things discussed to their communities, there seem to be considerable uncertainties among the inhabitants of the two communities. An inhabitant of Agua Blanca declared that 'they say they are going to give us money but nobody knows if that is true or not'.³⁵ Another affirmed this, saying that Agua Blanca has

³² Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 06-03-2016.

³³ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 03-03-2016.

³⁴ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 05-04-2016.

³⁵ Female inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 51, 21-03-2016.

not received anything and that COCAHICH is saying they are going to help but that nobody knows when this will happen.³⁶

In Santa Ana Panquix we noticed the same uncertainties with regard to the communication between COCAHICH and the affected communities. The president of the COCODE of Santa Ana Panquix explained that COCAHICH always tells them they have to wait, that the process has started and that they have to be patient. People are starting to get annoyed, “because in their opinion it does not make sense to go to the assemblies because the only thing COCAHICH tells us is: patience”.³⁷ An inhabitant told us:

I am not sure what COCAHICH is doing exactly nor if they fight sufficiently for our community. I am paying for the trip of the representative, which is unfair because it costs a lot of money and we receive nothing in return.³⁸

Indeed, the representative of Santa Ana Panquix explained that it is difficult for her to communicate the information she received during the assembly with Santa Ana Panquix’s inhabitants, because they pay for her trip and she always returns with the same message. “People are annoyed and they do not really believe in the words of COCAHICH.”³⁹

4.4 Discourse of COCAHICH

COCAHICH’s vice-president explained that “COCAHICH is an organization that was founded because of the violation of human rights that was caused by the construction of the Chixoy dam”.⁴⁰ COCAHICH’s president described the fight as “searching the reparation of the Chixoy dam” and explained that “we are fighting everything that the government has done, and the fight is of *ladinos* too. [...] So for me it is a fight of farmers, indigenous people, survivors.”⁴¹

COCAHICH’s vice-president explained that the word ‘indigenous’ is used, because “we are an indigenous people”.⁴² However, there are also *ladinos* part of the affected communities, including Agua Blanca. COCAHICH’s president described Agua Blanca as “ladinos mixed with Pokomchís and Achís”. COCAHICH is therefore not using the word

³⁶ Female inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 37, 05-04-2016.

³⁷ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 06-03-2016.

³⁸ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 24, 15-03-2016.

³⁹ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

⁴⁰ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 03-03-2016.

⁴¹ President of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

⁴² Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

‘indigenous’ profoundly, because “we cannot exclude them [*ladinos*] because they are the same poor people”.⁴³

Influenced and supported by organizations such as Rights in Action, COCAHICH started using a human rights discourse. According to COCAHICH’s president, the violation of human rights is central to COCAHICH’s fight. However, COCAHICH’s president added that they are fighting “as indigenous Guatemalans”.⁴⁴ COCAHICH is aware of the Guatemalan state’s history of neglect of indigenous people, but it is not something they emphasize in their fight for reparations. Nevertheless, we discussed with COCAHICH’s leaders the connection between poverty and indigenusness. COCAHICH’s vice-president explained that Guatemala’s poor are almost always indigenous, and that is not a coincidence.

The poverty is also a violation of human rights. Because there is a group of rich people and they can still do whatever they want.

- *Has it always been like this, this division between rich and poor?*

Yes, correct. Poor indigenous people, yes. Always, we are marginalized and they will never stop us from being marginalized.⁴⁵

In Santa Ana Panquix an inhabitant explained that “the construction of the dam was a violation of human rights”, because people had to leave their lands and were never sufficiently compensated for that. Hence he argued that “COCAHICH is fighting for indigenous rights, because our rights were violated and they have to repair this”.⁴⁶ Santa Ana Panquix’s representative explained:

It is a fight of rights in general, because the rights of the humans were violated, even though the majority was indigenous. But this does not matter, because indigenous people and *ladinos* have the same rights.⁴⁷

COCAHICH’s vice-president explained that “we talk about human rights and indigenous rights”.⁴⁸ Indeed, COCAHICH’s president explained the success of COCAHICH by emphasizing its organization and unification of both indigenous people and *ladinos*.

⁴³ President of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

⁴⁴ President of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

⁴⁵ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

⁴⁶ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, brother of the president of the COCODE, 10-03-2016.

⁴⁷ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

⁴⁸ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 03-03-2016.

Hence although the majority of affected communities is indigenous, their *human* rights were violated. And as they are all part of Guatemala, they believe it is the Guatemalan government's responsibility to help them recuperate from the damages of Chixoy dam development. COCAHICH's claim making, based on human rights and national citizenship, has been fairly successful, as the government has signed the Reparations Plan and has initiated the reparations process. The next chapter explores the consequences of the reparation payments for livelihood strategies.

Chapter 5: The reparation payments and livelihood strategies

Tamara Dijkstra

As previously discussed, communities have suffered because of construction of the Chixoy dam. The reparation payments are supposed to compensate people for their losses. It consists of individual payments – to the affected families - and collective projects for the affected communities.

The government has started paying the individual reparations in 2015, but only some families in Pacux, Naranjo and Chicruz, Baja Verapaz, have received the payments. Nevertheless, this compensation is relatively unique because, as argued by Borrás et al, in most cases of land grabbing, inhabitants are not offered any form of reparation (2012:851).

According to Marshall, social citizenship implies guaranteed basic social and economic arrangements in a safe environment (Dwyer 2010:4). In this context, the reparation payments will provide inhabitants with social and economic arrangements that will contribute to the attainment of full citizenship.

5.1 The Reparations Plan

As explained earlier, COHAHICH and the government signed the *Política Pública de Reparación* in 2014. This agreement is about the government's commitment to the reparation payments that are supposed to compensate the affected communities for the damages of Chixoy dam development. An engineer working for INDE told us that INDE first was part of the negotiations, but that the government decided to continue negotiating without INDE, which makes the Reparations Plan ‘‘the problem of the government, not of INDE’’.⁴⁹

The plan includes two types of reparation. First, the collective reparation payments consist of the realization of the *proyectos de vida*, the communal projects. These projects are different for every community, depending on what the necessities are. Second, the individual reparation payments are supposed to be used to support one's family. The government is supposed to finish the process of the individual payments in 2017 and in 2029 all collective projects should be developed.

There are three technicians working with COCAHICH, who are developing the community diagnoses in collaboration with COCAHICH's leaders. In every community, they organize focus groups with the COCODE and local leaders about the community's

⁴⁹ Engineer of INDE, 31-03-2016.

necessities. COCAHICH then communicates this to the government, who are supposed to carry out the specific collective projects.

As explained by the vice-president of COCAHICH, communities in Baja Verapaz will first receive individual reparations, while they will start with the collective reparations in Alta Verapaz. They believe this is the most fair and justifiable way to compensate both regions, although he did not mention the affected communities of Quiché. He explained that the people of Alta Verapaz will be the first to receive collective reparations:

When we visited Santa Ana Panquix, we noticed that inhabitants were suffering. The people of Agua Blanca are suffering as well. They have to leave because they cannot continue living there. That is why we have to start with them.⁵⁰

According to the president of the COCODE of Agua Blanca, 63 families were directly affected and these were included in the census of 2008. Families after the 2008 census will not receive reparation payments. Now, only 42 of the 73 families are still living in the community, the others have left the area because of the difficult circumstances. He expects that these families will also receive reparations. The president of the COCODE also declared that inhabitants who receive reparations have to share the compensation with their children. This is not stipulated in the agreement with the government, but it was decided within COCAHICH. Furthermore, couples can only collect the money together. If one of them passes away before having received the reparation payments, the remaining partner has to present legal documents as evidence.

