



GUATEMALA: Violence Against Women

Submitted by

The Advocates for Human Rights

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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 25 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. Since 2014, a growing number of women fleeing gender-based violence in Guatemala have requested legal assistance from The Advocates in applying for asylum in the United States.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. **Domestic violence and other crimes of violence against women remain serious problems in Guatemala.** In the first ten months of 2015, the Public Ministry reported receiving 11,449 reports of sexual or physical assault against women.¹ Femicide is also a prevalent issue, with 501 violent deaths of women reported in the first eight months of 2015.² In the first seven months of 2015 alone, the Public Ministry reported 29,128 complaints of domestic violence against women and children.³ Despite the high incidence of violence against women in Guatemala, there is widespread impunity for the perpetrators due to the failure of the government of Guatemala to adequately investigate and prosecute these crimes.

I. LEGAL FRAMEWORK⁴

A. International Legal Framework

2. **Guatemala has ratified a number of treaties relevant to its obligations to prevent and punish acts of violence against women.** Guatemala ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights on 5 May 1992,⁵ the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women on 12 August 1982,⁶ the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women on 9 May 2002,⁷ the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment on 5 January 1990,⁸ and the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture on 9 June 2008.
3. During its second Universal Periodic Review (UPR) in October 2012, the following recommendations were examined by Guatemala and received its support:⁹
 - 99.14. Expedite its on-going efforts in developing comprehensive strategies, planes, programmes and projects with a view to improve the protection of women in Guatemala (Indonesia)
 - 99.31. Thoroughly investigate and promptly prosecute cases of femicide and other acts of violence against women (Australia)
 - 99.36. Provide necessary financial resources for the application of the law concerning femicide, as well as of the National Plan for the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Violence against Women (Romania)
 - 99.40. Continue to strengthen its efforts to prevent sexual and gender-based violence by ensuring the provision of financial resources for the full implementation of the legal framework, including mandatory training with a gender perspective of all legal and law enforcement officials and health service personnel to ensure that they are able to respond effectively to all forms of violence against women (Sweden)
 - 99.104. Continue to move forward in the execution of projects aimed at protecting women, specifically indigenous women (Bolivia (Plurinational State of))
4. At the conclusion of its second UPR in 2012, Guatemala made five voluntary pledges and commitments, including to “redesign the human rights institutional system of Guatemala” and “continue with its policy agenda to strengthen the specialized justice system to protect women.”¹⁰

5. During its last review of Guatemala in 2012, the Human Rights Committee expressed concern at the “persistence of very high level of violence against women”¹¹ in spite of the country’s progress. The Committee was likewise concerned at “the frequent inadequacy of the investigation mechanisms used by law enforcement officials and forensic doctors and the small number of treatment centres which are the only support to women survivors of violence.”¹²
6. In its 2012 Concluding Observations, the Committee recommended that Guatemala “continue its efforts to prevent sexual and gender-based violence and to encourage to the victims to report such acts.” Specifically, it recommended that Guatemala 1) include the importance of protection of women against violence in school curricula; 2) require training to respond to gender-based violence for all legal and law enforcement officials as well as all health service providers, especially “to the collection of forensic evidence, treatment of victims, coordination between the authorities responsible for investigation, punishment and victim protection”¹³; and 3) and ensure that all victims of sexual or gender- based violence have access to treatment centers and shelters.
7. Other treaty bodies have expressed similar concerns about the high levels of violence against women in Guatemala.¹⁴ In its 2009 review of Guatemala, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (“CEDAW”) noted with concern the high incidence of sexual violence at home and with sexual harassment in the workplace.¹⁵ CEDAW expressed concern about “cases of extreme violence against women manifested by the murder of women motivated by gender-specific causes, which has been described as ‘femicide.’”¹⁶ CEDAW also noted with concern that, despite the passage of the Law against Femicide of 2008, “the climate of impunity has not been eradicated and women are still afraid to report cases.”¹⁷ In its Concluding Observations, **CEDAW called upon Guatemala “to make sure that all women and girls have access to protection and redress.”**¹⁸

