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Norway's contribution to peacebuilding in Guatemala, 1996-2016

Twenty years after the signing of the Peace Accords, Guatemala continues to face serious challenges. While inequality and poverty have decreased in most other countries in Latin America, Guatemala has seen no such improvement. Social conflicts are common, violence is widespread and migration has increased steeply. Post-war Guatemala is not what those who negotiated the Peace Accords in the 1990s might have imagined and many of the structural causes of the war are still present. This report studies how the long-term engagement of Norwegian cooperation has contributed to peacebuilding in Guatemala. Norway has supported various initiatives related to the implementation of the Peace Accords in Guatemala in the 20 years since the signing of the agreements. Norway's work has consistently focused on the same key issues: human rights, the rights of women and indigenous people, and the rule of law. This, together with Norway's work with numerous Guatemalan partners and the multilateral system, has maximised results and increased the legitimacy of Norwegian aid.

Introduction

Twenty years after the signing of the Peace Accords, Guatemala continues to face serious challenges. While inequality and poverty have decreased in most other countries in Latin America, Guatemala has seen no such improvement. Agriculture continues to be an important source of both formal and informal employment, but the agrarian structure and land distribution patterns have not changed despite the market-based land reform launched after the signing of the Peace Accords. Social conflicts related to land and natural resources are common. Guatemala is the fourth most violent country in Latin America by number of homicides. In addition, other forms of violence, like extortion, sexual violence, robberies and the criminalisation of activists, are widespread. Migration has also increased steeply. Many of the structural causes of the war are still present.

During the 20 years since the signing of the peace agreements, Norway has supported various initiatives, consistently focusing on the same key issues: human rights, the rights of women and indigenous people, and the rule of law. This report studies how the long-term engagement of Norwegian cooperation has contributed to peacebuilding in Guatemala and summarises the main lessons learnt from this engagement. This overview (1) documents the peacebuilding-related priorities of the last 20 years related to human rights and the rule of law portfolios; (2) describes the main peacebuilding-related contributions and achievements in Guatemala resulting from Norwegian support; (3) considers the role of Norwegian and local civil society in peacebuilding efforts; (4) provides insights into how Norway is currently perceived in Guatemala as a result of its development cooperation; and (5) identifies lessons for Norwegian peace diplomacy in general by drawing on specific experiences from Guatemala.

In methodological terms, the authors have used a process approach that seeks to reveal not only specific societal changes, but also how changes have created the conditions for possible future developments that might be conducive to peacebuilding. The study is based on 62 interviews conducted among a representative sample of actors in Guatemala, including all relevant sectors, as well as a study of the archives of the Norwegian embassies in Guatemala City and Mexico City. Other previous studies and evaluations of Norway's contribution to peacebuilding in Guatemala provided important background material.¹

Five paradigmatic case studies (described in the Annex) are used as a prism to understand broader changes. These are (1) the genocide trial of former general Efraín Ríos-Montt; (2) the trial related to cases of sexual violence that occurred during the civil war known as the Sepur Zarco case; (3) the restitution of property rights to the community of Chuarrancho; (4) the decisions of the Constitutional Court regarding consultations with indigenous community members; and (5) citizens' anti-corruption protests in 2015 against former president Otto Pérez Molina and most of his cabinet, other civil servants, and some businessmen. Taken together, these five case studies represent significant improvements in the rule of law and respect for human rights, particularly the rights of women and indigenous groups. They also show evidence of a lower tolerance for corruption in Guatemalan society. The report seeks to reveal the processes that made these cases possible and the role that Norway played in them.

