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The ties that bind

An exploratory study of social capital in peacebuilding initiatives in Guatemala

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the relationship between social capital and peacebuilding, and the potential contribution peacebuilding efforts can make in terms of generating social capital in post-conflict countries. Using a qualitative methodological approach, seven local civil society organizations in Guatemala were interviewed with the purpose of understanding in what way the organizations are contributing to the generation of social capital. The material was examined through an analytical framework consisting of three social capital dimensions and seven peacebuilding functions in order to explore the activities of the organizations and what dimensions of social capital that is expressed in their activities. The study finds that the organizations are engaged in several peacebuilding functions and are focusing their work through these functions towards generating bridging and linking social capital in Guatemala.

Key words: Social capital, civil conflict, peacebuilding, Guatemala

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List of Acronyms

ASC   Civil Society Assembly

     Asamblea de la Sociedad Civil

CIA   Central Intelligence Agency

CSO   Civil Society Organization

EGP   The Guerilla Army Of The Poor

     Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres

FAR   Rebel Armed Forces

     Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes

IEPADES Institute of Teaching for Sustainable Development

     Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible

IIARS   International Institute of Learning for Social Reconciliation

     El Instituto Internacional de Aprendizaje para la Reconciliación Social

INTRAPAZ Institute of Conflict Transformation for Peacebuilding in Guatemala

     El Instituto de Transformación de Conflictos para la Construcción de la Paz en Guatemala

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

ODHAG Human Rights Office of the Archbishop of Guatemala

     Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala

ORPA   Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms

     Organización Revolucionario del Pueblo en Armas

PAC   Civil Defense Patrols

     Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil

UN   United Nations

UFC   United Fruit Company

URNG   Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit

     Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca

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1. Introduction

"For those involved in violence reduction and conflict resolution, the great challenge concerns the identification of measures, or interventions, that can successfully transform fear into trust […]."(McIlwaine & Moser 2001:981)

Social capital has in the last decade entered the development discourse as a new perspective on how to achieve sustainable development (Valadbigi & Ghobadi 2011:130; Foley & Edwards 1997:550). Defined as "[T]he norms and networks that enable people to act collectively." (Woolcock & Narayan 2000:226) social capital has been put forward as a bottom-up approach to development as it is manifested through a vibrant civil society where people interact in networks and cooperation based on trust and reciprocity. This enables them to use their social connections to others in order to enjoy a larger pool of resources and prospects, such as job opportunities, information, access to formal institutions, and social support, which is regarded beneficial for economic and social development (Grootaert 1998:1-2; Gittell & Vidal 1998:5; Babaei et al. 2012:120-121 Woolcock 1998:172; Adler & Kwon 2002:29).

During civil conflict social capital is one of the first features of a country to be affected. Large-scale violence, murders, and disappearances ruin the ties between family members; the militarization of societies decrease the level of communal trust and networks; and high level of political violence ruins the link between authorities, communities, and individuals (Colletta & Cullen 2000:3-4; Manz 2008:152; Bouka 2008:17-18). What is left is a polarized civil society where peace and subsequent development efforts are difficult to establish as they do not become rooted in civil society (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:1). The armed conflict in Guatemala was no exception. The conflict caused great fear and division between groups, individuals, and communities within civil society which are still highly visible today (Manz 2008:151-152). The divisions and historic memories of the war within Guatemala is furthermore argued to be the root to the high levels of violent crime in the country, mainly expressed in the form of *maras* (gangs) and vigilante justice (McIlwaine & Moser 2001:973-974, 978-979; Zinecker 2006:13). This suggests that the signing of the peace accord in 1996 ended the political violence and set the terms for post-conflict peacebuilding, but has not succeeded in restoring the social fabric that was destroyed during the armed conflict (Manz 2008:152). The effects civil conflict has on social capital have generated increased interest for

social capital's relevance and role in peacebuilding activities, calling for post-conflict peacebuilding efforts beyond those of reestablishing formal institutions and physical infrastructure which has been the main objectives of traditional peacebuilding (Pouligny 2005:496). Instead, generating inter-group trust and collective cooperation have gained recognition within the peacebuilding debate (Vervisch et al. 2013:150-151; McMurray & Niens 2012:208; Bouka 2008:2).

1.1 Purpose of research

The growing discussions on social capital and its importance in peacebuilding activities reveal that the traditional peacebuilding debate is exploring new ways to understand how post-conflict countries can achieve sustainable peace and development. But whereas it has been recognized as important to include social capital in peacebuilding activities, this area is mainly theoretically discussed and is calling for more empirical evidence on how peacebuilding activities can contribute to the generation of social capital. Thus, the purpose of this study is to add to the understanding of the relationship between peacebuilding and social capital and discuss the potential influence peacebuilding has in generating social capital. This is done through investigating peacebuilding initiatives among civil society organizations at the local level in Guatemala through three dimensions of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. As social capital is quite a complex concept, analyzing peacebuilding activities through these different dimensions will provide a more nuanced picture of in what way the organizations address the concept of social capital through their activities.

1.2 Research questions

In order to achieve the purpose of this study, the following main research question has been established as:

RQ 1: In what way are the organizations in this study contributing to the generation of social capital through their peacebuilding activities in Guatemala?

With the purpose of answering this question, it is first important to address the peacebuilding activities the organizations are engaged in and next, to investigate what type of social capital is expressed within these activities. Consequently, my two sub-questions are:

RQ 2: Which are the peacebuilding activities of the organizations in Guatemala?

RQ 3: What dimension of social capital is manifested in the peacebuilding activities among the organizations in this study?

1.3 Research outline

This study begins with an overview of the conflict in Guatemala between 1952 – 1996, including the roots of the conflict, and a concluding section on the consequences of the conflict where the current issues of Guatemala's civil society and social capital is in focus. In chapter three the methodological approach to the study is explained, and in chapter four theories and concepts used in the study are identified and discussed. Here, the concept and different dimensions of social capital is introduced, followed by an introduction to peacebuilding and the various functions civil society actors can take on in peacebuilding. This is followed by a section explaining the analytical framework used in this study. Chapter five consists of the analysis of the research conducted for this thesis, aiming at answering my three research questions. Last, chapter six concludes the main findings of the analysis.

2 Setting the context

2.1 The Conflict: Political oppression and land rights

The conflict in Guatemala was driven by agrarian, political, and ethnic tensions which had resided in the country since the advent of the Spanish conquistadors in the 16th century. During the centuries of colonization, a culture of racism and social, economic, and political exclusion of indigenous groups was established, favoring the interests of the smaller Ladino population (people of Spanish decent) (Colletta & Cullen 2000:56). These structures persevered in Guatemala after independence in 1821 and were further reinforced by Guatemala's expansion of coffee and banana export in the late nineteenth century when the private agribusiness boomed and forced many indigenous communities to divide up their communal lands as private ownership of land was considered to assure greater productivity (Accord 1997:12; Alvarez & Prado 2002:38). But in 1952 the elected President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán passed an agrarian reform law, seeking to re-distribute land to landless peasants, with the hope of speeding economic growth, increase industrialization, and minimize Guatemala's economic dependence on foreign capital (Accord 1997:10, 12). Appropriating 400,000 acres from the largest landowner in Guatemala, the US-based United Fruit Company (UFC), caused great discontent within the UFC and made them seek assistance from the US to help stop the land reform. In June 1954 a CIA-sponsored army helped overthrow the Guatemalan government under the justification of combating the communist threat in Guatemala, marking the beginning of the civil war (Accord 1997:10). The agrarian reform was immediately overturned and throughout the late 1950's and early 1960's economic and conservative interests presided the political climate in Guatemala, destroying any form of reformist attempts within civil society through continuous economic and military assistance from the US (Accord 1997:11; Colletta & Cullen 2000:56). As a response to the limited political space for civil society after the military coup, three armed groups emerged in the 1970's: the Guerilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA), and the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), establishing themselves in the indigenous highlands in Guatemala, mainly in the regions of Quiché, Huehuetenango, San Marcos, and Lake Atitlán (Accord 1997:13; Colletta & Cullen 2000:56-57). The attempts to retrieve political freedom and land rights were consistently met with repression and violence from the Guatemalan state army during the 1970's and well into

the 1980's (Accord 1997:14; Colletta & Cullen 2000:57). The violence reached its peak in 1981-1983 during which years an estimated 100,000 civilians were killed or "disappeared" and when most of the war's refugees and internally displaced persons emerged, of which the majority were of indigenous decent (Colletta & Cullen 2000:57). As a response to the brutal violence from the army, the diverse armed groups merged and formed the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit (URNG) but lack of external help and weapons soon caused the URNG to retreat. In 1984 most of the large scale massacres were over and a move towards civilian rule began with the 1984 elections. Subsequently, in the early 1990's peace negotiations between the Guatemalan state and the URNG commenced (Alvarez & Prado 2002:39-40; Colletta & Cullen 2000:57; Accord 1997:14-15).