In Santa Ana Panquix, 20 out of the 24 families are in the census and will receive reparation payments, as the others are not directly affected. These 4 ‘new families’ are children of people who were affected at the time the dam was constructed. They will only receive compensation if their parents pass away, or if their parents decide to share the payments with them.

5.2 Collective reparations

According to the president of the COCODE of Santa Ana Panquix, receiving new lands is not part of the individual or collective reparation payments but considered part of a third type of reparation. In contrast, the president of the COCODE of Agua Blanca explained that the

⁵⁰ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

purchase of land is part of the collective reparation payments. Hence, there seemed to be confusion about the content of the collective reparation payments.

The community of Santa Ana Panquix is supposed to receive new lands from the government, so they will be the rightful owners of their lands and they can live from agriculture again. The president of the COCODE explained that ‘‘the government is supposed to start the process of buying new lands in 2018 and will finish the process between 2019 and 2020.’’⁵¹

The government is also supposed to support the community of Santa Ana Panquix by creating collective infrastructure projects that will lead to access to water and electricity, and provide a new school and health center. The desire to reside on fertile lands, so that the community can develop agriculture once again, was expressed by the vast majority of the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix. However, not everybody, specifically the elders of the community, want to leave their lands again as they have already had to move once. Furthermore, one of the younger members of the community told us that she and her family do not want to leave the community, because the land has meaning to them that cannot be found elsewhere.

According to the teacher working at the school in Santa Ana Panquix, it is problematic that some people refuse to leave their lands, because one will never be truly able to improve life conditions in Santa Ana Panquix. He is trying to convince the inhabitants to move to productive lands. However, this occasionally leads to conflicts.

The people of Agua Blanca are also waiting to receive new lands. Furthermore, inhabitants were offered electricity, but they declined, because they first want to move. If they would have accepted it, they would not be able to receive electricity on their new lands. Like in Santa Ana Panquix, some inhabitants do not want to leave their lands. Nevertheless, the majority is in favor of moving and wants to leave their lands. Furthermore, Agua Blanca is supposed to receive new houses, electricity, a school, a church and a health center. Hence for both communities, acquiring new lands is a priority, as it is necessary to improve the situations of poverty in the two communities.

⁵¹ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 13-04-2016.

5.3 Issues of land rights

According to COCAHICH, all communities have territorial rights except for Agua Blanca, Santa Ana Panquix, and Zapote. The patron who owned the land of Santa Ana Panquix sold it to INDE when they started the construction of the dam. Inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix do not have land rights, so they cannot construct anything without permission of INDE. The community's schoolteacher explained us that INDE offered inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix new land higher up the mountains, 'but they refused, as the lands were dry and not of better quality like INDE claimed.'⁵²

The land of Agua Blanca belongs to a patron. Inhabitants thus cannot develop communal projects to improve their situation, as they would not own the projects and the patron could evict them from their lands at any time. According to Jackson and Warren, indigenous movements strive for territorial rights and access to natural resources (2005:550). Indeed, in Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca, inhabitants need new lands and land rights in order to develop new livelihood strategies. They also need compensation, to cope with the loss of access to the river. COCAHICH is indeed fighting for this. Although the lands were never legally theirs, inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca consider the lands they lost to the construction of the dam as theirs, because of the long tradition of family members living in these areas. Thus it is indeed difficult to leave their current lands for the same reason.

The inhabitants' claims of territorial rights are not based on the assumption that the people of the communities are the traditional inhabitants of the country and therefore should receive new lands and territorial rights. Kuper (2003) is critical of political claims based on such essentialism and the inalienability of authentic land rights, but we have not find these claims in our research. In the case of the communities of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca, inhabitants in general consider themselves as Guatemalans and therefore claim citizenship rights, as their rights have been violated by the construction of the Chixoy dam.

5.4 Individual reparation payments

The president of the COCODE of Agua Blanca explained that to compensate affected families, the government announced a plan to spend 107 million Quetzals in 2015. However, only approximately half of the affected families in 3 communities in Baja Verapaz have received reparation payments. This implies, according to the vice-president of COCAHICH,

⁵² Male inhabitant of San Cristóbal Verapaz, schoolteacher of Santa Ana Panquix, 15-03-2016.

that only 300 of the 2300 inhabitants living in the affected communities have received their reparation payments.

As previously mentioned, the president of the COCODE of Santa Ana Panquix explained that the purchase of new lands was separate from the other reparations. However, when we asked him about how he would spend the individual reparation money, he replied that he would use it to buy a new piece of land for himself and his family, somewhere outside of Santa Ana Panquix. However, another option was ‘to put all the money that the twenty families receive together, in order to buy one big piece of land for everybody’.⁵³

Furthermore, other inhabitants declared that they would use the money to buy necessities such as corn, beans and clothing, to overcome their poverty.

In Agua Blanca, the majority explained that they would use the money to buy a new piece of land - as they feel it is not safe to remain in the area due to the risk of flooding. The president of the COCODE of Agua Blanca declared that he would regulate the community’s spending, and that individuals would have to ask him permission to use the reparation payments. In this way, he would direct the payments towards improving community livelihood rather than personal gain. However, according to the vice-president of COCAHICH, allocation of the reparation is the responsibility of the inhabitants themselves. However, he added that ‘we did advise inhabitants in the assemblies and community meetings on how to spend the payments’.⁵⁴

Various inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca explained the problems regarding the payment of the reparations. When names are not written correctly – such as an accent mark that is missing - inhabitants are unable to receive reparations. They first have to correct the documents, which requires a lot of effort. The majority of the elders of the community are illiterate, which is why many mistakes were made in the past relating to official documents. The National Register of Persons (RENAP) is responsible for controlling the identification of persons and the registration of civil status. According to the presidents of the COCODE of Agua Blanca, they are coordinating the process of proving the legal status of the inhabitants with the right documents.

The majority of inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca expressed that the reparation payments are necessary, although ultimately insufficient reparation for the damages. One inhabitant of Agua Blanca told us that, ‘it cannot compensate the damages and

⁵³ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 15-03-2016.

⁵⁴ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

it will not give us back the life we had before the construction”.⁵⁵ However, most people declared that receiving something is better than nothing as “it will help us to move forward because we do not have corn and beans now. We want to leave and move to productive lands”.⁵⁶ An inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix told us that it would help them move forward, as “it will help us to get peace with the past and will help us to get a better life”.⁵⁷ Thus the reparation payments are considered necessary to overcome the situation of poverty in which inhabitants are living.

Hence the collective as well as the individual reparation payments will provide in inhabitants’ basic social and economic needs and could contribute to a significant improvement of their livelihoods. However, the process of receiving individual payments is rather difficult and it is taking a lot of time. Additionally, for both Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca, improving livelihoods remains difficult as long as they do not receive new productive lands and territorial rights. We now proceed to a discussion of the influence of the reparation payments on COCAHICH, and on relations within and between communities.