Drawing conclusions about Norway's contribution to peace in Guatemala by addressing the five points specified above is a complex task. Norway is one among many donors working in Guatemala, and several other factors besides aid influence the economic and political changes experienced in the country. Moreover, various groups in Guatemala perceive any transformations that have occurred in the country very differently. From the start of the peace negotiations it became clear that many of the most influential actors in Guatemala were critical of the peace process. The most important actors during the peace negotiations were the private sector (organised in the Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations, or CACIF), the Guatemalan army, the National Revolutionary Unit of Guatemala and civil society organised in the Assembly of Civil Society. Even though CACIF participated in the peace talks, some of its most powerful members opposed the talks, and during the negotiations CACIF used its power to block decisions on some crucial issues, in particular those related to the agrarian question and tax collection

1 At the international level there is a growing trend towards using quantitative indicators to evaluate peacebuilding efforts in various contexts. However, the use of quantitative indicators depoliticises such processes and increases bureaucracy (Denskus, 2007; Goetschel & Hagmann, 2009). In this report we follow a qualitative approach and are not interested in quantifying the success of Norwegian involvement in peacebuilding in Guatemala.

(Rettberg, 2007; Krznaric, 1999). Consequently, support for the implementation of the Peace Accords from the business elites has been lukewarm at best. During our interviews, it became evident that our Maya interviewees perceived the changes that have taken place in the last 20 years in Guatemala more positively than those who did not identify themselves as Maya.

Analytical framework

In the Guatemalan Peace Accords peacebuilding is understood as the transformation of those institutions and structures that disproportionately benefitted a small group in society and excluded most others from economic benefits and political influence, especially indigenous peoples. This view coincides with academic discourses in which peacebuilding is seen as part of a country's development strategy (David, 1999). In academic literature, the transformation of the structural causes of armed conflict and support for domestic capacities for conflict management and resolution are emphasised (MacGinty, 2013; Jenkins, 2013). According to David (1999), peacebuilding involves a triple transformation: (1) a security transformation (in the case of Guatemala, the operative agreements); (2) a democratic transformation conducive to citizens' participation at all levels of government (primarily through free and fair elections), respect for human rights and the efficient administration of justice; and (3) a socioeconomic transformation involving economic restructuring and recovery in order to prevent the resurgence of violence.

Peacebuilding involves, on the one hand, the emotional, economic, political and material recovery of a society and, on the other hand, the possibility of transforming the circumstances that caused the conflict in the first place. Justice, then, is not only a way to attend to the needs of war victims, but also a way to build the future. In this sense, Lambourne (2009) argues that the long-term objective of peace should be to secure the sustainability of peace in the economic, political and justice spheres, which includes the promotion of democracy, transparent governance, poverty eradication, sustainable development and the rule of law. The process of peacebuilding also demands the establishment of dialogue mechanisms conducive to the establishment of the truth and historical memory that will support reconciliation (Sen, 2006; Lambourne, 2009).

Lambourne (2009) uses the notion of transformative justice to refer to those processes that go beyond the purely legal and have an impact on the transformation of social relations in society, as well as the transformation of its structures and institutions. Transformative justice comprises four elements: truth and acknowledgment, legal justice, political justice, and socioeconomic justice.

Given the way in which they coincide with the spirit of the Guatemalan Peace Accords, we use these four dimensions of transformative justice as an analytical framework to understand Norway's contribution to peacebuilding in

Guatemala. However, in the Guatemalan case the analysis must also consider that ethnicity and racism are two central principles underlying the way in which society is organised (Nelson, 2015).² Racism was a factor not only in counterinsurgency policies during the war, but was also a key feature of Guatemalan society that resulted in the inequalities and conflicts that led to the war (Schirmer, 1998; Brett, 2016).

Norway's priorities in Guatemala

Between 1996 and 2016 Norway's work in Guatemala has focused on human rights, the rights of women and indigenous peoples, and the rule of law. The relationship between Norway and Guatemala started in 1976 when humanitarian organisations like Norwegian Church Aid arrived after a devastating earthquake had destroyed large parts of the country. From its inception, Norwegian development cooperation has been characterised by the active participation of Norwegian grassroots organisations, schools, municipal friendship groups and larger NGOs.