Guatemalan civil society had a large influence in the peace negotiations. In 1994, the Civil Society Assembly (ASC – *Asamblea de la Sociedad Civil*) was created in order to participate in the discussions about structural issues in the negotiating agenda and give advice to the negotiators (Accord 1997:28). Several of the recommendations provided by the ASC were included in the final peace accords, specifically aiming towards addressing the injustice civil society, and particularly the violence indigenous groups had been subjected to (Alvarez & Prado 2002:38, 41; Accord 1997:28). By the end of 1996, the peace negotiations resulted in the formation of the Agreement of a Firm and Lasting Peace which included six substantive and five operative accords comprising the issues of human rights; a truth commission; the re-settlement of refugees and internally displaced persons; the identity and rights of indigenous peoples; the socio-economic and agrarian situation; the strengthening of civilian power and the role of the armed forces; and reform of the Constitution and electoral system (Alvarez & Prado 2002:42). The agreement encompassed around 200 commitments aimed at addressing and solving the underlying causes of the conflict, many of which had been prohibited to discuss by civil society during the conflict (Alvarez & Prado 2002:38). Many attempts have been made in trying to count the victims of the violence during the armed conflict, and it has been officially estimated that between 180,000 – 200,000 died during the war; 40,000 "disappeared"; over 400 villages were destroyed; 100,000 refugees fled to Mexico; and around 1 million were displaced internally (Accord 1997:10).

Despite the peace negotiations the state army still maintained control over Guatemalan civil society in order to contain any further attempts at resistance. Development and infrastructure projects that were initiated were under the direct control of the army, and so-called Civil

Defense Patrols (PACs) were established in rural villages. The PACs ran as voluntary for all males over the age of sixteen, but in reality those who resisted joining were labelled as supporters of the rebel movement (Colletta & Cullen 2000:57). The duties of the PACs were to guard the villages, report on suspicious behavior to the nearest military base, and check for identification of everyone entering the village, and were thus a source of great division and mistrust in the rural villages. Although the PACs were formally disbanded with the signing of the peace accord in 1997, a report from Amnesty International in 2004 stated that the PACs had continued their work in various areas of Guatemala, and were suspected for several abuses against communities (Accord 1997:14; Colletta & Cullen 2000:57; Amnesty International 2004:1).

2.2   Post Peace Agreement: Violence and social capital

Despite signing the peace accords, the postwar period in Guatemala has not experienced a decline in violence and insecurity; rather the opposite. Since 1996, the homicide rates in Guatemala have been higher than during the civil war, and the level of violence has been higher than average in Latin America, making Guatemala one of the three most dangerous countries in the region (Zinecker 2006:1; McIlwaine & Moser 2001:969). However, the violence in Guatemala has seen a transformation from political violence initiated by the state towards violent crime, lynch law, and domestic violence (Zinecker 2006:I, 1, 4; ODHAG 2011:19). It is argued that the violence occurring today in Guatemala, despite its different character, still has its roots in the unequal social, economic, and political structures that were established during colonization, and that were further reinforced during the civil war as it destroyed the social fabric within communities and between communities and the state (Manz 2008:152). The militarization of communities in the form of PACs caused great mistrust and insecurity among its inhabitants, resulting in a country where individualism prevails over collective action and community cooperation, and where people are identified and divided along ethnic and class lines (Manz 2008:152, 155; González Tablada 2005:6, 24-25; McIlwaine & Moser 2001:696).

The effect of the civil war on social capital and its relevance in explaining the current violence in Guatemala has been investigated in previous studies. McIlwaine & Moser (2001) conducted a study in nine communities in Guatemala investigating how the civil war affected

social capital and how the negative social capital (in the form of lack of trust, increased fear, and the appearance of gangs etc.) generates more violence. They found that the political violence had a profound effect on trust, norms, and reciprocity among the communities, which lingers today in the form of fear and mistrust against other individuals, groups, communities, and the state. Moreover, the lack of trust between individuals and groups was found to be an instigator for current conflicts in Guatemala, most notably between communities (McIlwaine & Moser 2001:973-974). The authors also found that there is a high level if distrust in state security and justice systems, which was connected to the high presence of lynching practices in Guatemala (McIlwaine & Moser 2001:978-979). Lynch law, or *Justicia a mano propia* (Justice by one's own hand), is characterized by informal law prosecution where larger groups of individuals exercise violent mob-like actions towards suspected criminals. This type of violence is specific to Guatemala and is regarded as a manifestation of public discontent towards the Guatemalan state's inability to provide security to its population, and the high levels of impunity prevailing in the country. Moreover, it has been stated that lynch law is a continuation of the forms of violence that were exercised and learned during the civil war, when the military performed similar actions towards whole communities (Zinecker 2006:13). Further, in a study on social capital and the Guatemalan civil war, Colletta & Cullen (2000) found that communities that where highly affected by the armed conflict tended to become inward-looking and closely knit together, also known as bonding social capital, as a means to survive the violence from the state and military. In contrast, communities that were not as much affected by the counterinsurgency campaign were more successful in creating cross-communal relationships and cooperation, what the authors call bridging social capital (Colletta & Cullen 2000:69).

This suggests that the civil war had a profound effect on social capital in Guatemala, and that different types of social capital can emerge out of the violence, which will be further discussed in the theoretical section of this thesis, particularly in section "4.4 Social capital and armed conflict".

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

This thesis stands as a single case study of local civil society organizations (CSOs) working with civil society peacebuilding in Guatemala. Deriving from theories on social capital and peacebuilding, this case study is based on primary and secondary data on seven CSOs' work in civil society peacebuilding initiatives, located in Guatemala City. As such, this is an inductive qualitative study based on the participants' views and perspectives of their role and activities as a peacebuilding actor in Guatemala (Bryman 2008:55-57). The philosophical standpoint taken when designing this research has been from an interpretivist epistemological position as the purpose of the study is to understand the organizations' work from the participants perspectives in order to investigate the relationship between social capital and peacebuilding within the CSOs peacebuilding initiatives in Guatemala (Bryman 2008:15,19; Creswell 2009:6). Interviewing local CSOs within their local contexts, through their perspectives of the history and social setting of Guatemala has thus provided this thesis with subjective opinions and meanings of civil society peacebuilding in the country, which will offer an illustrative basis of peacebuilding initiatives in Guatemala and how social capital is expressed within these initiatives (Bryman 2008:15, 19, 385; Creswell 2009:6, 175). As Bryman states: "[W] we cannot understand the behaviour of members of a social group other than in terms of the specific environment in which they operate." (Bryman 2008:387).

3.2 Data collection procedures

The data collection for the study took place in Guatemala City during the month of January 2014. Following the strategy of inquiry appropriate for a case study, the methods used for collecting data were interviews, documents, and reports provided by the CSOs (Creswell 2009:179-180; Bryman 2008:515, 518, 522).

3.2.1 Selection of case and participants

The selection of organizations and participants was performed during the month of December 2013, and the units of analysis were purposefully chosen in order to achieve a broad spectrum of perspectives among the participants in this study, or what Creswell (2012) mentions as

maximum variation sampling (Creswell 2012:156-157). Another sampling method used for data collection was criterion sampling, in order to assure that all the organizations contacted are working with peacebuilding as a central activity (Creswell 2012:156-157; Bryman 2008:375). The intention of choosing several organizations was not to achieve generalizability, but rather to showcase a broader spectrum of perspectives and opinions, and possibly illustrate differences and similarities in the discussions on social capital within the organizations' work in peacebuilding.

After locating organizations prepared to participate in the study, informants within the organizations were contacted. The intent was to interview a minimum of two participants within each organization so as to assure that different perspectives within the organizations were put forward in the data collection. This was possible in five of the seven organizations, where two to four participants were interviewed. However, due to time constraints for both me and the informants, only one informant in two of the organizations was interviewed. In order to assure richer information and larger perspective to the answers given during these two interviews, extensive research was made through additional reports, documents, and web sites.

3.2.2   Interviews

In total, seven organizations were visited during the process of data collection and sixteen informants participated in in-depth interviews. The interviews were guided by a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions so to capture the subjective perspectives of the participants and allowing them to discuss the topics of the interview in their own manner (Creswell 2009:181; Bryman 2008:436-439). Two of the organizations were visited on two occasions and interviews were performed with more than one employee/director of the organization, albeit not as group interviews. Two interviews were conducted with only one employee/director of the organization, and three of the interviews were performed as group interviews ranging from two to four participants. The choice of performing group interviews was made mainly with respect to time restrictions for both me and the interviewees. However, this also allowed for a more rich discussion among the participants regarding the work of the organizations and provided a better foundation for understanding the dynamics of the organizations' work as the participants in the group interviews held varying positions within the organizations (Creswell 2012:163-165; Bryman 2008:473).

The participants were introduced to the interviews through an informed consent in their native language where the purpose of the interview was explained as well as how the information would be used. The option of being anonymous was given to the participants and although none wanted to be anonymous, their names are not included in this thesis. Their positions within the organizations are however outlined in Appendix I. All participants gave their consent before the interview and agreed that the interview could be recorded. The consent form as well as the interview guides was written in Spanish, and all interviews were performed in Spanish. As this is not my native language, the interviews were recorded in order to not lose any valid information and to provide the opportunity to go through the interview again at a later point so to extract as much information as possible. After each interview personal notes were taken of how the interview went; the setting of the interview; any special reactions from the informant; or any issue that arose during the interview. This method provided as a good tool to better remember the mood of the interview and the informant, which proved to be beneficial during the transcription of the interview later on.

3.2.3 Documents

Apart from interviews, all organizations provided me with documents, reports, information pamphlets, and recordings describing how and why the organizations work with different peacebuilding initiatives. This additional information has been very helpful in enriching the data collected during interviews and has allowed for cross-checking the answers given through interviews. Additionally, the organizations have web sites where supplementary information has been found. These sources of information have enabled an extension of the interview discussions and provided further data so to give a more holistic description and understanding of the work of the organizations.