⁵⁵ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 05-04-2016.

⁵⁶ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 35, 05-04-2016.

⁵⁷ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 30, 15-03-2016.

Chapter 6: The reparation payments and regional relations

Joanne Ligtermoet

As mentioned in the previous chapters, only some families in three affected communities have received their individual reparation payments. The government's initiation of this process has consequences for COCAHICH and the affected communities, as well as for regional relations. This chapter first discusses the new issues that COCAHICH is faced with, as well as their views for the future, after moving on to an analysis of relations within and between communities, as influenced by the reparation payments.

6.1 COCAHICH and reparation payments

COCAHICH has developed a list with affected communities. Those who are most affected are receiving the reparation payments first, after which the less affected communities will follow, which is happening now. COCAHICH explained us that they have communicated the logic of this list to all affected communities and that all people now understand. However, an employee of the municipality of San Cristóbal Verapaz argued that “it is not logical that the communities Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca are not the first communities to receive help and reparation payments, because they are living in extreme poverty”.⁵⁸

Inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca were convinced they were the most affected by the Chixoy dam and did not understand why they have not received reparations yet, saying COCAHICH never explained them the logic of the payment of the reparations.

The coordinator of CECEP told us that there has been a rather negative collaboration between COCAHICH and the affected communities, as COCAHICH has been maintaining a strict control of the communities, regulating all flows in and out of the communities. The representative of Santa Ana Panquix indeed emphasized that COCAHICH wants them to be careful with what they say because they believe there are many people who are trying to sabotage their fight.⁵⁹ However, it seems that COCAHICH's strict control of the communities has loosened. We were almost completely free to travel to affected communities and talk to the inhabitants. It seems that now that the government has started paying the reparations, COCAHICH has become less afraid of sabotage and they seem to have more faith in the government fulfilling all reparation payments.

⁵⁸ Female inhabitant of San Cristóbal Verapaz, secretary townhall, 20-04-2016.

⁵⁹ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

We asked COCAHICH's leaders and representatives what they expect from the future. According to COCAHICH's president, "the fight maybe will be stronger, if the state does not comply with what is already negotiated, which is written". When asked if he believes that the government will fulfill everything, he declared that "it will be a little difficult, if we lose the pressure from the United States perhaps the state will not fulfill".⁶⁰ Agua Blanca's representative was more hopeful and explained that he believes that COCAHICH will disappear after 2029, when there is nothing left to demand. However, "we would have to fight more if the government still fails to fulfill the reparation payments".⁶¹ Another time he declared that "now it is a struggle of waiting. As opposed to before, when nothing was specific and nothing was signed".⁶² COCAHICH's vice-president was more outspoken about his expectations of the government:

We will not accomplish, we will not accomplish it. So we would have to negotiate another *Política Pública*. But finishing this, we will not think of reparations anymore, we will think of another *Política Pública*.⁶³

COCAHICH used to organize manifestations, but they have altered their strategies. COCAHICH's vice-president explained that "we cannot demonstrate about something that is slowly fulfilling. We respect the laws that is how it is".⁶⁴ However, we have also noticed considerable suspicion of the state. People are worried about the government's unwillingness to help, because the creation of an indigenous front against the state is based on a long history of exclusion, neglect and racism of indigenous people in Guatemala (Yashar 1998:31). This seems to be true for COCAHICH.

6.2 Relations within communities

Within each affected community, there are certain families that are not included in COCAHICH's census, which means they will not receive reparation payments. Furthermore, only some families in Baja Verapaz have received reparation payments, while the affected families in Alta Verapaz are still waiting. Hence we asked the inhabitants of Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix if they are experiencing tensions or if they think tensions may develop in the future, when they will eventually receive the reparation payments.

⁶⁰ President of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

⁶¹ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 05-04-2016.

⁶² Ibid., 13-04-2016.

⁶³ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

In Santa Ana Panquix the president of the COCODE argued that ‘‘there are no tensions within the community, because the four families that will not receive reparations know this, and if their parents or family members will receive money, they share it’’.⁶⁵ Earlier, however, he said that tensions ‘‘could happen with the reparation payments, but not tensions between families, but more between family members. But we do not know this, because we have not received anything yet’’.⁶⁶ An inhabitant told us:

Maybe there are tensions between families that will receive the money and the rest, but they are the children of the persons that will receive the money so I believe they will share of give them a part.⁶⁷

As mentioned earlier, Santa Ana Panquix is supposed to receive new lands or land rights. According to the president of the COCODE, Santa Ana Panquix’s inhabitants will receive a large amount of money, with which some will buy new lands. Even though he himself plans to leave Santa Ana Panquix, he believes that most people will not leave, because they are too attached to the lands they are now living on. The representative, however, told us that she believes that the majority will in fact leave Santa Ana Panquix as soon as they are able to. When we asked COCAHICH’s vice-president if he believes the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix have to leave, he answered:

If they are not going to leave, that they at least give them the right [of the land]. It is from INDE. So they have to give them their titles, so they can be owners. Well, if they do not want, we have to get them to another place.⁶⁸

Agua Blanca’s inhabitants told us that there are no tension between families within the community ‘‘because we all have the hope that we will all receive. Only one family did not want to fight and they will not receive the money’’.⁶⁹

Hence in Agua Blanca there is one ‘new family’ that is not in the census, so they will not receive any reparation payments. They seem to have a complicated relationship with the community’s representative and COCAHICH. According to the representative, ‘‘they are invited, but do not want to know anything about the assemblies’’. We were not allowed to talk to them, because ‘‘they are not friendly and they do not get along with other people’’.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 15-03-2016.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 06-03-2016.

⁶⁷ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 24, 15-03-2016.

⁶⁸ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

⁶⁹ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 05-04-2016.

⁷⁰ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE and representative for COCAHICH, 21-03-2016.

There is a gender-based difference in participation in COCAHICH. Agua Blanca's representative told us:

In general the women are not really interested in the subject and when they are interested the man sometimes does not let them participate because they do not want to. The woman has to take care of the children and stay at home.⁷¹

We indeed noticed that women in Agua Blanca have little knowledge of COCAHICH and the process of the reparation payments, as opposed to most of the men. Agua Blanca's representative added that "not all the people that come to the meetings are genuinely listening to what we are discussing, sometimes people are just there to be there and they are too far away to be able to hear anything".⁷²

Similar to the situation in Santa Ana Panquix, Agua Blanca's representative told us that he expects that the purchase of new land will cause problems, as there are people who do not want to leave. According to him, the problem in Agua Blanca is that "many people do not understand it. Fighting the state costs a lot. People do not really believe in it anymore, because so far nothing has happened so they think that it is all just lies. It is a difficult process".⁷³

6.3 Relations between communities

According to COCAHICH's vice-president there are no problems between the different affected communities, as "we have all fought together and we continue working this way". He later added that people might feel frustrated, but "we explain them that it is not like that, because the government does not have all the money so not everybody receives the money at the same time". Furthermore he told us there is good contact between the different communities, that they have a "good relation because of what happened in the past and many of our children married people from other communities. There is a mix of all".⁷⁴

COCAHICH's president, however, told us that the fact that some communities did receive the payments and others did not "causes some conflict, because they say we disadvantage them". But later he added that it is not difficult to work with different ethnic groups, because "all have the same cause. There are no problems".⁷⁵ However, we learnt this was too positive.

