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# REPORT ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

## Guatemala Assessment

Prepared under Agreement No. GS-I0F-0033M/AID-0AA-M-13-00013, Task N080

# DRG LEARNING ACTIVITY, ASSESSMENT AND RESEARCH

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Guatemala Assessment

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## ACRONYMS

ADS	Automated Directives System
AMUTED	<i>Asociación Mujer Tejedora del Desarrollo</i> [Women Weavers Development Association]
ASECSA	<i>Asociación de Servicios Comunitarios de Salud</i> [Association for Community Health Services]
ASIES	<i>Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales</i> [Association for Research and Social Studies]
ASIGDHA	<i>Asociación Integral En Género Y Derechos Humanos Para América</i> [Integral Association on Gender and Human Rights for the Americas]
AT	Assessment Team
CACIF	<i>Comité Coordinador de Asociaciones Agrícolas, Comerciales, Industriales y Financieras</i> [Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations]
CAME	<i>Comisión de Actualización y Modernización Electoral</i> [Commission for Electoral Updating and Modernization]
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CEDEPCA	<i>Centro Ecuménico de Estudios Pastorales de Centroamérica</i> [Ecumenical Center for Pastoral Studies of Central America]
CEH	<i>Comisión del Esclarecimiento Histórico</i> [Commission for Historical Clarification]
CGC	<i>Contraloría General de Cuentas</i> [Comptroller General of Accounts]
CICIG	<i>Comisión Internacional contra la Impunidad en Guatemala</i> [International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala]
COCODE	<i>Consejos Comunitarios de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural</i> [Community Councils for Urban and Rural Development]
CODEDE	<i>Consejos Departamentales de Desarrollo Urbano</i> [Departmental Urban Development Councils]
COMUDE	<i>Consejos Municipales de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural</i> [Municipal Councils for Urban and Rural Development]
CONADUR	<i>Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural</i> [National Council for Urban and Rural Development]
CONAREP	<i>Convergencia Nacional por la Reforma Política del Estado</i> [National Convergence for State Political Reform]
CONAVIGUA	<i>Coordinadora Nacional de Viudas de Guatemala</i> [National Coordinator of Guatemalan Widows]
CONFREGUA	<i>Confederación de Religiosos de Guatemala</i> [Alliance of Religious Individuals of Guatemala]
COPADEH	<i>Comisión Presidencial por la Paz y los Derechos Humanos</i> [Presidential Commission for Peace and Human Rights]

COREDUR	<i>Consejos Regionales de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural</i> [Regional Urban and Rural Development Councils]
CPRG	<i>Constitución Política de la República de Guatemala</i> [Political Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala]
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DEMI	<i>Defensoría de la Mujer Indígena</i> [Public Defender’s Office for Indigenous Women]
DK	Don’t know
DMM	<i>Dirección Municipal de la Mujer</i> [Municipal Women’s Department]
DRG	Democracy, Human Rights and Governance
DRG-LER	Democracy, Human Rights and Governance: Learning, Evaluation and Research
EAP	Economically Active Population
EOP	Equal Opportunity Plan
F	Female
FAMDEGUA	Association of Family Members of the Detained and Disappeared of Guatemala
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAM	<i>Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo</i> [Mutual Support Group]
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HRs	Human Rights
ICEFI	<i>Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales</i> [Central American Institute for Fiscal Studies]
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
INE	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas</i> [National Institute of Statistics]
IRI	International Republican Institute
JB	Judicial Branch
KII	Key Informant Interview
LEPP	<i>Ley Electoral y de Partidos Políticos</i> [Electoral and Political Parties Law]
LGBTIQ+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, transvestite, intersex and queer, and other identities not included in the above.
M	Male
MLP	Movement for the Liberation of Peoples
MP	<i>Ministerio Público</i> [Public Prosecutor’s Office]
MSPAS	<i>Ministerio de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social</i> [Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance]
N/A	Not applicable

NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
NNA	<i>Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes</i> [Children and Adolescents]
ODHAG	<i>Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala</i> [Human Rights Office of the Archbishop of Guatemala]
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSAR	<i>Observatorio en Salud Sexual y Reproductiva</i> [Sexual and Reproductive Health Observatory]
PARLACEN	<i>Parlamento Centroamericano</i> [Central American Parliament]
PDH	<i>Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos</i> [Public Defender's Office for Human Rights]
PGN	<i>Procuraduría General de la Nación</i> [Attorney General's Office]
PID	Personal Identification Document
PNPDIM	<i>Política Nacional de Promoción y Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres</i> [National Policy for the Promotion and Integral Development of Women]
RECMURIC	<i>Red Centroamericana de Mujeres Rurales, Indígenas y Campesinas</i> [Central American Network of Rural, Indigenous and Peasant Women]
RR	Refused to respond
SCJ	Supreme Court of Justice
SEPREM	<i>Secretaría Presidencial de la Mujer</i> [Presidential Secretariat for Women]
TSE	<i>Tribunal Supremo Electoral</i> [Supreme Electoral Court]
UDEFEQUA	<i>Unidad de Protección a Defensoras y Defensores de Derechos Humanos de Guatemala</i> [Unit for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Guatemala]
UN	United Nations
UNAMG	<i>Unión Nacional de Mujeres Guatemaltecas</i> [National Union of Guatemalan Women]
UNC	Union for National Change
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNE	<i>Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza</i> [National Unit of Hope]
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
URL	Universidad Rafael Landívar
USAC	Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WPPL	Women's Political Participation and Leadership

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation and Research (DRG-LER) Activity, USAID tasked NORC at the University of Chicago with developing a Women's Political Participation and Leadership (WPPL) Assessment Framework and accompanying data collection tools. The WPPL Assessment Framework aims to identify key WPPL challenges and opportunities within a country, thereby guiding a Mission's program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources.

After developing these documents, USAID asked NORC to pilot the assessment framework and tools in three countries—Liberia, Nepal, and Guatemala. This report focuses on the results of the Guatemala WPPL Assessment. These results are intended to inform the Mission's WPPL programming, while lessons learned from the assessment framework implementation will be used to revise and finalize the assessment framework documents prior to their dissemination.

The scarcity of systematic research around the political participation and leadership of women in Guatemala justifies efforts such as this report, as it shows the advances and limitations in women's political participation and leadership, especially since the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996. The findings of this assessment indicate that there are quantitative and qualitative gaps, legal barriers, and social norms and attitudes that still restrict the full exercise of women's rights to participate and lead. The report's recommendations, considering the challenges and opportunities for women and the identification of key actors, can contribute to the development of strategies and resource allocation for USAID/Guatemala to address women's political participation and leadership, with the goal of gender equality in the country.

## METHODOLOGY

The Guatemala Assessment Team (AT) applied five steps as outlined in the WPPL Assessment Framework, utilizing data collected through a review of relevant literature and USAID documents, a nationally representative survey of 2,580 adult citizens, a survey of 529 politicians and Community Development Council (COCODE) members, 22 key informant interviews (KIs) with 27 people, and 8 focus group discussions (FGDs) with citizens in Guatemala City; Tactic, Alta Verapaz; and Momostenango, Totonicapán. The AT conducted in-country, qualitative fieldwork from May 9 to May 20, 2022.

## KEY FINDINGS

### I. FOUNDATIONAL FACTORS

The key factors influencing women's political participation and leadership fall into four categories:

- Historical considerations** include a legacy of women's struggles to be recognized as citizens and to obtain civic-political rights; this was achieved in 1945 for literate women and in 1965 for all women. In addition, women have participated politically in various moments and spaces, such as the 1962 student protests (*Jornadas de marzo y abril de 1962*); the internal armed conflict that spanned four decades; the peace process and the creation of women's organizations with specific agendas,



beginning in the 1990s and continuing to this day; advocacy for the creation of State institutions that guarantee their rights; and the adoption of laws in favor of women.

2. **Legal and institutional considerations, as well as electoral systems**, continue to restrict the participation of women on an equal basis with men. It is worth noting that Guatemala is the only country in Latin America that has not adopted affirmative action measures to promote women's leadership and participation in political parties. Our findings show that political parties continue to suffer from autocracy, corruption, clientelism, and the exclusion of women, young people, and Indigenous people.
3. **Economic considerations** in the form of gender inequality that exists in the work environment—women have less access to paid jobs, personal income, social security, and land ownership. This inequality limits their autonomy and ability to participate in politics.
4. **Cultural considerations** such as rigid traditional and religious norms continue to reproduce discourse based on precepts that consider women subject to male authority. In the private sphere, women are considered to be the family caregiver, which involves the investment of time and energy that is not recognized or remunerated. The link between fundamentalist rhetoric and actions, generally associated with neo-Pentecostal churches and related groups, whose viewpoints are openly regressive with regard to women's rights and sexual diversity has been on the rise in recent decades.
5. **Social considerations** such as divisions based on ethnicity, race, class, and place of residence. These divisions have led to discrimination and exclusion for Indigenous women, women in poverty and with low education levels, and those living in rural areas.

## 2. CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

The data from the 2021 WPPL general population survey carried out as part of the assessment shows gender gaps in several areas of women's political participation and leadership.

With regard to voting—an important act of civic participation—the percentages of men and women who voted in the last election are similar (62 percent vs. 60 percent, respectively), which suggests that voting is not a main barrier to WPPL. Furthermore, there is no major difference in terms of the main barrier to voting, which was a concern that family members would get angry, as stated by 28 percent of men and 29 percent of women.

However, in terms of non-electoral forms of political participation, such as communicating with an elected official to discuss an issue, signing a petition directed to a government official, attending a political rally or campaign event, participating in a protest, being a member of a political party, or being a member of a civic and political organization, there are greater gender gaps, suggesting that women still do not have political capital or networks to the same degree as men. For example, 15 percent of men and only 9 percent of women have contacted an elected official to discuss a social, economic, or political problem.

It is interesting to note that since the creation of the System of Community Development Councils in the Law of Decentralization (as a result of the Law of Decentralization and the changes to the Municipal Code in 2002), more women are participating in nonpartisan spaces, such as Community Development Councils, school parent committees, neighborhood associations, and other civil society organizations (CSOs) that work with women and have become promoters of women's participation. Additionally, in some cases women serve as interlocutors between communities and officials or institutions to address

community concerns regarding social issues (Marroquín & De León, 2011; Domínguez, 2021). Effectively, women are having a larger presence in the local and community space—demanding services and the resolution of everyday problems—than in partisan politics at the national level.

As for the political leadership of women, the results show that—with a few exceptions<sup>1</sup>—they do not lead political parties nor are they in decision-making positions within them, so their influence is restricted. The disparity in the number of women’s candidacies compared to men reflects this, as does the total number of women elected. In the 2019 election, only 20.5 percent of candidates were women, versus 79.5 percent of men. In the last five elections (from 2003 to 2019), the percentage of women elected as congressional representatives has not exceeded 20 percent. The most dramatic case is that of the mayors—out of 340 municipalities, only 10 have a woman as mayor. Nevertheless, the number of female candidates has increased in recent years; the number of female candidates who ran for elected positions increased from 4,582 in 2015 to 7,245 in 2019, an increase of 58 percent.

In addition, the participation of women as civil servants and in elected positions in State agencies is unequal. Two out of five (40 percent) magistrates in the Constitutional Court are women, two out of five (40 percent) magistrates in the Supreme Electoral Tribunal are women, six out of 13 (45 percent) magistrates in the Supreme Court of Justice are women, and only one out of the 14 (7 percent) ministries of the Executive Branch (the Ministry of Education) is led by a woman. The reasons for greater women’s representation in these entities are related to their alignment with a conservative political orientation, as well as the fact that currently more women fulfill the qualities for these positions than in the past.<sup>2</sup>

Incorporating ethnicity into the analysis of WPPL reveals disparities for Indigenous women; they are a minority both in the number of candidates and the number of elected leaders.<sup>3</sup> However, the WPPL general population survey shows higher levels of participation of Indigenous women compared to non-Indigenous women in some forms of non-partisan political participation, suggesting that the norms against women’s political participation are less restrictive in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities. This shows the interest of Indigenous women in political participation and exercising their citizen rights, although social, cultural, racial, economic, and legal barriers persist, as there is no affirmative action that encourages their participation.

### 3. DRIVERS OF WPPL

One factor that influences women’s political participation and leadership is the legal framework. Although Article 4 of the Constitution recognizes equality between men and women, affirmative action measures that would contribute to the inclusion of more women in political parties and thereby increase their chances of being elected to office have not been incorporated into the Electoral and Political Parties Law.

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<sup>1</sup> Few women serve as secretary generals for their parties. Currently, these political parties are UNE, VALOR, WINAQ, and two emergent parties: Prosperidad Ciudadana and Unión Republicana.

<sup>2</sup> The process of electing members of the courts is through Nomination Commissions that present a list, and then Congress decides on the members; the political party with the most seats has the most influence on who is elected.

<sup>3</sup> For example, of the 31 women who obtained a seat in the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala in the last elections (22 by electoral districts and 9 by national list), only 2 are Indigenous. Additionally, only 1 of the 11 women mayors is Indigenous (these 11 mayors represent 3.2 percent of 340 municipalities).

In addition, gender stereotypes continue to characterize women as mothers and wives, rather than as political subjects with autonomy. The social norms that shape gender roles assign women to the private space as primary caregiver at home, while men are encouraged from childhood to act in the public sphere and to exercise leadership, make decisions, and have an opinion on public affairs (FGD; WPPL General Population Survey, 2021; KIIs). The limited access to education—especially for girls and women from rural and Indigenous areas (Pérez, 2021; WPPL General Population Survey, 2021; INE, 2018)—and crucially, the educational content that perpetuates gender and racial ideals not conforming to the reality of the majority impact how male and female identities are shaped (FGD, KIIs). This also impacts how decisions are made by women and men and how access or lack thereof to resources for development and exercising citizen rights are formed.

These factors are amplified by the media and the social network (FGD; KIIs; Vásquez, 2013), where the image of women is oftentimes projected negatively and in a sexualized or racialized way, especially when they are involved in politics (FGD; KIIs). The treatment reserved for women as candidates and elected officials continues to exhibit stereotypes regarding their abilities, highlighting more physical and aesthetic aspects than their leadership qualities and social trajectory (FGD; KIIs). Authority is usually given to the opinions of men, especially when it comes to economic, political, and crisis situation analysis (FGD; KIIs). As a result, ideas of women political leaders in particular, and women in general, are largely excluded from mass media (FGD; KIIs). Gender inequality among presenters, reporters, and opinion columnists also exacerbates the situation (FGD; KIIs; Galicia & Monzón, 2021).

This gender disparity in terms of the voices and opinions disseminated in the media is more pronounced in the case of Indigenous and non-Indigenous women in rural areas, who are also excluded from the national media (Rotondi, 2020; Galicia & Monzón, 2021; KIIs). By incorporating another perspective in their journalistic work, the media could positively promote women, contributing to transforming the images around their capacities, contributions, and proposals (KIIs).

Women's participation and leadership in the private sector has increased, but they are not on the front lines. In the last decade, women have stood out in executive positions in medium and large companies, but they are absent in associations of entrepreneurs, with some exceptions (CACIF, 2022; Américas, 2013). In the public sector, as already indicated, women continue to be underrepresented. The government cabinet is male, and the institutions that were created at the beginning of 2000 to advance women's rights after the signing of the Peace Accords have weakened and lost political strength (CEDAW, 2017). In civil society, in contrast, there has been an important advance in the leadership of women, especially Indigenous people who have placed themselves at the forefront of numerous community demands, such as access to justice for the aftermath of the internal armed conflict that affected them as direct victims of sexual violence (Monzón, 2015; Méndez & Barrios-Klee, 2019; KIIs). Women in civil society are also organizing around the impact of open-pit mining, monoculture, and hydroelectric projects that are affecting the environment and preying on the natural resources that are part of the lives of Indigenous peoples (Monzón, 2015).

Finally, gender-based violence is a key factor against women's political participation and leadership. According to data from the Women's Observatory of the Public Ministry, in the first half of 2022, 200 daily complaints were reported on violence against women, 65 percent of which are classified as physical, economic, and psychological violence; 12 percent of which correspond to sexual violence; 5 percent of which are sexual assault; and 1 percent of which are classified as other sexual crimes,

femicide, and violent death of women. From an early age, sexual violence that results in forced pregnancies in adolescents limits their possibilities of exercising their rights of participation. Between January and July of 2022 alone, 39,535 births to teenagers between the ages of 15 and 19 were registered (Sexual and Reproductive Health Observatory, 2022). Furthermore, female human rights defenders are being persecuted, criminalized, and subjected to exhausting judicial processes. According to a report by the independent entity Unit of Protection for Human Rights Defenders of Guatemala (UDEFEUGUA), in 2019 alone, 494 attacks on human rights defenders were registered. This figure increased significantly in 2020, when 1,004 cases were registered, 33.66 percent (338) of which were against female human rights defenders, 52.87 percent (530) against male defenders, and 13.54 percent (136) against collectives, organizations, and/or communities. Gender violence is an expression of the patriarchal order that devalues women and that limits their civic and political prospects, among other rights, affecting the very foundations of democracy.

