



Guatemala's Compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

Submitted by The Advocates for Human Rights
a non-governmental organization in special consultative status since 1996

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I. REPORTING ORGANIZATION

1. **The Advocates for Human Rights** (“The Advocates”) is a volunteer-based nongovernmental organization committed to the impartial promotion and protection of international human rights standards and the rule of law. Established in 1983, The Advocates conducts a range of programs to promote human rights in the United States and around the world, including monitoring and fact finding, direct legal representation, education and training, and publications. The Advocates has published 27 reports on violence against women as a human rights issue, provides consultation and commentary on draft laws on domestic violence, and trains lawyers, police, prosecutors, and judges to effectively implement new and existing laws on domestic violence.

II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

2. This report focuses on Guatemala's obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Specifically, it addresses Guatemala's legislative framework, domestic violence, access to justice, and marriage and family relations.
3. Violence against women is a pervasive problem in Guatemala. From January to November 2016, Guatemala's Public Ministry received 49,397 complaints regarding violence against women.¹ In that same period, the Public Ministry reported 220 cases of femicide.² Lack of offender accountability is prevalent, and the International Commission against Impunity estimated the rate of impunity for crimes in Guatemala to be approximately 98 percent.³ The rate of impunity for violence against women is above 90 percent.⁴

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4. In its last review of Guatemala, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Committee) expressed concern over: 1) the lack of prohibition of discrimination against women in domestic law, as defined by the treaty; 2) discriminatory laws that disadvantage women; 3) pervasive gender stereotypes and patriarchal attitudes; and 4) high rates of femicide and impunity, despite the passage of the Act on Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women.⁵
5. The Committee further recommended that Guatemala: 1) “adopt a prohibition on discrimination against women in line with articles 1 and 2(b) of the Convention,” and to create educational programs on women’s rights specifically for judges, lawyers, prosecutors and law enforcement; 2) eliminate remaining laws that discriminate against women, especially in the Labor, Civil and Criminal Codes; 3) create programs to demonstrate the importance of gender equality and combat stereotypes, with particular attention to eliminating discrimination against women based on ethnicity and sexuality; and 4) devote additional resources to the implementation of the Act on Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women, ensure adequate protection and redress for victims, and prosecute perpetrators, as well as provide gender-sensitivity trainings for public officials.⁶

III. ANALYSIS OF GUATEMALA’S COMPLIANCE WITH THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

A. *List of Issues, Constitutional and legislative framework and harmonization of laws, paras. 1–2 (Article 2: Policy Measures)*

6. Guatemala responded to the Committee’s List of Issues Prior to Review by detailing several changes in its domestic law. It noted legal reforms, including amendments to Articles 205 and 208 of the Constitution to reflect the principle of gender equality in professional and judicial careers.⁷ Although Guatemala has updated its Municipal and Criminal Codes to include greater protections for women,⁸ there remains no single national-level prohibition on discrimination against women. Legislation is also in place to identify trafficking victims and prosecute traffickers, as well as to prevent child marriages.⁹
7. The State Party’s Report refers to the Land Fund (FONTIERRAS), which formally released its policy on ensuring women’s equal access to land in 2016.¹⁰ The policy itself refers to the Guatemala’s commitments under CEDAW, as well as other international agreements regarding women’s rights.¹¹ Its goal is to ensure women’s equal access to land as a means of promoting economic, social, and political empowerment.¹² The policy includes a number of specific targets, mechanisms to measure success, and identifies responsible institutions.¹³ Access to land remains an issue, however, especially for single women.¹⁴



8. Although several changes have been made to Guatemalan domestic law and policy, more reform is needed to ensure these laws effectively guarantee women's rights in practice. For example, while specific laws protect women from femicide and sexual assault, judges exhibit reluctance to apply such laws and may instead prioritize the property rights of the abuser.¹⁵
9. Guatemalan women still face discrimination under national legislation. Elements of the Family Law portion of the Guatemalan Civil Code reveal bias against women that is engrained in Guatemalan culture and legislation. For example, Article 111 of the Civil Code mandates that a husband must protect his wife and family, and provide his wife with means to maintain the household.¹⁶ This reinforces stereotypes, implying that men hold the primary responsibility to provide for the family economically while woman should be relegated to the household. Article 169 of the Civil Code states that "innocent women" are eligible for alimony in cases of divorce if they maintain "good conduct," among other things.¹⁷ This provision potentially grants ex-husbands the ability to exert control over their former spouses and even engage in surveillance.¹⁸ There is no such analogous requirement for men. Furthermore, for women exiting violent relationships, it allows abusive ex-husbands to continue exerting power and control by leveraging this law.

