

Kaunas University of Technology
Faculty of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities

Violence Against Women Prevention Policy in Guatemala
Master's Final Degree Project

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Summary

Despite the relevance of social factors in the etiology of violence against women, there are not enough measuring instruments in Guatemala to objectively assess the impact of social variables on this problem. In Guatemala, this problem remained hidden. Assembling a completely normalized and socially sanctioned violation of rights, which is replicated in family, institutional, and social patterns of coexistence in general. This is due to the country's patriarchal culture, particularly in rural areas, where women's roles are viewed as marginal and subject to exclusionary power relations.

Therefore, this thesis attempts to contribute to studies on violence against women by offering not only theoretical information but empirical information by providing the Guatemalan population's perspective in this regard. Therefore, the research question was: What connections have been discovered between the theoretical and empirical analyses of violence against women in Guatemala? As a result, the objective is to compare data from empirical and theoretical studies in Guatemala on violence against women.

This is to create awareness among government institutions so that measures to educate and sensitize the general public and key stakeholders can be developed, as well as programs to help prevent violence against women. The objectives, then, were to give a theoretical foundation for violence against women; describe violence against women in the Guatemalan context; explore what steps Guatemala has made in terms of violence against women, and analyze Guatemalan community attitudes about violence against women. This was accomplished utilizing a hybrid of qualitative and quantitative approaches, including literature analysis, document analysis, and a survey. It should be noted that this is Guatemala's first survey on women's perceptions of violence.

This research consists of three chapters, the first chapter dealing with the conceptual framework concerning violence against women, in which fundamental concepts, categories, views, and theories are developed. The many international and state instruments against violence against women are covered in the second chapter, which is titled the legal framework. The current situation of violence against women in Guatemala is also explored. The third chapter discusses the survey conducted in Guatemala.

The result was that, while there is some understanding of violence against women in Guatemala, it is clear that society is dominated by patriarchal traditions. There are still prejudices, and society considers violence against women to be a private matter. There is still a culture of quiet in the country, which has existed since the country's civil war. Society continues to blame the victim while justifying the attacker. It is hoped that violence against women will be abolished, but without something as simple as condemnation, nothing will change. Guatemala's government continues to disregard the

issue. More than that, the problem worsens by the day, and no one does anything about it because they are afraid to speak up, to raise their voices. In short, violence against women in Guatemala has not changed significantly.

Regarding the conclusions, first, four alternative theories about violence against women were investigated in this thesis. In the end, the feminist theory was chosen as the theory to address the analysis of violence against women. This theory divides this type of violence into three dimensions, demonstrating its complexity. Political action and governance of violence, which is defined as the institutional response to violence that either reproduces or inhibits it; social structures, which are classified as unequal and discriminatory or democratic and equitable based on social class, ethnicity, and gender; and the dynamics of social and personal relationships that result in violent practices embodied in sexualized bodies. As a result, the complex character of violence united the concepts of power, politics, culture, and the body at the same time.

Second, in Guatemala's history, violence against women has been a recurring theme. The patriarchal and conservative culture has maintained this abuse as a means of subordination and control of the lives and bodies of Guatemalan women. Along with the effects of fear inherited from the civil war, Guatemala not only has a culture of violence, but also a culture of fear. That makes the situation faced for Guatemalan women increasingly difficult. This makes Guatemala one of the countries with the highest rate of violent deaths of women. The phenomenon demonstrates that women suffer simply because they are women, regardless of age, race, social status, or financial status.

Third, while Guatemala has made tremendous progress in developing standards and specialized courts to handle violence against women, as well as education to improve authorities' responses to these situations, more work remains to be done. The Guatemalan justice system remains discriminatory and misogynistic. It also violates international human rights conventions on the subject, as well as perpetuating impunity and revictimizing victims of abuse.

Fourth, the empirical investigation reveals that Guatemalan society has remained unchanged since the end of the civil war. Although the general public appears to be aware of the violence against women, it is clear that patriarchal traditions still exist in Guatemala, as evidenced by the theoretical study along with the survey. In Guatemala, the social disadvantage position for women is so severe that the perpetrator is excused while the victim is condemned. If they are wearing particularly revealing clothing, or if they have had many partners, the victim is discredited, and the complaint is called into doubt. As a result, victims and those who are aware of victims prefer to remain silent. Violence against women is viewed by society as an issue that must be addressed; nevertheless, it must remain private, which is incompatible with pursuing justice for victims and reeducating society.

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Santrauka

Nepaisant socialinių veiksnių svarbos tokių kaip smurtas etiologijoje, Gvatemaloje nėra pakankamai matavimo rodiklių, kuriais būtų galima objektyviai įvertinti socialinių veiksnių įtaką šiai problemai. Gvatemaloje ši problema yra paslėpta. Surenkamas visiškai normalizuotas ir socialiai sankcionuotas teisių pažeidimas, kuris atkartojamas šeimos, instituciniuose ir apskritai socialiniuose sambūvio modeliuose. Tai yra dėl šalies patriarchalinės kultūros, ypač kaimo vietovėse, kur moterų vaidmuo laikomas nereikšmingu.

Todėl šia disertacija bandoma prisidėti prie smurto prieš moteris tyrimų, siūlant ne tik teorinę, bet ir empirinę informaciją, pateikiant Gvatemalos gyventojų požiūrį į tai. Todėl tyrimo klausimas buvo, kokie ryšiai buvo atrasti tarp teorinės ir empirinės analizės apie smurtą prieš moteris Gvatemaloje? Todėl tikslas yra palyginti empirinių ir teorinių tyrimų Gvatemaloje duomenis apie smurtą prieš moteris.

Tai siekiama didinti vyriausybinių institucijų sąmoningumą, kad būtų galima parengti priemones, skirtas šviesti ir jautrinti plačiąją visuomenę ir pagrindines suinteresuotąsias šalis, taip pat programas, padedančias užkirsti kelią smurtui prieš moteris. Taigi tikslai buvo suteikti teorinį pagrindą smurtui prieš moteris; apibūdinti smurtą prieš moteris Gvatemalos kontekste; ištirti, kokių veiksmų Gvatemala ėmėsi smurto prieš moteris srityje, ir analizuoti Gvatemalos bendruomenės požiūrį į smurtą prieš moteris. Tai buvo padaryta naudojant kokybinių ir kiekybinių metodų hibridą, įskaitant literatūros analizę, dokumentų analizę ir apklausą. Pažymėtina, kad tai yra pirmasis Gvatemalos tyrimas apie moterų smurto suvokimą.

Šis tyrimas susideda iš trijų skyrių, pirmajame skyriuje nagrinėjama konceptuali smurto prieš moteris sistema, kurioje plėtojamos pagrindinės sąvokos, kategorijos, požiūriai ir teorijos. Daugelis tarptautinių ir valstybinių kovos su smurtu prieš moteris priemonių yra įtrauktos į antrąjį skyrių, pavadintame teisine sistema. Taip pat nagrinėjama dabartinė smurto prieš moteris padėtis Gvatemaloje. Trečiame skyriuje aptariama apklausa, kuri buvo atlikta Gvatemaloje.

Rezultatas buvo toks, kad nors Gvatemaloje yra tam tikras supratimas apie smurtą prieš moteris, akivaizdu, kad visuomenėje dominuoja patriarchalinės tradicijos. Vis dar yra išankstinių nusistatymų, o visuomenė mano, kad smurtas prieš moteris yra privatus reikalas. Šalyje vis dar yra tylos kultūra, kuri egzistavo nuo šalies pilietinio karo. Visuomenė ir toliau kaltina auką, tuo pačiu pateisindama užpuoliką. Tikimasi, kad smurtas prieš moteris bus panaikintas, tačiau be tokio paprasto dalyko, kaip pasmerkimas, niekas nepasikeis. Gvatemalos vyriausybė ir toliau nekreipia dėmesio į šį klausimą. Be to, problema kasdien gilėja, ir niekas nieko nedaro, nes bijo kalbėti, pakelti balsą. Trumpai tariant, smurtas prieš moteris Gvatemaloje iš esmės nepasikeitė.

Kalbant apie išvadas, pirma, šioje disertacijoje buvo tiriamos keturios alternatyvios teorijos apie smurtą prieš moteris. Galų gale feministinė teorija buvo pasirinkta kaip teorija, skirta smurto prieš moteris analizei spręsti. Ši teorija suskirsto tokio tipo smurtą į tris dimensijas, parodydama jo sudėtingumą. Politiniai veiksmai ir smurto valdymas, kuris apibrėžiamas kaip institucinis atsakas į smurtą, kuris jį atkartoja arba slopina; socialinės struktūros, kurios klasifikuojamos kaip nelygios ir diskriminacinės arba demokratinės ir teisingos dėl socialinės klasės, etninės priklausomybės ir lyties; ir socialinių ir asmeninių santykių dinamiką, kuri sukelia smurtines praktikas, įkūnytas seksualizuotuose kūnuose. Galiausiai sudėtingas smurto pobūdis tuo pačiu metu suvienijo galios, politikos, kultūros ir kūno sąvokas.

Antra, Gvatemalos istorijoje smurtas prieš moteris buvo pasikartojanti tema. Patriarchalinė ir konservatyvi kultūra išlaikė šį piktnaudžiavimą kaip Gvatemalos moterų gyvenimo ir kūnų pavaldumo ir kontrolės priemonę. Kartu su baimės padariniais, paveldėtais iš pilietinio karo, Gvatemala turi ne tik smurto kultūrą, bet ir baimės kultūrą. Dėl to Gvatemalos moterų padėtis tampa vis sudėtingesnė. Gvatemala yra viena iš šalių, kurioje yra didžiausias smurtinių moterų mirčių skaičius. Šie reiškiniai rodo, kad moterys kenčia vien dėl to, kad yra moterys, nepriklausomai nuo amžiaus, rasės, socialinės padėties, ekonomikos ar politikos.

Trečia, nors Gvatemaloje padaryta didelė pažanga kuriant normas, prokurorus ir specializuotus teismus, skirtus tirti, patraukti baudžiamojon atsakomybėn ir bausti už šį elgesį; be to, kadangi buvo parengtos kelios priemonės, kuriomis siekiama pagerinti valdžios institucijų požiūrį į šias aplinkybes, pvz., protokolai ir instrukcijos, dar reikia daug nuveikti. Taikant ir aiškinant įstatymus, Gvatemalos teisingumo sistema ir toliau yra šališka ir seksistinė. Tai, kas ne tik pažeidžia tarptautines žmogaus teisių normas šiuo klausimu, bet ir įtvirtina nebaudžiamumą, vėl tampa smurto aukų aukomis ir remia moterų socialinį pavaldumą.

Ketvirta, empirinis tyrimas atskleidžia, kad Gvatemalos visuomenė išliko nepakitusi po pilietinio karo pabaigos. Ir nors atrodo, kad plačioji visuomenė žino apie smurtą prieš moteris, akivaizdu, kad Gvatemaloje vis dar egzistuoja patriarchalinės tradicijos, kaip rodo teorinis tyrimas kartu su apklausa. Gvatemaloje nepalanki moterų padėtis yra tokia sunki, kad smurtautojas atleidžiamas, o auka pasmerkama. Jei jos dėvi ypač atskleidžiančius drabužius arba jei jos turėjo daug partnerių, auka yra diskredituota, o skundas kelia abejonių. Todėl aukos ir tie, kurie žino apie aukas, nori tylėti. Visuomenė smurtą prieš moteris vertina kaip problemą, kurią reikia spręsti; nepaisant to, ji turi likti privati, o tai nesuderinama su teisingumo aukoms vykdymu ir visuomenės perauklėjimu.

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Introduction

Violence against women is a type of injustice that has become ingrained in the daily lives of millions of people worldwide. This has resulted in an upsurge in studies focusing on prevention and intervention in the issue of violence against women. Despite the relevance of social factors in the etiology of such violence, there are not enough measuring instruments in Guatemala to objectively assess the impact of social variables on this problem. In Guatemala, this problem remained hidden. Assembling a completely normalized and socially sanctioned violation of rights, which is replicated in family, institutional, and social patterns of coexistence in general. This is due to the country's patriarchal culture, particularly in rural areas, where women's roles are viewed as marginal and subject to exclusionary power relations.

For many years, women have been condemned to violence, exposing them to inferiority, a secondary status in Guatemalan society, and the obedience and subjection to which they "should" be dependent. Women in Guatemala have typically kept silent the physical, sexual and psychological abuse they have endured their entire lives. The patriarchal culture strongly embedded in Guatemalan families, as well as the impacts of fear and terror inherited from the recent internal armed struggle that lasted more than three decades, have been difficult to overcome.

A social problem that has implications in the social, political and economic spheres and requires a response from the state, breaking ties with the private, couple, or family sphere, and assuming it as a structural violence problem in the country, where the responsibility for eradicating, preventing, and punishing violence due to gender discrimination is shared by all individuals, groups, and institutions in society. The phenomena depicts the lives of women who have suffered just for being women, regardless of age, ethnicity, social, economic, or political status. Furthermore, Guatemala continues to lack knowledge on the subject.

Therefore, this thesis attempts to contribute to studies on violence against women in Guatemala by offering not only theoretical information but empirical information by providing the Guatemalan population's perspective in this regard. Therefore, the research question is: What connections have been discovered between theoretical and empirical analyses of violence against women in Guatemala? As a result, the objective is to compare data from empirical and theoretical studies in Guatemala on violence against women.

The tasks for this thesis are as follows:

1. Provide a theoretical framework for violence against women;
2. To describe the violence against women in the Guatemalan context;
3. To discuss what actions Guatemala has taken in terms of violence against women;
4. To analyze the attitudes towards violence against women from Guatemalan population.

The methodology adopted in this thesis was a hybrid of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, with the first and second chapters using scientific literature analysis to gather information on the subject. Secondary sources were used to gather this information. In addition, legal document analysis was used to explore the numerous international, regional, and national instruments on violence against women. And, because a survey was conducted to address the research question, the quantitative approach was used beginning in the third chapter. It is worth noting that this is Guatemala's first survey on the perception of violence against women.

1. Theoretical framework on violence against women

Over the last three decades, the subject of violence against women has been brought into public debate, moving from a specific and private concern to one of general public order. As a result, it has become a significant problem to be solved on the international and national political agendas. This resulting in a distinct discursive record contained in a large number of declarations and conventions (UN, OAS, and EU, among other international entities). As well as government and parliamentary measures (legislation, plans and programs), being recognized by the UN as the most common, tolerable, and unpunished crime against humanity (Aramburú, 2020).

According to Marco Lopez (2017), violence against women is defined as any act of sexist aggression that causes possible or real bodily, sexual, or psychological harm to women. Also, include threats, coercion, or arbitrary restriction of freedom, whether in public or private life. Similarly, Karina Molina and Janine Sánchez (2018) define violence against women as any act of violence perpetrated against a woman because of her gender. Which results in or may result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm, and which includes homicide, injuries, threats, coercion, arbitrary deprivation of liberty, sexual liberty, and degrading treatment in both public and private life. Also, it has been categorized as physical, psychological, economic, and sexual violence (see table 1).

Table 1. Types of violence against women.

Types of Violence	Description
Physical Violence	Any act that causes non-accidental damage by utilizing physical force or a weapon or something that may or may not cause injuries, whether internal, external, or both (Neria, 2016).
Psychological Violence	Any act or omission that causes an emotional imbalance with a negative psychological consequence becomes an issue that, if not addressed, can lead to sadness, low self-esteem, isolation, and, in some cases, suicide in the victim. Humbling, marginalization, adultery, lack of affection, rejection, negligence, recurrent neglect, destructive comparisons, threats, devaluation, limits of autonomy, desertion, jealousy, and apathy are examples of this sort of violence (Fabián et al., 2019).
Economic Violence	Any act or omission by the aggressor that impacts the victim's economic stability, showing itself through control and manipulation that limits the victim's ability to govern their economic income or make essential expenditures to meet their needs (Rubio et al., 2015).
Sexual violence	Any act that degrades or harms the victim's body or sexuality conceives the woman as a sexual object and so denigrates her as it is a manifestation of power abuse that entails male domination over women, undermining their dignity, freedom, and bodily integrity (Molina, 2019).

Source: author.

According to Eugenia Fabián et al. (2019), psychological violence is the most common, but it is also the most difficult to recognize. This is because many of its manifestations are disguised as affection and are based on and legitimize idealized patterns of couple relationships and traditional stereotypes. These stereotypes are supported by culture regarding a weak, naive, and foolish woman who must be protected by a brave man, and her ultimate goal is submission. In the case of physical violence, the perpetrator tries to harm sections of the body that are less apparent or hidden by clothing, such as the stomach and legs, to avoid leaving marks on the most visible parts of the body, such as the face or arms.

Moreover, because the victim takes her role as a sexual object, sexual assault still has the connotation that women have "obligations with their partner," and some are astonished to learn that saying "no" to sexual intercourse with your spouse is a right. The aggressor then uses economic violence in the majority cases to maintain control and create dependency. It is important to note that one kind of violence can be linked to another; for example, physical violence contains parts of psychological violence, and psychological violence precedes other forms of violence such as physical, sexual, and economic (Molina, 2019).

Femicide, then, is the ultimate response to a cycle of violence, a vicious loop that slowly but steadily destroys the woman victim of abuse in any of its forms. Femicide is defined as the death of a woman as a result of repeated acts of violence, such as verbal or physical abuse, rape, slavery, torture, or genital mutilation (Molina and Sánchez, 2018). The term femicide was first used in 1976 during a speech by feminist activist Diana Russell before the International Tribunal for Crimes against Women in Brussels, where she described it as an extreme form of violence, but did not define it (Russell, 2006).

Although, after a few years, she defined femicide as "males murdering females because they are female" (Russell, 2009). Two things are desired with this definition. First, indicate that these types of murder include all forms of sexist murders, that is, "murders carried out by men motivated by a sense of having the right to it or superiority over women, because of pleasure or sadistic desires toward them, or because of the assumption of ownership over women" (Toledo, 2014); and second, substitute the term woman for female in order to include girls and babies (Russell, 2006).

However, violence against women does not end there; it often goes unnoticed or ignored. In fact, it is also necessary to comprehend what goes beyond violence against women in order to comprehend when we will discuss violence against women in Guatemala. Therefore, the major debates on violence against women may be grouped along three broad axes. First, we would have a collection of investigations that look at the issue from a political point of view, but with a focus on the gendered dimension of violence. The existence of an implicit sexual contract in the social contract, as well as politics where authors focus on social systems that promote gender inequality come in a second. Finally, there are theoretical ideas that consider violence against women from the perspective of sexualized bodies and interpersonal interactions.

1.1. Violence against women from a political perspective

In the study *Sexual Politics* (1971), Kate Millett examined the relationship between sexual difference and power relations, referring to previously unproblematized new mechanisms of dominance. Her concept of the intimate as political brings the issues of sexuality, intimacy, and family into public discourse, viewing them as political terrains in which power relations are also formed. Love and sexuality, which have generally been seen as unrelated to politics, are depicted in Millett's work as dominance and subordination relationships. According to the author, sex has a political dimension that is often overlooked. This is because of the patriarchal nature of society, which implies that sexual practices include dominance relationships and, as a result, are impregnated with politics, allowing women's aggression to be enshrined in the political arena.

Millett is, also, the author who coined the term patriarchy, which she defines as a system of social interactions that places men in a position of authority in all societies. This system of dominance,

according to Millett, is distinct from others such as capitalism or racism, and, as her historical research demonstrates, has an extraordinary capacity to adapt to any economic, political, or cultural system. Patriarchy, she argued, generates the power relations that form the foundation for the rest of the dominance systems.

Later feminist works that deepen the idea of the body include this concept of sexual politics, so they may be evaluated from both perspectives. Millett's ideas are echoed by Diana Russell and Jill Radford (2007), who, in response to the numerous examples of "authorized" violence against women, protected or at least tolerated by the State in the past and present (the case of the *la suttee* or cremation in the life of the widow in India, legal lesbicide, the infanticide of girls, etc.). Speak of femicide as a policy of murdering women, a phenomenon that has also been called *gendercide* (European Parliament, 2013) or even *gender terrorism* (Phelan, 2020).

Sexual politics can also be seen in Silvia Federici's work (2013), where she examines the witch hunt during the transition to capitalism, as well as in the various feminist approaches that address the subject of biopolitics from a gender viewpoint (Guerra, 2012; Carbone, 2017; Kazanbas, 2019; Zavala-Pelayo and Hung-Chieh, 2022). Furthermore, Carole Pateman (1995) claimed that the sexual contract implicit in the social contract explains the origins of modern democracy. Arguing that it conceals a fraternal pact between men (erasing class or skin color hierarchies between them) that confines women to the domestic sphere, reserving participation in public space exclusively for them. Marriage and prostitution both show the existence of this sexual contract, which was overlooked by the classical contractarian authors in their analyses.

