**Appendix B: Periodization of Women’s Movement and Its Domestic and International Contexts**

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|  | Key Developments in Women’s Movement | Domestic Political Context | International Context |
| Severe Repression (1975-1983) | Women are largely organizing in mixed gender associations around disappearance, revolution, economic insecurity.Women’s organizations founded* National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG), 1980

Cultural and intellectual production/outlets* “Femina Sapiens” column in *¿Qué Pasa Calabaza?*, 1977
* P. Gabriel Aguilera’s feminist texts, *Mujer y Lucha Social*,1979
 | Government responds to international pressure, ratifying CEDAW and creating ONAM, while violating women’s rights.Institutions* National Women’s Office (ONAM), 1981

Legislation and policies* Ratification of CEDAW, 1983
 | Limited international attention to gender equality; Guatemalan women blocked from regional organizing by armed conflict but some in exile exposed to feminism.Accords and conventions* Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1982
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| 1. Building Movement Strength and Institutionalizing Movement Goals
 | Women organize autonomously, focusing on armed conflict abuses, feminism, and service provision. Neoliberal reforms and international funding promote NGOization and competition. Limited collaborative efforts. Divisions about tactics and issues (ex. contraception/abortion) though agreement on VAW as a pressing issue.Women’s organizations founded* Mutual Support Group (GAM), 1984
* Women’s Group for Family Improvement (GRUFE-PROMEFAM), 1986
* Living Earth Women’s Group (Tierra Viva), 1988
* Guatemalan Women’s Group (GGM), 1988
* National Coordinating Committee of Guatemalan Widows (Conavigua), 1988
* New Horizons Association (AHNH), 1989
* Mama Maquín Organization of Guatemalan Women, 1990
* Association of Women Moving Forward (AMVA), 1992
* Mayan Women’s Board, 1992
* Mother Earth, 1993
* Ixmucane Women in Resistance, 1993

Cultural and intellectual production/outlets* Radio program “Women’s Voices,” 1993

Intra-movement networks/collaborative action * Coordinator of Women’s Groups of Guatemala, 1989
* Network against Violence against Women (Rednovi), 1991
 | Period of political liberalization with the adoption of a new constitution (1985) and the first civilian government in decades (1986). Women’s representation remains minimal and there are few insider allies for the women’s movement.Women’s representation* 1986-1990 congress: 6.9% women
* 1991-1994 congress: 5.2% women

Legislation and policies* Conservative backlash leads to veto of proposed Population and Development Law, 1993
 | Increased international attention to gender equality and VAW. Guatemalan women participate in regional and international organizing. International funding channeled to women’s NGOs in context of democratization.Accords and conventions* UN Declaration on the Elimination of VAW, 1993

Meetings and networks* Substantial Guatemalan participation in Latin American and Caribbean Encounters in Mexico (1987) and El Salvador (1993)
* Latin American and Caribbean Committee for the Defense of Women (CLADEM) examines VAW laws, 1987
* Guatemalans participate in Central American Women’s Encounters in Guatemala (1989) and Nicaragua (1992)
* Organization of American States’ Inter-American Commission on Women (CIM) takes up issue of VAW, 1988
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| 1. Peace Negotiations and Enhanced Movement Strength (1994-1996)
 | Movement strength, especially cohesion, enhanced in the context of mobilization around the peace accords, especially within the Women’s Sector. First significant period of dialogue between women’s groups of differing classes, ideologies, ethnicities, and places. Movement visibility and reputation enhanced through participation. A number of recommendations are included in the Peace Accords and subsequent institutions as a result of women’s mobilization.Women’s Organizations Founded * Civic Political Convergence of Women (Convergence), 1994
* We Are Women (Mujer-es Somos), later renamed Lesbiradas, 1994
* Association of Garífuna Women of Guatemala, 1995
* GGM opens domestic abuse shelter in Guatemala City, 1995

Intra-movement networks/collaborative action* Women’s Sector, 1994
* March 8th Coordinating Committee, 1994
* First International Women’s Day marches, 1994
* Women’s organizations sponsor series of exchanges in preparation for 4th World Conference on Women, 1994
* Women’s Coordinating Committee of the Mayan Organizations of Guatemala, 1996
* National organizing around the creation of the National Women’s Forum, 1996-9