3.3 Validity, reliability, and generalizability of research

In qualitative research, especially when conducting a single case study, one of the main issues often being brought up is that of generalizability. Since only one case or phenomenon is being studied, it is argued that the findings of the research cannot apply to other cases. But as Creswell states: "[T]he value of qualitative research lies in the particular description and themes developed *in context* of a specific site." (Creswell 2009:193, italics in original). For this study, the aim is to add to the theoretical discussion about peacebuilding and social

capital but I do not intend to generalize the case of social capital in peacebuilding initiatives in Guatemala. Instead I rather hope that some of the findings on social capital in peacebuilding activities will prove useful for future research in this area.

However, reliability and validity in qualitative research can be assured, albeit in another sense than quantitative research. In order to assure that the approach taken when collecting, interpreting, and analyzing data has been consistent and reliable, several methods have been employed. Apart from the answers and discussions during interviews, additional material such as documents and reports has been used when interpreting and analyzing data in order to enrich and better understand the informants' answers and draw on a larger pool of data when interpreting and coding the data (Creswell 2009:191; Bryman 2008:379). This provided as a useful tool when presenting the data as it allowed for a more detailed description of the setting and findings in this study. Moreover, when transcribing and interpreting the data much effort was put in the consistency of coding, assuring that the coding process did not drift in definition of the codes (Creswell 2009:191). Transcription of interviews occurred, to the extent possible, immediately after conducting the interviews in order to extract as much information as possible from the interview and the informants and avoid the risk of forgetting important aspects that were brought up. After transcribing, the interviews where coded according to the different peacebuilding initiatives the informants described, which then were organized into larger categories, and last structured into two larger themes: "State – civil society relations", and "Civil society relations", connecting the peacebuilding initiatives to different dimensions of social capital which will be further described in the theoretical section of this study.

3.4 Limitations and ethical considerations

The major limitation for me when I conducted the data collection was that Spanish is not my maternal language. But due to previous experience with interviewing in Spanish, as well as performing test-interviews with Spanish-speaking colleges and friends prior to interviews, I concluded that my knowledge in Spanish was sufficient to perform the interviews. Moreover, all interviews were recorded in order not to misunderstand the answers from the participants and carefully translated so not to lose any valid information or risk misinterpretation.

My position as a researcher is another issue that needs to be addressed. As a white, female researcher coming from a Western country I have a pre-understanding of the world that might not be shared by others, especially the participants in this study. It was important for me to early on reflect on how my own personal beliefs and perspectives of the world are constantly present in the representation of myself as it would affect the data collection (Kapoor 2004:641; Rose 1997:306). By reflecting on this, I hope that I have been aware of my own personal standpoints and able to reduce the risk of interpreting the participant's answers during interviews according to my own world view and keep an open mind to other perspectives (Kapoor 2004:641-642).

Another limitation is the units of analysis, i.e. the organizations that have provided information for this thesis. The purpose of selecting varying organizations was to achieve a broad spectrum of perspectives. However, had I chosen to study one organization I would have been able to perform a more thorough data collection and a thicker description and understanding of how a civil society organization work within the area of peacebuilding. Another issue is that I have limited this study to only include seven organizations, mainly due to time constraints in the field and unsuccessful contacts with other organizations that initially were supposed to participate in the study. This is a challenge most researchers face when doing fieldwork as you cannot control the environment and participants you are researching. As such, the information gathered in this study does not reflect the overall work of civil society organizations in peacebuilding in Guatemala as there are many other organizations that conduct peacebuilding work in Guatemala. With this I mind, I thus chose to select diverse organizations so to achieve as broad a scope as possible. Moreover, the information gathered points to several similarities between the organizations' work which, I would argue, adds relevance to this study.

3.5 Presentation of organizations

All of the organizations that participated in this study have their offices situated in Guatemala City, with partner organizations located all over Guatemala. They are considered as working on local or regional level in the country as middle range actors in peacebuilding in Guatemala. Combined they cover the peacebuilding fields of human rights, education, conflict analysis, and social reconciliation.

Fundación Rigoberta Menchú Tum (Foundation Rigoberta Menchú Tum) focus its work on indigenous rights connected to the human rights abuses that were committed towards indigenous groups during the civil conflict. *El Instituto de Transformación de Conflictos para la Construcción de la Paz en Guatemala (*Institute of Conflict Transformation for Peacebuilding in Guatemala, INTRAPAZ) is an academic organization connected to University Rafael Landívar and concentrates on social conflicts and the implementation of the peace agreement. The organization *Paz Joven* (Youth Peace) performs activities mainly directed at youth and adolescents to increase their influence in Guatemalan civil society through peacebuilding. *La Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala* (The Archbishop's Office for Human Rights in Guatemala, ODHAG) is working under the mandate of the Catholic Church and aims their activities towards human rights and the historical memory of the war. *Fundación PROPAZ* (Foundation PRO PEACE), *El Institution Internacional de Aprendizaje para la Reconciliación Social* (The International Institute of Learning for Social Reconciliation, IIARS), and *Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible* (Institute of Teaching for Sustainable Development, IEPADES) are directing their peacebuilding activities mainly towards social reconciliation, development, and conflict transformation. The organizations were founded during or after the peace negotiations, and are independent without political or religious affiliations besides ODHAG whose mandate is under the Catholic Church. For a description of the organizations, participants, their positions within the organizations, and date of interviews, see Appendix I.

This study uses the term civil society organizations (CSOs) rather than non-governmental organizations (NGOs) when referring to the organizations above. The main reason for this conceptualization is that the organizations regarded themselves as CSOs and not NGOs as they perform several of their activities in conjunction with other societal groups, such as women's associations, think tanks, indigenous groups etc., which I consider goes beyond the narrow definition of NGOs. Moreover, using the term CSO I believe captures a wider spectrum of peacebuilding initiatives, which is appropriate for this study as the organizations are involved in quite diverse peacebuilding areas and activities.

4. Theories and Concepts: Towards and analytical framework

This theoretical section will begin with identifying the concept of social capital which is then followed by a discussion on its different dimensions and how social capital can be affected during armed conflict. Next, peacebuilding is introduced with a specific focus on civil society peacebuilding which ends with the introduction of seven functions civil society peacebuilding can take on. The theoretical section concludes with the presentation of the analytical framework in which the social capital dimensions are combined with the seven peacebuilding functions.

4.1 Social capital

The concept of social capital has in the recent decade entered the development discourse as a new perspective through which we can understand social issues of contemporary societies, such as poverty, institutional inefficiency, management of natural resources, and conflict resolution (Valadbigi & Ghobadi 2011:130, Foley & Edwards 1997:550). With the publication of Robert Putnam's work on understanding democracy and institutional efficiency in Italy (1993) and its dependence on high levels of social capital in society, social capital theory has been widely used in recent development research and practice. The World Bank has been at the forefront in this new discourse, arguing that social capital is "the missing link" in development practice as it is providing a bottom-up approach to development due to that it is located and manifested in civil societies (Harriss & De Renzio 1997:921; Babaei et al. 2012:119; Grootaert 1998:1-2; Dahal & Adhikari 2008:3).

4.2 Defining social capital: A moral resource or social networks?

The literature on social capital is vast, and the conceptual challenge of identifying what social capital constitutes has been tackled by many. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) is one of the most cited authors on social capital, defining the concept as "[…] the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more of less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition […] (Bourdieu 1986:248). According to Bourdieu, social capital is thus found in the external relationships *between* people who belong to different social groups or associations, such as a family, relatives, sports clubs, choirs,

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school classes etc. (Bourdieu 1986:248; Putnam 2004:8). In contrast to Bourdieu's definition of social capital as social networks between groups of people, Putnam (1993) conceptualizes social capital as a type of moral resource such as trust, social norms and obligations which is mainly created in relationships among individuals *within* groups. In his study on democracy in Italy, Putnam claimed that political and economic development is significantly connected to a high degree of civic participation. Engagement in civil society gives rise to social capital, i.e. networks, norms, and trust that facilitate collective cooperation (Harriss & De Renzio 1997:920). He argues that the increase in trust and shared norms among individuals make them more inclined to engage in business transactions with each other as well as engage in decision-making processes as they view the state as accountable and transparent (Putnam 1993:9, Woolcock 1998:156). Putnam's definition of social capital is thus communitarian, which implies that social capital is a public good to be enjoyed by communities. Moreover, the definition indicates that social capital is fundamentally virtuous and always has a positive effect on communities (Vervisch et al. 2013:152; Harriss & De Renzio 1997:926).

The World Bank social scientist Michael Woolcock (1998) problematizes the previous conceptualizations of social capital, arguing that taken together they embody both the sources of social capital and the benefits that arise from it, adding to the conceptual confusion of what actually constitutes social capital (Woolcock 1998:156, Adler & Kwon 2002:19). "Social capital in the form of trust, it is argued, is created as a by-product of other collective endeavors such as participation in civic associations, but these activities are themselves […] identified as social capital […]." (Woolcock 1998:156). To avoid this confusion, he assumes both the external and internal definition of social capital. He argues that social capital constitutes both the social networks *and* the norms within those networks that enable individuals and groups to work collectively as a group (Woolcock 1998:155; Woolcock & Narayan 2000:226).