Pateman proposes that the contractual theories that arose from the hand of the modern project were defined by a strong universalism and a lack of adequate categories of analysis. Resulting in the exclusion of half of society from its approach and application. Pateman reaches this result after a rigorous examination of the Hobbes, Locke, Pufendorf, and Rousseau pact's founding myth, in which free and equal individuals agree, but women do not participate and are just the object of the pact. As a result, it is a coercive, rather than a free, contract between unequal.

Tamar Pitch (2003) proposes that "society" relates to "outside" through the exchange of women by men. Hence, communication between men emerges from a transaction, regarding access to the female body, and the cessation of communication is war; thus interpreted, what is considered marriage in times of peace is rape in times of war. Because the spatial component is crucial, the author sees sexual violence as characterized by space: the *inter-nos* (between us) is regarded as "the interior" of the social, which is why "the enemy does not marry, rapes" for the Italian author (Pitch, 2003).

Analia Aucía studied war and its relationship with virility. For her, wars and oppressive situations have a historically male imprint: they are decided by men, to fight for their interests, and primarily carried out by men. We may say that the concept of "war," which is central to military service, is found in masculine life experiences. She claims that all societal institutions where male power predominates, including the State's hierarchical and patriarchal control, are predicated on gender violence. And, while violence is structural, the armed conflict situation exacerbates it by making women even more susceptible (Aucia, 2011).

According to Rosa Cobo (2013), contractarian authors who postulated freedom and equality as natural rights for all individuals legitimized the political restriction of these rights for women, either in the name of a "different" or "lesser" female ontology than the masculine, or in the name of tradition or

political opportunity. According to the author, democracy's flaws continue to create "black holes of inequity" for some socioeconomic groups that have historically been discriminated against, such as women. This precariousness of citizenship permits us to affirm that democratic institutions accept gender discrimination, not explicitly but de facto.

As a result, authors such as Marilda Silveira (2019) urge for a generic democracy that takes into account the social coparticipation of men and women on equal terms. In this sense, institutions, according to Virginia Guzmán and Claudia Bonan Jannotti (2013), play a significant role in the reproduction of social inequalities, including gender inequalities, by imposing restrictions on certain social groups in various institutional settings, thus conditioning their social position in relation to the rest.

Institutions are the result of historical, political, and social processes, i.e., historically institutionalized social activities that are translated into formal and informal regulations. According to these authors, feminist theory and practice revealed the state's role in the production and reproduction of gender inequalities. This by elucidating the complex relationships that exist between the gender order and the institutional order, to the extent that gender is both a constitutive dimension of institutions and a legally constituted reality (Virginia Guzmán and Claudia Bonan, 2013).

The state's action is never neutral; it is omnipresent in the building of the gender order, whether by action or omission. The State not only acts on a society characterized by unequal gender relations; but also reproduces them through the messages and representations it returns to society. As well as through the legal-political order and public policies, thereby contributing to the legitimization and naturalization of gender inequalities (Virginia Guzmán and Claudia Bonan, 2013).

1.2. Violence against women from a social-structural perspective

The investigations that handle gender violence from a social-structural perspective are gathered in this second subcategory. Which would become the feminist alternative to the analyses that examine violence from the perspective of inequality. Feminist authors combine the gender category with the class or ethnicity categories, describing violence against women as a consequence of the patriarchal system's inequalities. Studies of power relations and discrimination between men and women have revealed that sexual difference translates into social inequity via a cultural symbolization process enshrined in the biological code (Iriarte, 2018; Miranda et al., 2019; Montaivo, 2020). Inequality then reacts to a social-structural construct (it is neither natural nor individual) and is thus malleable.

Despite formal statements, discrimination against women persists in several aspects of public and private life, as shown by discrimination against women in fundamental social institutions such as education, the economy, politics, and the family, among others. This circumstance forms a social imaginary that fosters patriarchal behaviors, with violence against women emerging as the most significant manifestation of that prejudice. In this sense, the social sphere is also that of social representations, according to studies concerned with the deconstruction of the cultural process (from which social gender roles are constituted) (Labori, 2009; Saldivar et al., 2020).

The patriarchal culture's involvement in highlighting the link between violence against women and the discrimination that perpetuates it is based on cultural norms that promote and legitimize patterns of discrimination and violence against them. The culture channels acceptance of violence in general, and patriarchal culture in particular, channels violence against women (Saldivar et al., 2020).

Those that locate violence against women in the functioning of the economic system might be considered among the proposals that identify manifestations of violence against women and consequently societal gender inequality. As a result, authors like Silvia Federici believe that the economic system is an example of structural violence since it exploits the nonsalaried nature of women's employment as producers and reproducers of the most important capitalist commodity: the labor force. In a society where life is subordinated to profit making, the buildup of labor power can only be done by the use of the greatest amount of violence; hence, violence becomes the most productive force (Federici, 2013).

Sayak Valencia similarly addresses violence from an economic standpoint. The author's thesis is unique in a way that shows that, unlike in the past, modern violence is built on a network strongly related to the economic gains that its execution, as well as its spectacularizing and subsequent commercialization through media stories (Valencia, 2010). In other words, violence can now be viewed as both, a product and a spectacle. In this regard, it cannot be denied that the history of humanity has been filled with extremely violent periods, in the Ancient Age, the Middle Ages, and the Modern Age; however, the difference between then and now is that violence has become a tool of the global economy and another consumer product (Valencia, 2010).

Technological advancement has permitted its "spectacularisation" (in Valencia's words) through the media, which was nonexistent in prior periods, introducing an important variety in contemporary violence. According to Valencia, we are witnessing ultraviolent ways of producing capital today, inverting the process of merchandise accumulation for the destruction of the body, which itself becomes the product, the merchandise because death has become the most profitable business (Valencia, 2010). Organ trafficking, human trafficking, kidnapping or contract killing, the illegal sale of weapons, drug cartels, and the privatization of armies that offer their services on the market are just a few examples of why life is no longer important in and of itself, but because of its market value as a monetary exchange object. (Valencia, 2010).

Women, in particular, are turned into currency and goods by the economic system's voracity, since violent activities such as human trafficking, mostly of women and girls, sex tourism, and prostitution are "productive." Regarding the latter, it is worth mentioning the International Labor Organization's sex sector report from 1998, which states that the existence of the so-called "sex business" is justified by the money it generates (Fabian et al., 2019). As a result, its inclusion as a labor activity is justified. Based on information from the Ombudsman's office, Estefania Molina (2019) estimates that it is a business that transfers roughly five million euros each day.

Another type of structural violence linked to the current economic system is environmental violence perpetrated by homo predators. This is aided by an unrestricted paradigm of industrial and technical development that promotes natural resource extraction and current environmental degradation. Diverse feminist publications (Cea, 2015; Cordeo and Teyes, 2016; Lopez, 2016; Rubio et al. 2018) have taken care to highlight how gender gaps occur in various natural disasters in this regard. According to Miriam Berni (2018), droughts and desertification in some countries, such as Uganda, Somalia, and Iran, for example, primarily affect women, because they are the ones who historically deal with collecting and managing water for food and hygiene of the social group, and thus the same applies to those who are most impacted by its scarcity.

Berni also claims that in countries that experience floods and natural disasters, such as India and Bangladesh, the majority of victims are women, for reasons related to gender roles, including caring for and protecting others (being for others rather than for oneself), which leads them to prioritize the safety of their family and belongings over their own lives in an emergency. Possibly, unlike what occurs to males, their traditional confinement to the home limits their resources to go out in search of rescue and survival in the event of a tragedy. Furthermore, women are re-victimized in the aftermath of a natural catastrophe, with an increase in the incidence of sexual assaults in the survivors' camps, as observed, for example, in the Haiti earthquake of 2010 (Amnesty International, 2011).

1.3. Violence against women from the perspective of body and sexuality

There is a subset of research that deals with the body and sexuality as sources of violence against women. The traditional relationship between femininity and corporeality, which reduces women to a sexed body, would thus be explained using patriarchal reasoning. The body represents "the origin of the origin" of power, according to Michel Foucault (Sierra, 2012). Women's bodies have been the target of many forms of aggression throughout history, from Ancient Times to the present day.

More than two million girls are genitally mutilated each year, trafficking in women and girls, rape, sexual harassment in the workplace and classroom, feminization of AIDS, the numerous maternal deaths due to poorly attended births or abortions performed under unsafe conditions, forced marriages, honor crimes, abuses of women deprived of liberty or in armed conflicts, disappearances, and murders continue to plague the world today (Sierra, 2012). Women have lived amid violence and bloodshed throughout history, according to Alexandra Phelan (2020), since significant physical, psychological, and now media violence has been a part of our daily lives. Women's bodies, according to Silvia Federici (2013), have been preferred venues for the deployment of techniques and power relations, in such a manner that the conquest of the female body is a requirement for the accumulation of labor and money, both then and now.

María Mies refers to witch hunts as the world's largest institutionalized femicide, to build a new submissive, weak, and "romanticized" "femininity" (Guerra, 2011). If the witch hunt symbolizes the brutal annihilation of women's authority over their reproductive function (by engaging in sexual activity for reasons other than reproduction), today's development of new reproductive technology, according to Federici, reduces women to simple wombs. Various authors have addressed the vulnerability of female bodies in war contexts (Aucia, 2011; Galtung, 2016; Rios, 2018), an area in which the practice of violence is heavily marked by male dominance, as previously explained.

Yolanda Caqui (2020) has demonstrated, for example, how women's bodies have been utilized as metaphors for the land and the motherland in patriarchal nationalist discourses, as well as the symbolic relationship that has persisted for generations between land invasion and rape. The author supports this point with examples spanning from Greek mythology through twentieth-century battles such as those in the Balkans, Africa, and Kashmir, in which women's bodies became a battleground, object of conquest, and "ethnic cleansing."

When it comes to addressing sexual violence within the context of state terrorism, a suitable example is a civil war that lasted from 1960 to 1996 in Guatemala. Women, particularly indigenous women, were slaughtered during this 36-year conflict. Torture, rape, and sexual enslavement had a significant impact on their lives. Women's dignity was stripped, and their bodies were objectified and outraged as a symbol of their attackers' power. They were employed as a weapon of war to bolster the militaries

and counter-insurgent forces' authority and influence. However, a veil of silence hid these atrocities since the women believed that the violence was their consent, and society chose to remain silent to avoid confronting the horrifying events (Rodriguez et al., 2014).

Several testimonies collected in Guatemala suggest that sexual abuses were used as a "means of reminding women that their bodies are part of the plunder" during the civil war. Despite the cruelty to which women were subjected, sexual violence was considered minimal in Guatemala because they were not tortured like men, were only raped in retaliation and were left alive. In this view, it has not been taken into account that the consequences of gender violence extend to a variety of areas, ranging from the impact on women's bodies to their affective lives, with consequences on their dignity and self-esteem (Rodriguez et al., 2014).

Moreover, biopolitics, defined as the political management and use of bodies, can help us understand how, on the one hand, "making people live" translates into policies that impose unwanted pregnancies or clandestine abortions in high-risk situations; or, on the other hand, massive policies of forced sterilization (some cases to the International Courts, such as that of Peru during the government of Alberto Fujimori in the 1990s, with more than 300,000 cases of compulsory sterilized women) (Arenas, 2015). On one hand, "making people live" is manifested through the development of new technologies that allow the manufacture of human beings on-demand while also being invasive to women's bodies, as is the case with wombs for rent, a phenomenon that is already generating a North-South market through surrogate mothers who, in the majority of cases, are low-income women who, faced with precariousness, choose to rent their wombs as a means of obtaining income (Arenas, 2015).

On the other hand, "letting to die," which involves the selection of a population without bloodshed through abandonment (Cruz, 2012), harms, as Alana Cavalcante (2018) estimates that between 113 and 200 million women are demographically "missing" worldwide, as a result of selective abortions and infanticide, or because they have not received the same amount of food and medical attention as their brothers. All of these biopolitical acts are kinds of violence against women; they are body politics in which women are reduced to nothing more than their physicality. Furthermore, the dangers of media violence against women have been discussed concerning the creation of the female body and femininity through image, primarily in sexual terms.

The mass media have become favored agents for molding public opinion and even for the construction of identity in this regard (Menéndez, 2013), which is why the media's role as stereotype reproducers is so important. The treatment of gender violence by sexists, both explicitly and symbolically. This is what happens in pornography, when women are depicted as nothing more than a body, an eroticized sexual object, prompting academics to coin the term "liturgy of humiliation" (Menéndez, 2013). As a result, it does not seem overstated to assert that simply being exposed to patriarchal ideology regularly is a form of a physical attack against women (Bonavitta et al., 2015).

Furthermore, studies of sexist violence show that exposure to violent models leads to the justification of violence and an increased risk of committing it (Bonavitta et al., 2015). As a result, when violence against women is presented as acceptable behavior in the media, it is encouraged to be repeated and legitimized. Therefore, the symbolic violence represented and reproduced by the media should not be dismissed in favor of more direct or explicit forms of violence because both physical and direct violence on the body, as well as symbolic and media violence, sometimes feed off each other. The

media promotes violence by exhibiting it, but these also reflect sentiments that are already prevalent in society. As a result, we are going in two directions: symptom and causation.

According to Sayak Valencia, the media act as overexhibitors of violence that they naturalize for viewers through a regular bombardment of images (Valencia, 2010), not only desensitizing people who receive it but also legitimizing its usage, as is the case with gendered violence. The aesthetic canons imposed on women as a prerequisite of social acceptance also serve as a control and disciplining instrument in media images, discourses, and practices surrounding women's bodies. Women are above all an image, an appearance, according to Michelle Perrot (2008), which is why beauty is the first commandment for women. There is no such thing as a right to be ugly: aesthetics is an ethic for women (Perrot, 2008).

This patriarchal imperative causes psychological and physical suffering through diets, bulimia, anorexia, and addiction to technological intervention on the body through cosmetic surgery, which is now one of the most lucrative specialties in medicine and has been dubbed torture by some authors (Guerra, 2012). Consequently, Mara José Guerra (2012) proposes the use of the body as a weapon of liberation against docility and doubt of who we are, from self-esteem and self-confidence, from women challenging the imposed narrative fictions that have been colonizing female bodies as an alternative to the utopian body and the normative models represented in beauty. Moving on, numerous theoretical views that have dealt with violence against women are offered to address the analysis of violence against women.

1.4. Theories of Violence against Women

It has been difficult to comprehend violence against women. In reality, the initial ideas in this area pointed to a similar theme among all battered women: their masochism in some situations, and personal qualities such as emotional dependency or low self-esteem in others, as explanations for the woman's continued relationship with the aggressor. As a result of these views, the abuse victim was blamed and the attacker was justified (Iriarte, 2018).

Although in response to the feminist movement's alarm about the great incidence of women's mistreatment, several investigations began a more thorough analysis of the roots of the situation. Therefore, to continue the discussion about violence against women, this subcategory will look at the numerous theories that attempt to explain why such violence occurs. Psychopathological theory, sociological theory, feminist theory, and integrative theories will be discussed (see table 2).

Table 2. Theories of Violence against Women

Theories	Description
Psychopathological theory	Psychopathological theory attempts to prove a link between mental disease and violence against women, assuming that abuse is caused by the abuser's personality defect or mental illness (Moreira et al., 2019).
Sociological theory	Mistreatment of women is viewed as another kind of domestic violence in sociological theory, and numerous theoretical lines have been created to investigate the impact of structural elements such as family resources, socioeconomic status, stress, among others (Briceño, 2016).
Feminist theory	This model examines this sort of violence from a variety of academic perspectives, always including a gender analysis in which patriarchy and male power are cited as one of the primary causes of violence against women (Muñiz, 2018).

Integrative theories	In the first place, author Gelles (1983) established a model based on the theory of exchange and the idea of social control in order to provide a valid explanation for all sorts of domestic violence, in which he asserts that men abuse women more merely because "they can." Second place goes to author Anderson (1997), who builds a <i>gender theory</i> by combining a sociological perspective and a feminist explanatory model. On the one hand, he asserts that violence is a means of establishing and maintaining masculinity as well as a means of obtaining power, and on the other hand, he asserts that certain structural factors influence violence against women because they have a prior impact on the sources of power that exist in the couple and allow for female subordination and male dominance, thus aiding in the maintenance of this situation. Finally, the author Witt (1987) proposes an <i>explanatory theory of family violence</i> , according to which changes within the family, including the legitimization of violence within it, imply fundamental shifts in societal norms (Vega-Hidalgo, 2017).
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Source: author.

To examine in greater depth, *psychopathological theory* assumes that gender violence is a personal problem unrelated to the sociocultural environment or structural difficulties and that, as a result, prevention and eradication efforts should focus on individual psychiatric treatment. Studies have been carried out to determine which personality characteristics can be considered risk factors in cases of abuse to empirically establish this link between mental illness and violence against women. Donald G. Dutton created the "abusive personality" theory to explain violence against women based on his research at the Borderline Personality Organization (BPO).

The BPO is understood as the tendency to form passionate, unstable, and manipulative relationships. In addition, having a dependent personality, low self-esteem, fear of being alone and abandoned, rage, impulsiveness, or substance misuse are just a few of these characteristics. In this regard, borderline personality has been linked to other psychological flaws such as low self-esteem, jealousy, or a high level of dependency, all of which have been linked to a higher proclivity for aggression (Dutton, 1998). According to this author, borderline personality traits are identical to those observed in groups of abusers, who score higher on BPO evaluation measures than males who do not abuse their partners (Dutton, 1998).

Depression is another personality disease that has been studied using the psychopathology theory, with studies showing that batterers are more likely to suffer from depression than non-battering men (Lescano and del Rosillo, 2020). Deficits in psychosocial skills are another component researched in psychology that has been regarded as relevant when explaining the incidence of abuse. Deficits in communication, empathy, assertiveness, abstract or moral thinking, self-control, or cognitive conflict resolution, among other areas, have been positively associated with abuse because a lack of dispute resolution abilities can encourage a larger resort to violence (Castillo, 2017).

One of the most important factors in explaining violence against women has been victimization in the family of origin (Gonzales et al., 2018). As a result, it has been emphasized that exposure to violence as a child promotes learning to use it as a means of conflict resolution. This variable has been examined in two ways: when violence has been witnessed in the family setting during childhood or when one has been the victim of mistreatment by one of the parents (Castillo, 2017), with the first being the more important as a risk factor for violence against women.

Although this paradigm has been socially accepted since it aids in the perception of the abuser as someone different and unwell, and thus avoids having to think about the social structure's role in the

perpetuation of gender violence (Moreira et al., 2019). Feminist groups have emphasized that the psychological approach ignores the context in which violence happens, claiming that this perspective ignores the role of gender and the social acceptability of this form of violence as a logical and rational action. Furthermore, they believe that the psychological approach provides incorrect explanations for the origins of gender violence because it analyzes this sort of violence as "abnormal" behavior, whereas the feminist movement considers it to be a socially accepted conduct, not unique (Lescano and del Rosillo, 2020).

According to the authors of the *sociological theory*, violence against women is no different from violence against men in the sphere of the couple or from other types of violence in the family sphere, and the main causes of mistreatment are structural: the family's position in the social structure and the social, economic, and educational resources of the family members. Depending on the variables analyzed, many hypotheses have emerged within this framework. A first theoretical model examines resources and their relationship to violence against women in the home. The theory of resources (Goode, 1971) analyzes the means that one member of a couple possesses in comparison to the other and is founded on the concept of "power," defined as the ability to affect the conduct and decisions of others. As a result, those with less power and fewer educational, economic, personal, and/or social capacities than their partner will resort to violence to a greater extent as a means of preserving control than those with access to other resources (Briceño, 2016).

A second theoretical model examines status. It was created by Richard Gelles (1974) and Carlton Hornung et al. (1981), among other authors, based on the resource theory (Goode, 1971), and was refined by Hyman Rodman (1972) to explain the violence exerted by those persons who, despite possessing resources, utilized violence in the domestic arena. This hypothesis relates to the educational, professional, and/or social standing of one member of the marriage concerning the other (Hornung et al., 1981). It confirms that the chance of experiencing relationship violence increases when the educational levels of both partners are incompatible, particularly when the man has a lower status than the woman. The source of the increased risk is believed to be stress caused in men by the fact that the status that would correspond to them according to social norms, as head of the household, is being questioned.

A third explanatory model, analyzing stress as a risk factor in violence against women has been established from a sociological perspective (Farrington, 1986). The characteristics of the family institution that can facilitate the use of violence within it are analyzed through the theory of stress, such as the high levels of stress inherent in the family institution itself, and a lack of resources to manage stress, which varies depending on the structural characteristics of each family, or the acceptance and social justification of violence as a response to a stressful situation in the family (Laca and Mejía, 2017).