⁷¹ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 05-04-2016.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 13-04-2016.

⁷⁴ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 03-03-2016.

⁷⁵ President of COCAHICH, 02-03-2016.

An inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix explained us that there are tensions between the different communities because ‘we always have the pain that others did receive money but Santa Ana Panquix did not’.⁷⁶ This feeling of being left behind is widespread among inhabitants of both Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca. Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca are located in Alta Verapaz, while COCAHICH and the communities that already received reparation payments are located in Baja Verapaz. Many inhabitants of both Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca do not understand why they have not received anything, they are frustrated about the communities in Baja Verapaz and they are worried that COCAHICH is only helping ‘their own’.

In Santa Ana Panquix, the brother of the president of the COCODE declared that he believes that COCAHICH is a very good organization, because ‘they have achieved a lot, but the bad and sad thing is that they have no attention for Alta Verapaz’. He does not know why, ‘maybe simply because it is so far away from Rabinal, or maybe on purpose. Despite our serious situation here, they are helping their own people first’.⁷⁷ An elder of the community declared:

The people of COCAHICH only tell lies and deceive the people. They did nothing for us, we have nothing and we are poor. [...] Other communities have received money and that is not just because we are also fighting but COCAHICH is only helping the other communities.⁷⁸

Santa Ana Panquix’s representative shared these feelings:

We are feeling annoyed with the communities in Baja Verapaz. They do have resources, good lands and houses. And we have nothing of that and they did receive reparation payments. And we do not understand why because we have not received anything.⁷⁹

Agua Blanca’s inhabitants expressed the same sentiments. The representative told us that ‘it is frustrating, because there are communities that have already received, but we have to wait’. Another inhabitant explained that she feels ‘upset because in other communities people did receive money and here nobody and that is unjust because it is the fight of everybody’.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, multiculturalism in Guatemala is weak, as there is little sense of membership and strong feelings of alienation and division are noticeable among the

⁷⁶ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 24, 15-03-2016.

⁷⁷ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, brother of the president of the COCODE, 10-03-2016.

⁷⁸ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 77, 10-03-2016.

⁷⁹ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

indigenous people (Hale 2002:489). COCAHICH consists of different Maya groups, which is not a problem according to COCAHICH's leader, but many are afraid that COCAHICH is helping their own (Maya Achi) first. Many inhabitants from Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca expressed this fear, with an inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix declaring:

I am not sure why we have not received anything yet. Maybe because of the president? Or maybe because of COCAHICH? I do not know. [...] I do not think that they are working for us, because we have not received anything. Maybe they only work for the people over there? I do not know, I just know that we have nothing and that they say that we have to wait.⁸⁰

When we asked Santa Ana Panquix's representative if they are not considering changing their strategies, she answered:

There are five communities in Alta Verapaz. Sometimes we come together and talk about this topic and we also are in touch with Juan de Díos and we talk about why we have not received anything and those of Baja Verapaz did. We from Alta Verapaz are being left behind. We are thinking about organizing a manifestation with the five communities of Alta Verapaz. It is unjust, we all have suffered a lot and we all need to receive help, projects and reparation payments.⁸¹

The main issue, that we believe is related to all problems discussed so far, seems to be that there is a significant distance between the leaders of COCAHICH and the people they are representing. In Chapter 1 we have seen how Sieder argued that the leaders of the movement are in general educated and urban elites and they experience difficulties in convincing the indigenous people of the importance of using legal mobilization strategies in the struggle for collective rights and justice (2007:241).

COCAHICH's leaders are no urban elites, but from the affected communities and thus 'one of them'. Nevertheless, there is a significant distance, both literally and figuratively. COCAHICH is located in Rabinal and the communication goes through multiple representatives, which often leads the inhabitants of affected communities to feel misunderstood, unsure about the whole process and unable to communicate their frustrations to COCAHICH's leaders.

Furthermore, although COCAHICH's president and vice-president are no educated urban elites, they are still considerably different from the inhabitants of Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix. As leaders of COCAHICH, they are in meetings with mayors,

⁸⁰ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 26, 15-03-2016.

⁸¹ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

organizations and the Guatemalan government. The inhabitants of the affected communities often do not understand these strategies and experience a distance between themselves and ‘their leaders’. COCAHICH’s leader indeed told us that many people do not understand what they are doing and why it is taking so long, because they do not understand how politics work. This perceived distance between COCAHICH’s leaders and the people they are representing is further complicated by the fact that they are from different Maya groups.

Having discussed the consequences of the reparation payments for livelihood strategies and for regional relations, we now turn to a discussion of experiences of indigenusness and citizenship, as influenced by the reparations process.

Chapter 7: Indigenusness and citizenship

Tamara Dijkstra & Joanne Ligtermoet

We have argued, following Valji (2004) that citizenship in Guatemala remains partial. Rights pertaining to the integration of indigenous peoples in the Guatemalan-state on their own terms have yet to be realized. Hence indigenous groups have mobilized, demanding recognition and citizenship rights (Radcliffe 2007:390). This chapter explores experiences of indigenusness and citizenship.

First, we discuss the inhabitants' experiences of indigenusness and their claims to citizenship rights in relation the encounter between the affected inhabitants and the land grabbers. After elaborating the identification of the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca, we turn to a discussion of the relation between the Guatemalan government and its (indigenous) citizens. We then explore if the government's apologies and initiation of the process of reparation payments has contributed to feelings of inclusion and recognition as (indigenous) citizens.

7.1 Indigenous identities

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Yashar argues that ethnicity often is crucial in indigenous mobilization, with many movements emphasizing and strategically essentializing their indigenusness in their fight for recognition and citizenship rights (2005:71). However, during our fieldwork we found that indigenous identification was not strongly emphasized by inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca, as most inhabitants declared that they consider themselves Guatemalans. Santa Ana Panquix's representative explained:

I feel Guatemalan, I am living in Guatemala with indigenous people as well as *ladinos* and I am part of the community of Santa Ana Panquix and here we have suffered a lot as a consequence of the conflict and the construction of the dam.⁸²

Most inhabitants shared the opinion of the representative, although many added that they feel both indigenous and Guatemalan: "I am indigenous but also Guatemalan, we all live in the same country".⁸³ Most inhabitants did not emphasize their indigenusness, but the ones that did, did so based on their background and family history:

⁸² Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-16.

⁸³ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 06-03-16.

I am originally from Rabinal, and I am indigenous because my grandparents are indigenous. Nowadays a lot has changed and that is why many families and communities have lost their traditions.⁸⁴

This notion of identification was shared by the vice-president of COCAHICH, who added language as an important component of indigenusness:

They are all indigenous people. I am indigenous, I speak my native language, my children and my grandchildren do to, because it is important, but we also speak Spanish.⁸⁵

Hence, although many do in fact identify as *indígena*, most inhabitants in Santa Ana Panquix emphasized that they are Guatemalan citizens and therefore deserve the associated recognition and citizenship rights.