Cultural and intellectual production/outlets * San Carlos University’s Program for Gender Research and Study, 1994
* Women’s Studies Section of Latin American Social Science Faculty, 1996
 | Government cedes to international and domestic pressure to incorporate some women’s demands into peace accords and create new institutions. Women’s representation remains low, but number of insider allies increases slightly.Women’s representation* 1994-6 congress: 7.5% women

Institutions* Women’s Office in the Human Rights Ombudsman, 1994
* State-civil society negotiations around the creation of the National Women’s Forum as mandated by Peace Accords, 1996-99

Legislation and policies* Ratification of Belém do Pará, 1995
* Peace Accords recognize women’s specific needs and rights,1996
 | Regional and international organizations and accords increasingly call on governments to address VAW as a pressing human rights issue. International funding channeled to women’s NGOs in context of neoliberalism and peace negotiations.Accords and conventions* Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Eradication and Elimination of VAW (Belém do Pará), 1994

Meetings and networks* UN International Population and Development Conference (Cairo), 1994
* World Conference on Women (Beijing), Platform for Action includes addressing VAW, 1995
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| 1. Promoting Incremental Advances and Alliances to Address VAW (1996-early 2000s)
 | Incorporation of more diverse women’s voices in the women’s movement, leading to dynamic internal discussions about priorities, political agendas, and tactics. Increased focus on public policy and legal reform, leading to relationships among women’s organization and between women’s organizations and insider allies.Women’s organizations founded* Association of Women, Weavers of Development (AMUTED), 1997
* Kaqla Mayan Women’s Group, 1998
* Moloj Political Association of Mayan Women, 1999
* Collective for the Defense Women’s Rights (Codefem), 1999
* Rural Women’s Alliance for Life, Land, and Dignity, 2000

Cultural and intellectual production/outlets* Certificate in Gender Studies, Rafael Landivar University, 1997
* Feminist newspaper *laCuerda*, 1998; begins to incorporate a “violence section” in monthly issues, 2002
* National Network of Women Journalists in Guatemala, 1998
* Women’s Center for Research, Training, and Support (CICAM), 1999
* Network of Women on Air (women in radio), 2002

Intra-movement networks/collaborative action* First gay/lesbian march demanding respect for sexual diversity in the country, 2000
* 1st Mesoamerican Gender Studies Encounter organized by Gender Studies section of FLACSO, Guatemala, 2001
* Rednovi represents family of femicide victim María Isabel Veliz Franco in complaint against Guatemala at Interamerican Commission of Human Rights, 2004-2014

Institutionalization/Collaboration with Insiders* 3 Rednovi members integrated as part of CONAPREVI, 2001
* Election of activists Rosalina Tuyuc and Nineth Montenegro

Public opinion* 1999 Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) survey: 64% of women, 57% of men think “violence against women” is a “very serious problem” (Azpuru 2000) (Azpuru 2000)
* 2001 LAPOP survey: 41% of women, 38% of men think “family violence” is a very serious problem (Azpuru 2002)
 | A number of public policy and legal reforms related to women’s rights, many originating from the Women’s Congressional Commission, working with women’s organizations, and supported by international gender experts. New institutions created that would serve later serve as insider allies.Women’s representation* 1996-2000 congress: 13.7% women, including activists Rosalina Tuyuc and Nineth Montenegro
* Women’s Congressional Commission established (formerly part of joint commission with family and minors), 1998
* 2000-4 congress: 7.1% women

Institutions* Indigenous Women’s Ombudsmen (DEMI), 1999
* The Presidential Secretariat for Women (Seprem), 2000
* National Coordinator for the Prevention of Intrafamilial Violence and Violence against Women (CONAPREVI), 2001