A fourth theoretical model, which has been used frequently in recent years in sociological perspective, considers culture as an explanatory element of gender violence. In this regard, one of the most important theories in explaining it has been Albert Bandura's notion of intergenerational transmission of violence, which is based on his theory of social learning from the 1970s (Illescas et al., 2018). According to this theory, violence is learned through direct or indirect contact with a violent familial environment (Miljánovich et al., 2015).

However, like psychopathological theory, this theory has been attacked by feminists, primarily for its lack of gender analysis. Some of the theories have also been claimed to be untestable because they do not take gender into account. Thus, the theory of resources or the theory of status incompatibility cannot explain the varied effects that a lack of resources, status incompatibility, and inconsistency have on men and women, exactly because it ignores socialization in gender roles and power relations (Briceño, 2016).

Feminist theory, on the contrary, starts with the assumption that the source of violence is found in the patriarchal social system, rather than in individual variables, as the psychopathological theory considered. Thus, unlike previously examined perspectives that deal with what mental disorder the aggressors have or what factors influence the use of violence as a method of resolving family conflicts, the diverse lines of feminist analysis of gender violence begin with the same question: why do men abuse women? (Bograd, 1988, p.13).

In terms of the study of violence against women, there are two major theoretical models within feminism: one that focuses its object of analysis on male dominance, power, and gender to understand and explain violence against women, known as Feminist Theory or Feminist Perspective (Yllö, 1993; Bui-Morash, 1999; Jasinski, 2001; Burgess-Proctor, 2006), and one that recognizes that gender inequality intersects with other types of inequality, such as religion, ethnicity, social class, or age, among others, and it is this intersection that positions women (Crenshaw, 1989; Bograd, 1999; Dupont-Sokoloff, 2005; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Humphreys-Nixon, 2010).

The feminist theory model begins with the assumption that theories that ignore the impact of gender and power relations between men and women cannot provide a logical explanation for violence against women. The uneven power relations between men and women in patriarchal countries, as well as the transmission of various gender roles depending on gender through social practices, are factors that explain violence against women, according to this approach (Porrás, 2018). In this framework, violence is seen as a technique for exerting control over women and, as a result, of maintaining male authority and female inferiority on a social and household level (Yllö, 1993).

This perspective adds an important twist to the analysis of violence against women: considering power relations between men and women as the cause of violence while ignoring other individual or structural factors implies that violence against women is universal, that all women are potential victims of abuse regardless of their educational or economic status, ethnicity, or any other structural factor. The theory of intersectionality (the second feminist model), on the other hand, analyzes violence against women by examining gender inequality with other types of social and political inequalities, such as those caused by ethnicity, religion, or social class (Crenshaw, 1989; Bograd, 1999; Hooks, 2000; Collins, 2008).

This viewpoint is founded on the assumption that violence against women is not simply a form of male control, but also a form of oppression and social control (Gelabert, 2017), and that when gender-based subordination intersects with other types of inequalities, the probability of being victimized by violence increases. With this logic, a component of feminism's monolithic image of women is called into question, revealing substantial disparities in risk levels based on social class, migrant status, ethnicity, and/or religion, among other factors (Medina and Zecchi, 2020).

Similarly, the universality that defines the feminist model stated above is called into doubt, with some even claiming that gender inequality may be changed by interacting with other systems of power and

oppression (Bograd, 2005; Dupont – Sokoloff, 2005; Humphreys-Nixon, 2010). In short, because this feminist model relates gender violence to social exclusion, it shares many of its points of study with some aspects of the sociological perspective, though they differ in the analysis of the results, precisely because the intersectionality theory adopts a gender-inclusive perspective. Hence in this paradigm, it is believed that the prevention and elimination of this sort of violence require the implementation of measures that eliminate structural disparities, including those caused by gender, rather than universal actions that ignore the heterogeneity of women (Muñiz, 2018). The feminist perspective, like previous theoretical models, has been criticized. Authors such as Donald Dutton (1994) claim that feminist theory is more of a political ideology than a theory of violence against women because it tends to ignore empirically proven results from other research, particularly psychopathological theory because they do not fill their ideological purposes, so they reduce the impact of these studies through political pressure.

The *interactive theories*, when the author Richard Gelles explains that men mistreat women because they can, it's because of the existing structural inequality between men and women, which lowers the costs of male abusers because of women's inferiority, both physically and in terms of benefits and social and economic resources, limits their ability to respond to violence. All of this would be made easier since, according to this author, it is a crime that is subject to less social supervision as a result of the modern family's higher levels of seclusion, which lowers the costs of being socially questioned. To all of this, a "culturalist" explanation is given, based on the fact that the traits of specific families and subcultures might facilitate abuse. It specifically relates to the notion of "true man" seen in some cultures, in which, despite the existence of societal control that permits family violence to be discovered, the label of the abuser does not indicate a loss of status and thus has the opposite impact of prevention and dissuasion (Gelles, 1983; Cornell - Gelles, 1990).

Second, Kristin Anderson argues that when a man has fewer socioeconomic resources or a lower educational, social, or economic position than his female partner, the probability of violence towards her increases. When the scenario is reversed, however, due to socialization in gender roles that enable this circumstance within social standards, women will not engage in violence against males. In brief, structural factors such as age, ethnicity, marital status, level of education, and money all influence violence, but they have distinct effects on men and women due to the patriarchal culture's gender and power connections (Anderson, 1997).

Lastly, according to author David Witt, changes inside the family, including the legitimization of violence within it, imply profound shifts in cultural norms. As a result, achieving economic equality between men and women should decrease the use of intimate partner violence. However, as long as abuse is culturally legitimized, the threat of violence or violence itself will be used to maintain the existing social order. Witt concludes by stating that his initial hypothesis, that violence has a lower impact in societies where there are cultural norms that disapprove of it, is not supported in the case of intimate partner violence, precisely because there are cultural norms inherent to the family institution itself that justify and legitimize it in this area (Witt, 1987).

2. Legal framework on violence against women

The recognition of women's human rights is the result of a series of historical struggles that began in the Western world with the Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizenship of 1791, which was brought out by the French Olympe de Gouges, who was guillotined in 1793 for rebelling against power and claiming that women had citizenship rights (Varela, 2013). The application of the gender perspective has highlighted the violence of patriarchal culture against women, making it worthwhile for national legislation to incorporate special typical figures whose purpose is to better protect the physical and psychological integrity of women while also highlighting the dimensions of this social phenomenon (AECID, 2016).

Following the effort made by the women's movement for the benefit of their human rights, several instruments have been developed that have been defining those specific rights that were previously denied to them. The formation of binding instruments for states whose purpose is the prevention, eradication, and punishment of violence against women, as in the case of the InterAmerican Convention to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence Against Women, the Palermo Convention, and the Rome Statute, is a reference to the foregoing (Varela, 2013).

The most relevant international instruments relating to the issue of violence against women, according to the universal human rights system (United Nations), will be presented. First, is *the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW). It was declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1979, approved in Guatemala by Decree-Law number 49-82 dated 29 June 1979, and ratified on 8 July 1982 (Rodas, 2019). It is widely regarded as the first international legal instrument to refer to the human rights and equality of men and women. Similarly, it specifies what constitutes discrimination against women and provides a national action plan to eliminate such prejudice (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 1979).

The Optional Protocol was added to the Convention in 1999, and was ratified in Guatemala by Decree number 59-2001, dated November 22, 2001. Women whose rights under the Convention have been violated in the jurisdiction of a State Party can use the Protocol to present communications that allow for the issuance of specific recommendations to the State Party in question on the measures that it must take to prevent further violations of women's rights (Rodas, 2019). Similarly, the Protocol recognizes the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women's competence as the body responsible for monitoring the Convention's compliance by States Parties, as well as receiving and examining complaints from people or groups within its jurisdiction.

Similarly, the United Nations establishes it, stating that the convention "forms the basis for achieving gender equality by ensuring women's equal access and equal opportunities in political and public life, including the right to vote and stand for election, as well as education, health, and employment" (UN Women, 2008). Discrimination against women is defined in Article 1 of the Convention as any distinction, exclusion, or restriction based on sex that has the purpose or result of undermining or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms by women, regardless of their marital status, based on equality of men and women, in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil, or any other field (United Nations Human Rights, 1979).

Furthermore, it recognizes a wide range of women's rights, although it is clear from the transcribed article that it does not define violence against women explicitly. It wasn't until the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women issued General Recommendation No. 12 that the

obligation of States Parties to protect women against violence was highlighted, which included the obligation to submit periodic reports to the committee on a) current legislation to protect women from any type of violence in everyday life (sexual violence, domestic violence, sexual harassment in the workplace); b) what actions does the State Party do to end this violence; and c) statistical data on the incidence of all types of violence against women and the number of women who have been victims of violence (Violencia Genero, 1992). Subsequently, the same committee published general recommendation number 19, in which violence against women is included and recognized as a violation of their human rights because it obstructs their development and free participation under equal conditions. Moreover, gender violence is acknowledged as a kind of discrimination that inhibits women from enjoying their rights and freedoms on an equal footing with men (Violencia Genero, 1992).

Second, *the Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence Against Women* (Belém do Pará Convention), which was adopted by the Organization of American States in 1994, is the most prominent text of the Latin American regional struggle against violence. Guatemala ratifies it by Decree Number 69-94 on December 15, 1994 (OEA, 2017). Violence against women is one of the manifestations of male-female inequality, and it is a violation of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, according to this convention. It further specifies that, concerning the issue of violence against women, states parties are bound by the following obligations: include criminal, civil, and administrative measures in the domestic legislation of states parties, as well as the repeal of any existing laws or regulations that tolerate violence against women.

Also, establish appropriate legal and administrative systems to ensure that women who have been victims of violence have access to compensation, damages compensation, or other fair and effective measures of redress; officials in charge of matters involving women who have been victims of violence should be trained and sensitized; any individual group of individuals, or non-governmental organization has the authority to file a complaint or complaints with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights for a violation of rights or non-compliance with any of the obligations that the convention imposes on states parties (Organizacion de los Estados Americanos, 1994).

Third, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the *Convention on the Political Rights of Women* in Resolution 640 (VII) on December 20, 1952. It was adopted by Congress Decree 1307 on August 26, 1959, and ratified on September 18, 1959, in Guatemala. This convention affirms that everyone, including men and women, has the right to participate in the administration of their nation on an equal footing in the enjoyment and exercise of their political rights (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, 2018). As a result, this international instrument affirms women's right to vote in all elections on an equal footing with males, with no discrimination.

Similarly, it specifies that women are eligible for all public bodies on the same basis as males, with no discrimination. Furthermore, it states that women have the right to hold public office and carry out their responsibilities on an equal footing with men and without prejudice (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, 2018). Evidence and advancement of this are that several prominent offices previously held only by men are now occupied by women, with Roxana Baldetti becoming the first female vice president of the Republic of Guatemala in 2012.

Fourth, Guatemalan Legislative Decree number 805, dated 9 May 1951, approved *the Inter-American Convention on the Granting of Civil Rights to Women*, which was ratified on 17 May 1951. Despite

its brief length (it consists of only two paragraphs), this convention represents one of the most significant gains for women, since it seeks to equalize men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of civil rights, granting women the right to equality in the civil order. It is worth noting what is said in the same convention, namely that American women have learned how to nobly perform all of their responsibilities as men's companions long before asserting their rights, and that the ideal of equal human rights for men and women is enshrined in the UN Charter. It should be underlined that women's vital position in the house is successfully recognized, as is her relevance outside the family (Organization of American States, 1948a).

Fifth, *The Inter-American Convention on the Granting of Political Rights to Women*, which was authorized in Guatemala by Legislative Decree 805, dated 9 May 1951, and ratified on 17 May 1951. It includes the right of all citizens to participate in their country's governance and has equal opportunity to enter the public sector. Similarly, to equalize the status of men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights, women are recognized as having the right to vote in all elections; additionally, it is established that they will be eligible to occupy public positions in all State agencies, all of the above on equal terms with men, without any discrimination (Organization of American States, 1948b).

Lastly, the United Nations General Assembly endorsed *the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women* in December 1993. It is the world's first international treaty that defines violence against women. In its first article, it states that any act of violence based on a female that has or may result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering for women, as well as threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether committed in public or private life, is prohibited. Similarly, article 4, recognizes that the state must abolish violence against women because this violence is formed in the context of uneven power relations between men and women, which leads to dominance and discrimination against women (United Nations, 1993).

It also establishes that all acts of violence against women, whether committed by the state or by private individuals, must be prohibited and investigated in accordance with national legislation. The state is obligated to enact criminal, civil, labor, and administrative consequences under national legislation to punish and right the wrongs done to women who are the victims of abuse. The state is also obligated to provide women who have been victims of violence with access to justice. Carry out preventive measures as well as all legal, political, administrative, and cultural actions that can support women's protection against all types of violence (United Nations, 1993). Now we will look more in detail at what laws have been enacted in the Guatemalan region to protect women.

2.1. Guatemalan Laws about Violence against Women

The incorporation of women's rights into the national legal system in Guatemala has been gradual, but significant progress has been made, all based on international commitments assumed through the ratification of universal and regional instruments in the field of women's human rights, such as those previously discussed. These regulations will be discussed later, but first, as the first significant national advance on the issue of violence against women, it is necessary to mention what is established in article 29 of the Law for the Dignification and Integral Promotion of Women, which states that "all those legal or regulatory provisions that oppose this law, that constitute discrimination or violence against women, are repealed" (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a). Changes were made to national norms as a result of the previously transcribed article, which implied some kind of

infringement of women's rights. Legislation that was discriminatory or indicated violence against women would be explicitly repealed for the sake of adequate internal rules. Among the major legislation and regulations that have advanced women's rights are the following.

First, *the Law to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Domestic Violence*, which states that after the State of Guatemala ratified the Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence against Women in 1994, the Congress of the Republic issued the Law to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Domestic Violence in 1996 in response to the provisions of the convention and for the sake of effective protection of women victims of violence within the same family. This law defines intrafamily violence and distinguishes between the many types of violence, including physical, sexual, psychological, and patrimonial violence. It also mentions the sectors (public and private) in which these actions can take place. It is crucial to note that the law specifies who may be taxpayers in certain cases: relatives, cohabitants or ex-cohabitants, husband or ex-spouse, or with whom sons or daughters have been procreated (Ciprodeni, 2018).

It should be noted that this law proposes the implementation of protective measures aimed at ensuring the life, integrity, safety, and dignity of victims of domestic abuse. Similarly, it seeks to provide special protection to women, children, adolescents, the elderly, and people with disabilities, while taking into account the unique circumstances of each instance (Ciprodeni, 2018). As indicated above, the significance of this law is the protection it provides to persons (it does not identify males or women, thus it is construed broadly) who are victims of domestic abuse. However, the purpose of the Inter-American Convention, under which this law was drafted, was to protect women in a specific way from violence perpetrated against them in all sectors, not only in the home.

Regarding the legal nature of this law, it is worth noting that it is not a criminal law, but rather a victim protection law, as the last paragraph of article 2 clearly states that the victim protection measures will be implemented independently of the specific sanctions. In the case of facts constituting a crime or misdemeanor, established by the Criminal Code. This statute is regarded an important legal resource because it specifies that anyone, regardless of age or relationship with the victim or victims, can denounce these situations. It also discusses the security measures that can be imposed in cases of domestic abuse. Another significant component is that the same law authorizes the National Civil Police to respond swiftly to emergency calls and protect victims of assault even when they are inside their houses. (Ciprodeni, 2018). The latter is highly beneficial for victims of domestic violence because the police can go to the home and even enter it if there are facts indicating that a person is being attacked.

Second, the *Regulations of the Law to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Domestic Violence*, which was issued by the Executive Branch in November 2000 by Government Agreement number 831-2000. Domestic Violence, which was amended twice: a) on 28 December 2000, by Government Agreement number 868-2000; and b) on 16 July 2003, through Government Agreement number 417-2003. The National Coordinator for the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women (CONAPREVI by its spanish abbreviation) is established by this law as a coordinating, advising, and advocating of public policies aimed at reducing domestic violence and violence against women. Similarly, the ability to object to mandated security measures is established; additionally, there is a responsibility to certify to the Public Prosecutor's Office if any event qualified as a crime or misdemeanor arises from the complaint received (Organismo Judicial, 2014).

Third, the *Law for the Dignity and Comprehensive Promotion of Women*, which was approved by the Congress of the Republic in March 1999 by Decree No. 07-99, is the result of the signing and ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the InterAmerican Convention to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence Against Women, because effective participation of women in national development is essential. An essential component of this law is that it recognizes the multicultural and multilingual nature of Guatemalans. Among its objectives are a) to promote the comprehensive development of women and their participation at all levels of economic, political, and social life in Guatemala; and b) to promote the development of fundamental rights established in the Political Constitution and international instruments in favor of women's protection of dignity and promotion of women (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a).

This legislation defines discrimination against women as any differentiation, exclusion, or restriction based on sex, race, age, or religion, among other factors, that has the aim or outcome of undermining the enjoyment and protection of women's rights or invalidating the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise of their social and individual rights enshrined in the Republic's Political Constitution and other laws, regardless of their marital status, based on gender equality, human rights, and fundamental freedoms in the political, labor, economic, ecological, social, cultural, and civil spheres, or elsewhere (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a).

Another notable step forward is that national regulations currently include a definition of violence against women, stating that "it is an act, action, or omission that injures them physically, morally, or psychologically owing to their gender" (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a). Furthermore, this law aims to support women in a stable home setting, equity in education, equal pay for equal work, and participation in health services, as well as the elimination of prejudice.

Fourth, the *Social Development Law*, which was approved by the Republic's Congress of Guatemala through Decree 42-2001. It is fascinating how, in the course of conducting this research, legislation connected to women's human rights, particularly violence against them, has been discovered. This law, for example, aims to establish a legal framework that allows for the implementation of legal procedures and public policies for the promotion, planning, coordination, execution, monitoring, and evaluation of government and state actions aimed at the development of the human person in social, family, human aspects, and their environment, with a focus on special attention groups (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a).

The aforementioned law specifies the requirement for Social Development and Population Policy to incorporate policies and actions targeted at satisfying the needs and demands of women throughout their life cycle to accomplish their holistic development. It works to promote gender equality, as well as to eliminate and punish all forms of violence, abuse, and individual and collective discrimination against women while adhering to the international conventions and treaties that Guatemala has ratified (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a).

Fifth, the *Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women*, which was approved by the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala through Decree number 22-2008, is the result of many women's appeals for protection unique to their vulnerability. The purpose of the law is to protect all women's rights such as life, liberty, integrity, dignity, protection, and equality in power or trust relationships when the aggressor engages in discriminatory practices, physical, psychological, or

economic violence, or disregards their rights (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a). The goal of this law, then, is to promote and implement laws aimed at eradicating violence in all of its forms, as well as to provide them with a life free of violence. All of the foregoing is bolstered by the state's commitment to enhance institutions involved in the prevention, care, punishment, and eradication of violence against women so that they can provide excellent and warm services to women who have been violated.

It is also worth noting that this law is a sex-specific and temporary measure, meaning that it will fade away over time when the rate of violence against women falls. Moreover, the law has several definitions, the most important of which are those about the public and private spheres; this is important because there was previously no clear understanding of what each region included. The definitions of the many kinds of violence are considered in the same order of ideas: a) violence against women; b) economic violence; c) physical violence; d) psychological or emotional violence; and e) sexual violence (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a). Another essential feature of this law is that the crimes in question are public, which means that even if the person ceases to commit them, the investigating agency (Public Ministry) is required to continue the investigation. New criminal figures, such as femicide, violence against women, and economic violence, are also regulated (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019a).

Sixth, the *Law Against Sexual Violence, Exploitation, and Human Trafficking* was approved by the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala through Decree No. 9-2009. Its goal is to increase people's protection from activity that infringes their sexual freedom, sexual indemnity, individual freedom, and related freedoms by aligning criminal kinds with the standards of international treaties ratified by Guatemala. It also contains provisions of an administrative nature and cares for victims of these crimes; for example, it envisages the establishment of the Secretariat against Sexual Violence, Exploitation, and Trafficking in Persons (SVET by its Spanish abbreviation), which has among its responsibilities the development of preventive policies aimed at better combating violence, trafficking, and sexual exploitation (Observatorio Ministerio Publico, 2019b). The law also highlights the victim's rights; in addition to establishing definitions, it expands on these rights, including a) the right to legal and technical counsel; and b) the right to comprehensive recovery development.

Seventh, the *Law for the Immediate Search for Disappeared Women*, which went into effect on March 1, 2016, eight years after Law No. 22-2008. This law recognizes that acts of violence against women and their disappearances are a reality in Guatemala and that before being murdered, they are kept in captivity or treated in a cruel, inhuman, and degrading manner, and no coordination mechanism allows for an adequate response to women's disappearances; as a result, a law for the immediate search for disappeared women must be enacted and implemented, ensuring an operational plan and immediate search actions to prevent them from being killed in a short period, suffer other forms of abuse or be transferred outside the national territory (Ministerio Publico, 2017).