B. Domestic Legal Framework

8. **Since its second UPR in 2012, Guatemala has taken some steps toward combating violence against women in the fulfilment of its human rights obligations.**¹⁹ Violence against women is addressed in the Guatemalan Criminal Code and the 2008 Law against Femicide, which criminalizes murder motivated by gender and establishes penalties of 5 to 8 years for physical, economic, and psychological violence committed against women because of their gender.²⁰ The law also mandates a sentence of 25 to 50 years for those convicted of femicide, without the possibility of early release.²¹
9. The government of Guatemala has also established several agencies and institutions to give effect to the law, including the Special Prosecutor for Crimes against Women, the Presidential Secretariat for Women (SEPREM),²² the Office for the Defense of Indigenous Women (DEMI),²³ the National Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Violence against Women (CONAPREVI),²⁴ and the government-run Integrated Support Centres for Women Survivors of Violence (CAIMUs).²⁵ In 2013, the Program for the Prevention and Eradication of Domestic Violence (PROPEVI) was attached to SEPREM.²⁶ **Nonetheless, poor implementation has meant these laws and mechanisms have had little effect in reducing levels of violence against women in Guatemala.**

10. In response to calls from CEDAW and others to strengthen the 2008 Law against Femicide, **the judiciary reported that in 2009-2014 it had established lower and final instance courts in 11 of Guatemala's 22 departments.**²⁷ However, femicides still continue at an alarming rate, as evinced by the number of convictions. Between 2012 and April 2016, the judicial system handed down 391 sentences for femicide.²⁸ In the same period, the National Institute of Forensic Sciences (INACIF) performed 2512²⁹ autopsies on women who died violently.³⁰
11. **There is no law in Guatemala against sexual harassment,** and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have noted its ubiquity.³¹

II. COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS

A. Positive Practices in Addressing Violence against Women

12. The Advocates for Human Rights commends the government of Guatemala for taking steps to address the problem of violence against women. **The aforementioned 2008 Law against Femicide and additional programs created by the law constitute a positive first step towards addressing femicide and other forms of violence in Guatemala.**
13. **A few government offices provide social services for survivors of violence.** The Institute of Public Criminal Defense provides survivors of domestic violence with free legal, medical, and psychological assistance.³² The Office of the Ombudsman for Indigenous Women (within COPREDEH) provides similar social services, and coordinates and promotes action from state and civil society to prevent violence and discrimination against indigenous women.³³
14. **The Law to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Intrafamily Violence, which entered into force in 1996, focuses on applying protective measures for victims of domestic violence.**³⁴ A bylaw added in 2000 established CONAPREVI as a body to monitor the implementation of the law and elaborates on the process of registering complaints.³⁵

B. Challenges in Addressing Violence against Women

i. Underfunding of protective programs

15. As several countries noted in Guatemala's second UPR, **the legal protections afforded to survivors of violence are often underfunded.**³⁶ The law affords shelter to victims of domestic violence, but the government operated only eight shelters in the departments with the greatest incidence of domestic violence.³⁷ Forty-eight percent of Guatemalans live in rural areas,³⁸ which are underserved by government shelters that are located in only a few locations in which rates of violence against women are particularly high. **This also disproportionately affects indigenous women** who are victims of violence, since most Maya Guatemalans live in rural areas.³⁹ Private donors and municipal governments fund the shelters that operate in cities and the countryside, but they do not receive financial support from the federal government.⁴⁰

ii. Lack of police training and action

16. The 2008 Law against Femicide provides that the police, the Public Ministry, and law school clinics may receive complaints of violence against women.⁴¹ **The police are the most easily accessible sector for most Guatemalan women, but they did not always perform their duty under the law.**⁴² Police "often failed" to respond to calls for help related to domestic

violence, and many lack training in dealing with domestic violence or assisting survivors.⁴³ One woman informed 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 went to the police “there was nothing that would be done.”⁴⁴

17. One client interviewed by The Advocates, 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, and she eventually 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 attempting to report her husband to the police, he beat her until she miscarried. After escaping from her husband, she was granted a protection order by the municipality, but her husband continued to search for her through family members.⁴⁵ While each client’s case is different, **this girl’s experiences confirm that the lack of effective training for police officers exposes victims to additional danger.**