10. Suggested recommendations:

- Amend legislation to remove discriminatory provisions that perpetuate harmful stereotypes, including Articles 111 and 169 of the Civil Code.
- Create educational programming to inform women of their rights under CEDAW and to encourage the elimination of practices that discriminate against women.
- Disseminate the provisions of CEDAW, with a view to inform women of their rights, with a particular focus on rural and indigenous women.

B. *List of Issues, Access to justice and legal complaint mechanisms, para. 3*

11. The Committee requested Guatemala "provide information on the mechanisms and procedures available to women."¹⁹ In the last year, the government voted on amendments to the Law Against Femicide specifically targeting women who misuse the law.²⁰ The amendment would grant judges discretion to punish women for submitting complaints with no legal grounds.²¹ Supporters of the current law describe the proposed amendments as regressive and undermining the effectiveness of the Law Against Femicide.²² If adopted, it could have the unintended consequence of deterring individuals from coming forward to report femicides.
12. Guatemala has undertaken some positive measures, such as the Prosecutor Against the Crime of Femicide in 2016²³ and the creation of specialized courts to address violence against



women.²⁴ The specialized courts' judges, the majority of whom are women, have received training on gender issues.²⁵ These specialized courts also serve victims' needs by employing psychologists and social workers, as well as providing childcare facilities for women testifying at trial.²⁶

13. Despite these steps, access to justice remains limited by the harmful attitudes of law enforcement and members of the judiciary. Law enforcement often fails to recognize domestic violence, or officers may believe that such violence is justified.²⁷ In addition, judges frequently fail to enforce laws that protect women and instead prioritize contradictory laws that benefit their abusers.²⁸ For example, both “judges [and] police often refuse to remove a perpetrator from a house because doing so could violate his property rights.”²⁹ In fact, some judges perceive that legislation designed to protect women from domestic violence “could violate the principle of equality under the law” as there are no “analogous laws to protect men against violence.”³⁰ Such a viewpoint prioritizes a violent abuser's right to property over a woman's right to physical safety and security.
14. Clients interviewed by The Advocates **confirm that police officers often hold harmful attitudes that expose victims to danger instead of protecting them.** One client, who is now 16 years of age, met her husband when she was 11 and he was 22. He kidnapped her and subsequently married her when she was 14 to escape the threat of kidnapping charges. She was repeatedly raped and beaten by her husband throughout their relationship. Eventually, she went to the police for help. Her husband met her at the police station, where a judge told them to “try to work things out.” After reporting her husband to the police, he beat her until she miscarried. Although she escaped from her husband and was granted a protection order by the municipality, her husband continued to search for her through family members.³¹ Another woman told The Advocates that she did not go to the police to report the abuse because her partner, a police officer, told her that if she reported to the police, “there was nothing that would be done.”³²
15. **Even if a woman is able to access legal system protections, it does not always ensure her safety.** As the case above illustrates, obtaining an order for protection does not guarantee its effective enforcement. Another client described to The Advocates how she secured an order for protection. It did not, however, stop her husband from pursuing her, and ultimately she was forced to flee to the United States to escape him.³³
16. **Rates of impunity remain high for domestic violence offenders.** In the first nine months of 2015, the Unit of Adolescent and Child Victims of the Special Prosecutor's Office for Women reported only 11 convictions related to child abuse.³⁴ Even when offenders are convicted, the punishments do not adequately hold perpetrators accountable. Often, offenders



are given the minimum sentence of five years, which under Guatemalan law can be commuted by paying a nominal fine, leaving the offender free to return to home.³⁵

17. Many victims choose to leave the country rather than face potential reprisal and stigma.³⁶ Surveys by the International Organization for Migration revealed that **domestic violence was a significant push factor not only for adults but also unaccompanied child migrants.**³⁷ Another of The Advocates' clients fled Guatemala as an unaccompanied child after she was physically abused by her father and one of her older brothers. She fears returning due to the violence she suffered from her male relatives.³⁸

18. Suggested recommendations:

- Provide training on domestic violence for law enforcement officials, in consultation with or led by NGOs that serve victims of domestic violence, on the law, dynamics of domestic violence, and best practices in law enforcement response.
- Provide training on domestic violence for the judiciary, in consultation with or led by NGOs that serve victims of domestic violence, on the law, dynamics of domestic violence, and best practices for judicial responses to domestic violence.
- Amend the criminal law to ensure that domestic violence punishments are commensurate with other crimes of violence and that punishments increase with repeat violence.
- Take steps to ensure that the law adequately addresses the enforcement of orders for protection and that violations of such orders are criminalized and prosecuted.

