**Appendix**

**Primary Sources**

Interviews

Much of the material of this thesis is founded on interviews I conducted in Guatemala in the summer of 2023. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and a few interviewees requested anonymity. The context of these interviews is special because they happened after the first round of the general elections of 2023 and before the second round. The process of several judicial cases against the opposition and later government party Movimiento Semilla unfolded as I conducted the interviews. I am grateful to all my interviewees for their time and generosity.

*Representatives of the Constitutional Assembly of 1984*

Roberto Alejos Cámbara, Representative for the Revolutionary Party (one interview, July 2023)

Aquiles Faillace Morán, Representative for the Revolutionary Party (one interview, July 2023)

José Francisco López Vidaurre, Representative for the Christian Democracy (one interview, June 2023)

Catalina Soberanis Reyes, Representative for the Christian Democracy (one interview, July 2023)

Mario Taracena Díaz-Sol, Representative for the Unión del Centro Nacional (UCN) (One interview, July 2023)

*Representatives of Congress at a later time*

Nineth Montenegro Cottom, Representative for *Encuentro por Guatemala*, 1996-2020 (one interview, June 2023)

Mario Taracena Díaz-Sol, Representative and Chief of Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE) (One interview, July 2023) [repeated]

Roberto Alejos Cámbara, Representative of Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE) and President of Congress 2009-20212 (one interview, July 2023) [repeated]

*Activists and leaders of civil society*

Carmen Aída Ibarra, leader of Movimiento ProJusticia (one interview, June 2023)

*Former Justice*

Rodolfo Rohrmoser Valdeavellano, Constitutional Court Justice 1991-1996 and 2001-2006

*Participants in the Judicial Nominations Committee*

Anonymous, representing one of the universities (July 2023)

Anonymous, representing one of the Bar Association groups (July 2023)

Quantitative Data

I collected data on the voting patterns in 2020 for the Supreme Court 2019-2024 while I was working for Guatemala Visible. My former supervisor Monica Marroquin authorized the use of the data for this thesis.

The data to demonstrate the growth of the Bar Association and the Law Schools was collected in two ways. First, with a survey contacting lawyers I know personally and asking for the number of Lawyer IDs (*número de colegiado*), which represents the number of lawyer they are. To find the oldest numbers, I did archival research on the submitted CVs of candidates, which I collected as part of my work in Guatemala Visible in 2020. In various CVs, I found the year of graduation and the number of lawyer IDs to represent points in history and graph an accurate representation. The lawyer ID consultation can be done at <https://cang.org.gt/>.

**University Acronyms**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Name** | **Acronym** | **Founded** |
| Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala | Usac | 1676 |
| Universidad Rafael Landívar | URL | 1961 |
| Universidad Mariano Gálvez de Guatemala | UMG | 1966 |
| Universidad Francisco Marroquín | UFM | 1971 |
| Universidad Rural de Guatemala | URG | 1995 |
| Universidad del Istmo | UNIS | 1997 |
| Universidad Panamericana | UPANA | 1998 |
| Universidad Mesoamericana | UMES | 1999 |
| Universidad San Pablo de Guatemala | USP | 2006 |
| Universidad de Occidente | UDO | 2010 |
| Universidad Da Vinci de Guatemala | UDV | 2012 |
| Universidad Regional de Guatemala | UR | 2014 |