The Law's goal, then, is to preserve the lives, liberty, security, integrity, and dignity of missing women by establishing a structure that allows for their immediate location and protection, preventing them from being harassed, killed, or transported to other communities or nations. This law establishes an immediate search mechanism for missing women that is based on coordinated, planned and articulated actions among public institutions, local search teams, local authorities, neighbors, fire departments, the media, churches, women's organizations, and civil society to accelerate and achieve the location and protection of missing women. Furthermore, the National Coordinator of the

Immediate Search Mechanism for Disappeared Women is comprised of the following entities, according to article 9 of the Law (Ministerio Publico, 2017):

- Public Ministry: is a self-governing body tasked with prosecuting public criminals. The roles and responsibilities of the Public Prosecutor's Office can be divided into two broad categories: the power to direct the investigation during the "preliminary stage" and the power to accuse the actual criminal prosecution, and ensures that the country's laws are strictly followed (Ministerio Publico, 2022).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: It is the state institution in charge of formulating policies and enforcing the legal regime concerning the State of Guatemala's relations with other States, legal persons, or institutions of international law, as well as the State's diplomatic representation, Guatemalan nationality, and diplomatic and consular affairs, all under the direction of the President of the Republic (Ministerio de Relaciones Internacionales, 2022).
- Ministry of the interior: it is a governing institution in charge of policies relating to the maintenance of peace, public order, and internal security, which executes judicial decisions and resolutions, administers the penal system, directs and regulates security forces, and performs the governing functions prescribed by law (Ministerio de Gobernacion, 2022).
- National Civil Police: It is a branch of the Ministry of the Interior, which is responsible for preserving citizens' lives and safety, maintaining public order, preventing and investigating crime, and delivering justice in a timely and transparent manner (Transito, 2022).
- General Directorate of Migration: It is a security institution in charge of controlling, verifying, and ensuring the entry, stay, and exit of nationals and foreigners from the national territory (Instituto Guatemalteco de Migracion, 2022).
- Office of the Attorney General of the Nation, through the Unit for the Protection of Women's Rights: promotes the prevention and abolition of domestic abuse by offering legal and administrative guidance for the protection of victims' rights, including women, the elderly, and individuals with disabilities (Procuraduria General de la Nacion, 2022).
- Social Communication Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic: It is the governing institution of the Government of Guatemala's official communication, in charge of disclosing government plans, programs, and actions in an inclusive, agile, and truthful manner, through innovative communication media and systems, by the legal mandate, values, and democratic principles (Secretaria de Comunicacion social de la Presidencia, 2022).
- Secretariat against Sexual Violence, Exploitation, and Trafficking in Persons: is the entity in charge of ensuring compliance with the law against sexual violence, exploitation, and human trafficking, with the primary goal of advising the State institutions in charge of preventing, caring for, and protecting children, adolescents, and women, as well as promoting effective strategies to improve the quality of life of children, adolescents, and women (Secretaria contra la violencia sexual, explotacion y trata de personas, 2022).
- Presidential Commission to address Femicide: It is a temporary inter-institutional and multi-sectoral entity that permits prioritizing the response to femicide and ensures the

implementation and compliance with the terms of the laws and within the context of the State of Guatemala's approved plans and public policies (Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres, 2017)

- Two non-governmental organizations working on the protection of human rights of women, mainly in the joint action for the eradication of femicide violence; in this case, the Social Pastoral of Alta Verapaz and the Women's Civic-Political Convergence participate.

Each institution will choose one representative and one alternate to serve as the National Coordinator of the Immediate Search Mechanism for Disappeared Women, with the authority to make decisions to ensure the Mechanism's operation. Although, various civil society organizations and organized women's groups have positioned themselves against the formalism that prevails at the time of reporting a woman's disappearance, as well as the lack of inter-institutional coordination and the absence of follow-up offered to each case. The issue of waiting 24 hours to receive a complaint of a missing person refers specifically to the defenseless and vulnerable condition in which the victim is placed, as well as the fact that an adequate registry of missing individuals is not available for later investigation. As Ragna Kristinsdóttir (2015) argued, this is a critical issue since there is a window of opportunity to locate the missing women alive.

Given the country's current situation, which has been ongoing for many years, mechanisms are being implemented to speed up the search for missing women to prevent them from becoming victims of other forms of violence simply because they are women. As a result, the Immediate Search Mechanism for Disappeared Women is as follows: *Isabel Claudina Alert*. This Mechanism, the last to be examined, went into effect in August 2018 and is based on the terms of the Law on the Immediate Search for Missing Women (Decree No. 9-2016). Since then, it has served as a means for the coordinator's many entities to collaborate whenever a woman's disappearance notice is given.

The goal of this Alert is to ensure that women reported missing in Guatemala are found and protected as soon as possible. This inter-institutional system aims to ensure an immediate search by coordinating, planning, and articulating actions among public institutions, local search teams, local authorities, the media, women's organizations, neighbors, churches, and society. civil. All public institutions must do the steps required of them within the context of this Law as soon as possible (Procuraduría General de la Nación, 2018).

The Isabel Claudina Alert takes its name from two iconic cases: María Isabel Véliz Franco and Claudina Isabel Velásquez Paiz, two young women who were reported missing, and later found dead and with signs of physical and sexual violence, and for whom the Guatemalan government was found guilty by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) of violating their Right to Life and Personal Integrity. It's worth noting that there was a five-year gap between the two watershed moments in Guatemala's disappearances history (Procuraduría General de la Nación, 2018).

Despite the efforts of national and international civil organizations in support of women's rights to live a life free of violence, as well as the country's legislative and institutional advances (such as the creation of new protection laws, ratification of international conventions and treaties, and the establishment of state agencies to care for victims), violence against women remains a serious problem due to its recurrence and the increasingly harrowing nature of the phenomenon. The state's actions have been ineffective, particularly in terms of women's effective access to formal justice (FIDH, 2019).

Aside from the issue of impunity, various studies (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, 2009; Sieder, 2019; Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, 2015) point to particular factors that impact women's limited access to justice. Women are unable to physically access judicial institutions due to a lack of geographic access, as the number of justice instances within the national area is restricted. Given the high rates of poverty and extreme poverty that a large number of women faces, as discussed in the previous chapter, the lack of economic resources that many of them (especially in rural areas) face makes it difficult for them to go to justice institutions and file a complaint, as well as to follow up on criminal proceedings that have already been initiated.

Furthermore, there is a dearth of specialized litigation techniques that effectively include the gender viewpoint in the conduct of criminal investigation and prosecution. In the same way, there is a lack of awareness-raising processes for the attention of victims and alleged perpetrators of crimes; for example, the Public Ministry recognizes the shortcoming and states that "in the case of actions perpetrated by women that are preceded by previous aggressions, the prosecution would be required to analyze the relevance of incorporating a particular context of patriarchal violence into the theory of the case" (Ministerio Público, 2019).

Moreover, there is a dearth of ethnically relevant investigative and criminal prosecution regulations that address the interests of indigenous women. For example, you have the right to be assisted by interpreters who are familiar with your language and culture; the right to have the uses, customs, and norms of indigenous law systems taken into account by the appropriate authority; and the right to have their collective rights as indigenous peoples, as well as their rights as women, considered, among other things. Also, witnesses, victims, and other crucial players in the criminal process are not well protected, which impacts victims' refusal to file a complaint or continue with the criminal procedure. (Ministerio Público, 2019).

Judicial practices of secondary victimization by institutions accepting complaints are also a concern (PNC, Prosecutors, and Courts). For example, victims must repeatedly disclose and recount occurrences in front of various officials, in addition to the unstable conditions of privacy, in which complaints must be filed regularly, a severe scenario given the nature of the crimes (rape, sexual assault, etc.) (Gudiel, 2019). Another aspect of management that leads to double victimization in situations of physical or sexual abuse is the prosecuting habit of relying solely on the woman's body as proof, without examining alternative options. As a result, the victim's status as a victim is exacerbated by the photo sessions, which are conducted regularly by male authorities, and the showing of the victim's picture albums during the trials (Gudiel, 2019).

Additionally, discriminatory attitudes, disqualifications, and prejudices are based on gender, class, and race. The prison system, like any other social space, sustains and reproduces the appreciation that people have for them, which, as previously said, are the result of socio-cultural historical processes and appear in all social relationships. In Guatemala, racist, classist, and gender-based discrimination schemes against women (because of their gender) are still prevalent in numerous social areas (Cepal, 2018). These socio-cultural creations are nothing new to the legal system. Although those laws are meant to be administered objectively, they are formed, interpreted, and applied by individuals whose ideas, attitudes, and actions are influenced by their surroundings. Thus, the interplay of gender, poverty, and ethnicity influences the level of care and attention that judicial officials deliver to women victims of abuse to a great amount (Cepal, 2018).

In this context, and returning to the perspective that the state, through criminal justice, individualizes acts of violence against women, it cannot be construed as the only state mechanism to combat and eradicate it without taking into account its dimension as a social phenomenon embedded in a structural and historical problem of violence. The legal system, on the other hand, must be acknowledged as one of the most important pillars in the management of violence. Consequently, the efficacy of their efforts correlates with the reproduction of additional aggressions against women, or inefficiency correlates with impunity, which leads to greater violence.

In this view, it is reasonable to demand that the justice system reform its judicial methods to ensure that women who have been victims of crime have access to justice. Changes in secondary victimization practices, as well as the accumulation of the aforementioned impediments, are noticed throughout judicial processes: criminal investigation and prosecution, judgment, and sentence determination.

2.2. Violence against Women in Guatemala

Guatemala is part of the Mesoamerican region. It is currently one of the five Central American countries. In terms of human diversity, Guatemala's population is 17,109,746 in 2021, according to demographic forecasts published by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística-INE-. Women account for 51.5% of the population. The country is divided into 24 language groups and four ethnic groupings: Maya, Garifuna, Xinca, and Mestizo or Ladino, with the latter accounting for 56% of the population and Maya accounting for 41.7%.

While the country is known for its natural and cultural riches, it is also known for its deep disparities and historical paradoxes. 53.7% of the population lives in poverty, with 13.3% living in extreme poverty; rural areas are the most impacted, accounting for 70% of the population, with indigenous ethnicity accounting for the majority (PNUD, 2020). In addition, urban areas accounted for 53.8% of the population in the 2018 census, while rural areas accounted for 46.2%. In Guatemala, 61% of the population is between the ages of 15 and 64. 66.6% of the population is of working age, and one out of every two people declares to be economically active. The fertility rate is 3.8%, one out of every two children under the age of five is malnourished (SESAN, 2019), and 19% of the population is illiterate.

Guatemala is known for being a country where the historical exclusion of indigenous peoples, particularly women, has been a major contributor to the country's most complex problems, such as a lack of access to justice, violations of their rights, poor access to primary health care, low rates of education, precarious housing, and other issues. According to Dinorah Azpuru (2015), one out of every two Guatemalans is dissatisfied with the state's services, causing an imbalance in the administration of public policy. The government's bad reputation is reflected in poor service conditions and fragile state institutions. Therefore, the topic of violence against women in Guatemala is a complicated phenomenon that has been highly debated and evident in the country for many years.

When we talk about violence against women in Guatemala, we are also talking about the country's history of armed conflict and the terrible psychosocial implications of the post-war period, due to the poor implementation of peace agreements between the conflict's participants. This is why the maras and gangs that now plague Guatemala with violence against women have a direct link to the violence perpetrated throughout the civil war, which has been already discussed; to the gaps in peace

agreements and their implementation; and to a society that refused to welcome those who were victims of the State's systematic policy of annihilation (Estevez, 2017).

The number of women murdered has risen dramatically since the turn of the century. Despite actions taken to tackle the problem, the numbers have not dropped. According to el Observatorio de las mujeres del Ministerio Publico (2022), in Guatemala, children's and women's offenses are among the most commonly recorded in Guatemala's justice system. These disadvantaged groups were the subject of 39 % of the complaints made in 2021. 227 complaints are filed every day in the hopes of getting justice. While, 57,211 complaints of violence against women were filed in 2019, averaging 156 per day. Amid the epidemic in 2020, 56,712 people were recorded, a decrease of two each day (see figure 1).

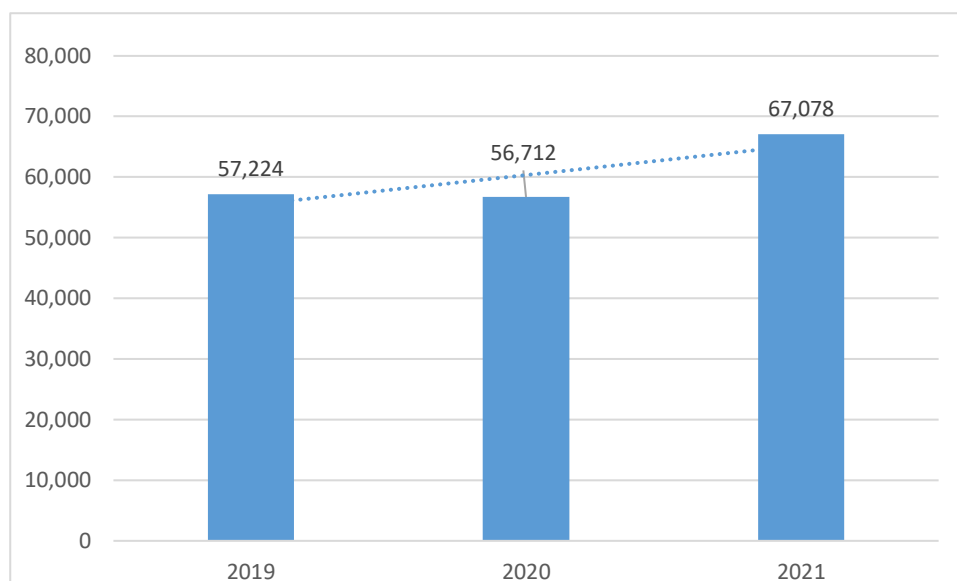


Figure 1. Complaints in el Ministerio Publico de Guatemala. Source: Ministerio Publico (2022).

Psychological violence was the most commonly reported kind of violence in 2021, with 30,008 victims. Physical violence was the second most commonly reported form of violence, with 19,322 victims. Economic violence had the fewest victims, with only 1,188 victims, compared to sexual violence, which had 9,821 victims (Observatorio de las mujeres del Ministerio Publico, 2022). When the historical context is considered, it is known that between 2014 and 2020, approximately half a million complaints about various forms of violence (physical, psychological, sexual, and economic) were filed and that over the last two decades, the Observatory of el Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres has recorded 12,450 violent deaths of women based on data from the report of deceased persons admitted to expert offices of el Instituto Nacional de Ciencias Forenses (INACIF) (Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres, 2020).

Furthermore, as proof of the continuity that runs through the entire life cycle of women, it is important to note that the Children's Observatory of la Coordinadora Institucional de Promoción por los Derechos de la Niñez (CIPRODENI) reported that 99 girls and adolescents (aged 0 to 19) were murdered in the country between January and December 2020. In addition, the INACIF conducted 4,286 medical examinations for the detection of sexual offenses on girls and adolescents aged 0 to 19 years old during that year, according to the same source (CIPRODENI, 2020). Therefore, Guatemala is now the world's ninth most violent country in terms of violence against women. "Guatemala

appears in a list of 136 nations with data for the early years of the twenty-first century, with an average annual rate of 8.5 homicides per 100,000 women" (Dialogos, 2021, p.6).

Deaths occur as a result of intra-family or domestic violence, as well as stranger-inflicted violence in public settings, and the victims include youth, students, girls, migrants, sex workers, housewives, and women from marginalized groups, including gang members and former gang members (Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres, 2020). According to la Federacion Internacional de los Derechos Humanos (FIDH, 2006), the crimes are believed to be committed by gang members or those connected to drug trafficking for personal vengeance or emotional issues. The investigation, trial, and conviction processes, as well as the prevention of murders, remain inadequate in Guatemala, as seen by the country's lengthy history of impunity (Sanford, 2008). Convictions and/or punishments are obtained in less than 2% of all crimes reported to the Public Ministry (Observatorio de las mujeres del Ministerio Publico, 2022).

According to the author Sarah Jahr (2016), the major causes of impunity are insufficient investigative tools, a lack of technical resources, a failure to collect evidence, a lack of specialist and finances, as well as internal police corruption and organized crime threats to judicial officers. Furthermore, Lily Muñoz (2018) emphasizes that the issue is more than a lack of resources; it is primarily a lack of political will and researcher willingness to conduct significant research on violence against women. Impunity, according to Jahr, has the dual effect of "leaving those guilty unpunished while encouraging their actions." The generalized climate of insecurity, as well as the impunity that feeds it, has a significant impact on women's lives: aggressors are not punished, there are no conditions that allow for a fair trial that protects victims' rights, and in many cases, victims are singled out and treated as criminals, with their families stigmatized. The paucity of convictions for women's murders is a severe indicator of a lack of justice (Jahr, 2016).

In this context, Esther Pineda (2019) reports that half of the victims of violent attacks do not report them or offer testimony because they do not believe it would help them or because they are afraid of retaliation from their attacker. Furthermore, in many cases, the victims' relatives are discouraged from reporting the crime because of the hostility they face or because of the denigration directed at the victim for their ethical conduct or way of dressing. In addition to the social stigmatization that may accompany the death of a woman in violent circumstances. Systemic discrimination and a macho culture are prominent in Guatemala, as they are in many other Latin American countries, and they are at the root of the country's cultural norm of violence against women on the street, in the home, in the courts, and at the crime scene (Pineda, 2019).

Furthermore, it is vital to note that religion is a fundamental element of most Guatemalans' lives. Religion is so prominent in the country that it wields political, economic, and social clout. The church has now been a defender of Guatemalan society's most conservative beliefs, speaking out against abortion, sexual education, equal marriages, and women's rights, among other issues. Therefore, traditional Guatemalan culture values women's roles in the home, but as a result of abandonment, migration, and other factors, more women are becoming household heads and are forced to work outside the home, often under the conditions of returning late, taking public transportation, or walking at night, putting them at greater risk of violence (Muños, 2018).

Women are sometimes accused of not taking safeguards in such situations. Dora Munevar (2018) considers that excessive violence can be motivated by vengeance, or as a warning to women who

have taken on a more public role to return to their homes and family. According to Munevar, the normalization of violence, which includes rationalization, invisibility, apathy, and impunity, is so firmly established in the culture that the victims' wish to eradicate it is alien to them.

Violence against women has become so common that efforts to eliminate it have not received the support that the situation requires, not even from the women themselves. There is a proclivity to rationalize attacks on them by repeating myths that ostensibly explain why violence is necessary or justified. In summary, the spokespersons for the various women's groups and human rights organizations cited agree that systematic discrimination, a lack of investigative bodies, judicial impunity, macho mentality and misogyny, indifference and entrenched systematic corruption, and the threat of violence perpetrated by organized crime activity are the key factors that contribute to and maintain the high levels of violence against women in Guatemala.

3. Empirical Analysis of Violence Against Women in Guatemala

The methodological techniques that enabled the inquiry to be carried out were established in this chapter. As a result, the first subchapter dealt with the choice of research design and its application to the specific study setting, population and sample, technique, and data collection device. The outcomes will be analyzed in the second subchapter.

3.1. Methodology

According to Miriam Balestrini (2000), a methodology is a set of procedures to follow to fulfill the information's objectives in a valid and precise manner. Similarly, author Angel Azuero (2019) defines methodology as a set of actions aimed at describing and analyzing the background of the problem posed through specific procedures that include observation and data collection techniques, determining "how" the study will be carried out, and making operational the concepts and elements of the problem that we study. In other words, it is the systematic structure for collecting, organizing, and analyzing data that allows the results to be interpreted in light of the subject under inquiry.

Type of research. Given the objectives of this thesis, the qualitative technique was adopted in the first two chapters; this will be explained in more depth later. However, this chapter was chosen to employ the quantitative technique, also known as empirical-analytical, rationalist, or positivist, which is based on numerical characteristics to study, analyze, and verify information and data (Neil and Cortez, 2017).

Likewise, Alejandro Caballero (2014) observes that in quantitative research, quantity and its mathematical-statistical management predominate, whereas informants have equal value. As a result, this method was chosen to be able to validate the theoretically acquired results, leading to a conclusion and narrowing the alternative routes that the inquiry could go.

According to Roberto Sampieri (2014), the quantitative technique reveals the reality of the phenomena and the events that surround it through its expressions. It is vital to record and examine these events to comprehend each reality (the explanation behind things). Of course, the subjective exists in the quantitative approach and has relevance for academics; nonetheless, this strategy is focused on demonstrating how well the information fits with objective reality.

Hence, objective data can be gathered and large, representative groups can be analyzed. The collecting of numerical values enables the measurement of a phenomenon's frequency as well as the observation of real-world situations. Consequently, the quantitative technique can be used to gain knowledge about empirical facts from which causal and problem linkages can be deduced (Watkins, 2020).