4.3 Dimensions of social capital

As the above conceptual discussion partly illustrates, social capital is subjected to a multitude of definitions, making it challenging to apply the concept practically and analytically in real case studies. For the purpose of clarification, this study adopts Woolcock's definition of social capital as both a moral resource and as social networks as this allows for the integration of different dimensions of social capital which recognizes that communities and individuals can

have more or less access to social capital (Woolcock 1998:159; Woolcock & Narayan 2000:226-227). This contrasts Putnam's view of social capital as an undisputed good for the community, as the dimensions demonstrate that social capital also has a dark side (Harriss & De Renzio 1997:932). These dimensions will now be further discussed.

4.3.1 Bonding social capital

Bonding social capital constitutes the focus on the *internal* relationships among actors within a group or collectivity (Adler & Kwon 2002:21). It is characterized by exclusiveness and homogeneity as it is defined as connecting people of similar socio-economic situation and demographic features, such as family members, relatives, and close friends (Babaei et al. 2012:120). Bonding social capital is often regarded as important for social mobilization and solidarity, especially within economically and socially vulnerable groups as it enables shared identities, increase intrapersonal trust, and facilitate social support (Babaei et al. 2012:120, Dahal & Adhikari 2008:4; Adler & Kwon 2002:29). However, it has been recognized that when too much bonding social capital exist within a group, its potential negative side is revealed. Being homogenous and exclusive in nature, bonding social capital when taken to its extreme, can effectively exclude other individuals and groups. From a development perspective, this hinders the effectiveness of the group as it is lacking cross-cutting connections to other groups and organizations in society, which are regarded as important in order for the group to advance beyond its own economic, social, and political potential (Babaei et al. 2012:120; Adler & Kwon 2002:30). Moreover, when there is a strong sense of solidarity to the own group and large obligations are put on its members, individuals may feel restricted in expanding their personal connections to other social networks (Woolcock 1998:158). The Mafia, gangs, and drug cartels are examples of when too much bonding social capital has transformed into perverse social capital (Woolcock & Narayan 2000:229).

4.3.2 Bridging social capital

Bridging social capital is the term used when discussing social capital as a resource located in the *external* relationships between actors, specifically focusing on social networks (Adler & Kwon 2002:20). In contrast to bonding social capital, bridging capital signifies the weak relationships that connect people across social traits such as class, ethnicity, religion, and culture. Being connected to other individuals within a larger social network is claimed to generate more generalized trust as people are connected beyond their familiar surroundings

and are subjected to other worldviews and opinions (Adler & Kwon 2002:19; Babaei et al. 2012:121). Further, it has been found that efforts aiming towards increasing this type of weak ties within a larger group consisting of different identities and connections often lead to better economic opportunities, such as securing a job position; facilitate social support on community level; influence decision-making processes; and access to resources and information made available by other members. (see Granovetter's study "The strength of weak ties" 1973; Gittell & Vidal 1998:5; Babaei et al. 2012:120-121 Woolcock 1998:172; Adler & Kwon 2002:29). Indeed, one of Putnam's findings was that bridging social capital is more beneficial when facilitating wider collective action and cooperation compared to bonding social capital (Putnam 1993:175; Harriss & De Renzio 1997:924). But as with bonding social capital, bridging social capital has negative sides, albeit not as prominent. This dimension of social capital assumes that all groups in society have equal amount of and/or access to social capital, which does not hold true in countries where the distribution of power, income, and resources is unequal among civil society groups. In such communities it is common that a few groups are dominant and have access to more capital, both social and economic. These groups can misuse social capital so to exclude other subordinate groups that have fewer assets, thus hindering them from profiting of the benefits of social capital. In other words, one group uses its social capital to prosper at the expense of others (Adler & Kwon 2002:30; Babaei et al. 2012:120; Colletta & Cullen 2000:15-16; Vervisch et al. 2013:150).

4.3.3   Linking social capital

Different from bonding and bridging capital, which are centered on the horizontal ties between people, linking social capital focuses on the vertical relationships between individuals and people in positions of authority, such as the police, political parties, service providers, voluntary groups etc. The main function of this type of social capital is that it can provide access to institutional resources and information that lie outside groups and individuals in the community, such as decision-making processes, and financial, technical, and social support on top level. Linking individuals and communities to people in positions of authority is often argued as crucial for the long-term development of societies and communities (Woolcock 1998:172; Babaei et al. 2012:121; Gittell & Vidal 1998:5; Adler & Kwon 2002:29). Similar to bridging social capital, this dimension is mainly equated with positive outcomes for civil society. But the discussion on distribution of power is relevant here as well, but in terms of power between the state and civil society rather than between groups. For linking social capital to have a positive outcome, it assumes that there is

willingness from states and governmental institutions to open up for generating a better relationship with civil society, and vice versa. In countries that have experienced long periods of authoritarian rule this may not always be the case. As such, the negative side of linking social capital has been discussed as neglecting the historic-political context in countries and accepting existing power structures, which may not be conducive for generating social capital (Babaei et al. 2012:121; Vervisch et al. 2013:150).

4.4 Social capital and armed conflict

The discussion above on the different dimensions of social capital suggests that social capital plays a large role in the current debate on how to facilitate development in countries. But achieving development through social capital in societies that have experienced armed conflict is problematic as social capital is one of the first features of a country to be implicated during conflict (Bouka 2008:17; Colletta & Cullen 2000:3). Different from interstate conflict, which often strengthens national social cohesion, civil war fragments and polarizes civil societies and damage individual and collective social systems based on trust, norms, and values. Large-scale violence, murders, and disappearances ruin the ties between family members; the militarization of communities decrease the level of trust and networks among communities; and high level of political violence ruins the link between authorities, communities, and individuals (Colletta & Cullen 2000:3-4; Manz 2008:152; Bouka 2008:17-18). Moreover, when violent conflict has ended bonding social capital often becomes more prominent in civil society as a defense mechanism to the trauma individuals and groups have suffered. Individuals strengthen their ties to their ethnic and language group due to decline in trust against others (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:11; Bouka 2008:18). Further, as the state is weakened by the high levels of violence, especially in terms of providing security to its citizens, many turn to alternative measures to provide their own security, which exacerbates the post-conflict violence and insecurity that often linger after civil war (Colletta & Cullen 2000:3-4; Bouka 2008:17-18). From a peacebuilding and development perspective, this inhibits the possibilities for reduced levels of violence which necessary for sustainable peace, as well as for cross-community cooperation where new ideas and innovations can develop. As such, the possibility of increasing economic opportunities through a larger social network is reduced, as well as access to social services such as education and health (Bouka 2008:12,17; Adler & Kwon 2002:30; Woolcock 1998:158; Colletta & Cullen 2000:15-16; Babaei et al.

2012:120; St. Clair 2005:2). Moreover, bonding social capital in its negative form often emerge in the form of gangs and exclusionary groups as a way to ensure social and economic security (Manz 2008:152; Bouka 2008:17-18). Similarly, during violent conflict bridging and linking social capital can be the source of mistrust, exclusion and misuse of one group's wider network. States, armies, and rebel groups can use social capital to mobilize public support and participation in order to strengthen their position in civil society and enhance collective action to achieve their objectives in conflict. However, when civil war has ended, bridging and linking social capital are the main dimensions that are weakened or even non-existent in society, whereas bonding social capital often is strengthened (Vervisch et al. 2013:150).

4.5 Peacebuilding

The previous section leaves quite clear that social capital is in different ways highly implicated during armed conflict and, moreover, that negative aspects of social capital often emerge as a consequence of conflict. Therefore, generating positive social capital through peacebuilding efforts is regarded as all the more important in order to achieve sustainable peace and development (Vervisch et al. 2013:147,149; McMurray & Niens 2012:208).

With the end of the Cold War and the rise of civil conflicts, post-conflict peacebuilding emerged as a response to end intra-state conflicts and build conditions conducive for sustainable peace. In 1995, the UN released "A Supplement to An Agenda for Peace", defining peacebuilding as a broad and long-term process which essentially aims towards the elimination of the root causes of conflicts (Boutros-Ghali 1995; Hänggi 2004:11; Barnett et al. 2007:42; Knight 2003:247-248). Just like the earlier work of the Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung (1976) it put a stronger emphasis on the social aspects of peacebuilding than previous definitions. Galtung suggested that in order for peacebuilding to be sustainable, positive peace needs to be achieved. Positive peace is reached when the root causes of conflicts, such as poverty, political repression, and unequal resource distribution is addressed, and is argued essential for establishing sustainable peaceful conditions in a country (Galtung 1976:298, Knight 2003:247). What is note-worthy with this definition of peacebuilding, today assumed by most international, regional, and local organizations working with peacebuilding, is the inclusion of a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding, where structural conflicts within society should be addressed and transformed *by civil society actors* (Hänggi 2004:11; Barnett et al. 2007:42; Knight 2003:247-248).

4.6 Civil society peacebuilding: The seven functions

Peacebuilding efforts aiming towards reconstructing social capital within a country are often found among what Lederach (1997) calls middle - , and grassroot levels of peacebuilding (Lederach 1997:39, 41-42). These levels represent actors working on the local level in post-conflict countries, such as local NGOs, CSOs, associations, businesses, and communities (Lederach 1997:39, 41-42). They often focus their peacebuilding activities on facilitating peace funds, dialogue projects, peacebuilding training, community empowerment, and reshaping social relations (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:18; McFarlane 2011; Andrieu 2010:536, 548), with the objective of transforming exclusive bonding social capital into inclusive bridging and linking social capital (Vervisch et al. 2013:151). However, the discussion on the importance of civil society peacebuilding has fostered what critics call a "commercialization" of civil society, where funding for support for civil society has been focused on non-governmental organizations instead of more legitimate grass-root movements that often have higher membership rates, such as trade unions. Further, governments are often the main actors providing funding, which affects the accountability of the NGOs' work as they are seen as solely accountable to its funders and not its beneficiaries. Consequently, the NGOs, while being non-profit and independent, are still controlled by external mandates (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:9-11, 17, 25).