iii. Impunity for aggressors

18. **Rates of impunity remain high for domestic abusers of girls and women, and many victims choose to leave the country rather than face potential reprisal and stigma.**⁴⁶ In the first 9 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.⁴⁷ Surveys by the International Organization for Migration revealed that domestic violence was a significant push factor for unaccompanied child migrants.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹
19. In the first ten months of 2015, the Public Ministry reported receiving 11,449 reports of sexual or physical assault against women.⁵⁰ In the first seven months of 2015 alone, the Public Ministry reported 29,128 complaints of domestic violence against women and children.⁵¹ **Despite the high incidence of violence against women in Guatemala, there is widespread impunity for the perpetrators due to the failure of the government to adequately investigate and prosecute these crimes.** Public Ministry statistics show that during the first ten months of 2015, there were only 527 convictions for physical or sexual assault against women out of the 11,449 complaints lodged.⁵² Impunity for domestic violence was even higher, with 29,128 reports in the first seven months of 2015 and just 141 convictions to date two months later.⁵³
20. Femicide is also a prevalent issue, with 501 violent deaths of women reported in the first eight months of 2015. Among these femicides, sexual assault, torture, and mutilation were evident in most killings.⁵⁴ **Rates of impunity are extremely high for femicide.** In 2013, which is the most recent for which data was available for this report, 41 individuals were convicted for femicide.⁵⁵
21. **The court system of Guatemala is slow to investigate and prosecute those accused of physical or sexual violence of women.** The director of the Institute of Public Criminal Defense noted that a shortage of defense attorneys slows the entire system.⁵⁶ Full investigation and prosecution of domestic violence and rape cases took an average of one year.⁵⁷ In the department of Sololá, an “indigenous justice” system is used by local

authorities to resolve cases at an “unheard-of speed.”⁵⁸ Family violence is one of the three most common issues addressed in these courts, and sentences may include redress, lashes, community service, or exile from the community. Women are the primary complainants in the indigenous justice system.⁵⁹

iv. Gang-related violence against women

22. Violence by and impunity for gang members creates an unsafe and violent environment for women in Guatemala. **Women who come into contact with gangs are subject to threats, kidnapping, extortion, rape and sexual assault, and murder.**⁶⁰
23. The Advocates has received numerous reports from asylum seekers about crimes committed by gang members in Guatemala. 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 Another client reported that gang members repeatedly threatened to rape and kill his 14-year-old sister on her way to and from school. A police report was filed, but there was no apparent action taken.⁶²
24. **Reports made to The Advocates support the widespread reports of violence against women who are in relationships with gang members.**⁶³ One client reported that a neighbor repeatedly harassed her while she was a minor, saying that she should be his girlfriend and threatening to kill her. The neighbor was suspected of killing his wife a few weeks earlier, and he and his brothers were gang members.⁶⁴
25. The Advocates has received reports of gangs using threats to harm female relatives in order to recruit reluctant young men to gangs. 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.⁶⁵

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

26. The Government of Guatemala should work to both strengthen the existing legislation through legal reform and to provide the funding and training necessary to effectively implement the law. **The Advocates suggests the following recommendations:**

A. Changes to Domestic Legislation

- Guatemala should develop a national Plan of Action on improving implementation of the Law against Femicide, including ending impunity for femicide, domestic violence, rape and sexual assault.
- Guatemala should require regular and ongoing monitoring of the implementation of the Law against Femicide.
- Guatemala should include explicit provisions for funding in the Law against Femicide and the Law on Intrafamily Violence.
- Guatemala should amend the Law on Intrafamily Violence to include a statement of victims’ rights and the services available to them and commit to the allocation of adequate funds.⁶⁶
- Guatemala should amend the Law against Femicide to require that there be at least one federally funded shelter in every department and commit to the allocation of adequate funds.

B. Justice and Law Enforcement Sectors

- Guatemala should undertake reforms to its judiciary in order to expedite and prioritize cases of violence against women, particularly cases of domestic violence and femicides.
- Ensure that police undergo training, as described below, and that civilians have access to an independent, effective, and impartial complaint mechanism when law enforcement fail to carry out their responsibilities under the law when responding to domestic violence.

C. Training and Education

- Guatemala should mandate ongoing training for all government officials, particularly prosecutors, police, and judges, on the dynamics of violence against women and best practice standards, led by or in consultation with NGOs that serve victims of domestic violence.⁶⁷
- Guatemala should develop and implement a plan for public education and awareness campaigns on violence against women in order to combat the widespread acceptance of violence and stereotypes.
- Guatemala should provide consistent funding and support to NGOs that serve victims of domestic violence and work to end violence against women.