C. List of Issues, Stereotypes, para. 8

19. The Committee requested information regarding Guatemala's strategies to combat stereotypes about women, specifically in schools and within the family unit.³⁹ In response, Guatemala described its new initiative, "Less victimization, more empowerment."⁴⁰ The campaign aims to provide training on gender sensitivity and inform women of their rights.⁴¹ Little information exists about the implementation of the new initiative. Notably, the government states that it aims to "eliminate attitudes of victimization," rather than address the underlying causes of violence against women.⁴²

20. Stereotypes about women and archaic gender roles remain pervasive in Guatemala. According to the Public Ministry, "there exists a culture of discrimination and sexist stereotypes that permeates all of the institutions in the justice sector."⁴³ There remains a culture of victim blaming and acceptance of violence against women as a societal norm.⁴⁴



21. In addition, many double standards exist regarding gender roles. For example, violence against women is often justified in Guatemala if the woman is suspected of infidelity, whereas men are almost culturally expected to be unfaithful.⁴⁵ In both situations, the woman is blamed: in the former, it is her fault for failing to be faithful to her partner, in the latter she is shamed for failing to keep her partner satisfied.⁴⁶ As described above, the law reinforces these stereotypes by depriving women of alimony if they are not “innocent” in the divorce, while instituting no similar provision for men.⁴⁷
22. The success of specialized courts and other national programming is limited by public tolerance of violence against women in some circumstances.⁴⁸ Many men and women maintain the belief that a man may beat a female partner in the case of infidelity (or “suspected infidelity”).⁴⁹ In fact, one survey found that Guatemala had the highest rate of acceptance of violence against women among Latin American countries at approximately 58 percent.⁵⁰
23. Suggested recommendations:
- Develop and implement public education campaigns to combat violence against women, eliminate stereotypes, and inform women of their rights and available resources.
 - Engage men and boys in the educational programming to help them identify and combat harmful stereotypes about women and violence against women.

D. *List of Issues, Violence against women, paras. 9–11*

24. In response to the Committee’s request for information about the support centers and their budgets, the government highlights the Integral Support Centers for Women Survivors of Violence (CAIMUS). CAIMUS is not a government program, but the government provides financial support to the shelters.⁵¹ Although the centers provide vital assistance to survivors, there are few of them in Guatemala, making it difficult to assist underserved communities.⁵²
25. Guatemala’s response details a number of new institutions and mechanisms designed to prevent violence against women. It does not mention, however, that Guatemala’s rates of femicide and violence against women are among the highest in the world.⁵³ Public Ministry statistics show that during the first 10 months of 2014, there were 8,871 reported cases of sexual or physical assault on women.⁵⁴ This violence has continued to prevail, and according to the Public Ministry, there were 49,397 reports of violence against women in 2016 alone.⁵⁵ Many of the women interviewed by The Advocates reported experiencing violence and sexual assault against them by their intimate partners. One girl, who is now 16, met her husband when she was 11 and he was 22; they were married when she was 14. She was



repeatedly raped and physically beaten by her husband throughout their relationship. Even when she was pregnant and on bedrest, he continued to beat her until she miscarried.⁵⁶