Norwegian official development cooperation with Guatemala may be divided into three phases. Between 1997 and 2001 the focus was on joint efforts with other donors to support demobilisation, the maintenance of the ceasefire and support for truth commissions. Between 2001 and 2007 the emphasis was on bilateral cooperation focused on the rights of indigenous peoples and institutional strengthening. In the last phase (2007-15) support for indigenous peoples was channelled through the United Nations (UN) system, with emphasis on political participation, women's rights and socioeconomic development.

Norwegian cooperation has been channelled through various mechanisms: through bilateral programmes managed by the Norwegian Embassy, through grants from the international development cooperation agency NORAD to Norwegian NGOs, and through NORFUND. Norway has also supported the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) and the Centre for Justice and International Law, both with headquarters in Costa Rica. Organisations receiving direct support from the embassy in Guatemala work with issues related to democratic participation, culture, human rights and equity. Norwegian NGOs that have run projects uninterruptedly between 1999 and 2015 in Guatemala are Norwegian Church Aid (Kirkens Nødhjelp), Norwegian Peoples' Aid (Norsk

Folkehjelp), the Norwegian Red Cross (Norges Røde Kors), Save the Children Norway (Redd Barna Norge) and FOKUS/JURK.

In 2009 the embassy launched the Maya Programme, which has become Norway's most important project in Guatemala to date. The objective of the programme is to improve the legal rights of indigenous peoples, and the education and political participation of the Maya population. The Maya Programme is implemented through various UN agencies. The embassy also supported the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG), an initiative involving Norwegian and Guatemalan judges, and a project to protect and further the interests of sexual minorities in Guatemala.

Peace as a process of transformative justice

It is impossible to establish direct causal links between Norwegian cooperation and changes occurring in Guatemala during the last 20 years. However, our analysis allows us to examine the process over the long term, through which it is possible to establish some links between Norwegian development cooperation and broader changes in Guatemalan society within the four areas discussed below.

Truth, justice and reconciliation

Norway supported two truth commissions: an official commission established by the Peace Accords, Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH), and one established by the Archbishop of Guatemala's Office for Human Rights (Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala, or ODHAG). The information gathered for the reports of the truth commissions provided the basis for the legal cases that were later presented in court, in particularly the genocide trial and the sexual violence trial. The reports of the truth commissions also documented corruption mechanisms that later motivated the establishment of the CICIG. The reports of the Guatemalan truth commissions were the first to document, expose, and condemn gender-based violence and sexualised violence against women during the war. One of the most important long-term consequences of the reports was that access to the justice system has been opened up for the victims. This was a break with the silence regarding and impunity for crimes committed during the war, and it paved the way for later reparations.

The reports also allowed for the emergence of alternative narratives to the official one, which tended to favour the most privileged in society. The focus on truth and historical memory allowed for a questioning of the official historical narrative, and having access to the truth is important for empowering the victims of human rights violations. Particularly the information that was presented during the genocide and sexual violence trials had a profound impact on society. As of 2017 very few dispute that extreme forms of violence against civilians occurred

² For example, even when most of the population in Guatemala lives in poverty (67%) the indigenous peoples are the group in which most people live in poverty (87%). This involves serious deprivations in terms of access to basic services like drinkable water, health, education, income, political participation, etc. (UNDP, 2016). The Truth Commission report *Memoria del silencio* (CEH, 1999) and the independent report of the Office of Human Rights of the Archbishop of Guatemala *Guatemala: Nunca más* (ODHAG, 1998) document that 83% of war victims were indigenous people.

during the war and that most of the victims were indigenous people. There are public discussions on whether it amounted to a genocide or not, but the facts are no longer disputed.

Norwegian financial support for these truth commissions was important, but Norway was not the only donor. However, according to our informants, Norwegian support distinguishes itself by showing a profound understanding of the causes of the war, and a willingness to support groups and actions addressing these causes, of which historical clarification was considered an important first step. During the interviews it was also mentioned that the public support expressed by the Norwegian Embassy for the CEH and ODHAG was strategically and symbolically important. Several interviewees emphasised that although the financial support provided by Norway was important, the moral support that the country gave to the weakest members of Guatemalan society was even more important.