#### 4. KEY POLITICAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONAL ARENAS

Key actors that impede the political, economic, and educational advancement of women include congresspeople, governors, authorities at all levels, religious structures, complacent media, and even leaders who are progressive on other issues but continue to support patriarchal ideas.

Currently, little possibility exists for alliance with key actors at the institutional level to promote the political participation of women. Exceptions include the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the Municipal Directorates for Women, the System of Urban and Rural Development Councils, and the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman.

In contrast, there are some actors who can contribute to the political advancement. The system of political parties could be considered allies only to the extent that changes are achieved in its structure, dynamics, and internal policies, since they currently maintain gender hierarchies. An entry point could be women's and/or gender units that some parties have created, although these must be strengthened. Indigenous authorities and midwives play an important role in Indigenous communities and thus could be explored as potential allies to promote women's political participation and leadership.

Other allies include women's groups and CSOs and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that focus on promoting capacity-building and training related to citizenship, as well as alternative media due to alignment of their agenda for the promotion of women's political participation and leadership. Additionally, both public and private universities present options for political participation, activism, and social change through youth groups and student parties (Ixchiu, 2016; González, 2021). These groups are joined by multilateral cooperation and development organizations, whose agendas include contributing to the construction and strengthening of citizenship, to raising capacities for demanding rights, social audits, and women's participation.

#### 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

This report presents a menu of recommendations for USAID/Guatemala to guide its programming regarding women's political participation and leadership. These recommendations are organized under specific drivers, and the report suggests actors with whom USAID could work to implement them. The following recommendations represent a selection:

- **Legal framework:** Promote reform initiatives that include affirmative action measures in favor of women, such as parity and alternation.
  - Create and/or strengthen this legislative agenda—which includes commitments identified in the Peace Accords, the Sustainable Development Agenda, and the Plan K’atun<sup>4</sup>—from women’s social organizations, in coordination with allied representatives. This work should include an analysis of strategic advocacy to reach the agenda’s objectives. Given that USAID/Guatemala’s Electoral Governance and Reforms Project focused on related issues, this recommendation could possibly be implemented under a follow-on activity, if there is one.
- **Gender roles:** Enhance and strengthen the self-esteem and capacities of women who participate in politics at the local and national levels.
  - This effort should include women with established leadership or that make up community organizations so that they can confront the challenges of the stigma against them that comes from sexist, racist, and classist discrimination against women and Indigenous women, especially in rural areas. To this effect, the creation of intergenerational spaces can be an incentive for more women to decide to participate in politics.
- **Education and capacity:** Develop training programs in civic-political rights aimed at children and adolescents, giving priority to Indigenous girls in rural areas.
  - These programs should coordinate with community leaders, families, and authorities of the Ministry of Education. Priority themes include gender equity and inclusion and new masculinities. These processes should be suitable for each context, with cultural and language appropriateness, and additionally accounting for people with disabilities that require specific educational resources. With its focus on youth and a particular attention to young women—as well as its work with traditional authorities—USAID/Guatemala’s Transformative Action Project provides a possible opportunity to incorporate this recommendation. Additionally, the AT is aware that USAID/Guatemala has conducted research on new masculinities and therefore recommends considering the relevant findings from that study in designing these training programs.
- **Gender-based violence:** Promote a culture of reporting political violence.
  - USAID should work with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal and Congress to promote the classification and prosecution of these crimes. USAID/Guatemala’s Justice and Transparency Project could possibly support the implementation of this recommendation.
- **Civil society:** Work with CSOs to promote the collective construction of national and local agendas building on the demands of women.
  - These agendas would have the goal of being presented in electoral campaigns. At the local level, USAID could work with the Women’s Municipal Directorates. Given that USAID/Guatemala

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<sup>4</sup> This is the national development plan through 2032 formulated by the government of Guatemala (through the National Council of Urban and Rural Development).

already works with these units in some projects, it could leverage the learnings and relationships from those to implement this recommendation.

- **Public sector:** Support voter registration efforts in rural areas.
  - USAID/Guatemala should work with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal in implementing this recommendation, given that the promotion of women’s political participation is part of its mandate. This effort would support facilitating access for women who live in remote locations.
- **Media:** Implement trainings for commercial media to incorporate a gender and intersectionality perspective into their communications.
  - The trainings would also cover the inclusion of the voices, ideas, and proposals of female politicians. A previous iteration of USAID/Guatemala’s Justice and Transparency Project implemented a similar activity. If that project still has a communications component, this recommendation can likely be implemented through that component.

## INTRODUCTION

This section includes the methodology used for the analysis of Guatemala and the limitations of that methodology.

### METHODOLOGY

The WPPL Analysis Framework consists of a five-step structured research, ending with evidence-based recommendations. These steps include:

1. Describing the country's key factors and providing background information to understand the role and place of women in society.
2. Analyzing the state of WPPL by measuring gender gaps in political participation and leadership.
3. Examining the driving force of WPPL, factors that either positively or negatively have an impact on WPPL outcomes.
4. Conducting an analysis of stakeholders that have an impact on WPPL and women's empowerment.
5. Making evidence-based recommendations for WPPL programming.

More details on each of the five steps can be found in Appendix A: Steps in WPPL Assessment.

For the Guatemala WPPL pilot, the Assessment Team (AT) applied the five steps of the WPPL Analysis Framework. The analysis is based on data collected through the sources listed below:

- A review of relevant literature and USAID/Guatemala documents
- A national representative survey of 2,580 adult citizens conducted in 2021
- A survey of 529 politicians and COCODES (*Consejos Comunitarios de Desarrollo* [Community Development Councils]) members conducted in 2021
- Eight focus groups including four in the capital city (one with women of Indigenous and non-Indigenous ethnicity and higher educational attainment, one with women of Indigenous and non-Indigenous ethnicity and lower educational attainment, one with men of Indigenous and non-Indigenous ethnicity and higher educational attainment, and one with men of Indigenous and non-Indigenous ethnicity and lower educational attainment); two in Tactic, Alta Verapaz (one with women of Indigenous ethnicity and one with women of non-Indigenous ethnicity); and two in Momostenango, Totonicapán (one with men of Indigenous ethnicity and one with women of Indigenous ethnicity), both with a majority Q'eqchi' and Kiche' population, respectively
- 22 interviews with 27 key informants including diverse profiles

The AT conducted qualitative fieldwork in the country from May 9–20, 2022. For more detailed information on the methods used, please refer to Annex D: Methodology.



## LIMITATIONS

### GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY

Despite conducting cognitive interviews to refine the questionnaire and help make sure that respondents understood the survey questions as NORC intended, the WPPL faced high rates of Don't Know (DK), Refuse to Respond (RR), and Not Applicable (N/A) throughout the survey. As a data quality control measure, NORC went over all cases with 40+ DK, RR, and/or N/A responses. NORC preserved observations for which the field team provided reasonable explanations for the number of DK, RR, and/or N/A responses, and we would eliminate cases with serious quality concerns. A high rate of DK, RR, and/or N/A responses is a valuable finding, showing that many respondents in Guatemala may not have the necessary knowledge to respond and/or did not feel comfortable answering questions related to certain topics in the survey. Nonetheless, there is the possibility of bias in the estimated population averages for questions with many DK or—especially—RR responses, given that these results exclude the opinions of respondents who refused or didn't know how to answer.

### SURVEY OF POLITICIANS

**Non-representative sample:** For the Survey of Politicians, NORC used a purposive sampling method to select local elected officials, municipal council members, and COCODE members in Guatemala. In practice, municipalities and COCODES would designate officials for interviews depending on their availability, resulting in nearly convenient sampling. Therefore, the findings obtained cannot be construed to represent the beliefs of all politicians in Guatemala but rather a subset of local political leaders.

**Low response rate for municipal officials:** NORC followed a systematic protocol for recruiting politicians, but in practice, it was logistically hard to contact municipal council members and elected officials. As a result, the final sample of politicians surveyed is weighted more toward COCODE members (73.7 percent).

**Survey timing:** Fieldwork took place during the December/January vacation season. Even though NORC continued the enumeration of the Survey of Politicians one week longer than the General Population Survey data collection, the survey timing likely contributed to the limited availability of politicians and lower response rates. The enumeration of the survey was also close to the COCODE elections and gives way to the potential for bias if there's any systematic difference in the types of politicians who would be available for an interview during the survey. In some cases, COCODES officials had been recently elected, which affected their knowledge of some survey items.

### KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

There were some scheduling complications with some potential key informants, which is why the AT was not able to interview some stakeholders, such as some international donors working on WPPL in Guatemala. NORC adjusted the sample and ended up interviewing more informants than originally planned.



## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

In Guatemala City, the focus group discussions (FGDs) were segmented by gender and level of education. In practice, some participant levels of education overlapped between the “high” and “low” education groups. Before inviting a participant to an FGD, the team checked that the individual’s self-reported level of education matched the profile of the relevant FGD group. Despite this effort, some participants may not have shared their actual level of education in the initial calls. Therefore, individual responses within an FGD may not reflect an individual’s views of the level of education assigned to the group, and a power dynamic may have crept into the discussion in terms of differences between individual levels of education. Ultimately, however, the average level of education of lower education groups was still lower than the average level of education of higher education groups. By gender, the educational gap is slightly higher for men.

In the urban focus groups conducted in Guatemala City, some participants referred to other “communities” in their discussions. The team did some research on each participant before recruiting them to determine whether it would be appropriate to include them in these urban FGDs. However, Guatemala City is an internal migration destination; recent migrants’ strongest point of reference could still be their previous community. Other participants from peri-urban areas outside the city may refer to these areas as “communities.”

## REPORT OUTLINE

The report contains five substantive chapters, including annexes that account for the methodological process, and inputs from the aforementioned sources. Chapter 1 focuses on the key factors that have an impact on WPPL, its driving forces and the political economy of WPPL advancement in Guatemala. Chapter 2 presents the current state of women’s political participation and leadership, identifying gender gaps, and in some cases gaps by ethnicity. Chapter 3 addresses the driving forces that either positively or negatively influence WPPL within the framework of the country. Chapter 4 focuses on the key political actors and institutional spaces that have an impact on women’s political participation and leadership in the country. The last chapter makes some recommendations identified during the process, which can contribute to strategy development and resource allocation for women’s political participation and leadership.

## I. KEY FACTORS

This chapter focuses on the key factors that have an impact on WPPL, its driving forces, and the political economy of WPPL advancement in Guatemala. While USAID programming is unlikely to address these factors directly, they help define the boundaries of possible programming.

### HISTORICAL LEGACIES

In Guatemala, the 19th century marks women's demand for the right to education, and in the first half of the 20th century, it was the struggle for the right to vote and obtain citizenship—partially obtained in 1945, only for literate women. It was not until 1965 that this right was recognized for all women.

Between 1944 and 1954, during the 1944 Revolution, women began taking part in social organizations, trade unions, and political parties; they voted and ran for the first time as council member candidates in 1948, but it was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that the first women councils were appointed, let alone elected. The counterrevolution of 1954, which resulted in democratically elected Guatemalan President Jacobo Árbenz resigning, marked the beginning of the closing of gaps for women obtaining citizenship, having their rights guaranteed, and being allowed to participate in politics (Monzón, *Más de un siglo de cambios*, 2011).

In 1962, at a time of “persecution, imprisonment and exile,” the March and April Sessions took place, driven by a student movement that demanded the resignation of the President in office. The role that students and women from popular sectors played was important, and leaderships emerged that have left a legacy in the political history of women (Méndez F. C., 2012).

In the 1970s and 1980s, some women joined the trade union, peasant, student, and teachers' movements and the incipient guerrilla organizations. In contrast, their political participation slowly increased and remained exceptionally rare, particularly for Indigenous women (Monzón, *Más de un siglo de cambios*, 2011).

In the 1980s and 1990s, women began participating in other spaces, such as fighting for human rights, against state violence policies, for historic memory and demanding trials against those who committed crimes during the internal armed conflict (addressed in the following section). During those decades, women also began the fight against gender-based violence, femicides, and disappearances that affected mainly children and women (Monzón, *Más de un siglo de cambios*, 2011).

In negotiating Peace Agreements, women participated on two levels: at the negotiating table (only two women participated in the negotiating table: one representing the government and another representing guerrilla groups) and in the Civil Society Assembly, where women participated in representation of social and community organizations, especially in the Women's Sector, created in 1994. From this space, proposals were drawn up that were included in commitments for peace, especially rights to property, paid work, equal participation, and the specific rights of Indigenous women. Some of these commitments contemplate the creation of the National Women's Forum as a platform for the national mobilization of women aimed at influencing the establishment of institutional mechanisms, formulation of policies in favor of women, and laws that would recognize them as social and political subjects (Trujillo & Camerlengo, 2017).

The last three decades have seen such qualitative advances as women's inclusion in formal political participation, via civil registration, affiliation to political parties, civic committees, and their participation in elected and representative positions such as the National System of Development Councils. However, there continue to be gender, ethnicity, social class, and place-of-origin gaps, and although an increasing number of women have been candidates for elected office, cultural, political, economic, and ideological factors continue to limit their participation.

## **CONFLICT, PEACE, AND SECURITY**

For almost four decades, the Guatemalan population has lived through an internal armed conflict that cost society thousands of lives, missing individuals, devastated territories, and thousands of refugees and displaced families, most of them Indigenous. The *Guatemala nunca más* [Guatemala Never Again] report (ODHAG, 1998) and the *Guatemala, memoria del silencio* [Guatemala, Memory of Silence] report (CEH, 1998) reveal the sexual violence perpetrated against women, especially Indigenous women, during the first half of the 1980s.

The causes of this conflict are associated with the colonial and republican history that has maintained the concentration of wealth and land ownership in few hands while excluding the majority of the population, especially in rural and Indigenous areas, denying them the resources required for their communities to grow and basic rights such as food, health, social security, education, and decent employment (CEH, 1998).

State violence was exercised against men, women, and entire communities, but women—above all, Indigenous women from rural areas—were the ones who suffered the most from sexual violence, leaving them with physical and emotional scars, as well as family burdens, as many were left widowed with young children. This situation forced them to internal displacement and to seek refuge in neighboring countries, pushing them to the limits of survival, but it also drove them to create organizations and to demand justice for the cruel acts suffered during the years of armed conflict (CEH, 1998). Some emblematic cases that have been taken to court are the accusation of genocide brought by the Ixil population against former General Efraín Ríos Montt, which resulted in a conviction in 2010 but was later suspended by the Constitutional Court and the rape and sexual slavery trials brought by the Q'eqchi' women of Sepur Zarco and the Achi women of Baja Verapaz, achieving convictions in 2016 and 2022, respectively (Castillo Barrios, 2016).

The commitments made in the Peace Agreements have not been fulfilled, especially those involving substantial changes to economic structures, access to justice, and the political system, conditions that are necessary to strengthen citizenship and democracy. The country is losing thousands of youngsters who do not envision a future. Their expectations for growth have been thwarted. There are no opportunities for decent jobs, resulting in a significant decline in internal and international migration, especially of youngsters, women, and men, from departments with a majority Indigenous population (Huehuetenango, San Marcos, Quetzaltenango, Quiché, and Alta Verapaz) (ICEFI, 2018).

The weakening of institutions created within the framework of Peace Agreements imply the precarious nature of democracy, the limitation of human rights, and the criminalization of human rights (HRs) activists. According to a report by the independent entity, Unit for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Guatemala (UDEFEQUA), in 2019 alone, 494 aggressions against those who defend human rights were recorded—the most common being defamation, followed by intimidation, unfounded legal

complaint, illegal detentions, and even murder. This figure significantly rose in 2020, with 1,004 cases recorded: “33.66% (338) against women human rights defenders, 52.87% (530) against defenders and 13.54% (136) against groups, organizations and/or communities.” Under these conditions peace, citizen security, and democracy itself are at risk (UDEFEQUA, 2021).

## **RELIGION AND TRADITIONAL NORMS**

According to the Constitution, Guatemala is a secular state, but as stated by one of the key informants, “In practice, we see that this does not fully happen; the relationship between religion and government has always been in the background because religion (...) is a good ally to internally legitimize many decisions” (KII, H, religious leader profile).

By the early 1990s, the percentage of Catholics, which had been the hegemonic religion across the country, dropped from 91 percent to 48 percent, while 42 percent identified themselves as non-Catholic Christians. This change was also observed among women. According to a survey conducted in 1993, 63.2 percent of women ascribed to Catholicism; that percentage dropped to 50 percent by 2014 (Ponciano, 2018). During this time, the presence of Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal denominations and churches associated with neoconservatism rose, gaining influence through a common agenda that brings together “churches, political parties, NGOs and study centers, among others” (Morán Faundes & Peñas Defago, 2020). One of the points of this conservative agenda is adverse to women’s rights and promotes the defense of an order believed to be “natural,” the moralization of the public sphere, and the perpetuation of certain hierarchical political, social, and economic structures (Morán Faundes & Peñas Defago, 2020).