Research design. The research design used in this study is descriptive in this sense because the goal is to describe the relationship between the theoretical and empirical research conducted in this thesis on violence against women in Guatemala. The goal of descriptive research, according to Roberto Hernandez, Carlos Fernandez, and Pilar Baptista (2002), is to study circumstances and events, that is, how a phenomenon is and manifests itself.

According to Nilda Chavez (2007), descriptive investigations are all those targeted at gathering information about the real state of individuals, objects, situations, or phenomena as they were

presented at the time of collection, and explain what is measured without forming judgments or verifying hypotheses.

As a result, descriptive research assesses and measures many features, dimensions, or components of the phenomenon or phenomena under study. To describe is to measure from a scientific standpoint. In other words, in a descriptive study, a set of questions is chosen and each one is assessed. Allow for the repetition as they are used separately to define what is being researched (Dankhe, 1986).

Thus, it was conducted immediately in the location where the variables occur, it is categorized as field research. In this view, Guillermina Baena (2017) defines field research as those that are conducted in a natural setting without influencing the context's factors. Field research, according to the same author, relates to the approaches to be used when interest data is obtained directly from reality through the researcher's unique work.

Also, is non-experimental, as the goal is to observe occurrences in their natural environment. Non-experimental research, according to Roberto Hernandez, Carlos Fernandez, and Pilar Baptista (2002), is conducted without purposefully influencing the variables, instead of watching the event as it occurs in its natural surroundings and analyzing it subsequently. It's also worth noting that the observations are taken in a single moment, making it a non-experimental transactional design.

Population and sample. It is important to note that the Guatemalan population's attitudes toward violence against women are central to this chapter. As a result, the sampling units will be human participants. Therefore, Roberto Sampieri (2014) claims that after the unit of analysis is determined, the population to be researched is identified, and the results are intended to be generalizable. Thus, a population is the collection of all cases that satisfy a set of criteria (Lepkowski, 2008). As a result, the population for this study was men and women between the ages of 18 and 55 who live in Guatemala City.

Moreover, according to Roberto Sampieri (2014), the sample is a subset of the population of interest from whom data will be collected. It must be specified and delimited ahead of time, as well as be representative of the population. Furthermore, the type of sample used for this thesis was a probabilistic sample, which, according to the same author, means that all elements of the population have the same chance of being picked for the sample and are produced by defining the sample population and sample size, as well as random or mechanical sampling/analysis unit selection (Sampieri, 2014).

The sample size calculator program was used in this work to select the sample. The sample size can also be calculated using the standard formulae that have been devised, although it takes longer and produces the same or very comparable results as the program does. The sample size calculator tool requires the following information to compute the sample size: confidence level, confidence interval, and population.

The percentage indicates the amount of confidence (a confidence level of 95% or 99%). It indicates that if you perform an experiment or a survey many times, the findings will almost always match those received from a population, resulting in reliable statistics. To put it another way, the confidence level relates to the method's long-term success rate or the frequency with which this type of interval captures the parameter of interest (Sampieri, 2014). The 95% confidence level is used by most researchers, and we will adopt it for our sample size as well.

The margin of error, also known as the confidence interval, according to Sampieri (2014) is the negative or positive figure found in most survey results. If a margin of error of 3 is used and 47% of the sample chooses an answer, we may be certain that between 44% (47-3) and 50 percent (47+3) of the population would have chosen that answer if we had asked the full population. This means that the larger the sample size is, the smaller the confidence interval is for a given degree of confidence (Sampieri, 2014). As a result, the sample size in this thesis has been set at 3%.

According to the National Institute of Statistics of Guatemala, the population of Guatemala will be 17,357,886 people in 2022. However, because we were primarily interested in the resident population of Guatemala City, data from the same Institute show that there will be 3,599,257 persons in Guatemala City in 2022. This last metric was chosen as population. Hence, the program returned a total of 1067 persons. However, only 1012 people responded in the end. It was decided that it would be best to examine only the population of the capital city because, due to the distance, we would be unable to access the remainder of the population of Guatemala's outstanding 21 cities.

The same tool, the sample size calculator, was utilized for the confidentiality level. We used the same data for the confidence level, which was 95%. We entered 1012 as the sample size. For the population field, we enter the same as before which was 3,599,257. And for the percentage, we left the program's default of 50%, which resulted in a confidence interval of 3.8 percent, which is within the standard confidence range. Furthermore, as Comrey and Lee (1992) suggest, sample sizes of 50 awful, 100 horrible, 200 normal, 300 decent, 500 very good, and 1000 outstanding are appropriate.

Data collection technique and instrument. To achieve the study purpose, two stages were carried out. The primary goal of the first stage was to develop the theoretical portion. As a result, the qualitative method was employed. To be more specific, in the first chapter, a literature study was utilized to conceptualize violence against women, as well as to give views regarding why violence against women occurs (see figure 2).

According to Roberto Sampieri (2014), a literature review entails locating, consulting, and getting the bibliographies and other relevant resources for the study's aims, from which relevant and necessary information for the research problem is retrieved and collated. Moreover, the analysis document was utilized in the second chapter to explore the various norms that exist in Guatemala regarding violence against women. The context of violence against women in Guatemala is also highlighted. Documentary analysis, according to Roberto Hernandez, Carlos Fernandez, and Pilar Baptista (2002), is defined as the complete consultation and classification of books, laws, technical articles, archive records, specialist journals, fieldwork results, and other sources of information on the subject of research.

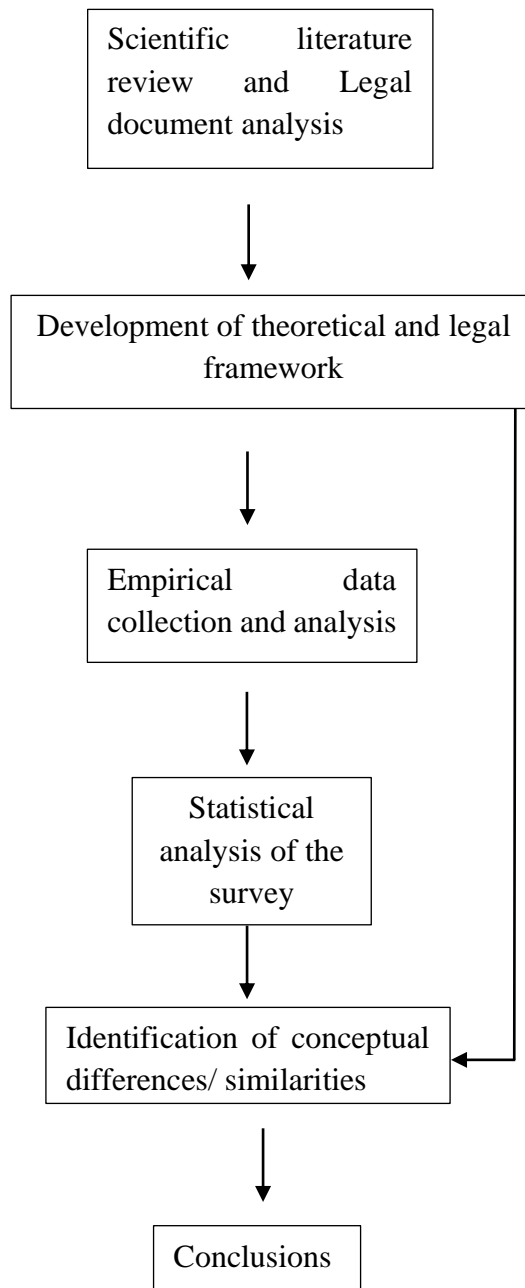


Figure 2. Methodological framework scheme. Source: Author.

A quantitative study was conducted and presented in the third chapter. The survey was utilized as the instrument. According to Jackeline Hurtado (2000), a survey is a strategy based on personal interaction that is employed when the information sought by the researcher is known by other people or when what is being researched is part of those people's experience. The survey technique was utilized in this inquiry through the use of a questionnaire, which allowed the collection of information on the population of Guatemalans residing in Guatemala City, addressing their attitude toward violence against women.

According to Miriam Balestrini (2000), the questionnaire is a means of written and basic communication between the interviewer and the respondent. This facilitates translating the objectives and variables of the investigation, through a series of very specific questions that have been carefully prepared to be analyzed in relation to the problem posed.

The survey utilized for this study was Eurobarometer's special Eurobarometer 449: gender-based violence (2016). The purpose of this Eurobarometer survey, which was conducted in the 28 Member States of the European Union, was to learn about EU citizens' opinions of gender-based violence (Eurobarometer, 2016). Nevertheless, in contrast to the Eurobarometer survey, this thesis' survey was conducted online. According to Sergio Montoya (2016), online surveys offer the following characteristics: rapidity in gathering information, cheap administrative and managerial costs, and adaptability for gauging sensitive subjects. Furthermore, the physical distance between the interviewer and the actual interviewee, as well as the freedom that this entails, as well as the high interaction with the interviewee, results in an improvement in questionnaire responses.

The survey was designed in Google Documents and then shared on social media. WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram were among the four social media platforms that spread the study. The survey was collected over the course of eight days, beginning on February 3rd and ending on February 10th, 2022. Moreover, the survey was done in Spanish, which is Guatemala's mother tongue. It is important to highlight that it was explained that this survey was fully voluntary and anonymous, and that no personal information was collected. The survey format can be found in the appendices.

Also, the "snowball" sample method was used to gather the participants, which entails sending the survey to personal contacts first, and then following up to verify that those who reply provide turn to further contacts, and so on. Those who are contacted may not answer to the survey because they do not fulfill the criteria or for other reasons, but they can help by sharing it. The online version of this strategy involves employing contacts from social media platforms (WhatsApp, Telegram, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, and so on) to encourage survey participation and dissemination (Arroyo and Finkel, 2019).

The survey's questions were standardized, including both closed and multiple-choice options. The questions were asked in the same order as Eurobarometer (2016). First, we requested the respondents' sociodemographic information. Second, perceptions of the prevalence of domestic violence; third, personal knowledge of a victim of domestic violence, who people speak to, and why they don't speak to anyone; fourth, opinions about where violence against women is most likely to occur; fifth, opinions about and attitudes toward gender-based violence, including whether any circumstances justify sexual intercourse without consent; sixth, perceptions of the prevalence of sexual harassment; seventh, perceptions of the prevalence of sexual harassment.

Similarly, Excel was used for data processing because the Google document results were saved to an excel sheet, which was then exported to Statical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS). Which is a statistical analysis data processing tool. The frequency function in SPSS was used to obtain the results. The survey format, as well as the tables generated by SPSS, are included in the appendices.

3.2. Survey analysis

The results of the survey will next be analyzed and discussed in this section. We will start by providing sociodemographic data about the respondents. Which is described as the sketch of the general characteristics that identify something or someone's identity (Jara, 2015).

Table 3. Socio-demographic characteristics of repondents

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHATACTERISTICS	CATEGORY	TOTAL RESPONDENTS
Gender	Female	887
	Male	117
	I would rather not say	7
Age	Under 18	23
	18-24	257
	25-34	369
	35-44	184
	45-54	131
	Over 55	47
City	Guatemala	977
	Other	25
Education	Primary school	63
	Secondary school	178
	High school	411
	Trade/technical/vocational training	33
	Professional degree	183
	Bachelor's degree	95
	Master's degree	32
	Doctoral degree	0
	No schooling completed	16
Family Status	Single	422
	Married or domestic partnership	491
	Divorced/ separated	66
	Widowed	8
Children	None	267
	1	302
	2-4	400
	More than 4	42
Employment	Part-time	36
	Full-time	193
	Self-employed	466
	Housewife	115
	Student	137
	Retire	2
	Unemployed	52
Type of employment	Technology/software	103
	Government	29
	Healthcare	31
	Education	37
	Cosmetologist	5
	Construction	6
	Commerce	6
	Housewife	20
	Customer service	3
	Lawyer	5
	NGO	4
	Did not answer	688
	Other	61

Source: Author.

As shown in table 3, the majority of responders are female. This is because we intended to contact women for this survey. It was desired that they have the ability to communicate and express themselves. This was because, in Guatemala, women had kept in silence since the civil war began in 1960, when they were used as weapons of war.

According to Luz Gutierrez (2014), women who were victims of Guatemala's civil war suffered psychological consequences because they experienced feelings of fear and anguish in daily life, particularly in relation to the possibility of abuses occurring again, a situation that caused the women to keep quiet about what had happened to their family and community. This means that, despite the fact that the civil war ended several years ago, women still live in a culture of silence (Gutierrez, 2014), and they do not speak up.

That is why we wanted to give Guatemalan women the opportunity to speak up. According to Amandine Fulchiron (2016), giving women a voice is a crucial act of affirming their humanity, and it is a fundamentally rebellious act insofar as it reverses the methods of silencing that are used to perpetuate their oppression in a colonial patriarchal system. Furthermore, this would begin to establish the political and social foundations for women to emerge as active participants in their own lives who are conscious of the injustices that exist around them (Fulchiron, 2016).

Moreover, the majority of the participants are young, ranging in age from 18 to 34 years old. Guatemala is a relatively youthful country, which explains why there were more young respondents. One explanation is that according to UNFPA-CONJUVE (2020), Guatemala's young population accounts for little over a third of the country's total population. Another explanation is that young people have the greatest amount of internet access. In fact, according to a survey conducted by IifeBelt (2021), 8 out of 10 internet users in Latin America are under the age of 44. It was also planned to reach young respondents for this survey due to the accessibility issue.

Moreover, the bulk of responders live in Guatemala City. Guatemala has 22 cities; however, this survey was designed to reach individuals only in Guatemala City. However, the option of "other" was included in case people from other cities participated despite not being able to locate their hometown. Furthermore, according to UNFPA-CONJUVE (2020), the bulk of Guatemala's youthful population lives in the capital; and as previously stated, it was the young people we most wanted to target, which is why the capital was believed to be the best option.

In addition, the compulsory schooling time in Guatemala is 12 years long. It calls for 3 years of compulsory pre-primary schooling, 6 years of primary schooling, 3 years of basic secondary schools, and 2 years of non-compulsory high school education. According to the United Nations (2021), the greatest level of education achieved by Guatemalans is secondary education. However, as seen in the table, the responses indicate that high school was the highest degree of education they had attended. Perhaps the difference is that, unlike the United Nations, this study employed just those who lived in the capital, whereas the UN used a survey that covered the entire country.

Another factor could be that, according to UNFPA-CONJUVE (2020), women outnumber males in terms of educational attainment; for example, more women have earned a full bachelor's degree and a postgraduate degree than their male counterparts. This is quite unexpected. According to Karina Batthyany and Natalia Genta (2016), this phenomenon, which appears to position women at an advantage in tertiary education, is a tendency that is beginning to be noticed in several societies in Latin America, and is most likely related with a larger retention of these institutions.

Moving on to the respondents' marital status. As can be seen, the majority of the responders are either married or single. The fact that the majority of the respondents are young explains this. Therefore, most of the responders are in reproductive age, due to their youth. The majority of responders had 1-4 children. This suggests, according to UNFPA-CONJUVE (2020), that Guatemala's fertility has been

declining for decades. The global fertility rate in 1987 was 5.6 children per woman of reproductive age, with urban fertility rates lower and rural fertility rates higher. In 2015, the number of children per woman had reduced to 3.1, with urban areas once again outnumbering rural areas.

Also, Guatemala has the lowest unemployment rate in Latin America, but the COVID-19 pandemic is projected to result in a large increase in the number of unemployed people. Therefore, people will begin to explore for alternatives such as self-employment. Also known as informal employment, which is not protected by social security (access to health insurance and/or professional risks). It is also low-paying, and concentrated in tiny economic units, that has been expanding in size and relative weight relative to the overall occupation (Organizacion Internacional del Trabajo, 2021).

It is also worth noting that it does not just refer to it as a result of the pandemic. The survey shows that there are also students, who often do not have the time to be able to work full time or have a formal job, so to earn a little money, they set up their own businesses. The same for those who are housewives, who also appear in the table. Besides, the majority of respondents did not answer to the question about type of employment. As previously stated, there are some respondents who are still studying, so they will most likely be unable to work. There are also the housewives, who, had some marked it, but there are likely to be others who did not want to repeat it since they had already put it in the prior question.

Also included are those who previously stated that they were unemployed. Respondents who stated that they were retired are also included. There are also others who work independently, who may or may not have a formal employment, but instead sell items online or through a catalog, among other things. Besides, there are individuals who just did not wish to respond to this question; as previously said, this survey was completely voluntary, and respondents were not required to answer all of the questions. With this information, we can determine how the survey participant appears. Guatemalan woman, 30 years old. With a high school diploma as the highest degree of schooling. Who is married and has two children. She is also self-employed. Additionally, we will continue with perceptions of violence against women in Guatemala.

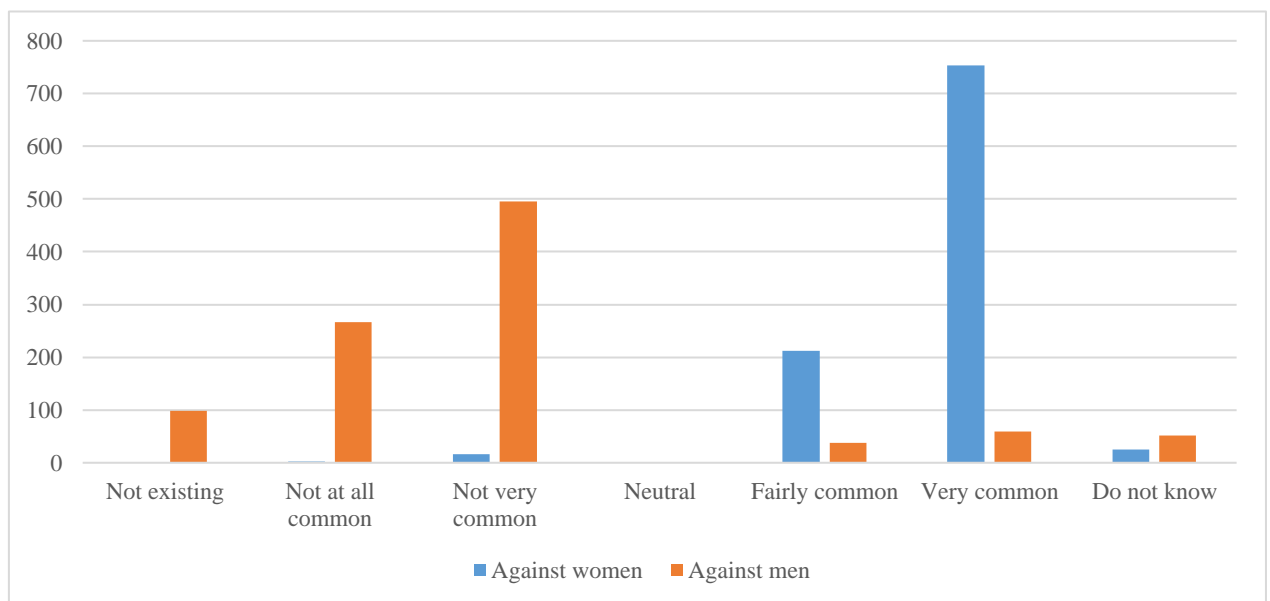


Figure 3. Comparison between domestic violence between men and women. Source: Author.

There is a significant gap in thinking among respondents when it comes to comparing domestic violence against women versus domestic violence against men. Domestic violence against women is perceived to be more common than domestic violence against men, as shown in graph 3. This is because men are not allowed to be like women in patriarchal societies, as it is explained in the first chapter, mostly from the feminist theory. Domestic abuse against men is supposed to be unthinkable since men are perceived as more authoritative and powerful (Balbinotti, 2018). If a man admits to being a victim of domestic violence, he will very certainly be scorned, mocked, and dismissed. Men are subjects founded on the refusal to identify with the other body; they are the antithesis of otherness, a crucial component of the dichotomy that must not be merged with the other gender. This rhetoric energizes and directs men toward a hegemonic masculinity that defines what it is and is not to be a man (Fernandez, 2019).

The masculine ideal is founded on a privileged idea replete with perks and rights, positioning what is considered feminine as the dominated element to which no one should strive. In this sense, the term "man" becomes entangled in a conceptual tangle that elevates the male gender to a position of dominance. This occurs because men are constantly judged by their peers (Fernandez, 2019). Manhood, virility, honor, bravery, bragging about their sexual conquests, and brawling acts are all demonstrations that must be performed on a regular basis to earn approval within the male category, but never if they are subjected to violence (Trujillo, 2019). This is why such violence is referred to as quiet violence (Rojas-Solis et al., 2019). Unfortunately, there is currently little information available.