The majority of Agua Blanca's inhabitants is *ladino*. Agua Blanca's representative explained that 'we are Castellanos, so we are ladinos. COCAHICH also sees us that way'.⁸⁶ A while later he explained why they consider themselves *ladino*: 'we all communicate in Spanish, always. I am *ladino* because I only speak Spanish'.⁸⁷ He told us that only eight of the families living in Agua Blanca are indigenous. His wife, who was present during the interview, explained that 'we are indigenous Guatemalans, but we do not speak all those languages'.⁸⁸ Hence, processes of identification vary, which shows the fluidity of identity. Most inhabitants relate indigenusness to speaking a Maya language or to the origin of their grandparents, instead of linking it directly to their ancestral lands.

7.2 Relations with the government

Gaventa argues that perceptions of rights are created by both global and local indigenous practices (2002:13-14). However, those with power often have a stronger voice and a greater influence on the way these rights are shaped. Voices from indigenous peoples will often not be heard.

Indeed, when we asked inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix how they think the government sees them, the majority replied that they feel subordinated and they doubt the government's commitment to improve their situation, emphasizing that they live in a remote

⁸⁴ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 20, 10-03-16.

⁸⁵ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 02-03-16.

⁸⁶ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, representative for COCAHICH, 05-03-16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 13-04-16.

⁸⁸ Female inhabitant of Agua Blanca, 13-04-16.

area. ‘‘The government does not know who we are, they have never been here, and they have no idea who we are.’’⁸⁹ Indeed, the teacher explained:

The government never visits to investigate the necessities of the community. The problem is that they do not want to help us unless they can benefit from it and gain money.⁹⁰

Some, however, had a different opinion and once again emphasized that they are Guatemalan citizens.

I think they see us as Guatemalans. And because we are Guatemalans, they should take us into account. We are part of Guatemala so they have to help us.⁹¹

Even though the majority of Agua Blanca is *ladino*, its inhabitants shared the experiences of the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and explained that they feel neglected and subordinated. One inhabitant stated that ‘‘it is hard to think that the government does take us into account because we are living far away, so I do not know how they see us’’.⁹² Like in Santa Ana Panquix, some inhabitants of Agua Blanca explained that they think the government sees them as Guatemalans.

I think they see us as Guatemalans because we are all living in the same country. But the government does not know that we exist but we are living in the same country.⁹³

Hence, inhabitants of both communities experienced geographic and political exclusion and did not emphasize experiences of ethnic subordination.

7.3 Indigenous rights

Many inhabitants of both Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca told us they do not know what indigenous rights are, but emphasized that it does not matter if people are indigenous or *ladino*, because ‘‘we all have the same rights, because we are all the same’’.⁹⁴ Even though the majority of Agua Blanca is *ladino*, we asked what indigenous rights mean to them.

⁸⁹ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 14, 15-03-16.

⁹⁰ Male inhabitant of San Cristóbal Verapaz, schoolteacher of Santa Ana Panquix, age 35, 15-03-16.

⁹¹ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 26, 15-03-16.

⁹² Female inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 37, 05-04-16.

⁹³ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, 21-03-16.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

There are a lot of indigenous people but in this community not that much. Ladinos and indigenous people are the same and do have the same rights.⁹⁵

Another inhabitant of Agua Blanca explained indigenous rights as:

Claim or tell the truth. It means that we should be able and allowed to say what we want and to ask for what we want. Because we need it. We need help, so we have the right to say that and to ask for that.⁹⁶

Most inhabitants explained that they consider themselves Guatemalan citizens rather than emphasizing their indigenusness. Nevertheless, they do not want to lose their cultural identity. The president of COCODE declared that “others have to respect and value the indigenous people. We also have the right to express our ideas and what we feel”.⁹⁷

This lack of claims of indigeneity could be connected to the concept of neoliberal multiculturalism and ‘Indio permitido’, which implies that there is a certain impossibility to claiming indigenous rights when they do not conform to the state’s ideas (Sieder 2007 and Hale 2002). It would imply that people do not emphasize indigenous identities, as the (political) context does not allow a non-conforming indigenusness. We explore this in our conclusion.

Hence, the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca are fighting for recognition and citizenship rights by emphasizing that they are Guatemalan citizens – even though they see themselves as indigenous - and that therefore the government is obligated to compensate them for the damages of Chixoy dam development. This brings us to a discussion of the meaning of the government’s apologies and initiation of the process of reparation payments.

7.4 Apologies

As mentioned in Chapter 2, by signing the Reparations Plan and *Política Pública* the Guatemalan government has formally acknowledged and apologized for the violations of human rights. This could be meaningful, given the Guatemalan state’s neglect of its indigenous citizens. Therefore we asked the inhabitants of Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix inhabitants what this means to them, to see if the developments surrounding the *Política Pública* makes them feel more recognized as (indigenous) Guatemalan citizens.

⁹⁵ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 05-04-16.

⁹⁶ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 21-03-16.

⁹⁷ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 06-03-16.

People in Agua Blanca in general were aware of the government's formal apologies, but people's knowledge of the matter was limited. Some people were positive about it and explained that it made them feel more recognized as Guatemalan citizens: 'it is good because they take us into account and it is a fight of the communities.' The majority of Agua Blanca's inhabitants, however, believes the apologies are meaningless, because nothing has changed for them.

They do not have any meaning because they never made their promises true. Nothing happened, we received nothing, so then their words mean nothing.⁹⁸

Agua Blanca's representative was not positive about the government's apologies either.

The government had to do it, but they only apologized for the massacres, not for the construction of the dam.⁹⁹

It does not have meaning, nothing, because we have not seen anything. The government has to buy us new lands [...] but we only have negotiations and nothing is happening.¹⁰⁰

People in Santa Ana Panquix were more knowledgeable and outspoken about the government's apologies. The vast majority of Santa Ana Panquix's inhabitants emphasized the fact that they have not received anything, which is why they do not regard the government's apologies as meaningful. One inhabitant explained:

The apologies have no meaning, no significance. How could they have any meaning or significance, we are talking 40 years after the fact and nothing has happened for us, and the violations of our rights were too big. Inequality remains extreme here. We still have nothing and there are some people in organizations or the government with a lot of money. How is that fair? So what can the apologies mean? Nothing.¹⁰¹

Santa Ana Panquix's representative explained that many people are frustrated about the government's false promises after the formal apologies.

They do not have a lot of meaning. The government promised to compensate us for the damages but those were just false promises. The government has the money but they do not want to give us the money. They only say it is a large and complicated process and that there are problems with documents but these are just excuses to not give us the money.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Female inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 53, 21-03-2016.

⁹⁹ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 05-04-2016.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 06-03-2016.

¹⁰¹ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, brother of the president of the COCODE, 10-03-2016.

¹⁰² Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 10-03-2016.

As we have argued in Chapter 4, COCAHICH is an organization that does not employ a grand narrative of the state's neglect of indigenous peoples, but that has a rather practical approach to the exact consequences of the Chixoy dam. The inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca seem to the same kind of practical approach. Something rather abstract like apologies does not bear meaning to them, as they want to be compensated for the damages of Chixoy dam development. Only the actual implementation of the reparation payments would be a meaningful recognition of the past violations of their rights. As long as they do not receive reparations, the government does not fulfill its promises, which makes the formal apology worthless.