Nevertheless, there are examples of where the involvement of middle, - and grassroot actors in peacebuilding activities have been beneficial to peace processes. In the Northern Ireland peace process, CSOs, community mediators, academics, churches, business sector, and women's groups initiated a large amount of peacebuilding activities, including facilitation of contact between the warring groups and governments, and between civilians and politicians, with the central objective of building trust and a culture of peace within civil society, Further, CSOs executed training programs and local workshops aimed a peaceful dialogue among communities which brought together people across ethnic, religious, and tribal identities towards a more expanded identity. According to observers of the conflict in Northern Ireland, the high levels of civic engagement and the social trust created, was essential in facilitating the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 (Chickering & Haley 2007:64-65; Reilly 2009:78-82). Similarly, in Angola in 1998, churches and social networks consisting of traditional community leaders succeeded in mobilizing civil society in a series of peace

marches in order to pressure the Angolan government to limit the use of violence by the warring parties. Using the church and traditional leaders legitimized the peace project among civil society, and gave the project a high sense of trust and authority, succeeding in pressuring the Angolan President Dos Santos in initiating political initiatives to restrict the use of violence (Harpviken & Kjellman 2004:1, 10).

Previous research and case studies thus suggest that civil society actors, communities, groups, and individuals are essential in contemporary peacebuilding efforts because of their holistic understanding of the conflict context and because of their larger ability to work with both the vertical ties between individuals and the state, and with the horizontal ties between groups and individuals within civil society (Belloni 2001:168; Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:2; Pouligny 2005:497). For the purpose of understanding civil society actor's activities in peacebuilding initiatives in Guatemala and how bonding, bridging, and linking social capital is manifested in these activities, this study adopts the seven functions of civil society in peacebuilding outlined in Paffenholz & Spurk's research project *Civil Society, Civic Engagement, and Peacebuilding* (2006). In the article, the authors have identified seven different key functions that civil society can play in peacebuilding, which include *protection* of lives, freedom, and property against violence from all involved actors; *monitoring and accountability* of human rights, the implementation of the peace agreement, corruption of the state etc.; *advocacy* for peace and human rights, raising awareness among citizens; *socialization* to increase and establish the values of peace, democracy, tolerance, and non-violent conflict resolution; increase *social cohesion* by bringing people from different groups in society together; *intermediation and facilitation* of dialogue on local and national level between all parties involved in the conflict in order to balance the power between authorities and civil society; *service delivery* of basic human needs (Paffenholz 2009:5, Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:13).

4.7 Understanding social capital in peacebuilding: An analytical framework

Having presented the three dimensions of social capital, bonding, bridging, and linking, it is now appropriate to see how they can be understood in the seven functions of civil society peacebuilding. This will then constitute the analytical framework for the rest of this study.

Protection

Paffenholz and Spurk mainly discuss the function of protection in civil society peacebuilding as protection of citizens against atrocities from the state. They state that this function often involves international NGOs who work as a watchdog to help civil society in its peacebuilding efforts, and to provide protection to civil society itself. They do, however, also recognize that civil society can help induce protection for citizens on a more local level, for example through the establishment of peace zones for citizens where arms are not allowed (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:27). Adding the concept of human security provides are more holistic perspective to the protection function of civil society in peacebuilding as it takes into account the local level to a larger extent. They argue that civil society actors can provide security to individuals or groups through establishing and/or strengthening legitimate and autonomous local authorities, such as municipal authorities or local police forces as these are better equipped for resolving local conflicts occurring in the communities which might endanger the broader attempts for consolidating the peace on a national level (Sisk & Risley 2005:1-2). As such, this function focuses mainly on addressing the relationship between civil society and governmental institutions, either on national or local level. Applying the concept of social capital thus suggest that the protection function is connected to linking social capital.

Monitoring and accountability

This function is closely related to assessing the human rights situation in the country both during and after conflict, as well as the implementation of the peace agreement after conflict. As such, it is relevant during all phases of conflict (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:28; Paffenholz 2009:13). Paffenholz and Spurk argue that both local civil society actors and international NGOs play an important part in this function as they both monitor the conflict and postconflict situation and give recommendations to decision makers and top-level actors involved in creating peace (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:28). As with the protection function, monitoring and accountability thus appears connected with the vertical relationships between the state and civil society, i.e. linking social capital, rather than with horizontal relationships between individuals and groups.

Advocacy and public communication

This function is also relevant during all phases of conflict, but the issues to be advocated for often differ depending on the phase. Advocating for a peace agreement to be formulated, for the involvement of civil society in the peace process, against violence and for human rights

are advocacy activities that are common during armed conflict. After war has ended civil society organizations can advocate against the recurrence of violence, for the implementation of the peace agreement, and for specific aspects to be brought to the national agenda of the country through public campaigns, awareness-raising workshops etc. (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:29, Paffenholz 2009:19). As with the two functions mentioned above, advocacy and public communication activities appear to be relevant for the vertical connections with the state and the more formal institutions engaged in the peacebuilding process.

Socialization

This function supports the development of new value systems based on tolerance, inclusion, and civic participation at the community, municipal, and city level. This can be achieved through designing local government systems that are based on democracy, accountability, and conflict management. It is argued that designing such systems on the local level through civil society actors will help the establishment of the peace process and create a culture of peace in societies affected by war and armed conflict. This function is thus more focused on the horizontal relationships between groups and individuals in civil society, and activities performed within the socialization function can be argued to be efforts towards generating positive bonding and bridging social capital. Paffenholz and Spurk adds that activities found in this function include peace education, dialogue projects, reconciliation initiatives, and training and capacity building in the areas of conflict resolution and negotiation (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:). Further, through particularly engaging youth in peacebuilding efforts, new value systems and increased civic participation have a higher probability of being established in the future (Sisk & Risley 2005: 2).

Social cohesion

The function of social cohesion in civil society is mainly discussed as joint activities where former warring or adversary groups are brought together in order to overcome their past animosity. This can be through joint development programs or civil society associations where individuals, such as parents, teachers, journalists, former combatants, are connected to each other in new contexts in the hope of creating new relationships (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:30-31). According to a study by Varshney (2002) on the relationship between Hindus and Muslims in India, organizations that included individuals from different ethnicities, such as trade and business associations, were very effective in building new ties between people that went beyond the individuals' ethnicities, and helped the control of violence (Varshney

2002:46). Similar to the socialization function, peacebuilding activities aiming for social cohesion can be viewed as relevant for creating mainly bridging social capital, especially between conflicting groups. The importance of a holistic and well-founded understanding of the conflict context has been stressed in this function. Whereas a civil conflict often includes a limited number of warring parties, many conflicts have deeper roots that frequently comprise several other oppositional groups. While these tensions may not be included in the peace settlement, it is crucial to consider them when trying to achieve social cohesion in a post-war civil society. To ignore or neglect these other groups that had part in the underlying roots that spurred the conflict may result in stronger ethnic divisions among individuals and induce post-war violence (Paffenholz 2009:20).

Intermediation and facilitation

This function within civil society has been argued to have two different approaches. Civil society can work as an intermediate or facilitator between individuals in society and the state. But intermediation and facilitation can also be performed by civil society actors on a more informal basis between different groups and levels in society, such as communities and armed groups, the business sector, development organizations, returning refugees etc. Therefore, this function is concerned with both the horizontal and the vertical relationships in a community and a country, and can thus be argued to generate both bridging and linking social capital. The function of intermediation and facilitation is frequently performed by local community leaders or local NGOs or CSOs as they often have a better understanding of the local conflict context and alternative approaches to solving conflicts (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:31). Paffenholz (2009) exemplifies with the case of Afghanistan during the Taliban regime, where traditional mediation was the main tool for communicating between the regime and local communities (Paffenholz 2009:21).

Service delivery

This last function of civil society in peacebuilding has been subject of debate regarding if it is a function in itself, or if it mainly provides CSOs access to individuals through the delivery of economic, social, and humanitarian services. Some scholars view service delivery as a duty of the state, the market, or international humanitarian agencies, and is thus not a function in civil society peacebuilding. However, others argue that many local NGOs and CSOs that are engaging in service delivery also perform peacebuilding activities alongside this function as service delivery creates an entry point for other civil society functions in peacebuilding, such

as monitoring and protection (Paffenholz 2009:21; Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:31-33; Sisk & Risley 2005:2). In the light of social capital, CSOs engaging in activities of service delivery can thus arguably facilitate conditions where bonding, bridging, and linking social capital can be generated through the establishment other functions in conjunction with service delivery. This function is particularly relevant for civil society actors during and in the immediate aftermath of conflict as the state often is too weak to provide its population with support (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:32).