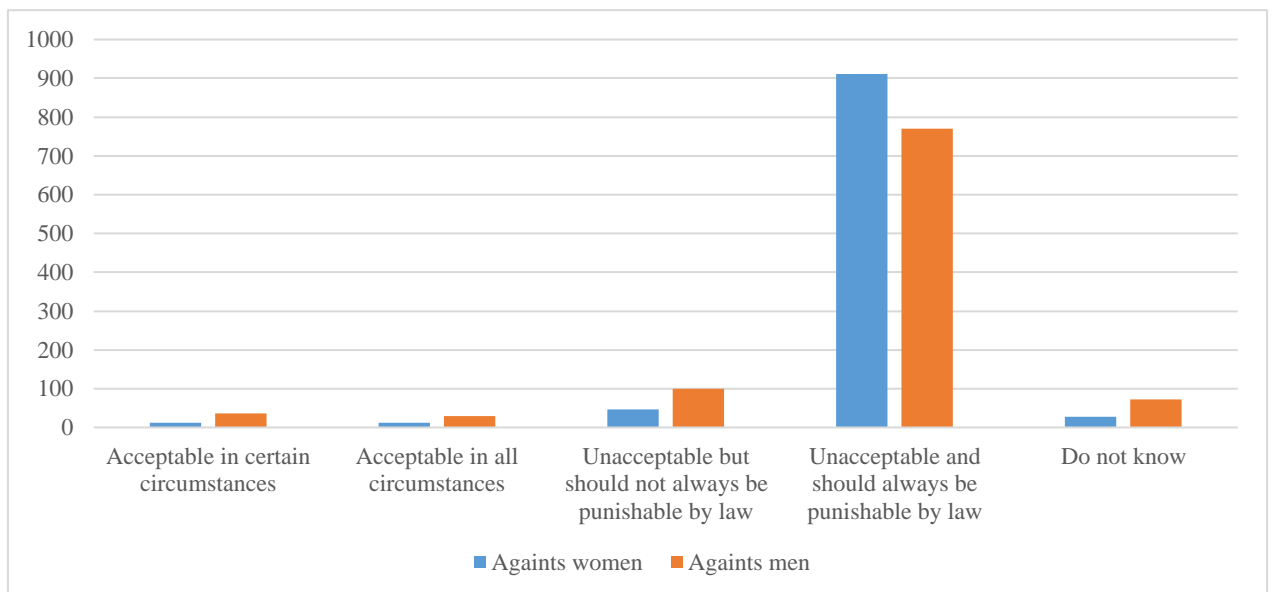


Figure 4. Comparison between acceptance of domestic violence by men and women. Source: Author.

In terms of whether domestic violence against women and domestic violence against men is acceptable or unacceptable, figure 4 shows that the majority of respondents agreed that both are objectionable. However, if we examine closer, we can see that there are more respondents who believe that domestic violence against women is completely unacceptable. While domestic violence against men receives less responses in this item. Furthermore, it is clear from this graph that respondents fill out more other options when it comes to violence against males than against women.

This confirms what it was explained in the second chapter; since, something like this happening to men is unthinkable in a patriarchal society. Because a true man cannot stand it when his wife hits him or refuses to follow him. A man must appear as the leader of the house to his friends if not he will lose his macho reputation. Society obviously believes that all forms of violence, whether directed at men or women, are evil and should be condemned (Trujillo, 2019). This is something we can all agree on. However, violence against men receives little attention. Because violence against women is more prevalent than violence against males. When we deny male victims their rights, however, we are discriminating against them based on their gender.

We are losing sight of the fact that violence is not natural (but learned), that it is directed and planned, and that it is motivated by power, abuse, and control (Balbinotti, 2018)). In this way, the patriarchal system not only wields power and brutality against women. Even while women are disproportionately afflicted by violence and sexual inequity, men are constantly subjected to the fear of expulsion from the masculine category, as well as strong symbolic violence and social pressure (Varela, et al., 2020).

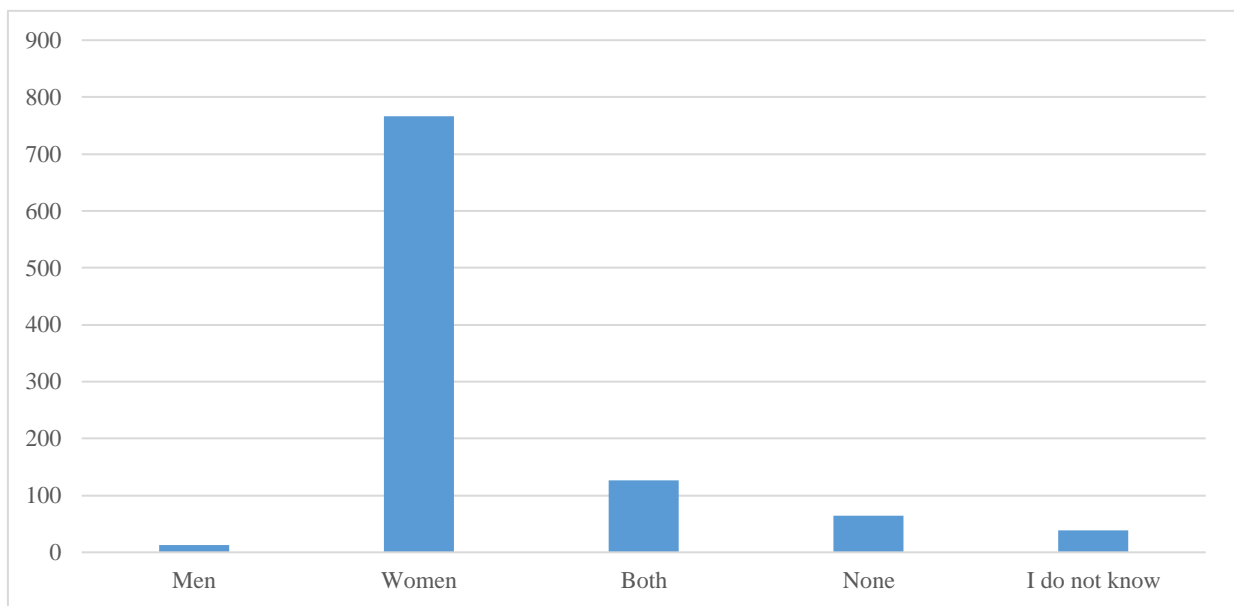


Figure 5. Personal knowledge of a victim of domestic violence. Source: Author.

In graph 5, we can see that the majority of respondents claimed they know someone who has been a victim of domestic violence, and that the victim is female. This analysis confirms what we explained in the first chapter, where we explained about the social-structural perspective. Since, this is due to the fact that in married life, there is an imbalance of power or difficulty in performing tasks; differences in age, social origin, and academic, economic, or professional level are all potential sources of conflict that generate violence within the framework of the partnership (Buitrago, 2016).

According to Victor Perez (2019), partner abuse is primarily committed by him against her, because in some civilizations, such as patriarchal societies, hitting the wife is regarded a result of the man's right to physically punish his wife. Furthermore, as previously stated, males are not allowed to feel, they are not allowed to be victims, thus they do not discuss it if they are victims of violence for fear of humiliation and rejection, for fear of being condemned. Men are associated with a set of commonly held societal norms, including the rejection of femininity, emotional restraint, the pursuit of achievement and prestige, sex divorced from intimacy, violence, homophobia, and so on. In contrast to the ideals assigned to the female identity, the male identity is established mostly through

relationships (Buitrago, 2016). The masculine value is always placed first and has a positive value, while the feminine value has a negative value: strong-weak, brave-cowardly, rational-emotional, social-natural, productive-reproductive, public-private, active-passive, dominant-submissive, aggressor-victim (Agudelo-Velez, 2018).

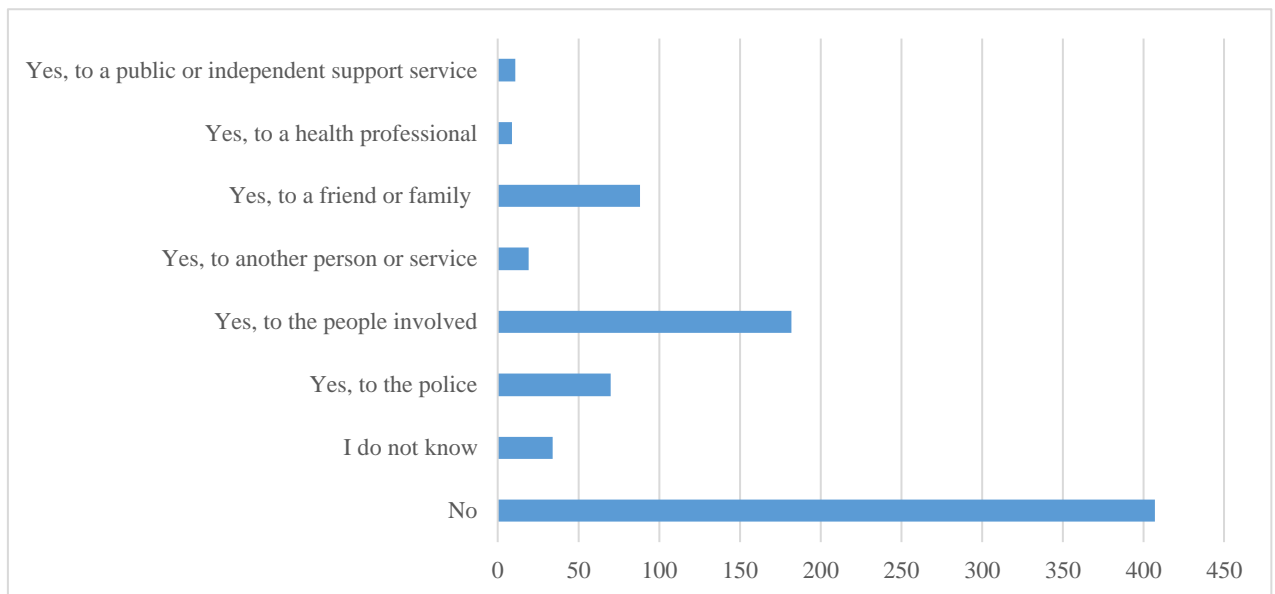


Figure 6. If the respondents talk about knowing a victim. Source: Author.

Figure 6 shows that, despite knowing someone who is a victim of domestic violence, the majority of respondents choose not to say anything. As previously said in the second chapter, in Guatemala, in addition to a culture of silent, there is also a culture of non-complaint. In truth, violence against women in Guatemala is distinguished by its concealment, normalcy, and impunity (Perez, 2019). The justification or authorization of the violence committed constitutes the normalcy of violence against women. In this regard, patriarchal culture tolerates male violence when its goal is to "correct" behaviors that do not match the conventional role of women as mother, wife, and housewife.

Furthermore, he defends his dominance by intervening or controlling the woman's life or by using various forms of violence against the one who disobeys or triggers traditional gender limits (Caballero-Mariscal, 2018). Domestic violence, partner violence, and sexual abuse of acquaintances, family members, or strangers are seen as events that belong in the private domain, where others, including authorities, must not intervene. When discussing impunity, remember that if domestic violence or violence between couples is excused as "normal" or a "private concern," it cannot be viewed as a violation of women's rights and hence is not criminal (Arriola, 2021).

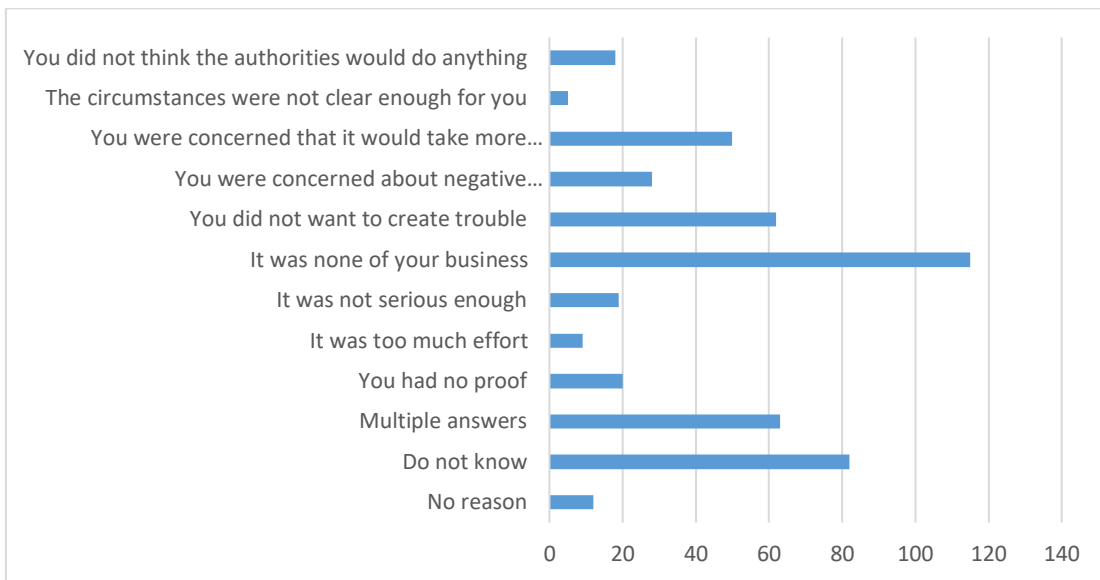


Figure 7. The reasons why respondents choose not to speak about it. Source: Author.

Figure 7 explains why respondents opted not to discuss a friend who is a victim of domestic violence. According to the data, the majority chose not to comment for the simple reason that it was none of their business. Another reason they did not speak up was that they did not want to create a bigger problem or were concerned that the victim would face harsher punishment. And this, as revealed in the second chapter, validates what we previously stated regarding the culture of silence in Guatemala.

According to Maria Illescas et al., (2018), half of the victims of violent attacks do not report them or provide testimony because they do not believe it is useful or are frightened of the victimizer's retaliation. Furthermore, in many cases, relatives of the victims are discouraged from denouncing the crime due to the hostility they face or the denigration directed towards the victim about her ethical conduct or manner of dress, in addition to the social stigmatization that may accompany the death of a woman in violent circumstances. This confirms what Esther Pineda (2019) explains in the second chapter. The author expounds that the victims, as well as their relatives and friends, choose to remain silent because they believe that nothing will be resolved or because they are terrified of repercussions.

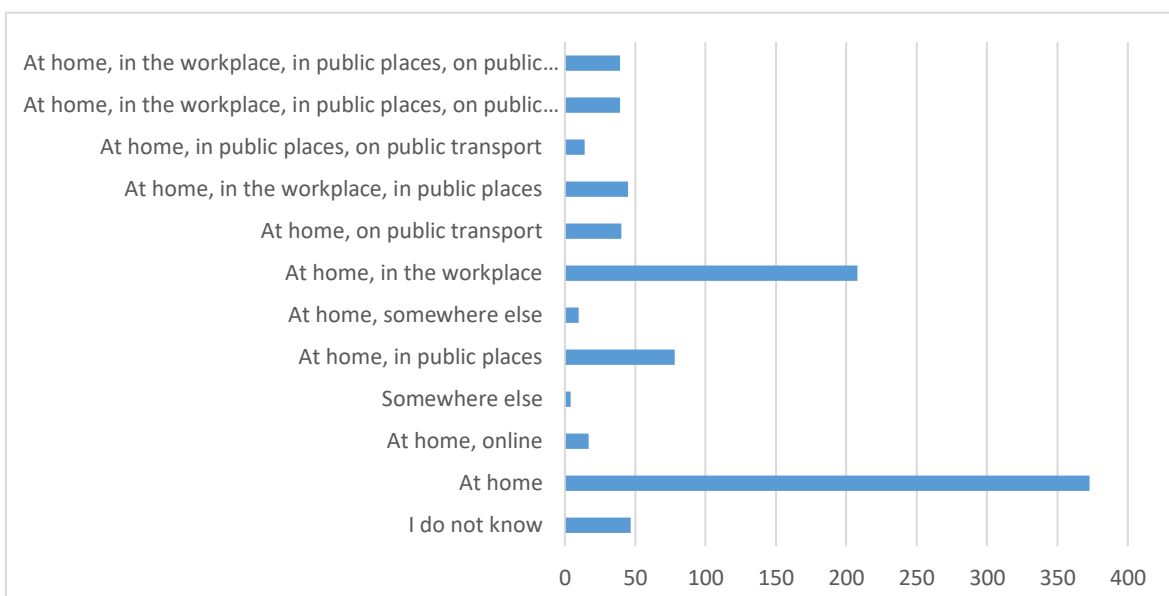


Figure 8. The place where is most likely to occur violence against women. Source: Author.

The figure 8 shows that the majority of respondents believed that the house is the most unsafe area for women. According to the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime's 2018 report on gender-related killings of women and girls, almost 50,000 of the estimated 87,000 women murdered in 2017 died at the hands of their partners (current or past partners) or family members. It also claims that 137 women are killed in their homes every day by members of their families.

This situation was exacerbated by the pandemic, which forced many to stay at home. According to UN Women's report Covid-19 and its Impact on Violence Against Women and Girls (2020), confinement and restriction of movement have resulted in higher levels of stress, economic and food insecurity, a decrease in income and unemployment, all of which contribute to domestic violence and limit relief, containment, and health measures. Therefore, it is regarded as one of the most heinous forms of human violence; those who perpetrate it are people united by close ties of consanguinity, affinity, or kinship; as a result, the expectation is a relationship in which there is mutual affection, love, and respect rather than hurt or sadness (Mayor and Salazar, 2019).

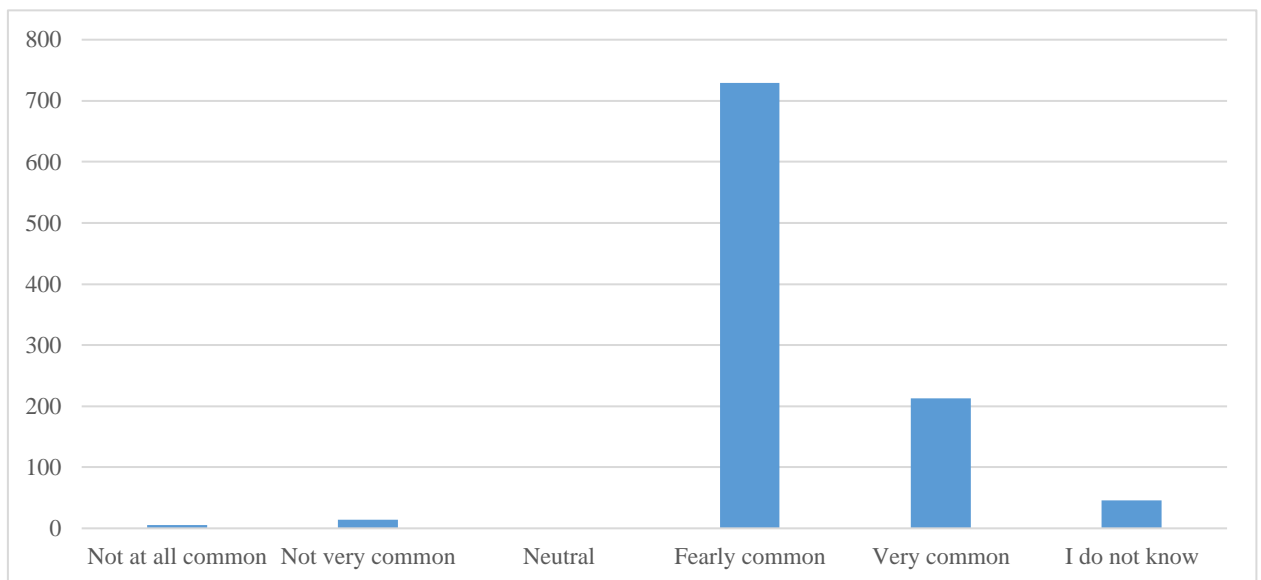


Figure 9. If sexual harassment against women in Guatemala is common. Source: Author.

Figure 9 shows that the majority of respondents in Guatemala agreed that sexual harassment is widespread. Sexual harassment is described as unwanted or uninvited sexual approaches, sexual favor requests, or other verbal or physical sexual interaction that creates a hostile or uncomfortable environment. It can also be viewed as a kind of violence towards women (as well as men who may be sexually harassed) and discrimination. The phrase "unwanted" is an important aspect of the definition (Veliz and Valenzuela, 2020). According to an International Labor Organization (ILO) research, sexual harassment is inextricably associated with power and frequently occurs in civilizations that consider women as sex objects and second-class citizens. When women are requested for sexual favors in exchange for a job or a promotion, for example (International Labor Organization, 2019). Another example is street harassment, which can include everything from catcalls to vulgar and disrespectful words to sexual abuse and rape.