Legal justice and the rule of law

The most noticeable changes in the realm of legal justice and the rule of law is that corruption, impunity and human rights violations as state practices are no longer accepted in Guatemala. Moreover, there is increased awareness of the rights of women and indigenous peoples.

This is a result, firstly, of the strengthening of key institutions. The strengthening of the Office of the Public Attorney and the establishment of the CICIG have been very important. Jointly with the national police, they spearhead the fight against corruption and organised crime. The work of the CICIG is conducted by experts from more than 20 countries and is financed mainly by the U.S., Sweden, Spain, the Netherlands and Norway. During its ten year of existence the CICIG has supported the Office of the Public Attorney in several cases that resulted in the convictions of a number of former members of the military, businessmen, judges, public servants, etc. on charges of drug trafficking and corruption. The most spectacular results of the CICIG's work were the arrests of former president Otto Perez Molina, former vice-president Roxana Baldetti, most of their cabinet and several businessmen on charges of corruption in 2015.

As a result of long-term institution building, the justice sector has also become more independent. The Office of the Public Attorney has become more professional, its investigative capacities have improved, and scientifically supported methods of gathering evidence are employed. Judges and public prosecutors have received training on issues related to indigenous peoples' rights and the rights of women. A high number of indigenous lawyers are conducting cases of strategic litigation in the courts. The capacities of Maya lawyers have been strengthened and they have gained recognition at the higher levels of the court system through, among other things, the establishment of the Association of Maya Lawyers in 2004 and their participation in emblematic cases. Women lawyers have also been more visible, for example in the Sepur

Zarco trial, which dealt with crimes of sexual violence committed against women during the war. This is the first time in history in which sexual crimes committed during war have been judged in the same country in which they occurred. The decisions of the Constitutional Court regarding land rights and community consultations also show the justice system's ability to act independently in some – although still not all – cases.

Secondly, these issues have become highlighted as a result of information and education campaigns launched by NGOs, the government and alternative media. Jointly with the various court cases, this has brought about a change in attitude towards human rights abuses and the visibility of women and indigenous groups, although serious problems of racism and discrimination persist.

The changes that have occurred in the justice sector are the result of the work of the Guatemalan public sector and civil society organisations (CSOs), with the support of several donors, among them Norway. For many of our informants, Norway's support has been extremely valuable. Particularly the innovative focus of the Maya Programme was praised. This programme has strengthened various actors and institutions in their efforts to support indigenous peoples and women.

Equally important for our interviewees was Norway's long-term engagement, because it has allowed a better targeting of the country's support for initiatives based on a thorough understanding of the Guatemalan context. Several interviewees also mentioned the support for the Association of Maya Lawyers and the Guatemalan judges as innovative and relevant. Support from the IACHR has also contributed to strengthening processes in Guatemala. The strategic litigations that have resulted in convictions in Guatemala were first tried in the IACHR, and when they were presented again in Guatemala, the cases had greater legitimacy because they had been dealt with in the IACHR.

Towards political justice

The political realm has seen major achievements in terms of the strengthening of CSOs, local political participation and local governance. The signing of the Peace Accords contributed to the strengthening of diverse CSOs and the emergence of new organisations. In particular, indigenous and peasant organisations have advanced. New laws passed in 2003 (the laws on Rural and Urban Development Councils, Decentralisation, and the Municipal Code) formalised the channels for popular participation in public decision-making processes. Later the start of large numbers of extractive projects has functioned as a catalyser of public engagement. The indigenous authorities have also been strengthened and have gained considerable legitimacy as representatives of their communities. The Maya Programme has directly supported this process.

There are also improvements in terms of real press freedom. Independent and alternative media have resulted in

more representative media coverage and have been important for the recent mobilisation of the middle classes. These media outlets strive to present better quality information and to practise serious journalism. With the emergence of such media the public sphere has widened, and with it public debate and freedom of expression have been strengthened and revitalised.