26. **Rape and sexual violence remains widespread in Guatemala.** Secretaría Contra la Violencia Sexual, Explotación, y Trata de Persona (SVET) reported 2,744 medical examinations at the National Institute of Forensic Sciences related to sexual offenses against women and girls between January and May 2017.⁵⁷ A total of 789 of those medical examinations took place in a single province – Guatemala.⁵⁸ However, the SVET reported that there were no complaints of sexual violence in the province of Guatemala during that time period – it was the only province with no complaints.⁵⁹ In addition to spousal rape and intrafamily sexual violence, many of The Advocates’ clients reported experiencing sexual violence committed by relatives, neighbors, or strangers. One 18-year-old woman was raped by a stranger while working as a housekeeper as a young teen in Guatemala City. The rapist told her to keep quiet or else he would kill her. She later fled Guatemala after a neighbor repeatedly threatened to kill her, telling her she had to “be his girlfriend, or no one’s.”
27. Gang-related violence against women is a pervasive human rights violation. **Women who come into contact with gangs are subject to threats, kidnapping, extortion, rape and sexual assault, and murder.**⁶⁰ The Advocates has received numerous reports from asylum seekers about crimes committed by gang members in Guatemala. For example, one client, a 12-year-old girl with severe intellectual disabilities, was kidnapped by gang members in 2014 and held hostage for two weeks. Her grandmother received a note saying “If you want to see your granddaughter alive, pay us 50,000 quetzales.”⁶¹
28. **Reports made to The Advocates support the widespread reports of violence against women who are in relationships with gang members.**⁶² One client reported that a neighbor repeatedly harassed her while she was a minor, stating she should be his girlfriend and threatening to kill her. The neighbor was suspected of killing his wife a few weeks earlier; he and his brothers were gang members.⁶³
29. The Advocates has received reports of **gangs using threats to harm female relatives** in order to recruit reluctant young men to gangs or demand money. One client reported that gang members who said they were with Mara 18 (Barrio 18/MS-18) threatened to hurt his sister if he did not transport drugs for them.⁶⁴ Another client described how gang members repeatedly threatened to rape and kill his 14-year-old sister on her way to and from school.⁶⁵ A police report was filed, but there was no apparent action taken.⁶⁶
30. Since 2014, a growing number of women fleeing violence in Guatemala have requested legal assistance from The Advocates in applying for asylum in the United States. While each client’s case is different, their experiences confirm that the **legal system and policies in**



place in Guatemala are not providing women and girls with adequate protection or the necessary support and services. As described above, law enforcement officers often disregard complaints of domestic violence.⁶⁷ Clients have reported that police officers are bribed to ignore domestic violence issues.⁶⁸ Victims are beaten with bare fists and razorblades and threatened with dismemberment.⁶⁹ Such victims have few resources to remove themselves from these violence relationships.

31. Suggested recommendations:

- Ensure that all acts of domestic violence are effectively investigated, prosecuted, and perpetrators punished.
- Strengthen the criminal justice response to killings of women and girls, in particular measures to support its capacity to investigate, prosecute, and punish such crimes
- Ensure that laws and budgets provide adequate reparation to victims and their families or dependents, as appropriate.
- Ensure that victim services, including shelters, helplines, crisis centers, and medical and legal aid, receive adequate and regular funding and are accessible to women and girls seeking assistance.

E. List of Issues, Marriage and family relations, para. 22

32. The Committee requested information about the dissemination of Decree No. 8-2015, which raised the minimum age for marriage to 18 for both boys and girls.⁷⁰ The new law, however, still includes a provision that allows girls as young as 16 to be married with a judge's permission.⁷¹ There is no analogous provision for boys. Even with the change in law, many underage girls are still getting married. UNICEF reports that 7 percent of girls in Guatemala are married by the age of 15, while 30 percent of girls are married by 18.⁷²

33. Suggested recommendations:

- Modify existing legislation to increase the minimum age of marriage to 18 for both boys and girls in all circumstances, with no exceptions.

¹ Prensa Libre, "Piden erradicar la violencia en contra de las mujeres," accessed July 20, 2017, <http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/justicia/piden-erradicar-la-violencia-contra-las-mujeres>.

² Prensa Libre, "Piden erradicar la violencia en contra de las mujeres," *supra* note 1.

³ Prensa Libre, "Piden erradicar la violencia en contra de las mujeres," *supra* note 1.

⁴ Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2013: Guatemala," accessed July 20, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013/country-chapters/guatemala>.

⁵ *Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Guatemala*, (February 12, 2009), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GUA/CO/7.

⁶ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, *Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Guatemala*, (February 12, 2009), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GUA/CO/7.

⁷ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, *List of issues and questions in relation to the combined eighth and ninth periodic reports of Guatemala: Replies from Guatemala*, (June 19, 2017), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GTM/Q/8-9/Add.1, at ¶ 1 [hereinafter “Reply to List of Issues”].

⁸ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, *Guatemala, Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 18 of the Convention*, (January 11, 2016), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GTM/8-9, ¶¶ 8–13 (hereinafter “2015 State Party Report”).