7.5 Reparation payments and recognition

In Chapter 2 we have noted that on October 15, 2015, a group of surviving family members of the Chixoy Dam massacres and evictions received their first reparations payments. Some families in three affected communities have now received reparation payments. Even though Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix not yet received the reparation payments, we asked the inhabitants if this implementation of the Reparations Plan is contributing to experiences of recognition as Guatemalan citizens.

Most of Agua Blanca's inhabitants were positive about the initiation of the process of the reparation payments, explaining they feel like the government is taking them more serious. One inhabitant explained "I think so, yes, because they are going to help us", later adding that "we will be happy when we will receive the payments". Although the apologies are meaningless to him, when we asked Agua Blanca's representative if the fact that the government has started with the reparation payments is something meaningful to him, he answered:

Yes, because in the *Política Pública* is a *plan de vida*. Every community has to receive 17.000. We have not received anything, but we have to receive it.¹⁰³

In Santa Ana Panquix most inhabitants were positive too and said that the reparation payments are meaningful to them, as long as they will receive them. Like in Agua Blanca, they explained that the reparation payments could mean that the government is taking them

¹⁰³ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, president of the COCODE, representative for COCAHICH, 05-04-2016.

more serious. Santa Ana Panquix's representative and the president of the COCODE both expressed the same sentiments, saying:

Yes, I feel more recognized as indigenous Guatemalan because the process is advancing, but we will not stop fighting until all payments are completed. We will continue to get together and if that does not help we have to demonstrate another time.¹⁰⁴

I feel more recognized as indigenous Guatemalan because in reality they are complying with the payments and we will continue to achieve everything.¹⁰⁵

But although the reparation payments could have significant meaning, the inhabitants of both Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix are frustrated about the lack of help they receive from the government. Most people explained they do not believe the government knows them or wants to help them. One inhabitant of Agua Blanca declared:

We are angry that the government does not take us into account. People in other places receive help and aid from the government, but we receive nothing. We do not receive any help whatsoever, and we need it just as badly. We have no corn, we have no jobs, they do not help us, they do not take us into account at all. We get nothing.¹⁰⁶

In general inhabitants of Agua Blanca and Santa Ana Panquix believe that the reparation payments are good, as it is something they want and need, but they do not expect too much from the government. One inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix told us that ‘‘in general in theory they are good, but it is difficult for us. Maybe it is all just lies, I do not know. They are good but all I know is that we have nothing so I am not sure.’’¹⁰⁷

When we asked COCAHICH's leaders about the meaning of the apologies and the initiation of the reparation payments, COCAHICH's president explained that he believes COCAHICH is now being taken more serious on a national and international level. Especially the pressure from the U.S. Senate is meaningful to him, as it is an important recognition of the violations of their rights. When we asked COCAHICH's vice-president about the meaning of the initiation of the reparation process, he explained he feels more recognized both as Guatemalan and as *indígena*:

As *indígena* because we are an indigenous people. That they are now recognizing. Past governments pledged that yes there were damages, there were damages *y perjuicios* and they

¹⁰⁴ Female inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, representative for COCAHICH, 13-04-2016.

¹⁰⁵ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, president of the COCODE, 13-04-2016.

¹⁰⁶ Male inhabitant of Agua Blanca, age 42, 21-03-2016.

¹⁰⁷ Male inhabitant of Santa Ana Panquix, age 30, 15-03-2016.

are now complying. Albeit little by little, but they are doing it. They are not doing it out of good will, they are doing it because of pressure from other nations.¹⁰⁸

To conclude, we have seen that most inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca see themselves as Guatemalans first and foremost. Indigenusness was not emphasized, but approached in a more factual way, by means of one's family or language-group. Furthermore, this indigeneity is not the basis for claim making. Instead they are seeking recognition as Guatemalan citizens, emphasizing they deserve the same rights as any other citizen. However, they feel ignored and excluded. Receiving the promised reparation payments would mean the government has not forgotten them and that they acknowledge that their rights have been violated. Indeed, it would imply a recognition as Guatemalan citizens. Hence as long as the Guatemalan government does not fulfill their promises, the people from Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca do not feel recognized as (indigenous) citizens, but still ignored and excluded.

¹⁰⁸ Vice-president of COCAHICH, 08-04-2016.

Conclusions

In this thesis we have analysed the consequences of Chixoy dam development and subsequent reparation payments, on the basis of our ethnographic field research data. We worked in affected communities and with COCAHICH, the organization of the 33 affected communities that fights the lack of compensation for damages of Chixoy dam development. Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca are the two affected communities we focused on, as they are located on the two sides of the Chixoy dam.

Our research addressed the changed livelihood strategies, COCAHICH's discourse and claim making, the consequences of the reparation payments for livelihood strategies and for regional relations, and lastly we explored experiences of indigenous identities and recognition as (indigenous) citizens.

The construction of the Chixoy dam involved practices of resource extraction and land grabbing. We have seen that the tension between development choices and indigenous rights resulted in mobilizing indigenous communities, who are often largely neglected by the state. Indeed, our research entails a confrontation between indigenous claim makers and the 'grabbers'. Since their lands were grabbed without any form of compensation, the indigenous claim makers have mobilized and are demanding compensation and - ultimately - recognition and citizenship rights.

Following Yashar (2005), Sieder (2007) and Hale (2002 and 2004), we have placed this indigenous mobilization in a broader framework of shifting citizenship regimes, which focuses on the influence that democratization and neoliberal multiculturalism have had on the mobilization of indigenous people in Latin America. We have argued, following Jackson and Warren (2005), that many indigenous movements have focused on the issue of strengthening their own indigenous identity, with a strategic use of essentialized indigenous identity aimed at achieving ethnic recognition. Applying these ideas to the Guatemalan context, we have seen how Valji (2004) has argued that citizenship in Guatemala remains partial, which points to indigenous people's lack of basic citizenship rights.

These theoretical explorations have led us to the following research question: how do the consequences of Chixoy dam development and subsequent reparation payments influence claim making of affected communities?

The Chixoy dam was placed in the middle of the Chixoy river, which resulted in a large reservoir on the one side and a tiny stream on the other side of the dam. For Santa Ana Panquix, located on the reservoir side of the dam, the main consequence of the construction was the flooding of their fertile lands close to the river, which resulted in the displacement of the inhabitants to less fertile lands in a barren area higher up the mountain. As a result, people face difficulties in supporting their families, as agriculture is no longer a possible source of income for the community.

In Agua Blanca, located on the other side of the dam, inhabitants feel they are living in a dangerous situation, because they are afraid the dam will suddenly open (which has happened) or even break, which would flood the entire community. Furthermore, they lost access to the local river, which used to be a great source of income and is now too small and contaminated. Hence, Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca both suffered from practices of landgrabbing, which implies not only forced displacement but also loss of access to natural resources (Borras et al. 2012:851).

Practices of land grabbing have thus forcibly changed livelihood strategies, which has never been compensated. The forced change of livelihood strategies and lack of compensation has resulted in the mobilization of the 33 communities that were affected by the Chixoy dam in the organization COCAHICH. They have been pressuring the Guatemalan government for individual and collective reparations, with the goal of improving the quality of life in the affected communities.