¹ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 14 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.

² *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.

³ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>. (Note that some of the aforementioned cases—of assault, domestic violence, and femicide—may overlap. Also, not all violent deaths of women qualify as femicide under the 2008 law.)

⁴ Legal Framework section is based on corresponding section from a previous submission by the Advocates entitled: “Guatemala: Submission to the Human Rights Committee: Information for Adoption of List of Issues Prior to Reporting,” The Advocates for Human Rights, p. 2 (19 October – 6 November 2015) http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/guatemala_hrc_loipr_august_2015.pdf.

⁵ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>.

⁶ The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>.

⁷ The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>.

⁸ Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CAT.aspx>.

⁹ “Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review of Guatemala,” Human Rights Council, p. 15-20 (31 December 2012), UNDOC GE 13-10033.

¹⁰ “Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review of Guatemala,” Human Rights Council, p. 23 (31 December 2012), UNDOC GE 13-10033.

¹¹ “Concluding Observations: Guatemala,” Human Rights Committee (19 April 2012), UNDOC CCPR/C/GTM/CO/3.

¹² “Concluding Observations: Guatemala,” Human Rights Committee (19 April 2012), UNDOC CCPR/C/GTM/CO/3.

¹³ “Concluding Observations: Guatemala,” Human Rights Committee (19 April 2012), UNDOC CCPR/C/GTM/CO/3.

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- ¹⁴ “Guatemala: Submission to the Human Rights Committee: Information for Adoption of List of Issues Prior to Reporting,” The Advocates for Human Rights, p. 2 (19 October – 6 November 2015) http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/guatemala_hrc_loipr_august_2015.pdf.
- ¹⁵ “Concluding Observations: Guatemala,” Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (12 February 2009), UNDOC CEDAW/C/GUA/CO/7, ¶ 21.
- ¹⁶ “Concluding Observations: Guatemala,” Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (12 February 2009), UNDOC CEDAW/C/GUA/CO/7, ¶ 21.
- ¹⁷ “Concluding Observations: Guatemala,” Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (12 February 2009), UNDOC CEDAW/C/GUA/CO/7, ¶ 21.
- ¹⁸ “Concluding Observations: Guatemala,” Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (12 February 2009), UNDOC CEDAW/C/GUA/CO/7, ¶ 22. CEDAW recommended implementing “gender-sensitive training on violence against women for public officials, particularly law enforcement personnel, the judiciary and health service providers, to ensure that they are sensitized and can respond effectively to violence against women.” More broadly, CEDAW called on Guatemala to “take measures to modify social and cultural attitudes which are the root causes of most forms of violence targeting women, in particular murder motivated by gender prejudice.”
- ¹⁹ “Guatemala: Submission to the Human Rights Committee: Information for Adoption of List of Issues Prior to Reporting,” The Advocates for Human Rights, p. 3 (19 October – 6 November 2015) http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/guatemala_hrc_loipr_august_2015.pdf.
- ²⁰ Ley contra el femicidio y otras formas de violencia contra la mujer [Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women], Decreto del Congreso [Congressional decree], No. 22-2008 (<http://bit.ly/2mE1K1C>).
- ²¹ Ley contra el femicidio y otras formas de violencia contra la mujer [Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women], Decreto del Congreso [Congressional decree], No. 22-2008, article 6 (<http://bit.ly/2mE1K1C>).
- ²² Ley contra el femicidio y otras formas de violencia contra la mujer [Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women], Decreto del Congreso [Congressional decree], No. 22-2008, ¶ 72-76 (<http://bit.ly/2mE1K1C>).
- ²³ Ley contra el femicidio y otras formas de violencia contra la mujer [Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women], Decreto del Congreso [Congressional decree], No. 22-2008, ¶ 77 (<http://bit.ly/2mE1K1C>).
- ²⁴ Ley contra el femicidio y otras formas de violencia contra la mujer [Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women], Decreto del Congreso [Congressional decree], No. 22-2008, ¶ 78-82 (<http://bit.ly/2mE1K1C>).
- ²⁵ Ley contra el femicidio y otras formas de violencia contra la mujer [Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women], Decreto del Congreso [Congressional decree], No. 22-2008, ¶ 80-82 (<http://bit.ly/2mE1K1C>).
- ²⁶ Periodic Report of Guatemala to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (19 November 2015) UNDOC CEDAW/C/GTM/8-9, p.12.
- ²⁷ Periodic Report of Guatemala to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (19 November 2015) UNDOC CEDAW/C/GTM/8-9, p.15.
- ²⁸ “Femicidios continúan en aumento [Femicides continue to rise],” *Prensa Libre* (22 May 2016), (<http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/justicia/femicidios-continuan-en-aumento>).
- ²⁹ “Inacif reporta más muertes por violencia en 2016 [INACIF reports more violent deaths in 2016],” *Prensa Libre* (4 April 2016), (<http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/comunitario/marzo-repuntan-muertes-por-violencia>).
- ³⁰ “Inacif registra la muerte violenta de mil 173 mujeres [INACIF registers the violent deaths of 1,173 women],” *La Hora* (1 December 2015), (<http://lahora.gt/inacif-registra-la-muerte-violenta-de-mil-173-mujeres/>).
- ³¹ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 16 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ³² *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ³³ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 16 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ³⁴ Ley para prevenir, sancionar y erradicar la violencia intrafamiliar [Law to prevent, sanction and eradicate domestic violence], Decreto del Congreso [Congressional decree], No. 97-1996 (<https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/population/domesticviolence/guatemala.dv.96.pdf>).