⁹ See e.g., Ley Contra la Violence Sexual, Explotación y Trata de Personas Arts. 7–8 (2009); Voice of America, “Guatemala Bans Child Marriage, Big Change for Rural Areas,” accessed July 31, 2017, <https://www.voanews.com/a/guatemala-bans-child-marriage/3056031.html>.

¹⁰ Fondo de Tierras Secretaría General, Notificación de Punto Resolutivo del Consejo Directivo del Fondo de Tierras, 99-2016, https://www.fon tierras.gob.gt/ip/Politica_FacilitarMujeresAcceso_a_Tierra.pdf.

¹¹ Fondo de Tierras Secretaría General, *supra* note 10.

¹² Fondo de Tierras Secretaría General, *supra* note 10, at ¶ 1.1.

¹³ Fondo de Tierras Secretaría General, *supra* note 10.

¹⁴ UNDP, “El derecho de la vida: Las mujeres y el acceso a la tierra,” accessed August 1, 2017, <http://www.gt.undp.org/content/guatemala/es/home/ourperspective/ourperspectivearticles/2017/02/16/el-derecho-a-la-vida-las-mujeres-y-el-acceso-a-la-tierra.html>.

¹⁵ Cecilia Menjívar and Shannon Drysdale Walsh, *Subverting Justice: Socio-Legal Determinants of Impunity for Violence against Women in Guatemala*, 5 *Laws* 31 (hereinafter “Subverting Justice”).

¹⁶ Menjívar, *Subverting Justice*, *supra* note 15, at 38.

¹⁷ Código Civil de Guatemala, Art. 169 (1963).

¹⁸ Menjívar, *Subverting Justice*, *supra* note 15, at 40.

¹⁹ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, *List of issues and questions in relation to the combined eighth and ninth periodic reports of Guatemala*, (March 13, 2017), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GTM/Q/8-9, ¶ 3.

²⁰ Prensa Libre, “Iniciativa de reformas a Ley de Femicidio genera rechazo,” accessed July 28, 2017, <http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/politica/propuesta-de-reformas-a-ley-de-femicidio-recibe-criticas>.

²¹ Prensa Libre, “Iniciativa de reformas a Ley de Femicidio genera rechazo,” *supra* note 20.

²² Prensa Libre, “Iniciativa de reformas a Ley de Femicidio genera rechazo,” *supra* note 20.

²³ Reply to List of Issues, *supra* note 7, at ¶ 9.

²⁴ United States Agency for International Development, “Guatemala’s 24-Hour Court: Changing the Way Women Access Justice,” accessed July 20, 2017, <https://blog.usaid.gov/2013/03/guatemalas-24-hour-courts-changing-the-way-women-access-justice/>.

²⁵ Women’s ENews, “Guatemalan Double Standard Limits Femicide Courts,” accessed July 20, 2017, <http://womensenews.org/2015/06/guatemalan-double-standard-limits-femicide-courts/>.

²⁶ Women’s ENews, “Guatemalan Double Standard Limits Femicide Courts,” *supra* note 25.

²⁷ Menjívar, *Subverting Justice*, *supra* note 15, at 31–32.

²⁸ Menjívar, *Subverting Justice*, *supra* note 15, at 31–32.

²⁹ Menjívar, *Subverting Justice*, *supra* note 15, at 31–32.

³⁰ Menjívar, *Subverting Justice*, *supra* note 15, at 32.

³¹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017). The case information presented in this submission is compiled from intake and other interviews conducted by The Advocates for Human Rights with asylum seekers from Guatemala between January 2017 and July 2017. Some details have been removed to maintain confidentiality and to protect the identities of the women and their families.