Religion and traditional norms have an impact on women’s levels of political participation, given that they reproduce conservative ideas regarding the role of women in terms of family, community, and society. One person interviewed states that “fundamentalist interpretations of the sacred text that push women into the background in the private sphere” prevail and that those who have made such statements “have been mostly white male theologians who have not included women’s views, have pushed women into the background, put men as the head of the household and women, instead of women” (KII, M, religious leader profile).

Hegemonic religious discourse states that women should primarily fulfill their role as wives and mothers in the private sphere, not occupy spaces in the public sphere, and reiterates the importance of a “single family, nuclear and heterosexual model,” referred to as “original design” (González Velez., 2018). As posed by one of the focus groups: “Evangelicalism is what pastors say in certain talks or sessions you attend in an Evangelical Church. Pastors always say that women are to stay at home and that men should lead.” It was also said that “religion has to do with inculcating that women cannot do anything more than what men have to do” (GF, M, non-Indigenous profile).

These religious norms have a huge social influence, especially in the political sphere, adding to deep-rooted traditions that also reproduce a conservative view of the role of women in society.

Nonetheless, there are also critical voices that reveal the use of religion to manipulate consciences, as shared in one of the FGDs: “Because imagine, nowadays, if we’ve even noticed, they manipulate people through religion, through faith. Politicians have also been involved in manipulation. Because they always mention the word ‘sin.’ If you do this, it’s sin. If you don’t do it, it’s sin” (GF, M, non-Indigenous profile).

Likewise, although in minorities, “many women theologians have been writing since the 1980s, interpreting from the views of women ... (proposing) equitable and egalitarian relations” (KII, M, religious leader profile).

## **SOCIAL DIVISIONS**

Key factors that have an impact on women’s political participation and leadership are classism, sexism, and racism. These three axes of exclusion include implicit social norms and explicit legal norms<sup>5</sup> and hinder the full participation of women, especially Indigenous, Afro-descendant, and rural, both locally and nationally.

Racism is one of the power factors that have sustained the structures of discrimination, exclusion, and inequalities, by limiting the recognition and guarantee of rights to the Indigenous and rural population. As stated in a report by the Commission for Historical Clarification, “The anti-democratic forms of Guatemala’s government and its discriminatory economic structure were based on an ideology of racism that defended a small ‘white’ Creole elite and normalized the systematic exclusion of the country’s Indigenous population and, to a lesser extent, poor Ladinos” (USAID, 2015). Racism—along with classism and sexism—is observed in the social indicators of education, health, and employment, which show gaps to the detriment of the Indigenous and rural population, and women, whose possibilities for growth are increasingly scarce.

In 2019, the Tz’ununija’ Indigenous Women’s Movement presented a shadow report related to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, concluding that there continue to be barriers for the participation of the Indigenous and Afro-descendant population in politics and in the public sphere, for access to justice, and to the guarantee of cultural rights such as language, clothing, respect for uses and customs such as health care practices, position systems, and the application of justice in communities.

Racism, classism, and traditional gender norms as described above do not operate in an isolated manner but rather combine and multiply in many cases to limit women’s leadership and participation.

## **HISTORY AND PRESENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

Several studies have revealed the participation of women at different moments in history, e.g., Indigenous women in riots and uprisings against colonial power over three centuries, and some Creole women at the time of Independence in 1821.

The 19th century saw initiatives such as the founding of the first newspaper established by elite women, *El Ideal*, in 1892. In 1925, women of the city, of popular social classes, led the first strike of women workers in Central America. In the 1930s and 1940s, they founded the magazines *Azul* and *Nosotras*, in the prelude to the decade of 1944–1954, when women’s voting and labor rights for women workers

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<sup>5</sup> For example, up until 1995, there was a rule in the Civil Code that gave men the right to oppose his wife’s activities outside the home, provided he supported her and if he considered that this was detrimental to the best interests of their children. <https://www.womenslinkworldwide.org/observatorio/base-de-datos/maria-eugenia-morales-de-sierra-v-guatemala>

were recognized, and some pioneering women joined—albeit in a minority—the political parties at the time (Harms, 2020).

During the second half of the 20th century, toward the end of the 1980s, rural and urban women—though not very visible—participated in trade unions, the student movement, the peasant movement, and refugee and human rights organizations. It was not until the early 1990s when some self-convened groups started to build an agenda linked to contemporary feminism and the dynamics of the international women’s movement (Monzón, *Más de un siglo de cambios*, 2011) that included the demand for political rights and land ownership, the eradication of violence, sexual and reproductive rights, and better working conditions.

These first women’s organizations defied the fear of repression, began to gather, took to the streets, and created incipient means of communication as forms of political expression. In 1994, they participated in Peace Agreement discussions and managed to express part of their legal, political, and economic demands (Monzón, 2015).

These actions were initially promoted from Guatemala City and gradually expanded to the departments, incorporating Indigenous, Garifuna, Xinka, and Ladino women from rural areas. The creation of the National Women’s Forum, an organizational mechanism contemplated in the Peace Agreements, contributed to the mobilization of over 35,000 women. For most of them, it was an unprecedented experience to learn about their rights, organize and participate in political training processes and in the building of local agendas. It was a meeting point—not without tension—between women of diverse origins and peoples. This period also marked the incursion of more women in the State, in the urban and rural development council system, in municipalities, and in political parties. Dialogue processes with the State, cooperation agencies, as well as local and national social auditing took place (Navarro, 2015).

From 1990 to 2010, women’s organizations led the demand for the creation of institutions to promote and defend their rights: some of the most relevant being the Public Defender’s Office for Women, the Public Defender’s Office for Human Rights of the Human Rights Ombudsman, the Public Defender’s Office for Indigenous Women, the Presidential Secretariat for Women, the Women’s Commission in the Legislative Body, and the National Coordinator for the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Violence against Women.

They also lobbied for the approval of laws and public policies in favor of women, including the Protection of Women’s Dignity Act (1999), the Social Development Act (2001), the Universal Access to Birth Control Methods Act (2005), the Act against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence against Women (2008) and the Act against Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation (2009). Approved in 2001, the Policy for the Promotion and Integral Development of Women defines goals, indicators, and state responsibilities and is also linked to the global agenda of the Millennium Development Goals (2000) and Sustainable Development Goals (Agenda 2030). When formulating this policy, the contribution of feminist groups and women’s organizations, locally to nationwide, convened by the National Women’s Forum was significant (Navarro, 2015).

By 2010, the women’s movement was already present throughout the territory and was characterized by being polyphonic, broad, and diverse. Indigenous women were creating their own organizations, with agendas that prioritized anti-racism, the vindication of their mother tongues, textiles and clothing, historic memory, and the demand for justice due to crimes committed against their communities during

the internal armed conflict. They were also emerging as defenders of the territory, faced with the threat of extractive, hydroelectric, monoculture, and mining projects in their communities (Monzón, 2015).

An interesting part is the recent emergence of young women's groups, of feminism that uses social media and different artistic expressions to take a stance. Even during the COVID-19 pandemic, women's social organizations have not stopped emerging and demanding their rights.

## **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

In Guatemala, most women—particularly Indigenous and Ladina women in rural areas—face precarious economic conditions that limit their economic, physical, and political autonomy. Clear inequality gaps exist in access to land ownership. According to a study by the Central American Network of Rural, Indigenous and Peasant Women (RECMURIC), rural women in Guatemala only manage 15 percent of land (including ownership, rent, and other forms of access) (RECMURIC, 2015). A similar situation can be seen when it comes to home ownership. Generally-speaking, 56.4 percent of homeowners are men, and only 25.8 percent are women, while Indigenous women are at a greater disadvantage, owning only 18.8 percent of homes compared to 62.7 percent of Indigenous men (ICEFI, 2018).

In terms of employment, according to the 2019 National Employment Survey, 70 percent of the Economically Active Population (EAP) has informal jobs, without an employment agreement or access to social security. This is more marked in rural areas, where 73.2 percent of men and 80.6 percent of women work under those conditions. The overall workforce participation rate of Guatemalan women was still 38.7 percent in 2019, and the employment situation for women is expected to be even more difficult following more than two years of the pandemic, especially if those women are also mothers with young children.

The economic sector in which women work include services such as domestic work, accommodation and catering, and retail trade (35.4 percent) (ICEFI, 2018). On the other hand, in agriculture, the contribution of women is not adequately stressed because their work is seen as a complement to men's wages or because their work is considered to be part of their gender role. In fact, in the Labor Code, the work of women in agriculture appears under the figure of “contributory” to that of men. Only 13.9 percent of women of the EAP by economic sector are considered agricultural workers.

Another gender gap is related to income levels. Women earn on average 25 percent less than men; meanwhile, in rural areas, this percentage rises to 30 percent. According to a newspaper report (Sandoval, 2018), based on the analysis of 37,299 workers in all ranks and positions, from four executive branch ministries—Public Health, Social Development, Agriculture, Livestock and Food, and Foreign Affairs—it was evidenced that “on average, women earn a monthly salary of Q4,864, and men, Q5,838. In other words, women earn almost Q1,000 less.” As for Indigenous women, the difference is much more marked.

The precarious economic situation is also expressed in terms of increased migration, both domestic and international. Approximately 53.4 percent of internal migrants are women (ICEFI, 2018), also making up 22.5 percent of those who migrate to the United States. In both areas, their jobs are related to role of caregivers and are multiplied in conditions of disadvantages when it comes to Indigenous women with little knowledge of other languages or who are unaware of their rights. Over the last three decades, there



has been a rise in the migration of Indigenous and rural populations from the departments of Huehuetenango, San Marcos, Quetzaltenango, Quiché, and the Verapaces (Yagenova, 2019).

The sum of these conditions limits the possibilities for women’s political participation, especially within the framework of the political party system and public institutions, as identified in the political survey report (2021), which concludes that “both education and formal employment are strong predictors of political participation and, thus, the women’s lower attainment in these areas likely serve as barriers in closing gender gaps” in politics.

## **POLITICAL REGIME AND POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEMS**

Guatemala is a republic whose political regime is representative democracy. The citizenry elects, through voting, individuals nominated by political parties to hold elected office and exercise delegated power. Every four years, the heads of government, President and Vice President, representatives by national list, representatives of the Central American Parliament, and local representatives—the corporations of the 340 municipalities of the republic—are elected. This basic feature of democracy was limited for almost three decades between the 1960s and 1980s, when several military governments succeeded one another, and critical party expressions were repressed, disqualified as communist or socialist (Gálvez Borrell, 2008).

In 1984, after one of the bloodiest internal armed conflicts, a National Constituent Assembly was convened, resulting in the promulgation of a new Constitution of the Republic. New political parties were formed, ideologically positioned from the center to the right. In 1995, 41 years later, a left-wing party stood for election and has remained a minority option in the political spectrum ever since due to, among other reasons, voting conservatism (Masek, 2019).

The political party in Guatemala is a multi-party system. In other words, the law does not establish a limit for their registration. New parties emerge in each electoral process<sup>6</sup>; on average, political parties are in force for two electoral processes, which shows that Guatemalan citizens do not generate partisan identity and their vote is circumstantial (Dabroy, 2018). The political party system has its weaknesses, such as excessive party fragmentation, volatility, and instability: “a political oligopoly due to high admission and operating barriers, prohibitive operating costs and excessive procedural regulation” (CICIG, 2019).

Various analyses conclude that political parties have not fulfilled their role as political institutions and articulators for social interests and intermediaries between society and the State. The way they are composed, as well as their agendas, dynamics, and proposals have responded to the interests of economic and political elite, not to the interests of the majority population (Rodas Nuñez, 2017). Political parties do not tend to practice internal democracy, nor do they promote political formation processes, such that their agendas do not embrace the demands that social movements such as Indigenous peoples, youth, environmentalists, and women have been building over the last 30 years.

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<sup>6</sup> New political parties with the same leaders are created—as is the case with the current President, who ran three times with a different party each time—as well as new parties with different leaders, such as those that have arisen in recent months, although their visible leaders are not very well known.



In these hierarchical, centralized, and exclusive spaces, women—particularly those with critical thinking abilities—continue to face patriarchal barriers, such as lack of confidence in their skills, monopoly and control of decisions, and scarce economic resources (NIMD, 2019). Party structures make it difficult for women to contribute ideas, propose new relationship styles, and influence the inclusion of women’s demands in party programs. The autocratic leadership rationale is imposed, and connections with illegal networks that are expressed in dubious financing, low credibility, and client-based actions are factors that exclude women, as many of them do not belong to these power networks (CICIG, 2015).

Over the last two decades, even though more women are affiliated to political parties as candidates and elected for public office, their positions tend to be conservative. They do not question the sexism in society or in the party system, and Indigenous women are not particularly represented because “they do not promote beneficial policies that respond to women’s demands” (Toro & Antonio, 2019).

## ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

The electoral system refers to the set of rules and procedures that regulate the voting process stages through which citizens express themselves and delegate their representation. The Guatemalan system is based on the concept of electoral constituencies at three levels: national, departmental or district, and local.

According to Table I, the types of elections and the way in which the positions are awarded differ and range from simple majority to proportional representation of minorities.

**Table I: Election Types and Award Procedures**

POSITION	ELECTION TYPE AND AWARD PROCEDURE
Presidency and Vice-Presidency	Absolute majority and ballot
Councils	Proportional representation of minorities
National list	
District	
Central American Parliament	
Municipal corporations—councilors	Simple majority
Municipal corporations—mayor and union offices	

Source: *Asociación Alas de Mariposa, 2022*

The rules governing the electoral system are based on the Electoral and Political Parties Law formulated within the framework of the 1985 Constitution. In 37 years, this law has been partially amended seven times, with the intention of streamlining bureaucratic registration processes, internally democratizing parties, strengthening finance control, and regulating electoral campaigns. However, the reform that incorporates affirmative actions to promote more women as candidates for elected positions remains unapproved (ASIES/CICIG, 2019).

Ever since the 1990s, women's organizations such as *Convergencia Cívico Política de Mujeres* [Political Civic Convergence of Women], *Asociación Política de Mujeres Mayas Moloj* [Political Association of Mayan Women], *Unión Nacional de Mujeres Guatemaltecas* [National Union of Guatemalan Women], *Alas de Mariposas* [Butterfly Wings], and *Asociación Integral En Género Y Derechos Humanos Para América* [Integral Association on Gender and Human Rights for the Americas, ASIGDHA] have proposed a reform to the Electoral and Political Parties Law from a gender perspective. Particularly, that a reform to article 212 be included, to contemplate 30 percent participation in party candidate lists at first, and from it, the demand for parity and alternating cycles, considering gender and ethnic equity, to encourage the participation of women and Indigenous women as candidates in elections for public office. However, male representatives and some female representatives in the Congress of the Republic and the Supreme Electoral Court have refused to support this demand. In 2021, an appeal on the grounds of unconstitutionality was filed to correct this disparity but has not been resolved.

In 2020, the *Tribunal Supremo Electoral* (Supreme Electoral Court; TSE) convened the *Comisión de Actualización y Modernización Electoral* [Commission for Electoral Updating and Modernization CAME] made up of representatives from social organizations, women's organizations, and political parties to analyze the outcomes of the electoral process and put forward proposals to improve the electoral system. A total of 1,041 proposals for modifications were submitted, classified in several areas: electoral system, electoral process, political organizations, financing, auditing and mass media, electoral justice, and strengthening of the electoral body. In the debate, the participating women's organizations also included the issue of political violence that affects women and constitutes another factor discouraging their participation (Monzón & Tillit, 2020).

## VOTER REGISTRATION SYSTEM AND PROCESS

In order to exercise the right to vote, it is necessary to register. Requirements include being 18 years of age or older, having a personal identification document (PID), and going to a branch office or to the citizen registry of the Supreme Electoral Court. The procedure is completed in person and once-only, after which the data are only updated if the individual's address changes. Some registration difficulties are related to the lack of resources of individuals to process their PID and that many TSE branch offices are located in urban centers, such that those who live in remote villages need resources to get there.

## VOTING ABROAD

There was a major change in 2016, when the right to vote abroad was enabled, which was suggested immediately after signing the Peace Agreements, representing a demand of United States-based migrant organizations. This right only applies to elect the President and Vice President, not for Council Members or Mayors. In order to guarantee the right to vote for Guatemalan citizens abroad, the Supreme Electoral Court issued a specific regulation that governs all matters related to the implementation thereof (Agreement Number 274-2016). This regulation construed voting abroad as "a voting process held in the territory of a foreign country for citizens living outside their country of origin," and the registration and vote casting procedures are regulated. It was not until the 2019 elections that this was carried out for the first time. However, there were several flaws, making the number of voters low.