Legislation and policies* Law to Prevent, Sanction and Eradicate Intrafamilial Violence, 1996
* Civil code reformed to remove stipulation that women’s employment was conditional on husbands’ approval, 1998
* Law for the Dignification and Integral Promotion of Women, 1999
* National Women’s Forum’s National Plan for the Promotion and Integral Development of Guatemalan Women, 2001
* Law of Social Development (includes women’s right to education and reproductive rights), 2001
* CEDAW Optional Protocol ratified, 2002
* Criminal code reformed to criminalize discrimination, 2002
 | VAW by now widely recognized as a human rights abuse. By early 2000s, increased attention to the murder/disappearance of young women in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. Murders in Mexico come to be labeled femicide/feminicide. Activists form horizontal, regional ties around issue of femicide/feminicide.Meetings and networks* Isis International’s Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Network against Domestic and Sexual Violence launches region-wide campaign, “For the Life of Women, Not One More Death,” 2001
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| 4. Building on Prior Activism, Focusing on Femicide/Feminicide (early 2000s-2007) | Women’s organizations focus on femicide/feminicide in push for a more comprehensive VAW law. Activists generate new knowledge to publicize the crisis, draw on insider legislative and bureaucratic allies, and international connections to pressure the government to act.Women’s organizations founded* Survivor’s Foundation, 2003

Cultural and intellection production/outlets* *laCuerda* identifies women’s murder as femicide, 2003
* Women Speak radio show, 2005
* Women and the University radio show, 2005
* Dancing around the Academy radio show, 2005
* Women Opening Paths radio show, 2005
* Women Convening television show, 2005

Intra-movement networks/collaborative actions* Women’s organizations come together for the first time to develop proposals for inclusion in political parties’ platforms in the lead-up to elections, 2003
* Activists begin to collect statistics on women’s deaths and to apply the concept of femicide/feminicide
* Demonstrations and protests (largely in capital) pressuring the government to act; women’s organizations experience some backlash

Institutionalization/Collaboration with Insiders* Women’s movement, led by indigenous women, works with Women’s Congressional Commission and Seprem on (unsuccessful) sexual harassment law proposal, 2003
* Activists participate in national commissions to address femicide, alongside Women’s Congressional Commission and other offices
* Activists work with congresswomen to draft legislative proposals to address VAW, 2006-8

Public opinion* World Values survey finds that roughly half of respondents express either a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the women’s movement, higher than that of government, press, unions, armed forces, among other actors, 2004
* Mainstream newspapers report on international and domestic calls to address femicide/feminicide and incorporate government and activists’ statistics, 2004-8
* LAPOP survey: 13.9% of Guatemalan women have attended a women’s group meeting in the previous year, the second highest rate in the region, 2008
 | Responding to growing domestic and international pressure, the government opens up space to explore issue of femicide/feminicide. Congress eventually passes 2008 VAW Law which establishes femicide as a unique crime and criminalizes other forms of VAW.Women’s representation* 2004-2008 congress: 9% women
* 2008-2012 congress: 12% women

Institutions* Women’s Congressional Commission tasked with investigating governmental failure to address femicide, 2004-5
* National Commission to Address Femicide, 2006

Legislation and policies* Congress fails to pass proposed Sexual Harassment Law, 2003
* Criminal code reformed to remove “marry your rapist” clause, 2005
* 3 legislative proposals related to VAW developed, 2006-7
* Criminal code reformed to remove reference to a woman’s honor (*pudor*) in discussion of rape, 2009
* Law against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women, 2008
 | Central American and Mexican activists create horizontal ties around issue of femicide/feminicide. Increased international and regional attention, data collection, and calls to act in face of femicide/feminicide. Meetings and networks* Guatemala’s Women’s Sector hosts Mexican feminist and anti-feminicide activist, Ester Chavez, 2004
* Amnesty International launches “Stop Violence Against Women” campaign in Guatemala, 2004
* UN Special Rapporteur on VAW visits Guatemala, at CONAPREVI’s request, 2004
* Inter-parliamentary dialogues between Mexican, Spanish and Guatemalan congresspeople, 2005-6
* Reports on femicide and VAW in Guatemala published by the CEDAW committee (2005), Amnesty International (2005), UNDP (2007), IACHR (2007), CLADEM (2007)
* Release of Giselle Portenier’s documentary, *Killers Paradise*, 2006
* Resolutions related to femicide/feminicide issued by US House (2007) and Senate (2008) and the European Parliament (2007)
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