5. Analysis

In this section, information gathered among seven CSO's working with peacebuilding initiatives in Guatemala will be analyzed through the concepts of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. This section is divided according to the seven functions outlined in the analytical framework in order to answer my first sub-question: *Which are the peacebuilding activities of the organizations in Guatemala?* By applying the three social capital dimensions to these activities, my second sub-question is answered: *What type of social capital manifested in the peacebuilding activities among the organizations in this study?* Last, by answering these two questions through the analysis I hope to answer my overall research question: *In what way are the organizations contributing to the generation of social capital through their peacebuilding activities in Guatemala?*

5.1 State – civil society relations

"In this sense, our position in the process of peacebuilding is primarily to seek to improve the relationships between the state and civil society which were destroyed during 36 years" (R1, PROPAZ)

Linking social capital express the vertical relationships between individuals and people in authority positions, such as municipal institutions, the police, and state institutions. This dimension of social capital is often destroyed in civil conflict, especially when the state is involved as one of the warring parties (Colletta & Cullen 2000:3-4; Manz 2008:152; Bouka 2008:17-18). The conflict in Guatemala was highly characterized by an oppressive state, polarizing civil society groups as well as its own position towards civil society (Colletta & Cullen 2000:51). As the quote above indicates, the severely weakened linkages between the state and civil society as a consequence of the armed conflict were vastly recognized by the organizations and were included as objectives in several of their peacebuilding activities.

5.1.1 Security

The protection function as discussed by Paffenholz & Spurk (2006) differs somewhat from the findings among the organizations in Guatemala. While Paffenholz & Spurk focus mainly on protection of citizens from state violence (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006: 27), the post-conflict

situation in Guatemala, with minimum state violence, high crime rates, and weak state institutions, has led all the organizations which participated in this study to direct their efforts towards achieving a better security situation for the citizens in terms of civic security, and strengthen security institutions in Guatemala, both nationally and locally. Therefore, in this study the notion of protection has been understood as security.

Although state violence today has been reduced to a minimum in Guatemala, there is still a great lack of trust in state institutions as they are perceived as weak and corrupted by the citizens, which causes problems in terms of assuring security to the population in Guatemala (IEPADES, R1; Zinecker 2006: 1-2, 6, 27). The judiciary in Guatemala is considered the weakest in Central America, with very low access to lawyers for the population and insufficient number of courts (Zinecker 2006:33-34). Moreover, the police system in the country has been unable to deal with the postwar violence due to lack of resources and extreme levels of corruption. Only ten percent of those committing homicide are arrested by the police, and witnesses and victims of the violence do not report to the police as they do not trust that the police can provide them with adequate protection (Zinecker 2006: 29-30). The Institute of Teaching for Sustainable Development (IEPADES) has therefore directed most of its work in security towards strengthening governmental institutions on both national and local level. In 2007, the organization initiated a project aimed towards security sector - and justice reform in Guatemala, where the majority of its work was focused on research, capacitation, and training of relevant actors within the area of justice and security, such as the National Civil Police Force in Guatemala (PNC) as well as courts and the Public Ministry in order to strengthen their capacity to provide security and justice (R1, IEPADES). In addition, they have initiated a program directed towards local security management, called *Gestión Local de la Seguridad y la Justicia* (Local Security and Justice Management), which focuses on civic participation and social auditing of the security and justice situation in selected communities and municipalities (R4, IEPADES). As explained by the informants at IEPADES, the purpose of this project is to find ways to connect civil society security needs, such as lynching and gang violence, to municipal security institutions (R4, R3 IEPADES). The hope is that this will increase civic participation in the security area on the local level so that **"*[P]eople themselves can create their own security in a non-violent way.*"** (R4, IEPADES), as well as strengthen municipal authorities so to facilitate more trust in governmental institutions among civil society (R2, R4, IEPADES).

When there is a lack of a cooperative relationship between state and civil society, and the state is unable to provide society with social services "[…] informal networks substitute for the failed state and form the basis of coping strategies." (Woolcock & Narayan 2000:238). As one informant explained, citizens in Guatemala do not feel they can rely on the state to provide appropriate security, and have instead turned to *autoprotección* (self-protection) using their own firearms to defend themselves and their families, which contributes to the continuation of violence, which by one informant was perceived as an extension of the civil war: *"Guatemala still has an internal armed conflict." (R1, IEPADES).* To prevent youth from engaging in this violence, the organization Paz Joven has executed many of their projects within the area of security, mainly in rural communities. The organization works primarily with the notion of preventative security by presenting alternative activities for youth to prevent them from engaging in violence, such as socio-cultural activities, and participation in civil society and politics (R1, Paz Joven). One example given by the informant was the promotion of the activity *Mesa de Justicia* (Judicial Roundtable), facilitated by Paz Joven in the municipality of Sololá. With the purpose of improving the security situation for the population in Sololá, the youth group invited different municipal and judicial authorities to participate in a dialogue and action workshop on how to improve the coordination of the security forces in the municipality. The result was a joint-created municipal action plan on how to deal with the most severe and recurring security issues, which were defined as lynching and gang violence, through peaceful conflict transformation and resolution (R1, Paz Joven). Moreover, the informant explained another objective with the project:

"[I]n that way, they [youth groups of Paz Joven] can know which authorities there are and what purpose they serve and, above all, how they [youth groups] can organize themselves among them." (R1, Paz Joven)

Civic participation in decision-making forums and in the community as a whole is regarded as beneficial for creating both bridging and linking social capital, especially in divided societies, as people are connected beyond their familiar traits and achieve better communication with national and local authorities (McMurray & Niens 2012:208). As demonstrated in the examples above, the objectives of these programs have strong correlations to linking social capital, such as increase civil society access to decision-making forums and institutions on the top level, as well as strengthening institutions responsible for providing security to the population.

5.1.2 Intermediation and facilitation

The weak linkages between the state and civil society in Guatemala were further recognized in the organizations' activities towards intermediating between sectors of the state and civil society. Intermediation and facilitation activities are considered important during all phases of peacebuilding and are most often performed by local civil society actors (Paffenholz 2009:21). Whereas this function can involve intermediation between conflicting parties (Paffenholz 2009:21; Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:31), this study suggest that intermediation is utilized as a means to improve the relationship between governmental institutions (national and local) and Guatemalan civil society. However, it was expressed by all organizations that these activities are difficult to carry out due to several reasons, which further inhibits the organizations ability to find ways to connect the different sectors (R1, ODHAG; R1, R2, PROPAZ; R1, Paz Joven).

Within their work towards developing new tools for peace education in schools in Guatemala, informants at the Human Rights Office of the Archbishop of Guatemala (ODHAG) explained that they coordinate with several state - and civil society actors, such as the Ministry of Education, universities, civic organizations, education centers, and local authorities. But as one informant stated: *"Each space has its own way to approach their work. Linking them is quite difficult." (R4, ODHAG)*. It was further explained that state institutions do not always have the right capacities to respond to the needs of the communities, which hinders collaboration (R2, ODHAG). It was also maintained that the state still not has taken responsibility for the crimes it committed during the civil war, which affects the linkages between the state and civil society and impedes the creation of trust in governmental institutions: *"The politics are not those of remembering but those of forgetting" (R4, ODHAG).*

Weak institutions, differing agendas, and lack of accountability from the state are problems all organizations experienced in their intermediating activities of trying to generate new linkages between the state and civil society. PROPAZ has identified it as a lack of power balance, where Guatemalan civil society cannot meet the state in terms of leverage and influence, as civil society is still very fragmented since the war (R2, PROPAZ). Unequal vertical relations, or what Putnam has labelled unresponsive vertical relationships, have been put forward in the literature on social capital as a hindrance towards generating linking social capital (Putnam 2004:669; Vervisch et al. 2013:150). Indeed, if linking social capital is to be restored in a

post-conflict country, there needs to be a certain degree of willingness and ambition from the state to collaborate with civil society (Babaei et al. 2012:121; Vervisch et al. 2013:150). One informant described an intermediating dialogue project they had executed where representatives from both the state and civil society had been invited:

"We invited State representatives and representatives of civil society in some dialogue exercises [...] and it was interesting because the question was whether it is possible to achieve significant improvements within the area of violence in the next ten or fifteen years. And the people representing civil society said: 'Yes it is possible and we believe in it because it is an incentive for our work'. The representatives from the State said: 'No. We know the structures of the State and they will not change. '"(R2, PROPAZ)

Intermediating between civil society and governmental institutions are also performed on a more local level. The foundation Rigoberta Menchú Tum and Paz Joven are executing activities mainly aimed towards strengthening civil society so to include them more in decision-making processes within the municipalities in order to create alliances between the two. One attempt explained by the informant at Rigoberta Menchú Tum has been the capacitation of what they call *Promotores Politicos* (Political Champions) which are civil society actors who accompany municipal authorities in the development of local governmental participation plans on how to include civil society in the political sphere, which has been carried out in six municipalities (R1, Rigoberta Menchú Tum). The organization Paz Joven has also engaged in broadening the space for civil society in political areas, especially focusing on in youth's role in participating in the municipal electoral processes in Guatemala in order to increase recognition of youth as a reliable force in civil society and among governmental institutions.

"[P]recisely what we seek is that they [youth] can have information about these processes [political processes]. [I] think youth is a neglected area for many governments and many municipalities. So, above all, our specific intention is that they recognize youth." (R1, Paz Joven)

The organization is at the moment developing Electoral Observation Centers in 33 municipalities in Guatemala with the objective of investigating the electoral processes in the municipalities, with approximately 190 adolescents participating in these centers. Further, in

2007 and 2012, the organization capacitated youth groups within the areas of political processes, human rights, and Guatemalan politics in order to provide the necessary tools and information for the youth groups to work as observers in the political elections with a specific focus on human rights. As explained by the informant, these activities aim not only towards increasing the transparency of election processes in Guatemala, but also towards facilitating activities that would recognize youth as an important actor in civil society and create new connections between youth and municipal authorities (R1, Paz Joven).