## 2. CURRENT STATUS OF WPPL

### POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Analysis Framework measures gender gaps in the following forms of political participation: 1) membership in a political party; 2) non-electoral forms of political participation, which include a) membership in civic and political organizations or decision-making bodies, b) contacting an elected authority about a social, economic, or political issue, c) attending a political rally or campaign rally, d) signing a petition addressed to a government authority or office, and, e) participating in a protest; and 3) voting.

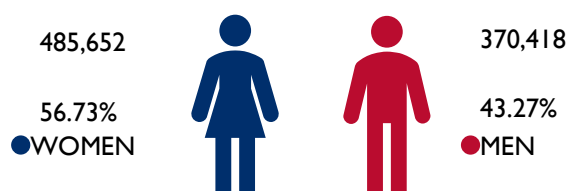
In addition to voting and formal requirements, democratization processes are strengthened when citizens actively participate, with formed criteria and the necessary information to delegate power to their representatives. Guaranteeing the representativeness of the population allows for peaceful coexistence and a balance between citizen rights and duties.

The low participation and representation of women questions the real existence of modern democracy, given that it is contradictory that women—who make up half of the global population—are underrepresented and governments continue to be male-dominated.

### JOINING A POLITICAL PARTY

According to the TSE as of August 27, 2022, there are currently 28 political parties in force, with 856,070 members, 56.73 percent of which are women and 43.27 percent are men (see Figure 1). It is worth highlighting that approximately 70 percent of the women affiliated with political parties are illiterate, while the same datapoint for men is only 18 percent.

**Figure 1: Members According to Sex**



Source: Official Supreme Electoral Court Website

According to this information, women represent more than half of political party memberships, a quantitative reality that contrasts with the actual participation of women within party structures and as candidates for popularly elected positions (the candidacy gender gap is addressed in the following section). The WPPL General Survey suggests that 3 percent of men are party members, compared to 1 percent of women, which contrasts with official TSE data regarding a higher number of women who are current party members.<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that joining a party requires registration.

<sup>7</sup> This datapoint could contrast with the TSE data for various reasons. On one hand, the survey took place in 2021, and new parties have been registered and more women have registered with parties through July of 2022. Additionally, there could be some response bias for this survey question.

The instability and adaptability of political parties generates uncertainty and lack of confidence among the population. According to 2020 Latinobarómetro data, 59.3 percent of women said they had no confidence in political parties, a percentage similar to that of men (58 percent) in general, and 88 percent of the population indicated that they did not feel close to a particular political party (Latinobarómetro, 2020).

Interestingly enough, the opinion regarding women's participation in political parties is increasingly favorable. As revealed by the survey of the general population, 52 percent stated that their communities would agree that families should let their daughters join a political party. This result was similar to those who stated that their communities would agree that families should let their children do so (54 percent) (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

One factor that influences more women to be interested in political party engagement is related to the example and encouragement of other women who have had a more active participation in political parties or have run for elected office. One interviewee stresses the importance of promoting spaces for other women: "Our colleagues have had and have played or we have played a key role in trying to integrate increasingly more women at different participatory levels, truly, as members, candidates, and leaders of our party" (Kil, M, political candidate profile). It is a fact that more women are participating than before, as seen in the recent data from the TSE, but their actual possibilities of being elected or having space to make decisions are still few, as detailed in the following section.

#### NON-ELECTORAL FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The following are considered non-electoral forms of political engagement: 1) membership in civic and political organizations or decision-making bodies; 2) contacting an elected authority about a social, economic, or political issue; 3) attending a political rally or campaign rally; 4) signing a petition addressed to a government authority or office; and 5) participating in a protest (see Table 2). Larger gender gaps are observed in these forms compared to the gender gap in voting, especially in communicating with officials and taking part in protests or demonstrations but also in attending campaign events or political acts (WPPL General Survey, 2021). It is safe to say that the public sphere continues to be male dominated, that women still do not have political capital or networks as is the case with men, who have greater access to officials, to sign petitions, and to participate in public events.

**Table 2: Participation of Women and Men in Non-electoral Forms of Political Participation**

NON-ELECTORAL FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	WOMEN (% SAYING YES)	MEN (% SAYING YES)
Have you ever contacted an elected official about a social, economic, or political problem?	9	15*
Have you ever attended a political rally or campaign event?	32	37*
Have you ever signed a petition directed at a government official or office?	10	18*
Have you ever participated in a protest?	9	15*
Do you belong to or participate in a group that tries to solve problems in your community?	5	10*

Source: WPPL General Survey, 2021.

Note: \* denotes statistically significantly different from the corresponding result for women.

The participation of women in other spaces that are not encompassed in party politics represents an important form of political participation. According to the survey of the general population, 5 percent of women and 10 percent of men are members of a group that tries to solve the problems in their communities. This joining of civic and political organizations or decision-making bodies sometimes constitutes a platform prior to getting involved in political organizations with electoral purposes at the regional or national level. As stated by an informant, “I come from social organizations. I understood that although the need to defend rights from the streets is important, it does not suffice. That is what encouraged me to take a step from the social sphere to electoral politics” (KII, M, political party profile).

Community organizations promote a series of demands that are usually important for women because of their socially assigned roles and also because they are the ones who spend most of their time at home and take care of children and the elderly. Local organizations constitute a field of action and advocacy to improve living conditions for women, their families, and their immediate environment. The motivations that lead women to participate in organizations are diverse, as are their profiles.

“[Women who participate in these groups are] ... women from communities who organize themselves, social and community organization leaders, or Indigenous authorities, women engaged in defending rights and lowering the levels of violence against women, women very committed to feminist movements, or mothers, sisters or relatives of women who have been murdered.”

(KII, M, political profile).

“There are very critical issues that also favor participation, such as the lack of water in neighborhoods and the lack of security, which is why I believe that participation is revived when faced with a need or a very specific and local issue in which people can integrate.”

(KII, M, low education profile, mixed ethnicity).

Community Development Councils, school parent committees, neighborhood associations, and other CSOs that work alongside women in the territory have become promoters of women’s participation. Some have also established themselves as spokespersons between communities and officials or institutions related to the solution of social issues, such as drinking water, solid waste, water resource contamination, health, security and education issues, among others (Marroquín & De León, 2011; Domínguez, 2021).

In fact, as shared in one focus group, in view of practical daily necessities:



“Three women got together and started asking where there was no water. And I have no idea where they would get water pipes from, so they began to distribute water throughout the colony. That’s community help” (GF, F, high education profile, mixed ethnicity).

However, the likelihood that women can have contact with an elected official is lower (9 percent) than that of men (15 percent), meaning that the mere fact of being a woman already represents a disadvantage in contacting an official. The same occurs with signing a government petition (10 percent of women vs. 18 percent of men) (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

With respect to the participation of Indigenous people in non-electoral political activities (such as those in Table 2), the survey results reveal a statistically significant difference when compared to people who identify themselves as non-Indigenous, with higher percentages of participation for Indigenous people. This suggests that norms against women’s political participation are less restrictive in Indigenous communities than non-Indigenous communities. It is striking that Indigenous women tend to be more politically engaged—non-electoral—than non-Indigenous women, who tend to be the least politically engaged group (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

Women generally express only marginally less interest in politics than men,<sup>8</sup> and when they think about their future political activity,<sup>9</sup> women report that they hope to participate in politics at similar rates as men (Politicians Survey on WPPL Report, 2021).

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<sup>8</sup> These data refer to an index based on responses to “How interested are you in politics?” and “How often do you talk about politics with people in your household?”

<sup>9</sup> These data refer to an index based on responses to the questions about how much they believe they will engage in the following political activities in the future: contacting an elected authority about a social, economic political issue; attending a political rally or campaign rally; signing a petition addressed to a government authority or office; and participating in a protest.

## VOTING

The act of voting is key to the exercise of civic rights and duties. As a basis for the act of voting, voter registration should be noted. Table 3 shows the rise in the number of registered women, a basic requirement to exercise the right to vote.

**Table 3: Number of Registered Voters, by Sex**

ELECTORAL YEAR	TOTAL	MEN		WOMEN	
		QUANTITY	%	QUANTITY	%
2003	5,073,282	2,829,737	55.6	2,252,545	44.4
2007	5,990,029	3,180,909	53.1	2,809,120	46.9
2011	7,340,841	3,604,672	49.1	3,736,169	50.9
2015	7,556,873	3,482,423	46.1	4,074,450	53.9
2019	8,116,233	3,760,188	46.3	4,356,045	53.7

Source: Supreme Electoral Court

In terms of voting, the data from the general population survey establish that both men and women stated to have voted in the most recent general election in similar percentages: 60 percent of women vs. 62 percent of men, which suggests that voting does not constitute a significant gender gap in political engagement. This is supported by the response of 97 percent of the surveyed population who personally think it is appropriate for women to vote in elections (vs. 86 percent of the surveyed population who believe that all or most people in their communities would think the same) (WPPL General Survey 2021).

The percentage of the population that reported not having voted in the last elections gave two main reasons: a) not being registered (13 percent) and b) not wanting to vote (16 percent). When this information is broken down by sex, 17 percent of women responded that the main reason they did not vote was because they were not registered, a significantly higher percentage than men (9 percent) (WPPL General Survey, 2021). This data suggests that, although the electoral register is composed of 54 percent women, registration continues to be an obstacle for women who do not vote.

As for those who did vote, when asked about the three main problems people faced when trying to vote, similar responses were obtained among men and women. Concern that family members would be angry with them was the main problem. Table 4 below details the responses by gender.

**Table 4: Main Problems People Face When Trying to Vote**

MEN	WOMEN
1. Family members will get angry (28%)	1. Family members will get angry (29%)
2. Scared of getting harassed, threatened, or hurt (11%)	2. Scared of getting harassed, threatened, or hurt (13%)
3. Scared it could affect their reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me (9%)	3. Scared it could affect their reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me (13%)

Source: (WPPL General Survey, 2021)

It is important to highlight the difference between men and women regarding the fear that their reputation or good name will be affected. Women have been conditioned to fulfill certain roles, which is why performing activities that are considered outside the established activities causes concern and fear, not only when voting, but also when running for elected office.

This makes sense when 60 percent of women state that they do not feel safe when getting around at night, compared to 39 percent of men. The generalized view of insecurity goes beyond the possibility of reputational damage and evidences the second problem for attempting to vote, as shown in Table 4 above, the fear of being harassed, threatened, or hurt is more marked in women (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

On the other hand, qualitative evidence emerges on the positive impact of the presence of women running for elected office. In one of the interviews, it was said that, if women see that other women appear on several ballots, the incentive to become engaged rises because that reflects progress in gender equity, especially in partisan political participation (KII, H, political party profile).

## VOTING ABROAD

As previously mentioned, the first elections for President and Vice President available abroad took place in 2019 in four cities in the United States.<sup>10</sup> The number of people registered to vote abroad in the 2019 elections rose to 63,695, the majority being women, 39,434 vs. 24,260 men. These data are important to stress because it shows a greater civic responsibility of women.

The outcomes of this first voting experience in the first and second round are scarce, in terms of participation, given that only 734 votes were registered. Some migrants described the outcome as a “failure,” since the 734 votes represent only 1.18 percent of the total number of registered citizens and pointed out that there was little interest on the part of the TSE<sup>11</sup> in promoting the vote abroad and strongly criticized the fact that only four voting centers were set up in the United States, meaning that if someone had the intention to vote, they had to travel such long distances to do so” (Morales Rodas, *¿Cuánto costaron los 734 votos de los guatemaltecos en EE. UU.?*, 2019). It is worth noting that the outcome

<sup>10</sup> With the support of Guatemala’s Ministry of Foreign Relations, the following cities were established as the having the greatest presence of Guatemalans: Los Angeles, California; Houston, Texas; Silver Spring, Maryland; and New York, New York. The voting centers were located in consulates.

<sup>11</sup> [https://www.prensalibre.com/tema/tse/?utm\\_source=modulosPL&utm\\_medium=linkinterno&utm\\_campaign=ux](https://www.prensalibre.com/tema/tse/?utm_source=modulosPL&utm_medium=linkinterno&utm_campaign=ux)



of the scrutiny of votes cast abroad was favorable for Thelma Cabrera, an Indigenous female candidate for the MLP party, who obtained 235 votes, more than twofold the number obtained by the second place, Alejandro Giammattei of the Vamos party, who obtained 109 votes in his favor (Morales Rodas, 2019).

## **POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

Political leadership qualities include both personal aspects, expressed in political trajectories, as well as political capital, relationships and resources. Women's leadership has been less studied, but it is clear that there are still preconceived notions regarding their leadership skills, representation of others, authority and competence. The rise in the number of women registered over the last decade—although significant—has not led to major changes in the number of candidacies or women elected to popularly elected positions.

## **CANDIDACIES AND NOMINATIONS**

In 2015, 4,582 women candidates ran for elected office, compared with the 7,245 women who ran in the 2019 electoral process, which represents a 58 percent rise, and an indicator of women's growing interest to engage in politics but still does not reduce the gender gap when analyzing the final total of people running for all elected offices. Even so, according to data from the Supreme Electoral Court, in the 2019 electoral process, out of every five people running for elected office, only one was a woman. The WPPL General Survey indicates that the population's main reason for not having voted for women in the past is that "there were no female candidates" (39 percent of men vs. 42 percent of women) (WPPL General Survey, 2021). As for the scarcity of female candidates, it is worth noting the outcome of the general population survey (2021), in which 59 percent of women (vs. 43 percent of men) indicated that they would be "not at all likely" to run for office if offered the opportunity.

A relevant fact was that the participation of two high-profile female political actors was suspended. In the case of Zury Ríos, former congresswoman and daughter of Efraín Ríos Montt—who was Head of State in 1982 through a coup d'état and who was linked to crimes against humanity—the Constitutional Court revoked her registration in accordance with Article 186 of the Constitution (Hernández Mayén, 2019). It also denied the candidacy of Thelma Aldana, former Attorney General (2014–2018) who led legal proceedings against high-level authorities, such as former President Otto Pérez Molina and former Vice President Roxana Baldetti, and ended her term confronting the then-President Jimmy Morales and other powerful actors, in accordance with the law. However, she was denied registration due to issues related to her termination and alleged crimes while in office (Del Águila, 2019).

The high number of presidential candidates was another decisive factor in the 2019 elections: a total of 24 candidates registered, although 19 ended up participating after some candidacies were revoked and denied. The table below shows the number and percentage of women, in relation to men, who ran in the last general elections in Guatemala.

**Table 5: Elected Positions, by Sex, 2019**

ELECTED OFFICE	TOTAL CANDIDATES	WOMEN	MEN	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN	PERCENTAGE OF MEN
President	19	2	17	10.53	89.47
Vice President	19	5	14	26.32	73.68
Representatives by National List	363	102	261	28	71.90
Representatives by Electoral Districts	2,127	601	1,526	28.26	71.74
PARLACEN Representatives	119	52	67	44	56
Municipal Corporations	32,523	6,483	26,040	19.93	80.07
Total	35,170	7,245	27,925	20.5	79.5

*Prepared by the authors with data from (Ruiz Galeano, 2019)*

The meager participation of women is clear, reflected in the statistical data of the candidacies at all levels but especially for the President of the Republic: out of a total of 19 candidacies, only two women ran for office. Despite the weak representation of women in these spaces of partisan political participation, one of them, Sandra Torres for the UNE party, managed to make it to the second round.<sup>12</sup> It is worth noting that it is the second time she has lost the election after reaching this point

On the other hand, the participation of Thelma Cabrera, an Indigenous community leader, nominated by the MLP party, was a counterpoint to the profile of previous electoral campaigns. She obtained 450,000 votes, 10 percent of which were valid, an unthinkable fourth place in a racist and sexist environment. Her performance was relevant during the campaign, placing perspectives, demands, speeches, and forms that break with a rigid electoral scheme.

The limited engagement of women as candidates is in contrast with the impact of some of them who—without having been registered—kept a high political profile and were active in the media, and who—like Cabrera—gave a surprising turn to the electoral map.

It is clear that support for women to hold high public office varies. Just over half of the population stated that all or most people in the community would consider it appropriate for a woman to run for Mayor (61 percent) or even for President (59 percent). But other data from the same survey show that the view persists that men make better political leaders than women. In fact, 28 percent of the population

<sup>12</sup> Article 201 of the Electoral and Political Parties Law (LEPP). By absolute majority. This system, only applicable to the President and Vice President elections, consists of the fact that the winning ballot must obtain, at least, half plus one of the valid votes cast. If none of the ballots obtain such majority in the first election, the second election must be held with the two ballots that have obtained the highest number of votes.

stated that they believe that all or most people in the community would agree with this idea (WPPL General Survey Report, 2021).

With respect to women already in political office, it is important to note that in the survey of politicians, female respondents showed less “progressive ambition”; 25 percent of women said they were satisfied in their current positions, compared to 18 percent of men.

### REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC

As shown in Table 6, the number of female representatives has risen very slowly in recent years.

**Table 6: Number of Representatives, by Sex**

ELECTORAL YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES	WOMEN		MEN	
		QUANTITY	% OF TOTAL	QUANTITY	% OF TOTAL
2003	158	14	8.9	144	91.1
2007	158	19	12.0	139	88.0
2011	158	19	12.0	139	88.0
2015	158	22	13.9	136	86.1
2019	160	32	20.0	128	80.0

*Taken from ICEFI (2021).*

In the last elections, only 22 women obtained a seat in the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala by electoral districts and 9 obtained a space by national list, with a total of 31 women elected to the Legislative Branch. In both cases, the disparity is even more marked with Representatives and Mayors, to the detriment of Indigenous, Afro-descendant, Garifuna, and Xinca women. For example, in the entire history of the republic, there has not been one single female Afro-descendant, Garifuna, or Xinca Representative, while Maya women have occupied few spaces, in comparison with mixed or Ladina women; only two of the female representatives elected in 2019 Indigenous, which also partly responds to the number of women who managed to run for these positions.

According to the TSE’s Electoral Report, out of the total number of candidates per national list, 28 percent were women. In addition to this low percentage, women have a lower likelihood of being given the first position in the candidate list, which is the position that has a greater likelihood of obtaining a seat in the Congress of the Republic.

**Table 7: Women and Men Elected by Electoral District, 2019**

ELECTORAL DISTRICT	NO. OF ELECTION OFFICIALS	NO. OF WOMEN ELECTED	NO. OF MEN ELECTED
Central District	11 representatives	2	9
Guatemala	19 representatives	3	16
Sacatepéquez	3 representatives	0	3
El Progreso	2 representatives	0	2
Chimaltenango	5 representatives	2	3
Escuintla	6 representatives	0	6
Santa Rosa	3 representatives	0	3
Sololá	3 representatives	0	3
Totonicapán	4 representatives	0	4
Quetzaltenango	7 representatives	0	7
Suchitepéquez	5 representatives	1	4
Retalhuleu	3 representatives	0	3
San Marcos	9 representatives	2	7
Huehuetenango	10 representatives	3	7
Quiché	8 representatives	1	7
Baja Verapaz	2 representatives	1	1
Alta Verapaz	9 representatives	2	7
Petén	4 representatives	0	4
Izabal	3 representatives	2	1
Zacapa	2 representatives	1	1
Chiquimula	3 representatives	0	3
Jalapa	3 representatives	1	2
Jutiapa	4 representatives	1	3

*Prepared by the authors with data from the Supreme Electoral Court in 2019*

According to the analysis conducted by ASIES (2019), out of the total number of women nominated by national list, 85 percent were included in the lowest polling stations within the list, so that they had less chances of being elected. These seats in turn are determined by the investment or monetary and non-monetary contributions made in support of the nominating party; as such, the candidacies also depend on these factors. Out of the nine women who won a seat on national list: five occupied the first box on

the nomination list, one occupied the second box, two occupied the third box, and one occupied the sixth (Ruiz, 2019). It should be noted that, in 10 of the 23 electoral districts, no woman was elected.

Citizens tend to have a positive view of women as Legislators: only 5 percent of respondents felt that government performance would be worse if there were more women in the Legislature (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

The Central American Parliament<sup>13</sup> (PARLACEN) is the representative body to which most women were nominated (44), although only seven were elected (35 percent). Although these data constitute an advance in the participation of women in this body, it is important to stress that this election registered the highest number of invalid votes (20.6 percent), given the low legitimacy of Parliament, which may be one of the reasons for which women have been relegated as candidates to that space (Ruiz, 2019).

### DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL SYSTEM

The Urban and Rural Development Councils Law, Decree 11-2002, contemplates the mechanisms for organization and coordination among social organizations, including women, and the executive body to promote the creation of development policies, plans, and programs from the local to the national level. The Development Council System is integrated by levels, as follows:

- The national, with the *Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural* (National Urban and Rural Development Council, CONADUR)
- The regional level, with the *Consejos Regionales de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural* (Regional Urban and Rural Development Councils, COREDUR)
- Departmental, with the *Consejos Departamentales de Desarrollo* (Departmental Development Councils, CODEDE)
- Municipal, with the *Consejos Municipales de Desarrollo* (Municipal Development Councils, COMUDE)
- The community, with the *Consejos Comunitarios de Desarrollo* (Community Development Councils, COCODE)

The Development Council System has promoted: 1) women’s political representation, participation, and dialogue; and 2) the presentation and discussion of proposals on the needs of communities and women at the different levels of the system (Marroquín & De León, 2011). However, it is full of difficulties, some of which are operational in nature and others political. Even though women have played a leading role since the system’s creation in terms of organization and participation,<sup>14</sup> most initiatives have been led by men. In a historical perspective, on the one hand, possibilities have opened up for the advancement of women’s citizenship in this space. On the other hand, it limits them due to the perversion of a system that does not recognize them, or—many times—their participation “is not respected by the same State institutionality, which in some cases manipulates them” (Marroquín & De León, 2011).

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<sup>13</sup> PARLACEN is a body of political representation of the Central American peoples and the Dominican Republic. It is part of the Central American Integration System (SICA) whose parliamentary functions are oriented toward sustainable development, guaranteeing peace and human rights in the region. Its representatives are freely elected by universal voting in all member countries—dating back to 1987—and stems from the Esquipulas Declaration. Its official headquarters are located in Guatemala.

<sup>14</sup> No exact data were found on the percentages of women and men who participate in these councils.

Despite these situations, women have managed, from the local to the national level, to have some sort of impact on improving living conditions for themselves and their communities.



“As women, we participate in these actions. Everything is political, not only from a party organization. It is in the interest of improving their lives, their communities, a deep interest in the common good, in caring for the environment, becoming engaged, voting, participating in COCODE or in environmental groups, in sports and in community improvement.

(K11, F, political party profile).

### WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS

The municipal participation of women was the lowest within the electoral process; out of the total number of nominations from political organizations, only 19 percent were represented by women.

**Table 8: Nomination for Municipal Corporations, 2019**

POSITION IN MUNICIPAL CORPORATION	WOMEN	MEN
Mayor	227	3,000
Acting Ombudsman	902	5,355
Alternate Ombudsman	532	2,032
Acting Councillor	3,433	11,870
Alternate Councillor	1,389	3,783
Total	6,483	26,040

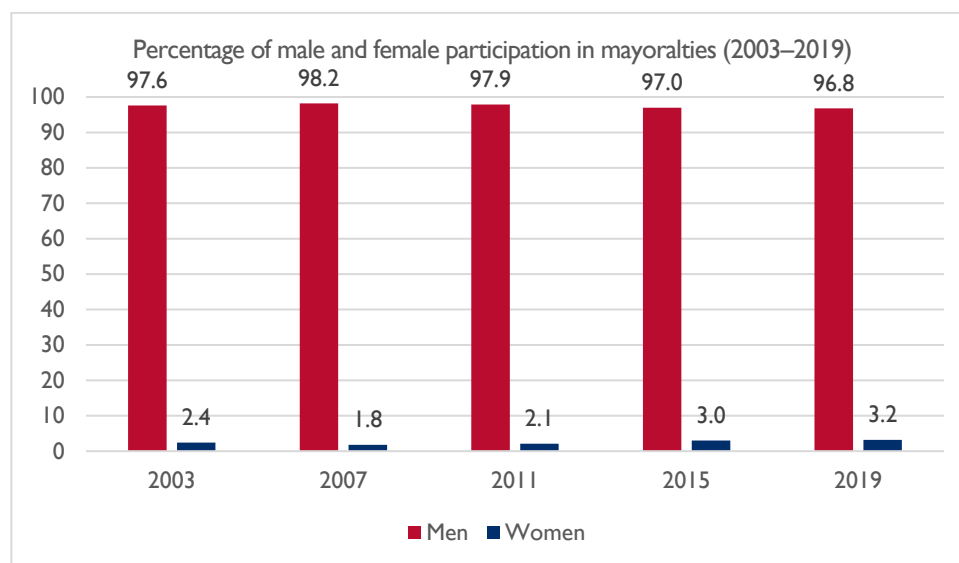
Source: Electoral Report, 2019

Out of 27 political organizations that nominated male and female candidates for the election of municipal corporations, only 12 stand out for a greater incorporation of female candidates. However, it is important to highlight that the percentage of women does not exceed 30 percent in any case (Ruiz, 2019).

With respect to the position of mayor, which is the highest position within the municipalities, the number of elected female mayors has barely varied in 16 years, from 2.4 percent in 2003 to 3.2 percent in 2019 (Figure 2). The small advance could be explained by the meager participation of women as

political party and electoral civic committee candidates, which depends not only on interest in running but also on external factors that limit their opportunity to exercise their civic and electoral rights.

**Figure 2: Percentage of Male and Female Mayors, by Year**



Source: For 2003-2011, INE (December 2013). Guatemala: gender indicators; for 2015 and 2019, information from the TSE

In 2019, only 10 women were elected as mayors and one more assumed the position through a landslide, totaling 11 (3.2 percent) female mayors out of 340 municipalities; incorporating the variable of ethnicity results in only one Indigenous woman occupying this position. In terms of council spaces, the percentage of women’s participation is 10.98 percent but is still minimal compared to men at 89.02 percent (Ruiz, 2019).

**Table 9: Municipalities with Elected Female Mayors, 2019**

NAME	POLITICAL PARTY	MUNICIPALITY	DEPARTMENT
Brenda Elizabeth Dell Cid Medrano	UNE	Chinautla	Guatemala
Alicia Méndez González	PODEMOS	Parramos	Chimaltenango
Dora Aldina Pérez Martínez	PODEMOS	La Democracia	Escuintla
Aura Marina Orantes Gaitán Bran	UNE	Masagua	Escuintla
Floralma Morales Contreras Quiñónez	UNE	La Gomera	Escuintla
Blanca Estela Mendoza Méndez	TODOS	San Martín Zapotitlán	Retalhuleu
Edilma Elizabeth Navarizo De León	UNC	La Blanca	San Marcos
Irma Elizabeth Ávila Alvarado Molina	UNE	Malacatancito	Huehuetenango

NAME	POLITICAL PARTY	MUNICIPALITY	DEPARTMENT
Mayra Elizabeth Altan Palencia	VAMOS	Flores	Petén
Mirna Yohaira Vargas Trujillo	UNC	Estanzuela	Zacapa
Celestina Tepaz Acalón de Tul	UNE	Santa María de Jesús	Sacatepéquez

(Due to vacancy in 2021)

Prepared by the authors with data from the Supreme Electoral Court

## WOMEN IN THE GOVERNMENT

Women have rarely occupied strategic positions where they make decisions for the Executive and other governmental institutions. Currently, out of 14 ministries, the Ministry of Education is the only one led by a woman. During the beginning of the 2020–2024 presidential term, three women were named as ministers—Culture and Sports, Education, and Health; however, two of them were replaced for various reasons, and those ministries are now led by men.

These recent occurrences follow a tendency in the country’s history, a tendency demonstrated by an article published by the Ocote Agency (2020) that counts the number of women who have led a ministry from 1986 up to the year 2019. In 33 years, only 34 (5.5 percent) women have been at the head of a ministry whereas 252 (94.5 percent) men have held such positions (*Mazariegos, Gabinetes de gobierno en Guatemala: Por cada diez hombres, una mujer, 2020*).

In the same article, it is interesting to note the ministries that, between 1986 and 2019, have been led by a woman: the Ministries of the Environment, Communications, Development, the Economy, Governance, and Foreign Affairs have only ever had 2 women fulfilling the role of Minister; the Ministry of Culture and Sports, 6; the Ministry of Education, 5; the Ministry of Finance, 5; the Ministry of Labor, 3. The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Energy and Mining have only ever had 1 woman as Minister, whereas the Ministries of Agriculture and Defense have never had a woman at the helm (*Mazariegos, Gabinetes de gobierno en Guatemala: Por cada diez hombres, una mujer, 2020*).

The current counts of women who hold high positions in the Federal Government are:

- Constitutional Court, out of 5 Justices, 2 are women (40 percent)
- Supreme Electoral Court, out of 5 Justices, 2 are women (40 percent)
- Supreme Court of Justice, out of 13 Justices, 6 are women (45 percent)—including the president of the Supreme Court of Justice
- Public Prosecutor's Office, 1 woman Attorney General (second consecutive term)



The reasons for greater women’s representation in these entities are related to their alignment with a conservative political orientation, as well as the fact that currently more women fulfill the qualities for these positions than in the past.<sup>15</sup>

The presence of women in government positions does not guarantee that their interests will be representative of all women in the country. Albeit women must work two or three times as much for their capabilities to be recognized, many times their behavior comes in response to biases that perpetuate gender stereotypes and *machista* practices—to the detriment of other women. This opinion was expressed in the focus groups as well as in KIIs. According to one participant in a focus group, “There are *machista* women, with *machista* ideas” (FG, M, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity). One key informant commented, “The women who do occupy political offices and who do not have conscience and are not committed to women and the advancement of their rights” (KII, F, profile: women’s group).

“The spaces filled by women with no conscience have had impacts due to their lack of action; there are women who have been given participatory spaces, but they do not take advantage of them because they are women who reflect all that is negative. The cadre of influence in the government has 10 people, 6 of whom are women: 2 in the Constitutional Court, 1 in the Supreme Court, there’s the Public Prosecutor, and the President of Congress. Of the three branches of the Government, two are headed by women, and these women have not shown conscience nor have they fulfilled women’s needs.”

(KII, F, profile: women's group)

They are also under pressure to prioritize the interests of the parties or political groups that back them instead of the demands of women (Toro & Antonio, 2019). This is exactly the sentiment expressed by one interviewee: “There are women who are used as members within the parties just to say they are complying with the gender quota that is required each year. Many women are deceived. There are also women who, because of ambition, have risen to power by buying their way into office. There are few women who participate politically and who have conscience, since the parties have turned into companies” (KII, F, profile: women's group)

## WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES

One indicator of hierarchy in politics is the gender gap among leaders of political parties. According to records from the Department of Political Organizations in the Supreme Electoral Court, in 2022, there were 23 registered political parties, in which there are only five women listed as general secretaries of the National Executive Committees. These women are:

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<sup>15</sup> The process of electing members of the courts is through Nomination Commissions that present a list and then Congress decides on the members; the political party with the most seats has the most influence on who is elected.

**Table 10: Political Part General Secretaries (Women), 2022**

POLITICAL PARTY	GENERAL SECRETARY
VALOR	Ana Ingrid Bernat Cofiño
UNE	Sandra Julieta Torres Casanova
WINAQ	Sonia Marina Gutiérrez Raguay
Prosperidad Ciudadana	Dami Anita Elizabeth Kristensson Sales
Unión Republicana	Astrid Judith Melgar Figueroa

*Prepared by the authors with data from the Supreme Electoral Court in 2019*

In some political parties, such as Movimiento Semilla and WINAQ, volunteer measures involving quotas of women running for office have been adopted as a way to foster inclusion internally, as indicated by a key informant, who participates in the board of directors of one party: “There has been an internal struggle to achieve, and mainly an effort by women, to establish within our party that women should have a minimum participation.... It’s been established that participation should not be lower than 30% [...] We haven’t achieved that percentage; we’re at about 20% because of the country’s limitations and conditions (memberships). Additionally, the vast majority of women are Indigenous, that makes it really hard.... There’s discrimination for being a woman but also for being Indigenous; it’s a condition that has really limited women’s participation” (KII, F, profile: political candidates).

When general population respondents were asked about political party recruiting, 13 percent of men reported that they have been recruited to run for political office, compared to only 5 percent of women (WPPL General Survey, 2021). However, it is clear that women are identifying their own potential as leaders, as affirmed by one woman, “But we’re also hard workers, and we’re also leaders in our communities” (FG, F, profile: non-Indigenous), and this profile does not go unnoticed by political parties, “I feel that, in politics, we as women, because you’ll notice that, when they start their campaign, the first ones they seek out are women community leaders” (FG, F, profile: Indigenous).

The rise in women running as candidates in political parties does not qualitatively change the stereotyped picture of women, since among the motives for recruiting women is the objectification of their image, as expressed by several key informants: “Women’s figure is there, of course, as a means to get votes” (KII, F, profile: political candidates). Additionally, assigned gender roles are perpetuated in political parties, since women are assigned inconsequential tasks during the electoral process, as was mentioned in one of the interviews: “Women are allowed in so they can go hand out fliers, so they can go participate in neighborhood rallies, but when it comes to including them in decision-making, in rank and file, to moving them forward and supporting them for campaigns, there’s definitely a large gap there” (KII, F, profile: politician).