The case of COCAHICH is an interesting illustration of Yashar's argument, which explains that indigenous peoples have lost their ties and access to the state that they had as peasants under corporatist citizenship regimes. COCAHICH and the people they are representing have indeed made it clear that they feel unrecognized as remote (indigenous) communities and that they lack access to the state. Hence COCAHICH is demanding recognition, specifically in the form of individual and collective reparations for the damages of Chixoy dam development.

We have found that COCAHICH's claim making is not based on claims of indigenesness. Although indigeneity plays a role - as the majority of affected families is indigenous, and as COCAHICH's leaders are aware of the Guatemalan state's neglect of its indigenous citizens - they do not emphasize their indigenous identities nor do they strategically use it in their dialogue with the government. Part of the reason is that there are also *ladinos* part of COCAHICH's fight for reparations. Furthermore we have found that most

inhabitants of the affected communities ultimately see themselves as indigenous Guatemalans, with 'indigenous' being relevant, but 'Guatemalan' crucial. Hence COCAHICH does not employ a grand narrative of indigenusness, which seems to contradict theories of Jackson and Warren (2005) and Kuper (2003), that focus on indigenous movements' strategic use of claims of indigeneity. This contradiction can however be explained.

As the communities are located in remote areas, the inhabitants may not be well aware of Guatemala's history of neglect of indigenous citizen's rights and current political discussions. This might contribute to the absence of emphasizing and self-essentializing an indigenous identity as the basis of claims for recognition and rights. For these communities, the main goal is the improvement of the quality of life, as the Chixoy dam has forcibly changed their livelihood strategies.

Furthermore, this lack of claims of indigeneity could be connected to the concept of 'Indio permitido', which implies that there is a certain impossibility to claiming indigenous rights when they do not conform to the state's ideas (Sieder 2007 and Hale 2002). It would imply that people unintentionally do not emphasize their indigenusness, because the (political) context does not allow a non-conforming indigenusness.

We believe this could be true, as it is certain that many people are still living with the fear that came with the armed conflict. Indigenous peoples in Guatemala have never been recognized as full citizens, and have therefore long been unable to demand rights from the government. And while this lack of opportunity could indeed unintentionally influence the inhabitants' identifications, COCAHICH's leaders are more aware of the political context. We therefore believe that the concept of 'Indio permitido' could indeed explain their focus on human rights and citizenship, instead of indigenous rights, knowing that the Guatemalan state would only accept certain indigenous identities. Hence instead of making claims based on (essentialized) indigenous identities, COCAHICH and its members claim human rights and national citizenship.

The vast majority of people we spoke with argued that the construction of the Chixoy dam has violated their (human) rights. Most inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca have a rather practical approach, explaining to us what the consequences of the Chixoy dam have been, and that they therefore deserve compensation. Hence they claim to deserve reparations because they see themselves as (perhaps indigenous) Guatemalans, and thus the Guatemalan state has the obligation to compensate them for damages of Chixoy dam development.

As they have not yet received compensation, they seek recognition as Guatemalan citizens. Most inhabitants feel excluded and neglected by the government - but nobody linked this directly to indigeneity - and receiving the reparation payments would thus acknowledge the violation of their rights and it would thus be a sign of recognition as Guatemalan citizens.

COCAHICH's claim making based on human rights and citizenship has been fairly successful, as they were able to build international pressure, mainly from the United States. In 2014 COCAHICH and the Guatemalan president Otto Perez reached an agreement on the implementation of the 2010 Reparations Plan that COCAHICH has developed, and in 2015 the first reparation payments were received. At the time of our research, only some families in three affected communities have received their individual reparation payments. The government is supposed to finish the process of the individual payments in 2017 and in 2029 all collective projects should be developed.

COCAHICH is the intercessor between the Guatemalan state and the people on the receiving end, and they have decided that communities in Baja Verapaz will first receive individual payments, because they are considered more affected. Communities in Alta Verapaz will be the first to receive the collective reparations in the future. Hence the affected families living in Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca have not yet received their reparation payments.

The initiated reparation process aims to provide the inhabitants of the affected communities with basic social and economic arrangements. The collective reparations, the projects that the communities will receive, can thus be seen as a form of social citizenship, as social citizenship rights are about guaranteeing citizens with basic economic and social arrangements (Marshall in Dwyer 2010:4).

Inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca generally feel subordinated and neglected by COCAHICH. COCAHICH's leaders are Maya Achi and live in Baja Verapaz, the region where the government has started with the reparations. Hence people in Alta Verapaz are suspicious and do not fully trust COCAHICH, as they believe they might be only working for 'their own'.

We have argued that the main problem, that we believe is related to all issues surrounding COCAHICH, is the distance that is perceived between COCAHICH's leaders and the people they are representing. They might not be urban elites, as Sieder (2007:241) argues, but they are rather different from the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua

Blanca. They live far away, they are belonging to a different Maya group and they are now involved in a world of politics, which is something our informants do not understand.

Hence, answering our research question, we can conclude that the inhabitants of Santa Ana Panquix and Agua Blanca have been negatively effected by the construction of the Chixoy dam, as it has forcibly changed their livelihood strategies. The lack of compensation has resulted in situations of serious poverty. For this reason the 33 affected communities have united in COCAHICH and are demanding reparations. We have argued that COCAHICH's claim making is not based on claims of indigeneity, but rather on human rights and national citizenship. This discourse of human rights and inclusionary citizenship has enabled COCAHICH to scale up their fight, which has resulted in international pressure. Their claim making has thus been fairly successful, as the Guatemalan has signed their Reparations Plan and has initiated the reparation process. The reparation payments could contribute to a significant improvement of their livelihoods, but the communities in Alta Verapaz have not yet received any form of reparation. This is leading to regional tensions, as the people from Alta Verapaz are worried COCAHICH is only working for 'their own', namely Maya Achi people in Baja Verapaz.

Thus, with Radcliffe (2007), we can indeed include that neoliberal development prompts indigenous groups to mobilize to demand recognition and redistribution. However, in our research, these demands did not rest on claims of indigeneity and ethnic identity, but on human rights and national citizenship.

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Appendix A: Illustrations



Photograph 1: Driving down the mountain to Agua Blanca. The photograph was taken on 06-03-16 during our first visit to the community. You can see the stone church made of stone surrounded by the trees.



Photograph 2: Passing the Chixoy dam. This photograph was taken on 06-03-16, when we drove from Agua Blanca to Santa Ana Panquix.



Photograph 3: The 15 houses of Santa Ana Panquix. The photograph was taken on 06-03-16 during our first visit to the community.



Photograph 4: Santa Ana Panquix, the house of the representative. The photograph was taken on 06-03-16 during our first visit to the community.



Photograph 5. Santa Ana Panquix, drying palm leafs. This photograph was taken on 13-04-16 during our last visit to the community.



Photograph 6: Agua Blanca, an inhabitant's house. The photograph was taken on 06-03-16 during our first visit to the community.



Photograph 7. The tunnel constructed by INDE, close to Agua Blanca. This photograph was taken on 06-03-16 during our first visit to the community.



Photograph 8: Agua Blanca, the Chixoy river is now a tiny stream. This photograph was taken on 21-03-16 during our second visit.