It is critical to understand that sexual harassment is not the same as flirting or having a mutually agreed-upon relationship (Veliz and Valenzuela, 2020). It is an undesired, offensive, and upsetting

action that can be physically and emotionally harmful in particular settings. The victim may feel frightened, uneasy, embarrassed, or threatened. Therefore, the Observatorio contra el acoso callejero en Guatemala (Ocacgt) conducted a mapping of street harassment in Guatemala. Women are disproportionately victimized by street harassment, which includes praises, whistles, lewd stares, profanity, sexual comments, shaking hands, and other forms of assault on streets, avenues, and public transportation. According to this observatory, sexual harassment occurs in Guatemalan colleges (public or private), businesses, parks, streets, alleys, and public transit (Guatemalan Observatory Against Street Harassment, 2018). This supports what was stated in the first chapter: violence against women happens in both the private and public realms in Guatemala.

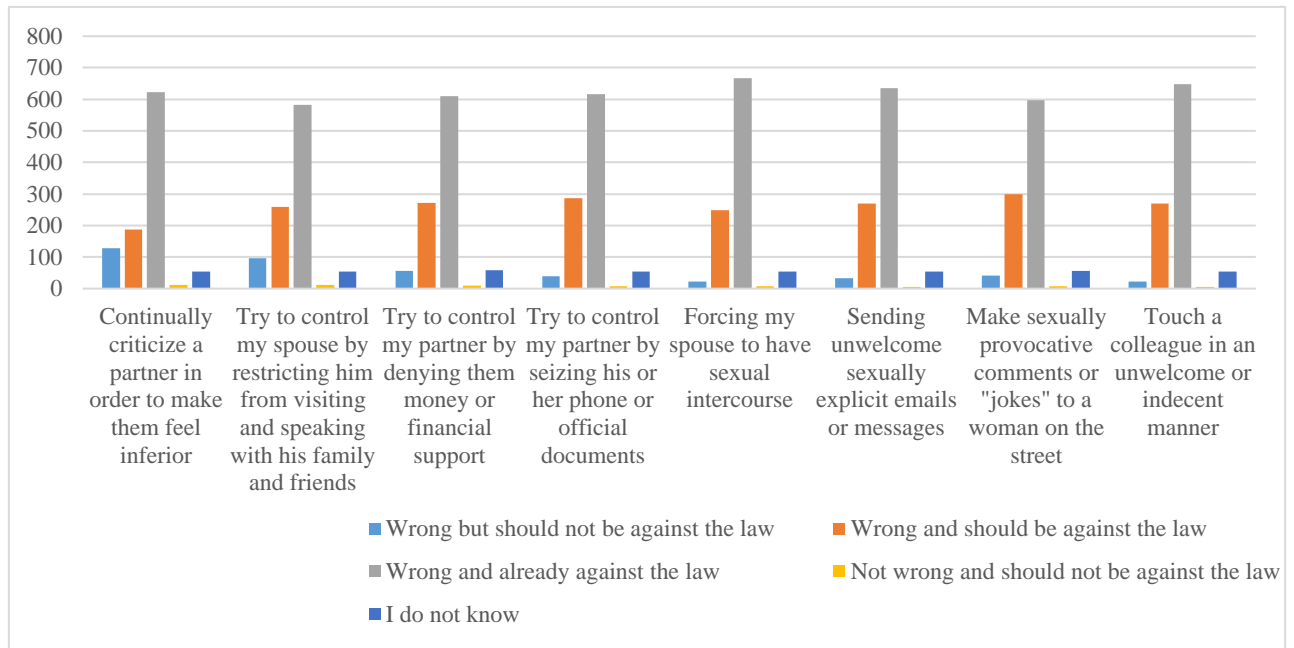


Figure 10. Whether respondents believe it is illegal or not, the following statements are true. Source: Author.

Figure 10 asks the respondents whether they believe the various objects stated should be illegal or not. As can be seen, the majority of respondents stated that the sexual harassment depicted in the graphic is all harmful and already illegal. Sexual harassment can take many forms. It involves both physical violence and more subtle types of violence, such as compulsion, which is pushing someone to do something they do not want to do (Veliz and Valenzuela, 2020). Long-term harassment might take the shape of recurrent sexual "jokes," constant (unwelcome) offers to go on a date, or unwanted sexual flirtation. And it might be a single occurrence, such as unwanted touching or stroking, or it can be sexual abuse or rape (Veliz and Valenzuela, 2020).

However, sexual harassment is not yet considered a crime in Guatemala, as demonstrated in the second chapter. In fact, no victim of sexual harassment is ever accompanied. This is due to the difficulty in obtaining a conviction for a victim of sexual harassment, because it is difficult to frame the type of violence perpetrated against them (Ramirez, 2019). As previously stated in the second chapter, the Guatemalan leadership are aware of the accusations that have been made public, but the deputies are uninterested in learning about a law that addresses this violence. Although various measures have been introduced in the past to outlaw sexual harassment and thereby get convictions for those who violate women in public places, educational facilities, streets, or avenues. However, there is no law that punishes them as of yet. The last bill was presented in November 2019, but it has not been known in plenary since then, hence it has not been known in any legislative body

(Valenzuela, 2021). According to Andrea Gutierrez and Keila Mejía (2016), the societal elements that cause and perpetuate sexual harassment in public settings are undetectable because of their daily lives and what people are accustomed to. The cultural norms and social ideas accepted and absorbed in various places (family, place of study, workplace, and others) foster macho behavior patterns established in Guatemalan society.

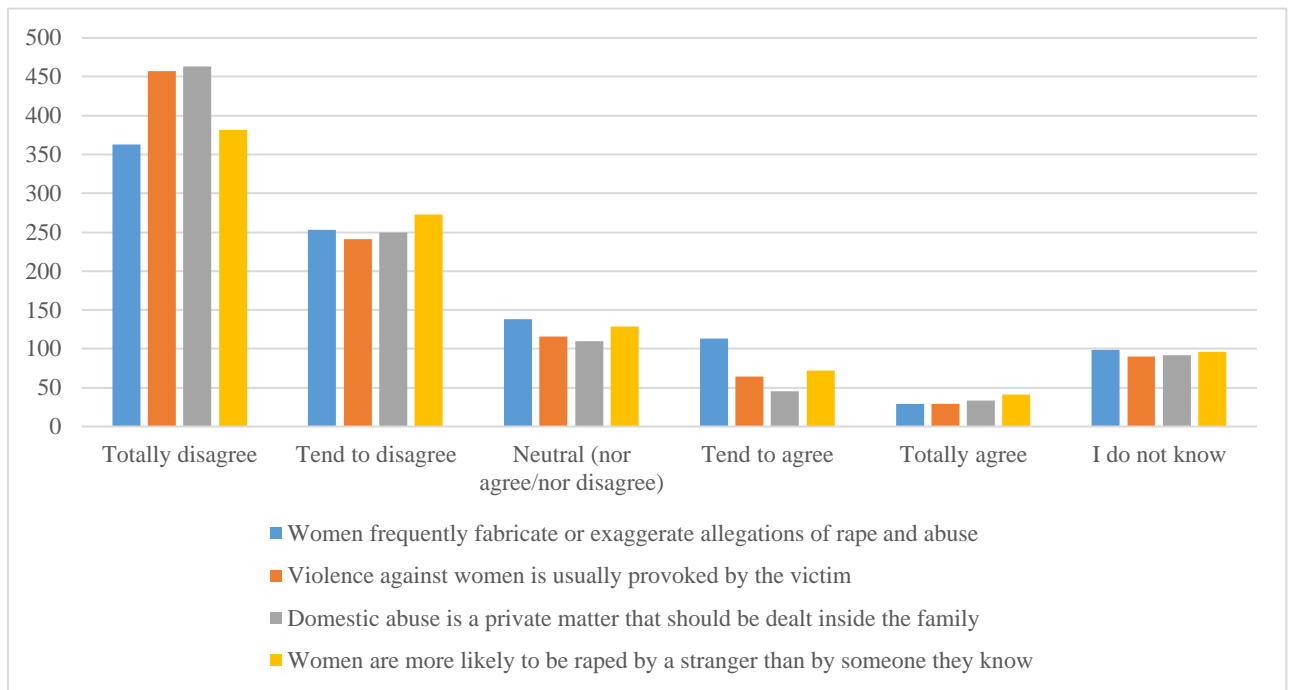


Figure 11. Whether respondents agree or disagree with the following statement. Source: Author.

In relation to graph 11, we can observe that respondents disagree with various societal stereotypes. The belief that the victim was attacked because she provoked the assailant through her actions, habits, or customs. Nothing could be further from the truth, because the aggressor's behavior is influenced by a variety of personal or social factors, the most important of which are having been subjected to violence as a child, low self-esteem, integration or economic problems, insecurity, and family formation (stereotypes). This is due to the aggressor's environment and her relationship with him, not the victim (Connor et al., 2016).

One intriguing finding is that respondents disagree that violence against women is most often perpetrated by someone close to them rather than a stranger, and that violence against women should be dealt with privately, indicating a divergence with past responses. Figure 6 shows that the majority of people did not disclose knowing a victim of violence because they considered it was none of their concern, because they see violence, especially domestic violence, as something private that must be resolved between the couples (Illescas et al., 2018).

And, as seen in figure 7, when asked where the majority of violence against women occurs, the majority of respondents said at home. This would imply that it is carried out by a family member or a close friend. Thus, the notion that domestic violence is a private matter that should be resolved solely by those affected. Society assumes that those outside the family do not have or have the right to intervene; nonetheless, it is vital to note that, while it is a private and family affair, it is also a problem with societal effects that should be understood by the authority when appropriate (Mayor and Salazar, 2019).

As for most women fabricate or exaggerate their allegations of assault. Many persons who have been raped or sexually assaulted report strong memories of the attack's sights, sounds, and smells, even if it occurred decades ago. However, when asked to recall exactly what time of day it was or where they were at a given time, details police and prosecutor frequently rely on to prove the facts of a crime, they may struggle or contradict themselves, undercutting their own testimony (Harber et al, 2015). There is a sad disparity between what is anticipated in the criminal justice system and the nature of traumatic memories and how they are frequently reported (Mejía, 2016).

This is because traumatic memories are retained differently than everyday recollections. Our bodies are overwhelmed with stress chemicals during a stressful experience. These cause our brains to focus on the present moment rather than the big picture (Harber et al, 2015). When under attack, it is important to concentrate on what you are feeling, which prepares you to fight, flee, or freeze, rather than on the greater meaning. It is also known that when people dissociate after a traumatic event, a cognitive part of the brain shuts down and becomes numb, exacerbating the fragmentation process and making their memories very present (Veliz and Valenzuela, 2020).

This outcome contradicts what was said in the second chapter. Because we can see from the results that the respondents do not believe in the stereotypes that are prevalent in patriarchal society. Although we believe that the respondents are aware of these preconceptions and that they know they are incorrect in principle, they do not put them into practice in reality. In other words, they recognize that it is incorrect to suppose that a woman is fabricating, say, rape claims, but when a victim comes forward to speak the truth, people dispute her claim. This is supported by the following analysis.

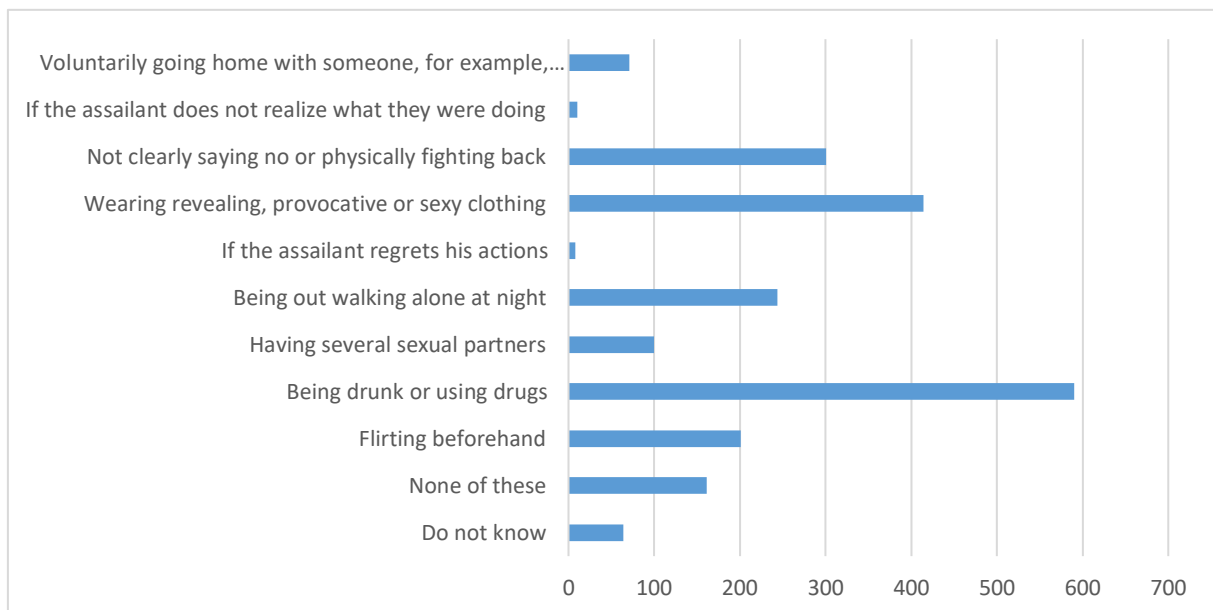


Figure 12. If respondents believe that having sexual intercourse without consent may be justified in certain situations. Source: Author.

This was the most shocking response in the entire study. We can see from the previous responses that the respondents believe that various acts of violence should be penalized by law. However, as shown in Figure 12, respondents think that having sexual intercourse without consent might be justifiable for a variety of reasons. The attribution of culpability to victims of sexual violence is a prevalent practice in which, they are accused of causing and being partially accountable for the crimes to which they have been subjected (Harber et al, 2015).

For the victims, this attribution of responsibility is perceived as an extra act of violence, resulting in a cycle of double victimization, self-blame, silencing, and mistrust, which ultimately impedes reporting and justice. All of this perpetuates the myths, prejudices, and ideas that underpin gender violence (Harber et al., 2015). These views are clearly unfavorable in tone and result in explicitly discriminatory behavior toward women.

Hostile sexism is characterized by dislike, intolerance, and an express desire for women's subordination. Because of its blatant antagonism toward women, hostile sexism is often related with views about blaming the victim in violent situations, as well as the belief that violence is also merited by the victim (Barjola, 2018). When discussing the attribution of blame to the victim of violence, it is also crucial to consider a component that is fundamental to its comprehension: the perpetuation of myths about sexual assault (Connor et al., 2016).

Sexual violence myths are characterized as the acceptance of a set of attitudes, stereotypes, and erroneous or distorted ideas about the victim, the attacker, and the circumstances surrounding the incident of violence. Because these myths are socially shared, they might be seen as social representations (Feldman et al., 2018). These are systems of values, ideas, and practices that serve a dual purpose: (1) they establish an order that allows individuals to manage and perceive control over the social world, and (2) they allow communication between members of a community by providing a code that allows situations to be classified without ambiguity (Feldman et al., 2018).

Thus, perpetuating these misconceptions encourages biased attributions about the victim and results in a climate of suspicion and hatred against the victim of sexual abuse (Janos and Agustin, 2018). In the graph, components of external attribution are employed to legitimize the aggressor's behavior in addition to holding the victim responsible. Three elements are combined in these circumstances. On the one hand, there is the assumption that men have difficulty to control sexual instincts. On the other side, the aggressor's use of drink or drugs, which prevents the man from suppressing his sexual urges. In addition, the provocative behavior of the woman is included as a trigger aspect of the man's sexual urges (Janos and Agustin, 2018).

The analysis confirms what Dora Munevar (2018) explains in the second chapter of this thesis: violence against women in Guatemala has become so common that it's difficult to remove it because it doesn't get enough support, even from other women. Guatemalan society attempts to excuse violent acts by falling prey to myths and prejudices. In this sense, if a woman is subjected to assault, she is to blame; she should take care of herself or be more responsible, whereas the man is left unpunished.

3.3. Limitations

This section describes the research's limitations. The limitations highlight potential issues that may limit the breadth, sphere of validity, and achievement of some of the research's aims, without jeopardizing its viability (Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2016).

Therefore, we can start mentioning accessibility; due to the distance, it was not able to reach the population of Guatemalans living in various cities throughout the country. However, this is due to the lack of funding support for this research. Nonetheless, thanks to technological advances, the study could be conducted with the residents of Guatemala City. According to national statistics, more than half of Guatemalans in the city own a phone or computer with Internet access.

Furthermore, because the study was descriptive, no connections could be drawn between variables. However, the main goal of the research was just to see if there was any connection between the theoretical and actual data, therefore a correlation analysis was not really essential. Besides, there was not enough time to conduct this type of research. In addition, because the investigation has just one author, conducting a more comprehensive study is nearly difficult, at least for the time being. Thus, it is hoped that the same researcher or another researcher interested in the subject will continue the work in the future.

Moreover, because the survey was not conducted in person, the questions can be interpreted differently. However, in order to avoid this as much as possible, the survey was first emailed to a small sample of people so that they could complete it and provide feedback. After then, the survey was open to the public, and individuals were told that any opinions they had were welcome.

Likewise, it is likely that certain survey questions may be skipped. However, as previously said, the survey was entirely optional, thus they could not be forced to answer all of the questions if the respondents did not like to. The instructions emphasized that they had the right to omit any questions that they did not feel comfortable answering, and that they might stop filling out the questionnaire at any time. This is in order to the investigation's ethics.

3.4. Recommendations

The recommendations will be carried out in this part based on the research. First, it will make recommendations to future researchers; then to the Guatemalan government and to the state institutions; and finally, to the Guatemalan women.

For future researchers:

- Future researchers are encouraged to continue researching violence against women, as there are more cases every day in Guatemala, but fewer investigations.
- We also suggested that the public perception studies be continued. If financing is available, try to reach out to multiple Guatemalan communities to obtain a broader perception of the situation.
- A survey must be conducted to identify how many women have been victims of violence and what they have done.
- We also encourage new academics to conduct correlations studies to discover if gender, age, type of profession, and educational level have any bearing on how violence against women is seen in Guatemala.

To the state of Guatemala:

- It is asked to pay attention to violence against women, as this sort of violence should be dealt with special care.
- The state must comply with the legal duties arising from international human rights conventions pertaining to the abolition of all forms of violence against women, as well as national laws.

- The state must ensure that all rights are exercised and that laws are followed.
- The state of Guatemala shall consult women in the process of planning, monitoring, and evaluating public policies, as well as the formulation and/or revision of legislation, to ensure their rights.
- Laws empowering women, gender equality laws, and a law punishing sexual harassment should be enacted. Like firms being required to recruit the same number of men and women, having the right to abortion, maternity leave, among others.
- The state should provide institutions with the resources to ensure that women's care meets availability, accessibility, quality, and adaptation standards in all public services, particularly the justice system. Institutions should not wait until a woman's body is discovered to start acting.

To national institutions:

- They must use all available methods and means to disseminate human rights instruments for the protection of women in a comprehensible manner. Therefore, this dissemination will lead to women's empowerment.
- Institutions must train and equip public officials and justice operators on problems of gender equality, multiculturalism, and human rights.
- Institutions must strengthen their disciplinary processes and internal controls in order to report and punish public officials who commit acts of discrimination or fail to comply with the requirements imposed on them in respect to women.

To women:

- This study is for you. Therefore, we advise you not to keep silent, but to speak up as much as possible while you still have the opportunity. Many women no longer have the opportunity to speak, but for them and all women, we must raise our voices. The more you discuss it, the more attention it will receive. Do not be scared; the more unite you are, the simpler it will be for change to occur. Remember the phrase "ni una menos."