### 3. DRIVERS OF THE WPPL

In this section we will examine the drivers of the WPPL in Guatemala, factors that have a positive or negative influence on the three results of the WPPL: 1) women's political participation, 2) women's political leadership, and 3) women's participation and political leadership in civil society, mass media, and the economy. Key drivers include: the legal framework, gender roles and stereotypes, education and training, mass media, personal and political networks, gender-based violence, participation and leadership in the private sector, participation and leadership in civil society, participation and leadership in the public sector, and voter interest.

#### POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

##### LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The legal framework as it relates to political participation in general and, specifically, by women is insufficient in many ways. The fact that the Electoral and Political Parties Law (LEPP) has undergone at least seven reforms since it was approved in 1985<sup>16</sup> is an indicator of its unclear provisions, its inefficacy, and/or its discretionary interpretations, which have resulted in a political system characterized by a lack of transparency and an emphasis on formalities. Furthermore, “the false idea that a citizen's maximum aspiration should be to participate in elections every four years by voting” (Hillerman, 2015) has prevailed when, in reality, political participation should be more integral and systematic and should involve all of society.

There are shortcomings in the legal framework that limit women's political participation in political parties and that have been debated in various social and political spaces. These shortcomings include unlimited reelections in local governments and in councils, a lack of regulation of private funding, the institutional weakness of the Supreme Electoral Court in its regulatory role as well as in its regulatory, supervising, and supporting role of the citizenry. There are also client-based practices and a tendency for politicians to defect to opposing parties.

Social aspirations have been to democratize the State and society itself, which goals were outlined in the Peace Accords as an indispensable condition to safeguard peace. For this, it is necessary to eliminate structures of political, social, and economic exclusion as well as openly biased legal standards, and it is also necessary to transform cultural norms. Only through these efforts will active public participation in decision-making and management of collective affairs be increased in an organized and informed way.

##### GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

Men and women's political participation is affected by their unequal relationships and, above all, by stereotypes and gender roles, which are perpetuated by processes of socialization as well as cultural, economic, symbolic, and educational norms and practices that reinforce what is considered appropriate for men and women, conditioning and limiting their options, desires, and decisions.

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<sup>16</sup> It is important to highlight that the LEPP is a constitutional-level law, and as such its reform requires a two-thirds vote of all the congressional representatives, prior to a favorable judgment by the Constitutional Court.

These stereotypes and gender roles—accompanied by others based on ethnicity, age, and place of origin, among other conditions—are constructed collectively and encompass all spheres of life, including political participation. Even though the country’s legal framework ensures all people’s civic, political, and electoral rights—including the right to vote and to be elected—a fundamentalist view of women based on their sex has permeated the social imaginary in such a way that their participation has been reduced to a minimal gesture.

The conception surrounding the role of women in the private sector is the result of “profoundly *machista* ideas, where women have been relegated, or it has been thought or long ago was thought that a woman existed mainly to take care of children and domestic responsibilities. (...) The most a woman could aspire to was to marry and devote herself to the home, to rearing children” (FG, M, profile: highly educated). The objective reality of many women continues to be the home, as was mentioned in one of the focus groups “what they mostly do is cook, make food for their children, for their husband, wash clothes, clean the house, all that. It’s what I’ve seen because not all women have studied” (FG, F, profile: less educated).

According to some informants, these social norms come from years ago and carry with them a cultural element: “Mayan women’s upbringing tells us that, since quite a long time ago, people instill in women first, to be afraid of man; second, to serve him at home and to take care of the children. That is how women have been brought up since past times. We have not seen much change. Now women have had maybe a minimal role in social, cultural, religious, and educational contexts” (FG, M, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity). Another participant commented, “Normally women are always going to be in favor of men because they will want to keep themselves submissive when dealing with a man. It is something that is just psychological, right, something learned” (FG, M, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

In the results from the general population survey, we have evidence that the idea that “men should make decisions in the home” still persists in popular consciousness. The survey showed that 84 percent of men and 77 percent of women stated they thought some people or even all people in their community would agree with this norm. In particular, people from the evangelical religion and who have less education thought their community would agree with this norm. Additionally, the survey demonstrates that men were statistically more prone to saying that they had more control over their decisions compared to women, for both general decisions as well as political decisions (Table 11), and these differences were especially pronounced for evangelical women (compared to evangelical men) and for Indigenous women (compared to Indigenous men) (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

**Table 11: Control Over Decisions**

DECISION	MEN (% REPORTING FULL OR A LOT OF CONTROL)	WOMEN (% REPORTING FULL OR A LOT OF CONTROL)
<i>Control over own decisions, general</i>		
Leaving the house to go to the community	56*	48
Who you spend time with outside the home	53	49
When to seek healthcare for yourself	62*	58
Leaving the house to visit family	53*	44
<i>Control over own decisions, political</i>		
Leaving the house to go to a community meeting	52*	42
Leaving the house to go to a political rally or other campaign event	45*	39
Whether to vote or not to vote in a general election	60*	49
Who to vote for in a general election	59*	47

Source: WPPL General Survey, 2021

Ethno-racial stereotypes further inhibit the participation of Indigenous and Afro-descendant women, and these stereotypes are in addition to gender discrimination, an issue that was mentioned in the key informant interviews: “Politics is composed of non-Indigenous men who limit the participation of women, of Indigenous peoples, and of young people, which is why the space and opportunity of being in a political party is necessary” (K11, H, profile: politician).

Although gender, ethnic, and racial roles and stereotypes persist, we are beginning to observe positive factors that could drive greater political leadership. There is a greater awareness of the importance of comprehensive education for women as well as “getting men to understand the role of women in society in its entirety and not just in a domestic capacity” (FG, M, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity). However, this is sometimes relative when dealing with impoverished communities that limit girls’ and women’s access to education.

Nonetheless, as we saw in a previous section, the general population survey (2021) demonstrates that there is no strong social norm demanding women not vote, given that 97 percent of the population considers it appropriate for women to vote in elections. The fact that this figure contrasts with the 86 percent of the population that believes all or the majority of the people in their communities would think the same (WPPL General Survey, 2021) suggests that some personal attitudes may be more progressive than social norms. Following this line of thinking, even though 52 percent of people believe that the people in their communities would agree with letting their daughters affiliate with political parties (as we have already seen), 73 percent of the population indicates that they would personally allow their daughters to affiliate.

## EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Disparity in access to education, health care, safety, and other fundamental rights represents a structural and historical barrier to women fully enjoying their civic and political rights. According to the report by the *Colectivo de Educación para Todas y Todos de Guatemala* [Education for All Guatemalans Collective], “Women are more excluded from the educational system than men: 31.6 percent of girls and adolescents between 3 and 18 years old [were] not in school [in 2011] compared to 28.6 percent of males. In 2011, more than 60% of young women between the ages of 16 and 18 did not register for any level of schooling compared to 57% of young men of the same age” (Pérez, 2021).<sup>17</sup>

The statistical figures reflect an adverse situation for women, which is at the same time a result of a social norm that has relegated formal education to a privilege meant for men. However, this situation has changed slowly, and now there is a common perception that women and men have the right to study: “Having the same right to education, whereas before they almost didn’t give women the opportunity, now we have the same right as everyone else” (FG, F, profile: non-Indigenous). However, objective conditions and cultural patterns continue to limit the exercise of this right.

Indeed, when we dig deeper into the factors that prevent girls from attending school, it is worrying that 68 percent of men and 67 percent of women stated they think some or all in their community would agree with the following norm: “Girls should go to school only if they are not needed at home” (WPPL General Survey, 2021). This suggests that even when there is more awareness of the right girls have to study, entrenched gender norms are still very present, which place girls at home carrying out domestic tasks and taking care of younger brothers and sisters.

Child malnutrition, multidimensional poverty, the technological gap made clear by the COVID-19 pandemic, and the lack of investment by the government in infrastructure are conditioning factors that make it difficult for children to access and persevere in the educational system. Likewise, in the case of girls, even menstruation, complicated by the taboo surrounding it, affects school attendance because some girls and adolescents do not understand the changes their bodies are going through due to a lack of information both in the home as well as in educational centers. Additionally, the lack of personal hygiene supplies and potable water in schools turns a natural biological process into an obstacle for education (Fundación Educativa Fe y Alegría Guatemala, 2021).

Sexual violence and forced pregnancy are risks that are a part of the reality girls and adolescents face all over the country, and these two issues also have a direct correlation with dropping out. During 2021, 2,124 pregnancies were recorded for girls 10 to 14 years old, with 97,478 pregnancies for girls 15 to 19 years old during the same year (OSAR, 2022). Between January and July of 2022 alone, 1,268 births among girls ages 10 to 14 years old and 39,535 births among teens ages 15 to 19 were registered (OSAR, 2022). In the majority of cases, these girls and adolescents are forced to keep and rear their babies, which constitutes a direct violation of their rights, limiting their opportunities for full development.

These factors are combined with others such as child labor; forced marriage; physical, sexual, or emotional violence; harassment; human trafficking; language-based exclusion, especially for Indigenous

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<sup>17</sup> This is the most recent figure separated by sex that we were able to find.

girls; disability; and domestic as well as international migration. Some of these structural problems were identified by participants in the focus groups.

“The source of all this is the lack of academic preparation, and this is why they always think that women are only good for housekeeping and taking care of their children” (FG, F, profile: Indigenous).

“This happened with our parents because they didn’t let us women go study, but they would, on the other hand, allow men. So, they would tell us women to take care of the animals, grind food for the hogs, which would be milling corn (FG, F, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

Despite the data that reflect such an unequal reality in terms of gender, there is a genuine interest to bring equity to education access because it is seen to improve women’s quality of life. Additionally, it is likely that there is a direct relationship between access to education and knowledge about politics: “It’s important that all our children go to school so they are able to understand what kind of positions they can accept, positions within the community, and so they can speak Spanish well” (FG, F, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

The education gap is still wide, especially for Indigenous women in rural areas who have been denied access to formal education because of their sex, as expressed by an Indigenous woman, “I can’t read. I can’t write” (FG, F, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).<sup>18</sup> The historical exclusion of women is further reaffirmed by an illiteracy rate of 48 percent for Indigenous women and 19 percent for non-Indigenous women (Pérez, 2021).

Despite the formal education system’s limitations, women have found technical courses offered by local governments, through Municipal Women’s Departments, or through civil society organizations. These courses are normally free or low-cost. These technical skills become a means of family subsistence, as was mentioned in a focus group: “if we are given [...] men’s work or housework, [...] we are able to do it. We know how to do it really well. In my case, I learned, I haven’t graduated from anywhere, but I have two ways of getting ahead. I know how to work as a beautician, and I can do metal work. I have two ways to make my own way and stand out” (FG, profile: non-Indigenous).

Concerning knowledge about politics and political efficiency, there are two large disparities. For instance, while 17% of male respondents could correctly name the party in power, only 6% of female respondents were able to correctly do so, and women are 10 percentage points less confident than men (36 percent compared to 46 percent for men) in understanding the most important politics topics in the country (WPPL General Survey, 2021). In order to close these gaps, it is imperative we “foster civic education from a young age and during primary, secondary and tertiary schooling” (KII, M, profile: government). In addition, in at least three of the eight focus groups, some participants voiced assumptions that women’s low self-esteem could be a factor limiting their political participation.

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<sup>18</sup> The government of Guatemala invests 3.3 percent of its GDP in education, which represents a low percentage in comparison with the regional average of 4.4 percent (<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS?locations=GT-ZJ&view=chart>). Although there is evidence that the government of Guatemala has invested in improving access to education in rural areas ([https://www.centralamericadata.com/en/article/home/Guatemala\\_150\\_million\\_for\\_Education](https://www.centralamericadata.com/en/article/home/Guatemala_150_million_for_Education)), the gaps persist.



## GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Violent crimes against women and girls are the most commonly reported crimes in Guatemala's justice system; out of the 20 types of registered crimes, approximately 16 percent correspond to violent crimes against women and girls (Mirador Judicial, 2020). According to data from the Public Prosecutor's Office's Women Observatory, during the first half of 2022, 200 reports linked to violence against women have been filed daily. Of these, 65 percent can be classified as involving physical, economic, or psychological aggression; 12 percent involving sexual violence; 5 percent involving sexual aggression; and 1 percent involving sexual crimes, femicide, and/or violent death of women<sup>19</sup> (Observatorio de las Mujeres del Ministerio Público, 2022). Nonetheless, it is estimated that between 66 percent and 75 percent of violent crimes against women and girls are not ever reported (Mirador Judicial, 2020).

The risks of violence to which women are exposed were posed in the general survey when respondents were asked how safe they feel while moving throughout their communities during the day. The results reveal that more men than women stated they strongly agreed that they feel safe (18 percent of men compared to 13 percent of women), and women tended to disagree that they feel safe (19 percent of women compared to 14 percent of men). Along that line, similar gender differences were detected from the people's own evaluations of their safety when traveling at night. The data are overwhelming: 60 percent of women compared to 39 percent of men said they disagreed or strongly disagreed with feeling safe when traveling at night (WPPL General Survey, 2021). The insecurity women are referring to includes sexual harassment on the street, since 39 percent of women reported that when they go out into their communities, there are boys or men who make sexual comments, gestures, or noises; 32 percent of women reported this happening several times a month (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

Violence against girls, adolescents, and women is a tactic used to subordinate and control their bodies and lives and is maintained in a patriarchal system that legitimizes it and makes it seem natural to such a point that its manifestations are considered normal and are socially tolerated. "A lot of the time, a woman will see it as normal or natural. So she ends up feeling submissive. It's better for her to feel submissive than empowered because with men you often get all the physical and psychological aggression, even sexual aggression. Reacting to that, what can a woman do when confronted with a man who wants to dominate" (FG, M, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

In this vein, women tend to believe more than men that their communities condone gender-based violence. Twenty percent of women compared to 11 percent of men think that most people in their community believe a husband is justified in beating his wife if she leaves the house without telling him. This tendency was sustained when the same question was asked with regard to personal belief. Ten percent of women report they personally think it is justifiable for a man to beat his wife if she leaves the house, compared to 7 percent of men. Although this lessens the mismatch between perceptions of the community norm and the actual perception of attitudes, the mismatch is greater between women (20 percent vs. 10 percent) than it is between men (11 percent vs. 7 percent) (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

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<sup>19</sup> In 2008, Guatemala enacted the Law against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence against Women, which defines violence against women as "Any action or omission based on belonging to the female sex that results in a woman's immediate or subsequent harm, physical, sexual, economic or psychological suffering, as well as threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private" (Decree No. 22-2008). This law establishes the different manifestations of violence against women, namely: psychological, physical, sexual, economic, and femicide.



The aforementioned data reveal an important pattern seeing that women’s obedience and/or submission to their husband or significant other can be considered a factor to reduce or prevent physical violence and is made all the more worrying because it confirms that when a romantic partner exercises control over a woman, subordination and submission are socially tolerated and lead to a normalization of this kind of behavior. “I think that when it comes to women and their participation in a social aspect up to a political aspect, there is a huge gap [...] because women have been denigrated and discriminated in a cultural context” (FG, M, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

It is worth mentioning that sexual harassment is one of the aggressions that is least reported to the Public Prosecutor’s Office, given that it is not classified as a crime, so instead it is catalogued under psychological violence,<sup>20</sup> sexual aggression, violation of sexual privacy or sexual exhibitionism;<sup>21</sup> obscene exhibitions;<sup>22</sup> and if the victim is a minor, it is reported as attempted sexual abuse.<sup>23</sup> A study carried out by UN Women reveals that women argued that they did not trust the National Civil Police (PNC, *Policía Nacional Civil*) since they may downplay their report; they further expressed that for other types of crimes, victims are also not protected nor are perpetrators punished (UN-Women, 2017).

In the results of the WPPL General Survey, it was found that cases of harassment were more evident among non-Indigenous urban women and educated young women younger than 30 years old; however, it is very likely that some women surveyed were not comfortable talking about this topic. Worrying about sexual harassment likely hinders some forms of political engagement among young, educated, and urban women, such as attending political events or considering running for political office.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that violence, which is perpetrated in the majority of cases by men against women, does not incur any sort of punishment, whether legal or social, as was mentioned by one interviewee as they referred to an occurrence in one country in the Central American region: even when men who are public figures commit acts of violence or harassment, this does not affect their popularity; voters do not see these actions as crimes, which contributes to normalizing violence against women (KII, M, profile: government).

## **WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

### **LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

There are laws in Guatemala that ensure free political participation of male and female citizens. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, despite the presentation of various reform initiatives (especially Article 212), there is no article within the LEPP that regulates gender quotas (whether mandatory or voluntary) within the structure of political parties, nor is there a norm for male and female candidates to run based on an established percentage or a principle of alternating cycles, as mentioned by one of the key informants: “There isn’t a legal framework that regulates women’s participation; for instance, we don’t have gender parity quotas regarding participation in legislatures [...]. There’s nothing to force

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<sup>20</sup> Law against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence against Women (Decree 22-2008).