However, at the national level political parties and democratic institutions still face major challenges. Partly as a result of the civil war, political parties in Guatemala are obsolete and serve mainly individual interests. They are thus unable to channel the claims of the majority of the Guatemalan population. The country's democratic institutions, including Congress, often function mainly as a marketplace for favours and the trafficking of influence. The increasing involvement of illegal and legal money in various forms of violence linked to the political system has further weakened democratic institutions.

With the partial exception of the justice system, the state is still weak. This is partly a result of its capture by an elite that has no democratic project and rejects a stronger state. Furthermore, the Peace Accords were signed during a period in which a technocratic approach to development cooperation dominated major agencies, including the UN, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These agencies also stressed the importance of reducing the power and influence of the state. The economic elite welcomed these ideas, and thus there was little support for providing the state with more resources to allow it to fulfil the role defined for it in the Peace Accords.

Norway has played a role in the processes of political justice particularly through the Maya Programme, which has supported the creation of spaces for the discussion of the political demands of indigenous peoples and the establishment of a number of organisations channelling these demands. Norway has also supported independent media. Norwegian CSOs have complemented the work of official development cooperation initiatives. These CSOs have been brave and innovative in their choice of partners and have successfully adapted to changes in Guatemala's political landscape. During our interviews, solidarity with and respect for local demands were highlighted as features defining the efforts of Norwegian development cooperation to improve political justice.

Still pending: socioeconomic justice

The Peace Accords laid down a very ambitious agenda for achieving socioeconomic justice. However, this agenda has not gained support among powerful sectors of Guatemalan society. The accord on socioeconomic aspects and the agrarian situation signed in May 1996 included land reform, the modernisation of the state, political participation, and tax and fiscal reforms. The accord demanded a series of changes related to access to land and land tenure, the regularisation of land ownership and the legal security of property rights for indigenous peoples. However, a recent UN Development Programme

report (UNDP, 2016) shows that little has changed in terms of the distribution of land and economic resources, and that most conflicts in Guatemala are still related to the agrarian question.

The government lacks both the political power and political will to confront and resolve agrarian conflicts. Rather than decreasing, they have increased since the 1990s due to the development of the extractive industries in the country, which has resulted in violent disputes over land. This is why the strategic litigations on land issues are so important, but they are not and will never be enough to resolve the agrarian problem in Guatemala. Political processes leading to institutional changes within the state system should complement legal processes so that it will not be necessary to use the courts to resolve all agrarian disputes.

There has been some material progress among rural families in Guatemala, but this has happened mainly as a result of the increase in the number of young men who migrate abroad and send back money, and not thanks to the redistribution of economic resources in the country. In 2016 Guatemala received \$7.2 billion in remittances from abroad that benefitted approximately 6.2 million people. Approximately 2.3 million Guatemalans live abroad and it is estimated that each day 303 people leave the country. According to International Organisation for Migration data, 64% of Guatemalan migrants left the country for economic reasons and among those who are considering leaving, 55% would do so for economic reasons, mainly lack of employment opportunities (OIM, 2017).

Fiscal reform was a central element of the Peace Accords as a means of strengthening the state and improving the distribution of wealth. However, Guatemala continues to be the country with the worst record of tax collection in Latin America, and the country is characterised by its dependency on direct taxes, which are insufficient to allow the state to guarantee the basic rights of all the inhabitants of the country.

All governments elected after 1996 have presented plans for fiscal reform to increase tax collection. However, none has been able to curb the private sector's resistance to these plans, and thus only parts of the reforms have been passed. Also, the fact that the most powerful Guatemalan companies are increasingly moving their capital abroad contributes to the limitations imposed on tax collection. Thus, Guatemala continues to be one of the most unequal societies in the region, and no improvements in income and the distribution of resources have occurred.