Conclusions

1. Four alternative theories about violence against women were investigated in this thesis. In the end, the feminist theory was chosen as the theory to address the analysis of violence against women. This theory divides this type of violence into three dimensions, demonstrating its complexity. Political action and governance of violence, which is defined as the institutional response to violence that either reproduces or inhibits it; social structures, which are classified as unequal and discriminatory or democratic and equitable based on social class, ethnicity, and gender; and the dynamics of social and personal relationships that result in violent practices embodied in sexualized bodies. As a result, the complex character of violence united the concepts of power, politics, culture, and the body at the same time.
2. In Guatemala's history, violence against women has been a recurring theme. The patriarchal and conservative culture has maintained this abuse as a means of subordination and control of the lives and bodies of Guatemalan women. Along with the effects of fear inherited from the civil war, Guatemala not only has a culture of violence, but also a culture of fear. That makes the situation faced for Guatemalan women increasingly difficult. This makes Guatemala one of the countries with the highest rate of violent deaths of women. The phenomenon demonstrates that women suffer simply because they are women, regardless of age, race, social status, or financial status.
3. While Guatemala has made significant progress in developing standards and specialized courts to handle violence against women, as well as education to improve authorities' responses to these situations, more work remains to be done. The Guatemalan justice system remains discriminatory and misogynistic. It also violates international human rights conventions on the subject, as well as perpetuating impunity and re-victimizing victims of abuse.
4. The empirical investigation reveals that Guatemalan society has remained unchanged after the end of the civil war. Although the general public appears to be aware of the violence against women, it is clear that patriarchal traditions still exist in Guatemala, as evidenced by the theoretical study along with the survey. In Guatemala, the social disadvantage position for women is so severe that the perpetrator is excused while the victim is condemned. If they are wearing particularly revealing clothing, or if they have had many partners, the victim is discredited, and the complaint is called into doubt. As a result, victims and those who are aware of victims prefer to remain silent. Violence against women is viewed by society as an issue that must be addressed; nevertheless, it must remain private, which is incompatible with pursuing justice for victims and reeducating society.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Guatemalans' opinions toward violence against women survey

Hello, my name is Maria Fernanda Medina and I am master's student at Kaunas University of Technology in Lithuania. I am conducting a survey as part of my master's thesis. The purpose of this survey is to learn about the Guatemalan public's perceptions of violence against women. As part of the research project, your research data will be analyzed and it will be included in my master's thesis after that. This survey is voluntary and confidential. That means that if you do not feel like answering the questions you do not have to, and if you feel like stopping part way through that is okay, you can stop at any time. It also implies that only the researcher will be aware of your responses. There are no wrong answers. Please answer the statements as truthfully as possible for you. You will be asked to complete a questionnaire which contains 21 questions about your age, marital status, whether you are a parent, work status, and opinion on violence against women in Guatemala, that I anticipate will take 15 minutes to complete.

This survey can help create a better and safer Guatemala for women in the future, and it can also assist our authorities to take action. Thank you for your time!

Age: what is your age?

Under 18

18-24

25-34

35-44

45-54

55 years or older

Gender: female/male/other

Ethnic: Ladino/Maya/Xinka/Garifuna

City: Guatemala/other

Region: Capital/Amatitlan/Chinautla/Chuarrancho/Fraijanes/ Mixco/ Palencia/ San Jose del Golfo/ San Jose Pínula/ San Juan Sacatepequez/ San Miguel Petapa/ San Pedro Ayampuc/ San Pedro Sacatepequez/ San Raymundo/ Santa Catarina Pínula/ Villa Canales/ Villa Nueva.

Education:

No schooling completed

Elementary

High school

Some college credit, no degree

Trade/technical/vocational training

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree

Professional degree

Doctoral degree

Marital status:

Single, never married

Married or domestic partnership

Widowed

Divorced/ separated

How many children do you have?

None

1

2-4

More than 4

Employment status:

Part-time

Full-time

Self-employed

Home-maker

Student

Unemployed

Other (please specify)

Describe your industry:

Technology/software

Government

Healthcare

Education

Other (please specify)

Q1. In general, how common do you think that domestic violence against women is in Guatemala? (One answer only)

Very common

Fairly common

Not very common

Not at all common

Not existing

Do not know

Q2. In general, how common do you think that domestic violence against men is in Guatemala? (One answer only)

Very common

Fairly common

Not very common

Not at all common

Not existing

Do not know

Q3. In your opinion, domestic violence against women is... (One answer only)

Acceptable in all circumstances

Acceptable in certain circumstances

Unacceptable but should not always be punishable by law

Unacceptable and should always be punishable by law

Do not know

Other

Q4. In your opinion, domestic violence against men is... (One answer only)

Acceptable in all circumstances

Acceptable in certain circumstances

Unacceptable but should not always be punishable by law

Unacceptable and should always be punishable by law

Do not know

Other

Q5a. Do you know of any men or women who have been a victim of any form of domestic violence?

Men

Women

Both

Neither

Do not know

Q5b. Where do you know the victim of domestic violence from?

He/she is my immediate of friends and family

He/she lives in my neighborhood

We belong in the same work/study place

If you know someone who has been a victim

Q5c. Did you speak to anyone about this? (Multiple answers possible)

Yes, to the people involved

Yes, to the police

Yes, to a public or independent support service

Yes, to a health professional

Yes, to a friend or a family member

Yes, to another person or service

No

Do not know

Other

If you did not speak to anyone about it

Q5d. Did you not speak to anyone for any of the following reason? (Multiple answers possible)

It is or was none of your business

You were concerned about negative consequences for myself or retaliation

You were concerned that it would take more consequences for the victim or retaliation

You did not want to create trouble

It was not serious enough

It was too much effort

The circumstances were not clear enough for you

You did not think the authorities would do anything

You had no proof

No reason

Do not know

Q6. Have you heard of any of the following support services for women who are victim of domestic violence?

El Instituto de la Defensa Publica Penal (IDPP) línea [tel.1571]

Ministerio Publico [tel.1572]

La Policia Nacional Civil (PNC) línea [tel.110]

El Organismo Judicial [tel.1549 o al 24267000]

Procuraduria general de la nación [tel.24148787 y 49963754]

Procuraduria de derechos humanos [tel.155]

Colectivo vida independiente [tel.22202660]

Centro de apoyo integral para la mujer [tel.40666125]

CrimeStoppers en el sitio <https://www.tupista.gt/denuncias/violencia-domestica/>

Fundacion sobrevivientes [tel.48099562]

No, you have not heard of any support service

Do not know

Other

Q7. In your view, where is violence against women more likely to occur? (Max. 2 answers)

At home

In the workplace

In schools and universities

In public places

On public transport

Online

Somewhere else

Do not know

Q8. In general, how common do you think sexual harassment against women is in Guatemala? (one answer only)

Very common

Fairly common

Not very common

Not at all common

Not present

Do not know

Q9. For each of the following situations, please tell me whether you think it is against the law or not. (One answer per line)

Q9b. Repeatedly criticizing a partner to make them feel inferior

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q9c. Trying to control a partner by preventing them from seeing and contacting family and friends

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q9d Trying to control a partner by denying them money or financial support

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q9e Trying to control a partner by confiscating mobile phones or official documents (driver's license, ID, etc.)

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q9f. Forcing a partner to have sex

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q9g. Sending unwanted sexually explicit emails or messages

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q9h. Making sexually suggestive comments or "jokes" to a woman in the street

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q9i. Touching a colleague in an inappropriate or unwanted way

Wrong and already against the law

Wrong and should be against the law

Wrong but should not be against the law

Not wrong and should not be against the law

Do not know

Q10. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements? (One answer per line)

Q10b. Women often make up or exaggerate claims of abuse or rape

Totally agree

Tend to agree

Neutral nor agree/nor disagree

Tend to disagree

Totally disagree

Do not know

Q10c. Violence against women is often provoked by the victim

Totally agree

Tend to agree

Neutral nor agree/nor disagree

Tend to disagree

Totally disagree

Do not know

Q10d. Domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family

Totally agree

Tend to agree

Neutral nor agree/nor disagree

Tend to disagree

Totally disagree

Do not know

Q10e. Women are more likely to be raped by a stranger than someone they know

Totally agree

Tend to agree

Neutral nor agree/nor disagree

Tend to disagree

Totally disagree

Do not know

Q11. Some people believe that having sexual intercourse without consent may be justified in certain situations. Do you think this applies to the following circumstances? (Multiple answers possible)

Wearing revealing, provocative or sexy clothing

Being drunk or using drugs

Flirting beforehand

Not clearly saying no or physically fighting back

Being out walking alone at night

Having several sexual partners

Voluntarily going home with someone, for example, after party or date

If the assailant does not realize what they were doing

If the assailant regrets his actions

None of these

Do not know

Appendix 2. Survey's tables

Table 1. Respondents' gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	.1	.1	.1
Female	887	87.6	87.6	87.7
Male	117	11.6	11.6	99.3
I would rather not say	7	.7	.7	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 2. Respondents' ages

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	.1	.1	.1
18-24	257	25.4	25.4	25.5
25-34	369	36.5	36.5	62.0
35-44	184	18.2	18.2	80.1
45-54	131	12.9	12.9	93.1
+55	47	4.6	4.6	97.7
-18	23	2.3	2.3	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 3. Responders' City of Residence

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	1.0	1.0	1.0
Guatemala	977	96.5	96.5	97.5
Other	25	2.5	2.5	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 4. The Respondent's Highest Level of Education

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	.1	.1	.1
High school	411	40.6	40.6	40.7
Secondary education	178	17.6	17.6	58.3
Trade/technical/vocational training	33	3.3	3.3	61.6
Bachelor's degree	95	9.4	9.4	70.9
Master's degree	32	3.2	3.2	74.1
Primary education	63	6.2	6.2	80.3

No schooling completed	16	1.6	1.6	81.9
Professional degree	183	18.1	18.1	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 5. Respondents' marital status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	25	2.5	2.5	2.5
Married/Domestic partnership	491	48.5	48.5	51.0
Divorced/Separated	66	6.5	6.5	57.5
Single	422	41.7	41.7	99.2
Widowed	8	.8	.8	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 6. The Number of Children the Respondent has

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	.1	.1	.1
1	302	29.8	29.8	29.9
2-4	400	39.5	39.5	69.5
More than 4	42	4.2	4.2	73.6
None	267	26.4	26.4	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 7. The respondent's current employment situation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2	.2	.2	.2
Housewife	115	11.4	11.4	11.6
Unemployed	52	5.1	5.1	17.2
Part time employment	36	3.6	3.6	20.8
Full time employment	193	19.1	19.1	39.9
Student	137	13.5	13.5	53.5
Retired	2	.2	.2	53.7
Self-employed	466	46.0	46.0	99.9
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. Respondent's Job Type

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	103	10.2	10.2	10.2
Technology	4	.4	.4	10.6
NGO	5	.5	.5	11.1
Lawyer	3	.3	.3	11.4
Customer Service				

Other	61	6.0	6.0	17.5
Did not answer	688	68.0	68.0	85.5
Government	29	2.9	2.9	88.3
Health	31	3.1	3.1	91.4
Education	37	3.7	3.7	95.1
Housewife	20	2.0	2.0	97.0
Comerce	6	.6	.6	97.6
Aviation	13	1.3	1.3	98.9
Construction	6	.6	.6	99.5
Cosmetologist	5	.5	.5	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 9. In Guatemala, how common is domestic violence against women?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2	.2	.2	.2
Very common	754	74.5	74.5	74.7
Not existing	1	.1	.1	74.8
Fearly common	212	20.9	20.9	95.8
Not at all common	2	.2	.2	95.9
I dont know	25	2.5	2.5	98.4
Not very common	16	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 10. In Guatemala, how common is domestic violence against men?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2	.2	.2	.2
Very common	59	5.8	5.8	6.0
Not existing	99	9.8	9.8	15.8
Fearly common	38	3.8	3.8	19.6
Not at all common	266	26.3	26.3	45.8
I dont know	52	5.1	5.1	51.0
Not very common	496	49.0	49.0	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 11. How acceptable is violence against women?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	4	.4	.4	.4
Acceptable in certain circumstances	12	1.2	1.2	1.6
Acceptable in all circumstances	12	1.2	1.2	2.8

Unacceptable but should not always be punishable by law	46	4.5	4.5	7.3
Unacceptable and should always be punishable by law	911	90.0	90.0	97.3
I do not know	27	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 12. How acceptable is violence against men?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	4	.4	.4	.4
Acceptable in certain circumstances	36	3.6	3.6	4.0
Acceptable in all circumstances	30	3.0	3.0	6.9
Unacceptable but should not always be punishable by law	99	9.8	9.8	16.7
Unacceptable and should always be punishable by law	771	76.2	76.2	92.9
I do not know	72	7.1	7.1	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 13. If the respondents are aware of a man or woman who has been a victim of domestic violence of any kind

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3	.3	.3	.3
Both	127	12.5	12.5	12.9
Men	13	1.3	1.3	14.2
Women	766	75.7	75.7	89.9
None	64	6.3	6.3	96.2
I do not know	38	3.8	3.8	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 14. Where does the respondent know someone who has been a victim?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	104	10.3	10.3	10.3
He/she is my immediate of friends and family	507	50.1	50.1	60.4
He/she lives in my neighborhood	350	34.6	34.6	95.0
We belong in the same work/study place	51	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 15. Did any of the responders talk to anyone about it?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	56	5.5	5.5	5.5
Multiple answers	135	13.3	13.3	18.9
No	407	40.2	40.2	59.2
I do not know	34	3.4	3.4	62.5
Yes, to the police	70	6.9	6.9	69.5
Yes, to the people involved	182	18.0	18.0	87.5
Yes, to another person or service	19	1.9	1.9	89.3
Yes, to a friend or family	88	8.7	8.7	98.0
Yes, to a health professional	9	.9	.9	98.9
Yes, to a public or independent support service	11	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 16. For which of the following reasons did respondents not speak to anyone?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	526	52.0	52.0	52.0
Multiple answers	63	6.2	6.2	58.3
It was too much effort	9	.9	.9	59.4
The circumstances were not clear enough for you	5	.5	.5	59.9
You were concerned that it would take more consequences for the victim or retaliation	50	4.9	4.9	64.8
You were concerned about negative consequences for myself or retaliation	28	2.8	2.8	67.6
It was none of your business	115	11.4	11.4	79.0
It was not serious enough	19	1.9	1.9	80.8
I do not know	82	8.1	8.1	88.9
You did not think the authorities would do anything	18	1.8	1.8	90.7
You did not want to create trouble	62	6.1	6.1	96.8
You had no proof	20	2.0	2.0	98.8
No reason	12	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 17. Have the respondents heard of any of the following domestic violence support services?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3	.3	.3	.3
Multiple answers	346	34.2	34.2	34.7

Centro de apoyo integral para la mujer	17	1.7	1.7	36.4
El Instituto de la Defensa Pública Penal (IDPP)	4	.4	.4	36.8
El Organismo Judicial	1	.1	.1	36.9
Fundación sobrevivientes	3	.3	.3	37.2
La Policía Nacional Civil (PNC)	35	3.5	3.5	40.6
Ministerio Público	497	49.1	49.1	89.7
I do not know	36	3.6	3.6	93.3
No, you have not Heard of any support service	55	5.4	5.4	98.7
Procuraduría de derechos humanos	10	1.0	1.0	99.8
Procuraduría general de la nación	2	.2	.2	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 18. Where, according to respondents, is violence against women more likely to occur?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	4	.4	.4	.4
Somewhere else	4	.4	.4	.8
At home	373	36.9	36.9	37.6
At home, somewhere else	10	1.0	1.0	38.6
At home, in the workplace	208	20.6	20.6	60.2
At home, in the workplace, in schools and universities, in public places, on public transport, online	23	2.3	2.3	63.6
At home, in the workplace, on public transport	19	1.9	1.9	66.1
At home, in the workplace, in public places	45	4.4	4.4	71.3
At home, in the workplace, in public places, on public transport	39	3.9	3.9	75.2
At home, on public transport	40	4.0	4.0	80.6
At home, online	17	1.7	1.7	82.5
At home, in public places	78	7.7	7.7	90.2
At home, in public places, on public transport	14	1.4	1.4	91.8
I do not know	47	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 19. How common is sexual harassment against women in Guatemala, according to respondents?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5	.5	.5	.5
Fearly common	729	72.0	72.0	72.5
Very common	213	21.0	21.0	93.6
Not at all common	5	.5	.5	94.1
I do not know	46	4.5	4.5	98.6
Not very common	14	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 20. Whether respondents believe it is illegal to continually criticize a partner in order to make them feel inferior

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	7	.7	.7	.7
Wrong but should not be against the law	128	12.6	12.6	13.3
Wrong and should be against the law	188	18.6	18.6	31.9
Wrong and already against the law	623	61.6	61.6	93.5
Not wrong and should not be against the law	11	1.1	1.1	94.6
I do not know	55	5.4	5.4	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 21. Whether or not the respondents believe it is legal to try to control my spouse by restricting him from visiting and speaking with his family and friends

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	8	.8	.8	.8
Wrong but should not be against the law	97	9.6	9.6	10.4
Wrong and should be against the law	259	25.6	25.6	36.0
Wrong and already against the law	583	57.6	57.6	93.6
Not wrong and should not be against the law	11	1.1	1.1	94.7
I do not know	54	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 22. Whether respondents believe it is against the law to try to control my partner by denying them money or financial support

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	8	.8	.8	.8

Wrong but should not be against the law	56	5.5	5.5	6.3
Wrong and should be against the law	271	26.8	26.8	33.1
Wrong and already against the law	610	60.3	60.3	93.4
Not wrong and should not be against the law	9	.9	.9	94.3
I do not know	58	5.7	5.7	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 23. Whether or if the respondents believe it is illegal to try to control my partner by seizing his or her phone or official documents (driver's license, ID, etc.)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	9	.9	.9	.9
Wrong but should not be against the law	39	3.9	3.9	4.7
Wrong and should be against the law	286	28.3	28.3	33.0
Wrong and already against the law	616	60.9	60.9	93.9
Not wrong and should not be against the law	7	.7	.7	94.6
I do not know	55	5.4	5.4	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 24. Whether the respondents agree that forcing my spouse to have sexual intercourse is against the law or not

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	1.3	1.3	1.3
Wrong but should not be against the law	22	2.2	2.2	3.5
Wrong and should be against the law	249	24.6	24.6	28.1
Wrong and already against the law	667	65.9	65.9	94.0
Not wrong and should not be against the law	7	.7	.7	94.7
I do not know	54	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 25. If respondents believe that sending unwelcome sexually explicit emails or messages is against the law

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	1.3	1.3	1.3

Wrong but should not be against the law	33	3.3	3.3	4.5
Wrong and should be against the law	270	26.7	26.7	31.2
Wrong and already against the law	636	62.8	62.8	94.1
Not wrong and should not be against the law	6	.6	.6	94.7
I do not know	54	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 26. Whether respondents think it is illegal to make sexually provocative comments or "jokes" to a woman on the street

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	1.0	1.0	1.0
Wrong but should not be against the law	42	4.2	4.2	5.1
Wrong and should be against the law	299	29.5	29.5	34.7
Wrong and already against the law	597	59.0	59.0	93.7
Not wrong and should not be against the law	8	.8	.8	94.5
I do not know	56	5.5	5.5	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 27. Whether respondents believe it is illegal or not to touch a colleague in an unwelcome or indecent manner

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	1.3	1.3	1.3
Wrong but should not be against the law	22	2.2	2.2	3.5
Wrong and should be against the law	269	26.6	26.6	30.0
Wrong and already against the law	649	64.1	64.1	94.2
Not wrong and should not be against the law	5	.5	.5	94.7
I do not know	54	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 28. Whether respondents agree or disagree that women frequently fabricate or exaggerate allegations of rape and abuse

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	16	1.6	1.6	1.6
Neutral (nor agree/nor disagree)	138	13.6	13.6	15.3

I do not know	99	9.8	9.8	25.1
Tend to agree	113	11.2	11.2	36.3
Tend to disagree	253	25.0	25.0	61.3
Totally agree	29	2.9	2.9	64.1
Totally disagree	363	35.9	35.9	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 29. Whether respondents agree or disagree that violence against women is usually provoked by the victim

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	15	1.5	1.5	1.5
Neutral (nor agree/nor disagree)	116	11.5	11.5	12.9
I do not know	90	8.9	8.9	21.8
Tend to agree	64	6.3	6.3	28.2
Tend to disagree	241	23.8	23.8	52.0
Totally agree	29	2.9	2.9	54.8
Totally disagree	457	45.2	45.2	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 30. Whether respondents believe domestic abuse is a private matter that should be dealt inside the family

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	19	1.9	1.9	1.9
Neutral (nor agree/nor disagree)	110	10.9	10.9	12.7
I do not know	92	9.1	9.1	21.8
Tend to agree	45	4.4	4.4	26.3
Tend to disagree	250	24.7	24.7	51.0
Totally agree	33	3.3	3.3	54.2
Totally disagree	463	45.8	45.8	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 31. Whether respondents agree or disagree that women are more likely to be raped by a stranger than by someone they know

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	19	1.9	1.9	1.9
Neutral (nor agree/nor disagree)	129	12.7	12.7	14.6
I do not know	96	9.5	9.5	24.1
Tend to agree	72	7.1	7.1	31.2
Tend to disagree	273	27.0	27.0	58.2
Totally agree	41	4.1	4.1	62.3
Totally disagree	382	37.7	37.7	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	

Table 32. Does respondents believe that having sexual intercourse without consent may be justified in certain situations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	7	.7	.7	.7
Multiples respuestas	613	60.6	60.6	61.4
Coqueteando de antemano	5	.5	.5	62.1
Estar borracho o usar drogas	118	11.7	11.7	73.7
Ninguno de los anteriores	159	15.7	15.7	89.5
No decir claramente que no o no contraatacar físicamente	21	2.1	2.1	91.6
No lo sé	61	6.0	6.0	97.6
Salir a caminar solo por la noche	9	.9	.9	98.5
Tener varias parejas sexuales	7	.7	.7	99.2
Usar ropa reveladora, provocativa o sexy	8	.8	.8	100.0
Total	1012	100.0	100.0	