<sup>21</sup> Law against Sexual Violence, Exploitation and Human Trafficking (Decree 9-2009).

<sup>22</sup> Article 195 of the Penal Code (Decree No. 17-13).

<sup>23</sup> Law for the Integral Protection of Childhood and Adolescence (Decree 27-2003)

political parties to include women on their forms [...]. Even though there are international covenants ratified by Guatemala, [...] in practice, they haven't been honored" (KII, F, profile: mass media).

These structural barriers and discriminatory laws are reflected by the low ratio of women in political offices, in the central government as well as local governments, and due to this, there is a persistent demand that there should be more women working in politics, an equal number of women compared to men in Congress and that political parties should have mandatory spots to be filled by female candidates (Politicians Survey on WPPL Report, 2021).

If women's political participation as candidates and in elected offices seems minimal, when we incorporate an ethnic perspective, exclusion is worse because Afro-descendant, Garifuna, and Xinca women have never had representation in the legislative body even though their community leadership is undisputed. Indicated among the demands of one of the women's organizations, given we are still celebrating the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015–2024) is "the creation of seats in Congress specifically for people of African descent, just like other countries have done. Specialized seats could be created to give our ethnic group and Indigenous peoples minimum representation" (KII, F, profile: women's group).

As a consequence, women's participation on the political stage continues to be a challenge, which is why it is imperative to change the way politics is carried out, starting with legal, institutional, and above all, cultural changes because "until there is more explicit legislation that summons women to participate in politics" (KII, F, profile: political party leader), full participation will not be possible. Likewise, it is necessary to take into consideration that while legal norms "related to parity or quotas are a factor that does make a difference" (KII, M, profile: government), culture does carry a great deal of weight, as expressed by a focus group: "The laws are open, women can be free to participate, but they do participate and people don't vote for them anyway because they deem them as ineffective for certain tasks" (FG, M, profile: highly educated).

Demanding parity is a pending struggle in the country, and it is met with obstacles stemming from several sources, particularly from political parties that cite Article 4 of the Political Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala regarding freedom and equality in rights "to affect the same reforms intended to be made to the Electoral and Political Parties Law, and because of this, it shouldn't be necessary to establish a quota system" (KII, M, profile: government). Along these same lines of analysis, one of the interviewees affirmed that "the law is general, it doesn't specify gender.... In no way is there any limitation, and therefore it isn't necessary to regulate something in the law that isn't specific" (KII, M, profile: community leader).

These positions stand in contrast to the demands of different segments of society, particularly women's organizations, who have insisted on the importance of reforming the Electoral and Political Parties Law, specifically article 212: Regarding the nomination and registration of candidates, since only by having a norm that pressures political parties will women be taken into consideration and have more opportunities to participate. With such a reform, nominations would not just be up to political parties but would also need to comply with the law.

This demand coincides with the results of the WPPL General Survey Report (2021), which found that "71 percent of women believe political parties should be required by law to nominate a minimum number of female candidates. On the other hand, only 65 percent of men agree or strongly agree with

this question,” which reflects that the country has not put forth enough effort toward gender equality in political participation and that the patriarchal culture is very ingrained.

Affirmative action measures could be proposed so that more women are registered as candidates or elected to political offices, using parity and alternation as principles of reference, at different levels, from Development Councils all the way up to the Congress of the Republic.

## GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

The normalized and patriarchal notion of gender roles and stereotypes has a negative influence on the political participation and leadership of women because it doesn't offer the same opportunities to girls or to adult women.

During the process of socialization, different messages are sent to boys than girls. Boys are motivated to become leaders, show initiative, and take risks while girls are taught that the destiny of all women is to become a wife and mother, as was mentioned in one of the focus groups: “At a young age, girls are counseled to get married, become mothers, spend their time raising children, and carry out domestic tasks” (FG, M, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity). This limits their possibilities in adulthood because, even in families that value education, there is a prevalent idea that “before becoming doctors, before any profession, they first and foremost have the role of women, the role of motherhood. This limits them from seeking political participation, because they are compelled to be with their families full time, and when they choose not to be mothers, there is a social stigma that comes with that” (KII, F, profile: mass media). Cultural gender mandates are constantly activated that cause them to be pointed out “because they've abandoned their families (in the private sphere). In the public sphere, they are subject to derision and are criminalized” (KII, F, profile: women's group).

Women are effectively seen as caretakers, submissive, obedient, and as housewives, which forms a considerable barrier to their participation in public life, reduces their opportunities to fill important positions within party hierarchies, and also reduces their opportunities to run for public office. According to the WPPL General Survey Report (2021), “Domestic and child-rearing responsibilities tend to take up more free time for women than men, and this can represent an impediment for women's political participation and ambitions while not affecting men” (WPPL Surveys Report, 2021). Among the most important findings of the Politicians Survey on WPPL (2021) is that 76 percent of male politicians and 45 percent of female politicians surveyed were married. Men had an average of 3.6 children, compared to 2.7 for women, and 21 percent of men, compared to 13 percent of women, had children under the age of five at home. In addition, women who responded to this survey reported that their spouses do less than them and that they do more with respect to domestic chores (cleaning, laundry, and cooking) and taking care of children.<sup>24</sup> This trend suggests that women face a dilemma when they serve in public office: they must choose between family and career whereas men do not.

Women have capacity for leadership but, given they spend energy on motherhood, on taking care of the home, and on family, they become overloaded, their time is limited, and it is difficult for them to operate in the public sphere. This does not mean that they cannot serve in public positions, seeing as how the

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<sup>24</sup> With regard to household tasks, the difference is 3.5 (men) vs. 2.4 (women), and for taking care of children the difference is 3.4 (men) vs. 2.3 (women). For both, a 5-point scale is used, with higher values indicating that the respondent's spouse does more than them ( $p < .001$  for both comparisons).

general population's view toward women leadership is not negative. During the focus groups, it was mentioned that, although women's assigned role is entrenched to a certain extent, "Women are capable of anything for the well-being of their family. So, they fear that. People from that sector. They fear a woman becoming President" (FG, F, profile: Indigenous).

Gender stereotypes define what spaces are allowed for them, what capacities they will be recognized for, and even what behaviors are valid for them. Based on these allowances, women are assigned emotional characteristics of sensitivity and delicateness whereas men are associated with rationality, strength, and skill. These notions are ingrained, even among more educated people: "Men wouldn't vote for a woman because she might not have the grit to fight the crime we live with here in Guatemala. So, I don't think so, even if it were Zury Ríos or Sandra Torres. But I don't think women have the same mentality of brutality as men. ... Women, when it comes to fighting crime, I think the country would get away from her" (FG, F, profile: highly educated). Another focus group participant commented, "The laws are open, [women] can be free to participate, but they do participate, and people don't vote for them anyway because they deem them as ineffective for certain tasks" (FG, M, highly educated). This sort of attitude can even deny women's capabilities: "I've seen them say [to women] that they are good for nothing, that they're worthless" (FGD, F, profile: highly educated).

Gender roles and stereotypes are transferred into the system of political parties, turning the right to part participate, as a candidate or within the political parties' structures themselves, into an exclusive privilege for men. Evidence of this concept can be found in the aforementioned general population survey, which showed that only 28 percent of respondents stated they believe all or most of the people in the community would agree that men are better political leaders than women (WPPL General Survey Report, 2021).

Concerning gender leadership in political spaces, experts on the subject point out that the stereotype that politics is for men and women should not be there still exists in society (KII, F, profile: mass media); women continue to be associated with weakness; they "can't lead like men" (FG, F, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity), who are associated with authority and the gift of leadership. Therefore, "women are more heavily overloaded because they always have that duality of responsibilities. Also, certain prejudices prevail against them, that they won't be able to handle it or that they aren't prepared" (KII, F, profile: women's group).

This stereotyped attribution about leadership style partially explains women's meager presence in positions of leadership since their leadership style is brought into question because "they've got this concept that women do what their husband or their boyfriend tells them to" (FG, F, profile: Indigenous), which makes it so women's decisions and responsibilities when they are acting in positions of leadership are perceived as being influenced "because so-and-so told them what to do" (FG, F, profile: Indigenous), which denotes mistrust in women's capabilities.

Expectations surrounding work, leadership and behavior are greater for women than they are for men, which causes women's reputations to be affected during the process and execution of their duties. Society is more critical of women because "there's a stigma where a man isn't challenged when he's corrupt, but when a woman is, on the other hand, more attention gets called to it" (KII, F, profile: women's group). By contrast, no one calls attention to men. "When participating in politics, women aren't judged by their actions but by the fact that they are a woman" (KII, F, profile: mass media); these assertions reaffirm the cultural barriers women face in the political arena.

Although it is now politically incorrect to claim women are not capable, these ideas of women's incapability are deeply entrenched, as revealed by the WPPL General Survey Report (2021): Data concerning "gender norms in the community could indicate that there is a bias of social desirability. That is, individuals may not want to admit they hold regressive gender views but are more willing to concede that others in their communities think this way.

In the party structure, especially when leading up to an election, inequalities are exacerbated, as was stated by key informants as well as participants in focus groups; racism and machismo persist: "You could say there are women running, but there's always going to be a man behind her steering her. So we always come back to machismo" (FG, F, profile: highly educated). One key informant commented:

"Living in a colonialist regime, structural racism is a social scourge that hasn't been overcome by any government. There are no concrete measures that can be taken to eradicate racism. This is why when an Indigenous woman tries to run for a position in a political party, attention is brought to the fact she is Indigenous and a woman. For this reason, racism is a key factor that makes it so women can't and don't want to access these spaces"

(KII, F, profile: mass media).



Discrimination, exclusion, and racism crop up as structural barriers women face when trying to obtain votes, as expressed by an Indigenous woman during the group discussion: "I don't think non-Indigenous people would vote for someone wearing traditional attire because they see themselves as better than us. They put themselves on a pedestal, and we feel discriminated against as women; this happens to us often" (FG, F, profile: Indigenous). In line with this, a key informant commented, "What we were able to see is that the number of votes for the party and for the woman who was our candidate were low compared to other times when our candidate was a man, and this shows not just the machismo there is in society, from the patriarchy, but also the discrimination there is because being an Indigenous woman. That also weighs you down" (KII, F, profile: political candidate).

There is also a pattern of derogatory perceptions that tend to dissuade or discourage women from participating in politics because there is a tendency to associate women in a space mostly inhabited by men with ideas such as "there's something she wants" (FG, F, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity) or she's looking for or has found a lover (FG, F, profile: Indigenous). "This stigmatization comes from a large portion of men but also some women who have *machista* attitudes and who respond to the way we've been taught" (KII, F, profile: mass media).

In exercising power, it is evident that women suffer gender discrimination to varying degrees. For example, they are assigned commissions of little importance with little or no budget, or they experience

greater intimidation and higher demands to report on their duties. Machismo is dominant in these spaces.

“Women are only taken into consideration for errands or to prepare refreshments. Women have been used as ladder rungs for men; they move up and then forget about the women” (KII, F, profile: government)

“It’s harder for female candidates. There’s a double standard, and there are double judgments and higher barriers. As much when determining the quality of their political activity as their agenda and campaign. With anything female candidates do, they are much, much more critical of female candidates than they are of male candidates, with regard to their relationships and affiliations” (KII, F, profile: expert in politics)

“The municipal government is known for being *machista*, and that turned out to be a challenge when making decisions. This was when I was the Mayor, not when I was running for Mayor. I haven’t been insulted directly, but there were comments made about me” (KII, F, profile: government).

Despite all this, gender discrimination and stereotypes do not affect all women to the same degree or in the same way. For example, Indigenous women and Afro-descendant women frequently suffer cultural objectification.

“Social media only seeks us out for parties as folkloric artifacts, but our folklore is our resistance and resilience that stays alive thanks to women” (KII, F, profile: women’s organization)

It is also important to mention that women are not just passive victims of gender discrimination. Just like men, they can be active perpetrators of discrimination against politically active women, which has massive repercussions in leadership because women can be left without a gender support system to assist in political spaces. Additionally, focus groups identified a tendency for the public to judge female political candidates based on the actions of a select few.

“It happened to me, an experience that I did have in the past elections. And what most disappointed me was that women would tell me that I wasn’t going to be able to do it. They would tell me ‘Why are you running? You don’t have money?’ Really. That’s right, I don’t have money, but I’m proud to go represent all of you women. You should support me, but instead of supporting me, you tell me I can’t. It really was a complete disappointment” (FG, F, profile: non-Indigenous).

“The worst thing is that we already had a female Vice President, and she made us all look bad” (FG, F, profile: Indigenous).

I think that opening up a space in structures that already have their spaces partitioned off is something really difficult. I don't know if the negative perception left by some women who have participated in politics might be creating a stumbling block."

(KII, M, profile: religious leader)



Nonetheless, women in positions of leadership are key to motivating new leaders and to political participation in general. According to the Politicians Survey on WPPL (2021), women are more likely than men to report having been inspired by women role models growing up (7 percent of women and 1 percent of men), and women are more likely to report having received support to run for office by a woman figure in their life. These gendered patterns of outreach continue with current female politicians. Women are more likely than men to report that the last group of constituents they had contact with was made up of women (Politicians Survey on WPPL, 2021). The focus groups echoed the importance of role models: "If a woman is able to achieve positioning, it's like a door that starts opening, (...) but it has been very slow-going because of scarce participation" (FG, M, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity).

Regarding this topic, it is important to "begin to foster women's political participation, build new leaders, break ideological barriers at home that women can't participate because they're women, and raise public awareness to promote that leadership" (KII, M, profile: political candidate).

"I think there are men following women leaders. That's also true. If there are women leaders, they are acting as spearheads. And in their teams, it's not just women but men, too."

(FG, M, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity).

Since gender roles are behaviors stereotyped by culture, they can change. So certain patterns start to change. Some women "first build a career and participate in politics and then focus on having children or on those kinds of goals" (KII, F, profile: women's group). At the community level and from the perspective of midwives, they used to not feel comfortable speaking, but now they ask questions, give answers and question to see how things are going (KII, F, profile: civil society organizations) even though in cities, towns and communities "it's below where women's rights reach because men have always been given priority" (FG, M, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity).

## EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Representation of women in political spaces, as elected representatives and public servants, involves developing and strengthening their capabilities since "there is firm and increasingly more evidence that



the presence of women leaders in the political decision-making processes improves those processes”(UN Women, 2013) because women “have the capability to lead a nation just as much as they have the ability to lead a home” (FG, M, profile: Indigenous).

Even though political leadership is related to a person’s own abilities, there are factors such as capability, performance, responsibility, participation, and status that also define and are associated with how successful political participation is. Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that education is a determining factor (KII, F, profile: religious leaders) in strengthening leadership because it is fundamental for the development of individuals and societies.

In Guatemala, women are less likely to have an education than men, as shown in the 2018 National Population and Housing Census where the primary school completion rate was 43.8 percent for men, compared to 42.7 percent for women (INE, 2018), coinciding with data from the WPPL General Survey, 2021, which reported a greater share of men (93 percent) having attended an educational institution than women (84 percent); there are also more men who have attained a post-secondary degree (diversified and university) than women (37 percent compared to 28 percent).

This impedes women leadership, seeing that a greater percentage of women than men is of the opinion that a lack of training/education would be the main barrier to running for public office (WPPL General Survey Report, 2021). This was echoed by a key informant, saying, “Those who have more possibilities are women with access to education, to school. A woman who is more informed and who has gone through a process that has promoted her leadership has fueled her advantage” (KII, F, profile: women's group). Nevertheless, even educated women or women with higher levels of schooling face barriers to political participation that educated men do not.

Regarding politicians currently in office, the Politician Survey on WPPL Report (2021) reveals that “women are more inclined than men to say they feel they do not have the capability, the training, or the education necessary” to run for office again or accept the nomination for their current position, which means the country should enact public policies from a perspective of gender that will change the educational system; the country should also pass legislation that will generate other conditions for participation and change traditional paradigms (KII, F, profile: political parties).

## PERSONAL AND POLITICAL NETWORKS

Among the gaps that hinder women’s political path and leadership are the few contacts they have, if any at all, since their personal and political networks are not strong. In most cases, the networks they have are made up of family members who support their political candidacy and continuity. This coincides with various comments made by the female politicians interviewed for this study, who mentioned their primary support network being their family.



“The first person who told me I could contribute to the municipal government was my husband”

(KII, F, profile: government).



Women are more likely than men to mention members of their immediate family as those who supported their political careers; however, it is likely that the fact that women's networks are sparser and more familial constitutes an obstacle to their political participation, and in particular to their political ambition, since they enjoy less exposure to the people who might seek to recruit them.