- ³² Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – July 2015), *supra* note 31.
- ³³ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – July 2015), *supra* note 31.
- ³⁴ United States Department of State, *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, p. 18 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ³⁵ Musalo & Bookey, Crimes without Punishment citing affidavit of expert witness on gender discrimination in Guatemala. See Expert Declaration of Elisa Portillo Najera,” ¶ 42, (Feb. 3, 2012), available at http://cgrs.uchastings.edu/sites/default/files/Elisa_Portillo_Najera_Affidavit.pdf Najera.
- ³⁶ United States Department of State, *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, p. 14 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ³⁷ United States Department of State, *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ³⁸ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017), *supra* note 31.
- ³⁹ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *List of issues and questions in relation to the combined eighth and ninth periodic reports of Guatemala*, *supra* note 19, at ¶ 8.
- ⁴⁰ Reply to List of Issues, *supra* note 7, at ¶ 34.
- ⁴¹ Reply to List of Issues, *supra* note 7, at ¶ 34.
- ⁴² Reply to List of Issues, *supra* note 7, at ¶ 34.
- ⁴³ Prensa Libre, “Piden erradicar la violence en contra de las mujeres,” *supra* note 1.
- ⁴⁴ Menjívar, *Subverting Justice*, *supra* note 15, at 32.
- ⁴⁵ Women’s ENews, “Guatemalan Double Standard Limits Femicide Courts,” *supra* note 25.
- ⁴⁶ Women’s ENews, “Guatemalan Double Standard Limits Femicide Courts,” *supra* note 25.
- ⁴⁷ Código Civil de Guatemala, Art. 169 (1963).
- ⁴⁸ Women’s ENews, “Guatemalan Double Standard Limits Femicide Courts,” *supra* note 25.
- ⁴⁹ Women’s ENews, “Guatemalan Double Standard Limits Femicide Courts,” *supra* note 25.
- ⁵⁰ Women’s ENews, “Guatemalan Double Standard Limits Femicide Courts,” *supra* note 25.
- ⁵¹ Reply to List of Issues, *supra* note 7, at ¶ 38.
- ⁵² Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres, “Centros de Apoyo Integral para Mujeres Sobrevivientes de Violencia – CAIMUS,” accessed July 28, 2017, <http://ggm.org.gt/caimus/informacion/que-es-caimus/>.
- ⁵³ BBC Mundo, “Violencia contra las mujeres en Guatemala: ‘Nos están matando nuestros padres, hermanos y padrastros,’” accessed July 28, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/12/151211_guatemala_violencia_contra_mujer_femicidio_mes.
- ⁵⁴ United States Department of State, *Guatemala 2014 Human Rights Report*, p. 15 (2015), at <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236904.pdf>.
- ⁵⁵ Comunidad GT, “Ley contra el Femicidio una forma de erradicar la violencia contra la mujer,” accessed July 28, 2017, <http://www.comunidadgt.com/contenido/ey-contraelomicidiounaformadeerradicarlaviolenciacontralamujer>.
- ⁵⁶ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014–July 2015), *supra* note 31.
- ⁵⁷ Secretaría Contra la Violencia Sexual, Explotación, y Trata de Personas, “Estadística,” accessed July 28, 2017, <http://www.svet.gob.gt/estadistica>.
- ⁵⁸ Secretaría Contra la Violencia Sexual, Explotación, y Trata de Personas, “Estadística,” accessed July 28, 2017, <http://www.svet.gob.gt/estadistica>.
- ⁵⁹ Secretaría Contra la Violencia Sexual, Explotación, y Trata de Personas, “Estadística,” accessed July 28, 2017, <http://www.svet.gob.gt/estadistica>.
- ⁶⁰ “Guatemala: Submission to the Human Rights Committee: Information for Adoption of List of Issues Prior to Reporting,” The Advocates for Human Rights, p. 5 (19 October – 6 November 2015) http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/guatemala_hrc_loipr_august_2015.pdf.
- ⁶¹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017), *supra* note 31.

⁶² The Guardian, “‘It’s a crime to be young and pretty’: girls flee predatory Central America gangs,” (23 November 2016), at <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/nov/23/central-america-gangs-migrants-sexual-exploitation-prostitution>.

⁶³ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017), *supra* note 31.

⁶⁴ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017), *supra* note 31.

⁶⁵ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – July 2015), *supra* note 31.

⁶⁶ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017), *supra* note 31.

⁶⁷ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2010 – July 2017), *supra* note 31.

⁶⁸ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2010 – July 2017), *supra* note 31.

⁶⁹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2010–July 2017), *supra* note 31.

⁷⁰ United States Department of State, *Guatemala 2016 Human Rights Report*, (2015), at <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/265802.pdf>.

⁷¹ Voice of America, “Guatemala Bans Child Marriage, Big Change for Rural Areas,” *supra* note 9.

⁷² United Nations Children’s Fund, *The State of the World’s Children: A change for every child*, (New York: UNICEF, June 2016), 151. Also available at https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/UNICEF_SOWC_2016.pdf.