5.1.3   Advocacy, monitoring, and accountability

Peacebuilding activities aiming towards holding the state accountable towards its citizens, investigating the implementation of the peace agreement, and raising awareness about issues to be included in local and national policy agendas are found in the areas of monitoring and accountability, and advocacy and public communication. These activities are argued to be highly relevant during all phases of peacebuilding, and are most often conducted by local peacebuilding actors (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:28-29; Paffenholz 2009:18-19). In this study, these two functions were conducted in conjunction for many of the organizations.

The lack of civic trust in the Guatemalan government was for many of the informants connected to the failure of fully implementing the peace agreement, and for not assuming its responsibility for the violations it committed during the civil war (R2, R3, ODHAG; R1, INTRAPAZ: R1, R2, IIARS). For the participants in this study, activities of *monitoring* the actions of the state and the implementation of the peace agreement, and *raising awareness* among civil society and the state about the past and current social issues in Guatemala were regarded as important in their peacebuilding work. Through these peacebuilding activities the organizations hoped to improve the relationship between the state and civil society, as increased access to information about the conflict, the peace agreement, and current conflicts were regarded as improving the transparency of the state (R1, IIARS; R1, INTRAPAZ). Moreover, it was stated that it makes it more accountable towards its citizens, and provides civil society with information that they previously have been denied, especially during the armed conflict (R1, R3, ODHAG).

Before the signing of the peace accord and in the immediate aftermath of the civil war in Guatemala, ODHAG and Rigoberta Menchú Tum were highly involved in monitoring and assessing the human rights situation in Guatemala with a specific focus on the human rights

abuses that occurred during the war, including the genocide of the Mayas (R4, R2 ODHAG; R1 Rigoberta Menchú Tum). In 1994, two years before the signing of the peace accords, ODHAG initiated a project called *Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (The Recovery of Historical Memory - REMHI) where priests examined and investigated the human rights violations that occurred during the civil war. Recuperating testimonies from victims and survivals in communities all over Guatemala resulted in four volumes called *Guatemala: Nunca Más* (Guatemala: Never Again) documenting approximately 55.000 human rights violations performed by mainly the Guatemalan army (R3, R4 ODHAG). According to one informant at ODHAG, the process of recuperating testimonies and historic memories from the victims of the war was an important step towards holding the state accountable to the human rights violations that occurred during the war, and to provide a voice to Guatemalan civil society which was the main victim during the war (R1, ODHAG). Moreover, through its important role in Guatemalan civil society as part of the Catholic Church, the REMHI report was written not only with the purpose of providing a voice to the victims of the war, but also to provide civil society with information about the civil war which, up until then, had been severely censured by the state (R4, ODHAG).

"For us it is like a legacy that we need to continue to work with, to make it known: What was it that happened, why did it happened, the causes and consequences of the armed conflict in order for it never to happen again." (R4, ODHAG)

Addressing historic memories of war have been put forward as a necessary means towards achieving a sustainable peace and peaceful social relationships. The REMHI project can be viewed as a type of restorative justice, a process recognized as beneficial for restoring social relationships that have been harmed during times of violent conflict: "[R]estoring relationships requires addressing the harm(s) experienced by all the parties involved in wrongdoing." (Llewellyn 2006:91). Moreover, Lederach (1997) states that after violent conflict has ended, people need space to express the injustice they have been subjected to, and need acknowledgement of these injustices in order to restore conflicting relationships (Lederach 1997:26). As two informants explained, the hope with the REMHI report was to increase knowledge in civil society about what happened during the war and hold the state responsible for the violence in order to create a platform on which the state and civil society could create a new relationship (R1, R3 ODHAG).

During and in the immediate aftermath of the civil conflict in Guatemala the main issues to be monitored were human rights violations. The issues being monitored today by the organizations in this study are more closely related to the implementation of the peace agreement and political processes in the country (Paffenholz 2009:18). The Institute of Conflict Transformation for Peacebuilding in Guatemala (INTRAPAZ) was originally created to support the implementation of the peace accord signed in 1996 (R1, INTRAPAZ). As such, one informant stated that the organization's main tasks are advocacy and awareness-raising as their activities are mainly aimed towards investigation and monitoring of the current social conflicts in Guatemala, as well as the implementation of the peace accord. As stated before, the inclusion of Guatemalan civil society, through the creation of the ASC, in the peace process was prominent and proved important to the formation of the negotiating agenda and the final peace accord. Although not equipped with decision-making power, the ASC's discussions about the structural problems in the country were taken into consideration when negotiating the terms of the peace (Alvarez & Prado 2002:38, 42). Nevertheless, the lack of a decision-making power within the ASC and its disbandment short after the signing of the peace accord has left the Guatemalan state as main responsible for the implementation of the peace agreement (Alvarez & Prado 2002:38, 42), which it has failed to do according to the informants at INTRAPAZ (R1, R2, INTRAPAZ). INTRAPAZ thus sees a connection between the unsuccessful fulfillment of the peace agreement and the frustration in Guatemalan civil society, which is expressed in the rise of new social conflicts and hinders the peacebuilding process in the country (R1, INTRAPAZ).

"When the peace accords were signed, it generated many expectations but significant changes have not occurred, they [peace accords] have not been fulfilled. This has generated terrible frustrations. So how can we build peace when there is so much frustration?" (R1, INTRAPAZ).

As such, INTRAPAZ focus much of their work towards analyzing the circumstances under which the peace accord was signed which has helped understand why the peace accord has not been fully implemented and how that has affected the current social relationships in Guatemala today in terms of violence. This information has contributed to new knowledge and information for civil society of the violence occurring today in Guatemala (R1, INTRAPAZ). With this knowledge the organization has been able to create new tools on how to approach and solve social conflict and conflicting relationships among individuals and

groups and the state (R1, R2, INTRAPAZ). Additionally, INTRAPAZ executed a project called *Cartografía del conflicto social en Guatemala* (Cartography of social conflicts in Guatemala) where the organization did a series of investigations in ten municipalities in Guatemala in order to map the current social conflicts occurring there. As explained by one informant, one of the objectives was to raise awareness and new knowledge about social conflicts within communities as well as between civil society and the state, in order to create new understandings, approaches, and tools for conflict resolution and transformation, which ultimately would contribute to the restoration of peaceful social relationships in Guatemala (R2, INTRAPAZ). The informant further explained that the organization's perspective is that through executing such projects that aims towards understanding and raise awareness about the causes, consequences, and causal links of social conflicts will enable the prevention of violence in Guatemala, thus providing better civic security to the population in the future and more peaceful relationships between societal groups, and the state and civil society (R2, INTRAPAZ).

5.2 Civil society relations

"For us, peace is first of all a social relationship [...]."(R1, PROPAZ)

In the literature on social capital, there is a distinction made between bonding and bridging capital. Indeed, this distinction is necessary as it captures the relational differences of the concepts: bonding social capital refers to the internal ties between close members, such as family and relatives, whereas bridging social capital refers to the external relationships between individuals of different socio-economic groups, ethnicity, religion, and culture (Woolcock 1998:172; Babaei et al. 2012:121; Gittell & Vidal 1998:5; Adler & Kwon 2002:29). In this study, the benefits of generating bonding social capital, such as it facilitates shared identities and social support, was found to be an objective within several activities aimed towards generating bridging social capital. Analyzing the dimension of bridging social capital through the peacebuilding activities of the organizations reveals that this is of central concern to many of the organizations. This study suggest that the main objectives for the organizations projects is to create a shared community identity through bridging divisions between different groups, as well as to generate collective cooperation, social networks, trust, and reciprocity. In the peacebuilding debate, it has been recognized that initiating activities of

social cohesion and socialization in society are the ones most likely to generate bridging social capital (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:29-31; Paffenholz 2009:19-20). This holds true in this study as well, as efforts towards generating bridging social capital was found in the socialization and social cohesion functions.

5.2.1 Socialization

Peacebuilding activities aimed at socialization usually entail actions of attitude change among warring groups and are achieved through "[A]ctive participation in associations, networks, or democratic movements." (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:29). The International Institute of Learning for Social Reconciliation (IIARS) has identified racism and discrimination as two traits of Guatemalan civil society that is hindering the creation of new value systems, peaceful social relationships, and attitude change in the country (R1, IIARS). Racism and discrimination are often regarded as exclusive social capital (or negative bonding social capital) and have divided the Guatemalan population since colonization (Colletta & Cullen 2000:56). Transforming these exclusive relationships characterized by racism and discrimination into inclusive social relationships is thus an important objective for the organization:

"The objective with the exhibition is to support equal ethnic relationships that surpass racism and discrimination. [T]erefore this it is necessary to denounce racism, [...] but it is also necessary to work with the rest of society that have not been affected [by racism and discrimination] and to work with the transformation of the ideas that have legitimated this racism." (R1, IIARS)

The exhibition the informant is referring to is called *Por qué estmos como estamos?* (Why are we the way we are?) and is the organizations main activity in its work within peacebuilding (R1, IIARS). Through the exhibition, IIARS uses an educative approach to raise awareness about racism and discrimination in order to transform the exclusive social relationships that reside in Guatemala today in order to achieve an attitude change among youth regarding the unequal structures prevailing in the country (R1, IIARS).