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- ³⁵ Reglamento de la ley para prevenir, sancionar y erradicar la violencia intrafamiliar [Law to prevent, sanction and eradicate domestic violence], Acuerdo Gubernativo [Governmental Agreement], No. 831-2000 (<http://www.oj.gob.gt/justiciadegenero/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Reglamento-de-la-ley-para-prev.-sancionar-y-erradicar-la-violencia-intrafam..pdf>).
- ³⁶ UPR Working Group Report 2012, p. 23.
- ³⁷ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 16 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ³⁸ “2015 Rural Population,” The World Bank (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS>).
- ³⁹ “World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples – Guatemala: Maya,” Minority Rights Group International (December 2008), (<http://www.refworld.org/docid/49749d163c.html>).
- ⁴⁰ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 16 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁴¹ Karen Musalo & Blaine Bookey, “Crimes without Punishment: An Update on Violence Against Women and Impunity in Guatemala,” *Hastings Race and Poverty Legal Journal* 265 (2013), p. 276.
- ⁴² *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁴³ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁴⁴ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017).
- ⁴⁵ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017).
- ⁴⁶ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 14 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁴⁷ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 18 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁴⁸ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁴⁹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017).
- ⁵⁰ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 14 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁵¹ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>. (Note that some of the aforementioned cases—of assault, domestic violence, and femicide—may overlap.)
- ⁵² *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 14 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁵³ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁵⁴ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁵⁵ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 15 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁵⁶ “Femicidios continúan en aumento [Femicides continue to rise],” *Prensa Libre* (22 May 2016), (<http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/justicia/femicidios-continuan-en-aumento>).
- ⁵⁷ *Guatemala 2015 Human Rights Report*, United States Department of State, p. 14 (2015), <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/253229.pdf>.
- ⁵⁸ “Buscan reconocimiento de la justicia indígena en Guatemala [Seeking recognition of indigenous justice in Guatemala],” *el Nuevo Herald* (15 February 2017), (<http://www.elnuevoherald.com/noticias/mundo/america-latina/article132803754.html>).
- ⁵⁹ “Buscan reconocimiento de la justicia indígena en Guatemala” [Seeking recognition of indigenous justice in Guatemala],” *el Nuevo Herald* (15 February 2017), (<http://www.elnuevoherald.com/noticias/mundo/america-latina/article132803754.html>).
- 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).
- ⁶² Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017).

⁶³ “‘It’s a crime to be young and pretty’: girls flee predatory Central America gangs,” *The Guardian* (23 November 2016), (<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/nov/23/central-america-gangs-migrants-sexual-exploitation-prostitution>).

⁶⁴ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017).

⁶⁵ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (January 2014 – February 2017).

⁶⁶ “End Violence Against Women Now: Core elements of legislation on domestic violence,” UN Women (<http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/393-core-elements-of-legislation-on-domestic-violence.html>).

⁶⁷ “Guatemala: Submission to the Human Rights Committee: Information for Adoption of List of Issues Prior to Reporting,” *The Advocates for Human Rights*, p. 7 (19 October – 6 November 2015) http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/guatemala_hrc_loipr_august_2015.pdf.