Norway has supported both land and fiscal reform. In terms of land reform, Norwegian cooperation has concentrated on land tenure security, mainly through the land administration project funded by the World Bank, for which Norway supported a pilot project, and the political strengthening of marginalised rural groups, based on the idea that through political struggles it is possible to achieve institutional changes. Norway also supported the Central American Institute of Fiscal Studies (ICEFI) to

strengthen the debate on tax issues. The ICEFI has produced valuable research and insights, and has encouraged dialogue with the private sector.

However, socioeconomic justice has still not been achieved in Guatemala. There are few positive changes in the areas of agrarian justice and the legal security of land ownership. The Norwegian approach has been to seek to empower marginalised groups to press for changes themselves. This approach is grounded in the history of Norway and other European countries. However, this has not been enough to promote the necessary changes in Guatemala, because there is no consensus about how to transform society to achieve socioeconomic justice or about the role of the state in such a process of transformation. Socioeconomic justice is an issue that presents the deepest dilemmas to any donor wanting to support the implementation of the Peace Accords in Guatemala. As long as the most powerful sectors in society do not really agree to what their representatives signed during peace negotiations, it is not clear how best to support the Peace Accords without deepening the conflicts afflicting the country.

In the third phase of Norwegian cooperation the Norwegian Embassy realised that it was necessary to establish some kind of dialogue with business elites. However, even though cooperation with local businesses has been important in economic investment projects, this dialogue was constrained by the strong resistance among business elites to Norway's work to strengthen the rights of indigenous peoples and women. This is the main explanation for why the dialogue never developed into a close relationship. However, the values and visions of some younger sections of the business elite have changed following changes both at the global level and in Guatemalan society. As a result, there should be a better chance of a fruitful dialogue in the future.

How is Norway perceived today in Guatemala?

Most interviewees considered Norway's presence to be an important source of moral support for the struggle for the rights of indigenous people and women, and the fight against corruption. Norway is perceived as a courageous partner with a solid knowledge and understanding of Guatemala's history, society and future challenges. Long-term engagement in Guatemala with human rights and the fight against corruption gives Norway credibility and adds weight to its work in the country.

However, there are divided perceptions of Norway's motives for its cooperation with Guatemala. Some consider Norway's explicit support for organisations with clear political agendas to be undue interference in the country's internal affairs. However, it is difficult to distinguish between such concerns and the racism and misogyny underlying a smear campaign into which Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands were dragged in 2012. This campaign aimed ultimately at discrediting social movements,

indigenous peoples' and peasant organisations, and women's organisations through an appeal to Guatemalan nationalism. The smear campaign also included the criminalisation of indigenous and environmental human rights activists, accusing them of terrorism. Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, and sometimes the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala were accused of being manipulated by social organisations. They were also accused of not controlling the use of the funds they provided to indigenous and rural organisations, of financing "terrorism", and, through their ignorance of what was actually going on, of supporting the illegal activities of indigenous and peasant organisations.

Since the start of the smear campaign no evidence has been presented to any criminal court to support these claims and no act of corruption has been documented. The internal control mechanisms and the audits conducted by independent auditors in Norway and Guatemala have not revealed any irregularity. What is more, all the political activists who were arrested on charges of corruption and terrorism were set free by a judge in 2016. Although some conservative members of the local business elite supported the smear campaign, it is important to emphasise that most of the business representatives interviewed for this study did not support it, and considered Norway's cooperation to have filled important gaps in the peacebuilding efforts that other donors would not take on.

Thus, the general view expressed in interviews is that Norway's long-term engagement on issues related to the rights of indigenous people and women, reform of the justice sector and support to the CICIG give high levels of credibility to Norway's development cooperation. Norwegian NGOs' and CSOs' engagement with marginalised groups and indigenous peoples, women, and peasants harmonise with Norway's development cooperation priorities in Guatemala. The work of NGOs and CSOs also strengthens knowledge of the country's political context. In general, Norwegian cooperation is perceived as highly competent, and as being characterised by its solidarity, flexibility, and ability to listen to its partners' needs and priorities.