"As an institution, we decided that the way to work with peacebuilding is through education. So we asked ourselves: How can we generate new social relationships and new forms of understanding others through education?" (R1, IIARS)

Citizenship education has been recognized as a viable means to achieve peace through the generation of democratic attitudes and values, and ultimately create social capital in post-conflict countries that are characterized by racism and division (McMurray & Niens 2012:208). Moreover, the exhibition performed by IIARS is participatory as the students who visit the exhibition are put in different everyday situations where racism and discrimination often appear (R2, IIARS). As McMurray & Niens (2012) maintain, participatory learning is beneficial for interpersonal relationships to expand beyond individual and community divisions, and can contribute to the generation of bridging social capital (McMurray & Niens 2012:208).

The organization PROPAZ also identifies racism, discrimination, and prejudice as obstacles towards establishing new value systems in Guatemala. One example on how PROPAZ approach these traditional beliefs is the dialogue project *Café Ciudadano* (Citizen Café), which aims towards connecting different groups in Guatemalan civil society, with the objective of transforming exclusive social relationships towards inclusive relations (R1, R2, PROPAZ). One such example was the Café Ciudadano in Antigua in 2011 where the topic at hand was *Mundos de Mujeres – Repensamos nuestra Sociedad* (Women's Worlds – Rethinking our society). In collaboration with the exhibition *Otros Páramos* (Other Badlands), which demonstrated the different roles of women in various parts of the world, PROPAZ invited citizens to discuss topics related to gender inequality in Guatemala. As such, *Café Ciudadano* is executed with the purpose of discussing topics that often are polarizing societal groups in Guatemala and hinders them from creating new social relationships (R2, PROPAZ).*"For us, peace is first of all a social relationship [...] that is achieved when a society attains more balance between its different sectors."(R1, PROPAZ)*

The activities mentioned above are mainly regarded as socialization as they use dialogue and workshops as tools to transform social relationships through attitude change (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:29). Furthermore, the activities provides as examples of how the organizations identifies social relationships in Guatemala today, and how they work in order to transform exclusive social relationships characterized by racism and discrimination into inclusive bridging capital (Vervisch et al. 2013:151).

5.2.2 Social cohesion

The most important [for peacebuilding] is the distrust, and community organizing was the most affected by the lack of trust, and that [trust] has not yet been reestablished." (R1, ODHAG)

Activities aiming towards social cohesion are deemed vital in post-conflict peacebuilding as a facilitator of social capital as they often include joint activities between former or current conflicting groups (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006:29-31; Paffenholz 2009:19-20). Particularly projects aimed at community development are considered beneficial for transforming exclusive bonding capital into inclusive bridging capital (Vervisch et al. 2013:151). The foundation Rigoberta Menchú Tum has been involved in trying to bridge divisions between conflicting groups through development projects aimed at social and human security. The foundation is established in the three municipalities Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal in the Quiché region, which is one of the regions most affected by the war and where people still bear many traumatic memories (R1, Rigoberta Menchú Tum). Through a development project aimed towards improving health and nutrition in the municipalities, the foundation had the indirect purpose of facilitating collective cooperation between former victims and perpetrators who live side by side in the region (R1, Rigoberta Menchú Tum).

"These three places [Nebaj, Chajul, Cotzal] were very affected by the internal armed conflict so there are people living there who were members of the military, there are some people who were part of the guerrilla, [...] so fundamentally we did not see the project as only working with nutrition [...], but we wanted to work with a reconciliation process within the communities through this initiative. It was a very successful experience for achieving community integration."

Attempting to increase social capital indirectly through development programs has been acknowledged in the literature on post-conflict peacebuilding and social capital. Projects aimed at community development are often participatory and inclusive, and are successful in facilitating collective cooperation within communities that have experienced civil conflict. Through focusing on practical issues that affect the community as a whole, such as nutrition and environment, they can unite former warring groups and individuals in a common goal, thus generating bridging social capital (Vervisch 2013:151).

The role of PROPAZ in the conflict in the region Huehuetenango provides as another example of how the organization has tried to bridge divisions between conflicting groups with the result of increasing collective cooperation among communities in the municipality. In 2001, PROPAZ initiated a conflict management project in the municipality San Mateo Ixtatán in Huehuetenango, aimed at ending the current conflict between the residents in the head municipality and the rural population. PROPAZ identified the current conflict there as having its roots in the violence that occurred during the civil war, and that this affected the manner in how current conflicts were resolved.

"The history in San Mateo Ixtatán is a history of a municipality that experienced first-hand the internal armed conflict and the breakdown of the social fabric. [T]he communities still had fresh memories of the war. [...] Because of that, to them the best way of eliminating conflicts was through violence." (PROPAZ Report)

Based on the conflict management project, conflict commissions in the communities within San Mateo Ixtatán were created. They included local leaders from different parts of the municipality, thus representing the different groups that were involved in the conflict. These commissions now perform conflict analyses, develop conflict management strategies, and provide tools for negotiation, mediation, and political advocacy so to prevent future conflicts to escalate and be solved in a non-violent manner. This experience in community organizing encouraged different social groups in the region to expand the communities' capabilities in conflict management towards community development. Projects aimed towards the decontamination of the river San Mateo and the prevention of deforestation in the region were initiated by different groups in the communities, who in 2008 all came together under the association *Jun K'olal* which in the indigenous Chuj language means *We are all one* (R2, PROPAZ; PROPAZ Report).

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between peacebuilding and social capital and in what way peacebuilding can contribute to the generation of social capital. By using an analytical framework consisting of the seven functions civil society organizations can take on in peacebuilding and the three dimensions of social capital, it was possible to investigate the different peacebuilding activities of the organizations and what type of social capital that is manifested within these activities.

The organizations are engaged in in all of the functions mentioned by Paffenholz & Spurk (2006) apart from service delivery. Indeed, service delivery as a function in civil society peacebuilding is often most relevant during and in the immediate aftermath of conflict when the humanitarian crisis for the population is at its worst (Paffenholz & Spurk 20067: 32). Considering that Guatemala is in its seventeenth post-conflict year, this function can be argued as not as relevant among civil society actors and that activities within the other functions have precedence.

Activities initiated within the functions of security, intermediation and facilitation, advocacy, and monitoring and accountability are all found to be executed with the purpose of improving the relationship between the state and civil society. As stated before, the high involvement of the Guatemalan state in the civil war, the extraordinary level of violence it used on its population, and not having taken responsibility of the human rights violations it committed during the war sheds light on the fact that this relationship is still suffering from the legacies of the armed conflict. This provides an explanation as to why the organizations are directing much of its work towards improving this relationship by generating linking social capital in Guatemala. Besides focusing on the relationship between the state and civil society in their peacebuilding activities, the relationships between societal groups was also a concern for many of the organizations. Through activities aimed at socialization and social cohesion, they try to achieve new value systems and new social relationships that surpass traditional ideas that have dominated in Guatemala and have facilitated divisions between groups and individuals. As stated in the theoretical section of this study, civil war often leaves countries with high levels of bonding social capital, and low levels of bridging and linking social capital, often leading peacebuilding actors to direct their work towards generating bridging and linking social capital (Vervisch et al. 2013:150-151). This, I believe, is demonstrated in this study as the main dimensions of social capital that are manifested within the

organizations peacebuilding activities are linking and bridging social capital, whereas generating bonding social capital was not discussed by the informants or expressed as an objective within the organizations peacebuilding activities. However, reviewing the literature on the importance of social capital in peacebuilding, much effort have been put in explaining how bridging social capital can be generated through post-conflict peacebuilding, whereas efforts towards generating linking social capital have not been extensively discussed. Intrastate conflicts where state violence has been high, as in Guatemala, suggest that generating linking social capital is of as high importance as bridging social capital in order to achieve sustainable peace. I believe that this calls for further empirical and theoretical investigation in order to understand how peacebuilding efforts can contribute to restoring the relationship between state and civil society and, further, the impacts linking peacebuilding activities have on reestablishing this relationship.

Through investigating the organizations' role as local peacebuilding actors in Guatemala, the analysis supports the notion that local civil society actors often have an extensively good understanding of the conflict context and of the consequences conflicts have on the local population. Through this contextual understanding, I argue that the organizations are contributing to the generation of social capital in the way that they have recognized that linking and bridging social capital are the main dimensions of social capital that have been affected by the civil war, and have further addressed and included these dimensions as objectives in their peacebuilding activities in order to build sustainable peace in Guatemala.

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Appendix I: Organizations and participants

Organization	Participant, date of interview (R = Respondent)	Position and area of work
INTRAPAZ	R1 Single interview, 2014-01-13	Investigator: Security and violence
	R2 Single interview, 2014-01-15	Investigator: Social conflicts and social and popular movements
PROPAZ	R1 Single interview, 2014-01-15	Director
	R2 Single interview, 2014-01-23	Consultant: Violence Dialogue project
IIARS	R1	Director
	R2 Group interview, 2014-01-20	Assistant: Exhibition "Por qué estamos como estamos?"
Fundación Rigoberta Menchú Tum	R1 Single interview, 2014-01-14	Coordinator: Education
Paz Joven	R1 Single interview, 2014-01-24	Director
ODHAG	R1	Coordinator: Culture of peace
	R2	Coordinator: Education, children and adolescents
	R3	Conflict transformation and prevention of violence
	R4 Group interview, 2014-01-20	Capacitation

IEPADES	R1	Coordinator: Local security management
	R2	Coordinator: Local security observatories
	R3	Program coordinator, "Peacebuilding in Guatemala"
	R4 Group interview, 2014-01-16	Analyst

Appendix II: Map of Guatemala