Appendix B: Summary in Spanish

Resumen de la investigación de titulación

El tema de esta investigación, basada en los datos etnográficos obtenidos en nuestra investigación de campo, son los efectos de la construcción de la presa Chixoy en las comunidades adyacentes. En este contexto, también enfocamos en el pago de indemnizaciones, el procedimiento de solicitud de indemnización por parte de COCAHICH y su política y en las consecuencias que conllevan las indemnizaciones pagadas para la manera en que se vive en las poblaciones afectadas. Adicionalmente, exploramos experiencias individuales en las poblaciones afectadas en relación a la identidad indígena y al reconocimiento de ser, sobre todo, ciudadano nacional.

Con el objetivo de obtener suficiente información para la investigación sobre los efectos de la construcción de la represa Chixoy, concluida en el año 1982 en el área situada entre las regiones de Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz y Quiché en Guatemala, entrevistamos a varias personas afectadas en las comunidades de Santa Ana Panquix y Agua Blanca. También estuvimos en contacto con COCAHICH, la organización en la que las 33 comunidades afectadas han reunido sus esfuerzos en la lucha por obtener la indemnización de los daños causados por la construcción de la presa. Santa Ana Panquix y Agua Blanca son las dos comunidades afectadas en las que concentramos nuestro enfoque de investigación, situadas a ambos lados de la presa Chixoy, y que por esa razón nos ofrecen datos interesantes para entender las diferentes consecuencias que la construcción de la presa ha provocado.

Los habitantes de la comunidad de Santa Ana Panquix, situada a un lado del embalse, han tenido que desplazarse hacia una región más alta en las montañas porque el nivel del agua en la presa ha aumentado de tal forma que sus tierras han quedado inundadas. Actualmente, los habitantes de esta comunidad viven en tierras áridas por lo que ya no pueden vivir de la agricultura, lo que ha resultado en una situación de extrema pobreza.

A su vez, los habitantes de la comunidad de Agua Blanca, situada al otro lado de la presa, han perdido el acceso a los recursos naturales que tenían a su disposición a causa de la construcción de la presa. Anteriormente, la principal fuente de ingresos para la comunidad consistía en la pesca, lo que hoy en día ha cambiado porque el río está prácticamente seco y, además, contaminado. Además de la pesca, la agricultura también ha sido una fuente de ingresos adicionales para la comunidad, pero este año, los ingresos han sido mucho menores debido a una escasa cosecha. Otro asunto que también preocupa a la población es que sus

habitantes temen por su integridad física y material porque la presa representa un peligro constante y podría romperse en cualquier momento y como consecuencia, desbordarse e inundar dicha comunidad.

Debido a la falta de compensación hasta la fecha, las 33 comunidades afectadas han decidido unir sus fuerzas en la organización de COCAHICH. Desde el año 2003, las 33 comunidades luchan en conjunto para mejorar el nivel de vida de sus habitantes. De gran interés es el hecho de que la política de COCAHICH para el reclamo de indemnizaciones no está enfocada en utilizar la identidad indígena como argumento para obtener su objetivo, sino que se enfoca en los derechos humanos y en el derecho de ciudadanía nacional. Al mantener esta política enfocada en los derechos humanos, ciudadanía e inclusión, han logrado que sus esfuerzos sean escuchados y han conseguido un apoyo internacional para su causa.

Los líderes de la organización hablan en este contexto de violación de los derechos humanos y señalan que el gobierno tiene la responsabilidad de indemnizar a los habitantes afectados, por ser sobre todo ciudadanos guatemaltecos. COCAHICH ha logrado mucho desde su establecimiento. En el año 2014 se firmó el acuerdo de la *Política Pública de Reparación*, y en el año 2015 el gobierno inició el procedimiento de pagos para indemnizar a los habitantes afectados.

Los pagos de resarcimiento consisten en dos tipos: por un lado, pagos a personas individuales con el objetivo de ayudar a las familias específicamente y por otro lado los pagos colectivos, que tienen el objetivo de realizar proyectos para mejorar la calidad de vida en las comunidades. No obstante, hasta ahora, solo tres familias en la región de Baja Verapaz han recibido los pagos de resarcimiento. Las demás familias todavía están en espera de una indemnización.

Otro aspecto importante para las dos comunidades, es que ambas hasta ahora no disponen de los derechos de propiedad de sus tierras, o de nuevos terrenos en mejores áreas, algo fundamental para poder mejorar su calidad de vida. Además, la mayoría de los habitantes opina que recibir pagos de resarcimiento es algo bueno, pero que estos nunca podrán ser suficientes para compensar lo que paso en el pasado.

Los líderes de COCAHICH, nos aseguraron que no existen conflictos serios entre las familias en las comunidades afectadas respecto a las indemnizaciones, aunque no descartan que puedan surgir conflictos entre los familiares en este contexto. Además, pueden producirse

situaciones tensas en caso de que familias reciban tierras nuevas como parte de los pagos de reparación, porque no todas las familias están dispuestas a trasladarse a otras tierras en las áreas señaladas y a abandonar sus tierras, aunque esto signifique seguir viviendo en condiciones de pobreza.

Otro aspecto que hemos visto es que a pesar de que los líderes de COCAHICH nos han comentado que la unificación de los diferentes grupos Maya dentro de la organización no provoca tensiones, tenemos la impresión que la situación es diferente. Las indemnizaciones representan una importante posibilidad para mejorar las circunstancias de vida en ambas comunidades, pero hasta ahora, la población de Alta Verapaz no ha recibido ninguna indemnización. Esta situación genera tensiones en la región y constituye un motivo de preocupación para la gente de Alta Verapaz que pierde confianza en el procedimiento de trabajo de COCAHICH, porque opina que la organización solo considera sus propios intereses, siendo estos los intereses de la gente Maya Achi, que representa una mayoría en Baja Verapaz.

-El hecho de que la mayoría de los habitantes-, se considera en primer lugar ciudadanos nacionales y no ponen énfasis en su identidad indígena es un dato importante. En este sentido, en las entrevistas efectuadas, la mayoría de las personas relacionaban la identidad indígena con el habla de un idioma indígena, en lugar de relacionarlo con la importancia de las tierras ancestrales. Los habitantes y las personas de COCAHICH no utilizan su origen indígena como argumento para conseguir la indemnización correspondiente de los daños causados por la represa. Sus esfuerzos se enfocan sobre todo en la lucha para conseguir reconocimiento de sus derechos humanos y ciudadanía nacional.

Asimismo, gran parte de la gente en las comunidades afectadas; opina que las disculpas del gobierno en este contexto, no tienen ningún significado para ellos. Desde su punto de vista de los habitantes de Santa Ana Panquix y Agua Blanca a pesar de que el procedimiento de los pagos se haya iniciado en algunas comunidades de Baja Verapaz, no existe un indicio de que les sea reconocido en su derecho de ciudadanía, porque hasta la fecha no han recibido ninguna indemnización. Parece que hasta que no se reciban los pagos de resarcimiento, la gente no se sentirá reconocida como ciudadano nacional (indígena). Se sienten excluidas porque viven en comunidades muy lejanas y en circunstancias difíciles, y por lo tanto opinan que sus necesidades hasta el día de hoy no han sido tomadas en cuenta en las políticas del gobierno.