There is some confusion as to the reasons for the closing of the Norwegian Embassy in Guatemala. While those who had direct relations with the embassy or with Norwegian organisations know and understand the reasons as being related to changes in the priorities of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, others believe that it was due to the smear campaign against Norway. Many lamented that the embassy was closed and development cooperation was reduced precisely at the moment when the sustained work of many organisations over more than 20 years was finally bearing some fruit.

Lessons learned

- Norway has benefitted from establishing a clear donor profile in Guatemala. Norwegian development cooperation has focused on the same key issues for more than 20 years: indigenous peoples' and women's rights and the rule of law. It has also been closely aligned with the content of the Peace Accords signed in 1996.
- Norway's focus on few issues while working with numerous partners has contributed to the achievement of specific goals, particularly on human rights issues.
- Norway's close cooperation with like-minded donors and the multilateral system has minimised risks, maximised results and increased the legitimacy of Norwegian aid.
- Support for international organisations like the IACHR has been key to maximising synergies in the work pertaining to the Guatemalan justice sector.
- Norway's long-term commitment to and close relationships with CSOs have led to the building up of solid knowledge and understanding of Guatemala's history, politics, culture and economy, which has improved the quality of Norway's work in the country.
- The areas in which the impact of Norwegian development cooperation is lower are those in which the most powerful economic sectors in Guatemala have more influence, particularly areas related to socioeconomic reforms.
- The Guatemalan case shows that the implementation of peace accords requires a continuous dialogue about the goals of the accords, the necessary interventions to achieve them, and how to adapt them to any new conditions that arise. Such a dialogue must involve the groups that were positively involved in peace negotiations and those who were more reluctant to participate. To do so, one should seek to work with all relevant actors and not only with the weakest and most marginalised, although channelling most of the financial resources to these weaker groups should continue to be a priority.

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Annex: Emblematic cases

Case	Type of case and result	International level	Organisations involved
Genocide trial of Efraín Ríos-Montt (1999-2013)	Legal justice/historical memory. Ríos-Montt was found guilty. The verdict was challenged in the Constitutional Court.	CIDH, Spanish Supreme Court	CALDH,* AJR, Fundación de Antropología Forense, CONAVIGUA,* Asociación Bufete Jurídico Popular, Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial (ECAP),* Instituto de Ciencias Comparativas Penales de Guatemala,* MTM,* UNAMG,* JURK, LAG, FOKUS, Embajada Noruega, UNDP (justice reform/ Programa Maya)
Sexual violence during the war: the Sepur Zarco case (1998-2016)	Legal justice/historical memory. Defendants found guilty and sentenced to jail.	Mock trial supported by several embassies (Costa Rica, France, Germany, Norway, Spain) and UN agencies (UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNDP, UNHCHR)	Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial (ECAP),* Instituto de Ciencias Comparativas Penales de Guatemala,* MTM,* UNAMG,* JURK, LAG, FOKUS, Embajada Noruega, UNDP (justice reform)
The right of indigenous peoples to be consulted (2005-16)	Political justice/legal justice/economic justice. The Constitutional Court ruled in favour of the right of indigenous peoples to be consulted.	CEJIL, CIDH, ILO 169	Asociación de Abogados Mayas,* CPO,* CALAS,* Madre Selva*, Embajada Noruega, AIN, LAG, Jueces de Noruega, OACNUDH, PNUD
Land restitution to the community of Chuarrancho (2001-14)	Legal justice/economic justice. The Constitutional Court ruled in favour of land restitution.	CEJIL, CIDH	Asociación de Abogados Mayas,* Embajada Noruega, Jueces, Programa Maya componente de justicia, UNDP/OACNUDH
Corruption cases and civil protests (2015)	Historical memory/political justice/economic justice		Civil protests each weekend between 25 April and 2 September 2015. Former president and vice-president, as well as several former ministries and individuals from the private sector jailed for their involvement in corruption.

* Received support from Norway.

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