The WPPL General Survey Report (2021) reflects this finding: "To gauge differences in men's and women's social networks, we asked respondents to name up to three individuals whom they talk to about 'the things that matter most' to them. On average, while men list 1.3 people out of three, women only mention one" (WPPL General Survey Report, 2021). This suggests men have denser social networks than women. In a FGD, one participant shared, "Maybe they'll let women participate, but due to a lack of support, women don't reach the position they wanted to reach due to a lack of support. That's why they end up more disadvantaged" (FG, F, profile: non-Indigenous). Some individuals interviewed also affirmed the importance of family support.

"What has happened a lot in Guatemala is that many women have participated because their husbands are general secretaries of political parties or they're Mayors [...] Women who are ideologically conservative or right-leaning from urban areas who have certain purchasing power and also women who would be able to provide funding to political parties."

(KII, M, profile: expert in politics)

According to the study *Entre la realidad y el desafío: mujeres y participación política en Guatemala* [Between reality and challenge: women and political participation in Guatemala], "Entrance into political spaces is facilitated when one has a surname common to the political or economic establishment or relatives, friends and/or contacts who are known in politics" (Vásquez, 2013), which is why those women who do participate in politics for the first time and who do not have such contacts will be less likely to win their elections. Additionally, whether a man in the family has participated previously has considerable influence.

"One factor is having any male family member who previously held a public office or who was an active member of a political party. It's very common to see here with popularly elected offices that the Mayor is the ex-wife of the former Mayor or is the daughter of a former delegate. There's also a sort of inheritability with popularly elected positions" (KII, F, profile: expert in politics)

"When a woman starts to run or becomes more visible, there can be people for her or against her; her support networks are different from a man's where they have a long history of civic engagement" (KII, F, profile: USAID).

In rural and Indigenous areas, these disparities are even wider because women do not have monetary resources or family backing that makes it possible for them to participate in political life whereas more women from urban areas "have purchasing power, economic power, they have family members who are politicians, [...] they're adept at working with business sectors and civil society" (KII, M, profile: expert in politics). This coincides with the fact that out of the 11 female Mayors in the country, only one is Indigenous. The same pattern repeats itself in the councils, where out of 32 female delegates: only two are Indigenous. The reach of support networks influences women both when they are deciding to run for office as well as when they are being recruited.

“They invited me to participate in politics, and my husband told me that women risk a lot, even everything, he told me, so he tended to make me afraid. I would’ve preferred for him to tell me: participate, be brave, go for it. Family support” (FG, F, profile: Indigenous).

There are several factors that have an influence on why women have less contacts or support networks, and this is mainly due to assigned gender roles since women pursue domestic roles, and their closest circle is the family. Nonetheless, participating in civil society groups and becoming part of the labor force are factors that would help women establish more robust networks, which would direct them toward more active political participation.

This is important as community groups likely serve as a conduit to other forms of political participation, including the desire to run for political office.

### GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Violence is continuous in the political arena, from the time women show interest in running for election to when they are nominated, to when they are candidates and participate in the electoral process, to the time they carry out their duties in office (Rodríguez Calva, 2019). This violence can be carried out by the State and its institutions; by political organizations; by the media and/or any individual or group of people no matter their sex, which includes women who have been socialized under the patriarchal system and have not been made aware of it. Along this vein, one ex-Congresswoman expressed having suffered threats because of her sexual orientation: “When I won the election and stated for the first time that I was lesbian, I received death threats, netcenters<sup>25</sup> identified specific people from within Congress; there were indeed direct questions” (KII, F, profile: politician).

These manifestations of violence transcend cultural, social, and institutional limits and threaten to harm women’s psychological, emotional and even physical integrity, as was made evident in the focus groups: “Look how pretty the delegate is, and every time she would show up in parliamentary photographs and everything, you’d always see memes based on her physical appearance” (FG, M, profile: Indigenous). This denotes a manifestation of objectification and violence that exposes women to all kinds of sexist, misogynist and sexually connotated messages, in an attempt to damage their mental health.

Turning to our politician survey, we observe that the most common problem female candidates report facing was experiencing rumors or gossip spread about them (38 percent of women respondents reported experiencing this). While male candidates also reported experiencing rumors or gossip, women might be particularly averse to putting themselves in this type of environment (Report on Politicians Survey on WPPL, 2021).

The focus groups also expressed opinions about the exposure female candidates face from public life and the attempts to damage their public image: “Violence definitely plays a role in all of its subtle manifestations because I’ve heard testimonies from women; there’s a type of political lynching meant to discredit a candidate because she’s a candidate. If she has some sort of a romantic relationship with

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<sup>25</sup> Netcenters could be defined as anonymous groups that create multiple fake accounts on social media, but they do not represent real people. In this way, tendencies of opinion can be created on social media that do not necessarily represent actual public opinion.

someone from that party, with another member of the municipal or federal government, or with a leader at the level of department” (KII, F, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

“We’ve seen a lot of discrimination towards women, referring to their physical appearance, certain characteristics, and they attack them with those sorts of things. Many say that the law against violence against women has already been authorized, but there are cases that reach a point where they become, not only disrespectful, but also reach a gray line where they can be considered a type of violence against women” (KII, M, profile: government).

The simple fact that they are exposed to these kinds of attitudes and sociocultural norms promoting violence represents a source of shame and social harm for women since aggressors are justified and victims are blamed for the aggression they are receiving. This phenomenon was evident in the focus groups: “The young woman had a university degree and became a deputy mayor. And everyone criticized her, even women. After this situation with this person, this young woman, there wasn’t ever another woman. Why? For the same reason [social exposure]” (FG, M, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

Based on the above anecdote, we could argue that gender violence is a direct deterrent to women’s political participation: “When we run for office, the political violence we suffer as women is stronger; the psychological impact is stronger too. I saw several colleagues decide not to get involved in politics because it’s very aggressive and because it doesn’t allow them to develop” (KII, F, profile: government).

In this sense, the construction of female leadership faces challenges and costs very different from those faced by men; many women already suffered violence within their family context, and then they suffer double violence when they participate in politics.

## **PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR**

According to data from the 17th National Population and Housing Census (2018), in general, there is a total of 292,753 people who work for the Guatemalan Government, 145,947 (49.85 percent) of whom are men and 146,806 (50.15 percent) are women. Nevertheless, these figures hide the fact that, due to gender roles and stereotypes, women tend to be assigned work based on their sex and not their capabilities, all within the framework of hierarchical power relations.

Because of this, women—most of all Indigenous, Afro-descendant, and Xinca women—do not enjoy the same opportunities as men who work in the public sector and much less so when it comes to filling important positions.

- The country’s history recounts few women who have held important decision-making positions, whether they be ministers, vice presidential secretaries, judges, and other public offices. The following figures demonstrate this reality: Since its creation in 1997, the National Civil Police has had 27 General Directors, but only 1 woman has held this position.<sup>26</sup>
- Since its creation in 1987, the Public Defender’s Office for Human Rights (PDH) has never had a woman at the head of the organization—only as Assistant Prosecutors.

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<sup>26</sup> Marlene Raquel Blanco Lapola (2008–2009)

- The Attorney General’s Office (PGN, *Procuraduría General de la Nación*) has never had a woman as Attorney General.
- Just one woman (and the first) was elected to head the General Comptroller’s Office (CGC, *Contraloría General de Cuentas*) during the period of 2010–2014. There have been women who have been assistant investigators.
- In the public university, there has never been a female Provost in 346 years.

According to UN Women, “When women are the minority in key decision-making spaces, their representation of women and roles as spokeswomen for female interests tends to be critical. Unless they have strong personal leadership and conviction, minorities and their contributions tend to be exposed to constant underestimation” (UN Women, 2018).

For this reason, it is necessary, as was mentioned in several focus groups, to place more women in important positions where decision is made, and they should not be placed in these positions only as a gesture to political compromise. Incorporating women into these positions is not just a matter of equality but is one of justice; it will encourage other women to exercise their right to participate and make inroads into the public sector. Over the course of this study, several opinions to this effect were gathered:

At a community level, “in meetings, they’re now taking us into account at the COCODES or Parent Councils at schools or colleges. Before, just men made up that group” (FG, F, profile: Indigenous).

## POLITICAL PARTIES

In Guatemala, gender equality has not been a priority for political parties; leaders do not consider women when thinking of candidates for popularly elected offices or positions within the party structure, which causes there to be a de facto political discrimination against women. For principal positions, “they always nominate men. They always relegate women to lesser positions, council seat seven, council seat eight. (...) What’s the point? In the end, their opinion—women’s opinion—isn’t going to matter anyway. So that’s also a limiting factor” (FG, M, profile: non-Indigenous).

On some occasions, some politicians have used offensive arguments to express their dismissal of including women, as Senator Fernando Linares-Beltranena voiced in 2017:

“Whatever the quota percentage may be, it’s unconstitutional, and it’s an offense to the women who have achieved it based on merit. The yardstick for getting into politics or any other thing should be merit and not simply for having been born by biological accident as a woman” (Prensa Libre, 2017).

Not considering women in political party structures is a recurring practice, as voiced by one of the interviewees: “There were only three women [in the party]. The department secretary, me, and one other person in positions of leadership. [...], but only two were able to participate” (KII, F, profile: political candidate).

Although political parties have units within their structures to promote and enable women’s participation, these are concentrated in the capital and do not reach municipal contexts. Such is

the case with *Movimiento Semilla* [Seed Movement]: “The political party has a Women’s Office but only at the national level, not the municipal level” (KII, M, profile: political party member).

In contrast, political parties justify the fact that there are so few women because they do not get involved and participate:



“We make an effort to invite women and for there to be a significant level of participation for popularly elected positions of leadership and for leadership in general of any party, but we still have many limitations.”

(KII, F, profile: participant in political party board of directors)

From this perspective, one factor to propel more women into leadership and participation is for more women to be on political party governing boards, as was suggested by a study done by UN Women Guatemala; this would facilitate the inclusion of additional women as potential political candidates.

Concerning political parties supporting men and women running for office, key informants claimed that there is no sort of differentiation on whether the candidate is a man or a woman because political groups will support either gender equally; however, it was evident that women are more hesitant to ask for economic assistance while men, by contrast, run into less difficulties asking for economic support, especially when the party leader is a man. In our interviews, we could not establish if it is more expensive for a political party to support a man or a woman.

“When it came to our fund-raising, we didn’t have any setbacks for being a man or a woman; it was very egalitarian for us. We had a diversity of professions, and that’s where we saw differences because it was much easier for a businessperson to get money than it was for someone who wasn’t a businessperson; someone who had a salaried job.”

(KII, F, profile: former political candidate)



If this opinion is contrasted with the fact that there are fewer women with economic resources, who have a profession, and who are businesspeople, we can deduce that there will generally be a disadvantage for women.

## VOTER DEMAND

According to data obtained from the WPPL General Survey Report (2021), men are more likely than women to agree with the statement “female and male politicians represent my interest equally” (33

percent of men vs. 27 percent of women). Meanwhile, in a more specific manner, women are more likely (19 percent) than men (8 percent) to agree with the statement “female politicians represent my interest better.”

The data also reflect a high demand for gender equality in Congress, manifested by 91 percent of women and a similar percentage of men, 89 percent. Around two-thirds of the respondents agree that affirmative measures should be undertaken to increase the positions filled by women, that is, a quota system to require that parties field a minimum number of female candidates (71 percent of women and 65 percent of men) (WPPL General Survey Report, 2021). This is backed by the qualitative data gathered from the focus groups.

“I think that [voting for a woman] could change a lot of things because women think differently than men. Women manage differently, but maybe their way is the better way; maybe it’s what we need” (FG, F, profile: less educated, mixed ethnicity).

“It would give us more benefits [if women were to run for a political office] in our courts, in our hospitals. Because as women, we think they would consider us in that sense—giving us benefits in hospitals, in education, in courts, for mistreated women, give more psychological treatment to many of us women who need it, more training, more work.”

(FG, F, profile: Indigenous)

“There are men who actually would vote for a woman” (GF, M, profile: Indigenous).

Despite the obvious need for gender equality in political spaces, the freedom to choose whom to vote for is a fundamental right and at the same time a citizen’s duty; nonetheless, some factors can influence that decision. For instance, as seen in Table 11, there is a 12-percentage-point gender gap in whether respondents feel that they have control over whom to vote for in a general election (59 percent for men vs. 47 percent for women). This suggests that, while we observe similar voting rates among men and women, women may feel pressured to vote in line with their families’ wishes more so than men (WPPL General Survey Report, 2021).

Social discourse about who deserves or does not deserve votes can form a mechanism of pressure to leave women out of the electoral odds. As has been described before, violence is multifaceted, and in this sense, persuasion surrounding a decision as important as whom to give one’s vote can be considered one facet of violence.

“The female candidate went to a second round of voting. I think she went to a second round twice; she got protest votes.”

(FG, M, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity).



Additionally, due to patriarchal socialization, women have *machista* patterns of behavior. Envy toward any woman who achieves an important position prevents them from voting for her, as was evident in our group discussions. “They are even envious among themselves. I think that’s why they themselves don’t vote for themselves” (FG, F, profile: highly educated, mixed ethnicity).

The interest people have in seeing increasingly more women running for popularly elected positions can be highly influenced by the presence of other women in positions of authority. Performing well in your duties can generate sympathy and in turn inspire other women. As one public official expressed: “Now women are projected in a more professional way, showing their leadership. [...] They project her as that woman who manages to stand out and manages to obtain that political candidacy. There are women leaders in the parties who have more votes than the parties [...] By being in the media, which has a lot of coverage, they also come to inspire other women who want to participate” (KII, H, government profile).

In contrast, a negative performance is presented as a deterrent for other women because it is expected that given the opportunities, women act differently from men. For example, the stereotype that women are less corrupt and think about the greater well-being is common; however, in practice, there are experiences that demonstrate the opposite and justify not supporting women.

As stated in a focus group, “For 12 years now, we have also become aware of the bad experiences of women who have obtained political office. The female candidates who have been in the highest positions lately, let’s say, they have been tainted with some tint of corruption. Obviously, men too.... But as for women, a change has not been made but rather remains more or less the same” (GF, H, higher education profile, mixed ethnicity).

## **PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP OF WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY, MASS MEDIA, AND THE ECONOMY**

Despite some progress in guaranteeing women’s rights and progress in the social perception of their abilities, stereotypes and norms continue to influence women’s organizational processes. As has already been indicated, the subjection of women in the home, family and care responsibilities, and a socialization process that does not encourage their leadership, weighs heavily when deciding whether or not to participate in civil society, in the media, and in the economy, three public spheres where women remain in the minority.

### **PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN CIVIL SOCIETY**

The leadership and participation of women in civil society has increased significantly in the last three decades, paradoxically in a society that continues to subject women to cultural norms that define them as beings lacking leadership, they have demonstrated strong abilities in organizational skills, management, persistence in their demands, and unprecedented actions as defenders of human rights and the territory. In contemporary history, women burst into the public sphere leading various social, political, economic demands, and demands for justice.

In a country devastated by an internal armed conflict and all its horrors, women have emerged as leaders of organizations that demand justice and compensation for the State, such as the case of the National Coordinator of Guatemalan Widows (CONAVIGUA), the Mutual Support Group (GAM,



Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo), and Association of Family Members of the Detained and Disappeared of Guatemala (FAMDEGUA), all created in the late '80s, all led by women. And in the context of the peace process, women formed other organizations in the region, many in departments with a majority Indigenous population (Méndez & Barrios-Klee, 2019). They have also been at the forefront of productive projects, of movements that claim sexual and reproductive rights, expression through art, formal education, labor rights, political rights, and spaces for communication among others (Monzón, 2015).

According to the general survey, 21 percent of women and 30 percent of men reported participating in some civil society group; of these, 43 percent of women and 50 percent of men hold leadership positions (WPPL General Survey, 2021).

In relation to political participation, there is a tension between political parties and CSOs, in part because they perceive that the parties do not have a genuine interest in solving social problems and that they only use civil entities for political and electoral purposes. As one interviewee puts it, “The party needs to have greater closeness, more acceptance of the demands of the organizations, and in this case, to achieve greater participation of women, greater acceptance of women. There has to be much more proximity with civil society” (KII, M, women’s group profile).

## MEDIA

In relation to the media, a distinction should be made between the active presence of women as producers, hosts, or authorized voices and the image projected by the media, especially the larger media with national coverage. In regard to the first aspect, the report *¿Quién figura en las noticias? Capítulo Guatemala* [Who’s in the news? The Guatemala Chapter] reveals that according to the monitoring of television, radio, and written and digital media in 2020, “Women continue to be underrepresented in the roles of spokespersons (14%), and they are mentioned as subjects in only 23% of the news. And neither is value given to their personal experience (20%), which is significantly lower than the 35% reported in 2015. In contrast to the data from 2015, when they excelled in their popular opinion role at 75%, which is now down to 50%. In their role as news presenters or reporters, the gaps persist, only 39% in written media, 40% on the radio and 41% on television” (Galicia & Monzón, 2021).

On the other hand, the image that is projected of women in the media and social networks negatively influences the perception of their participation, especially when they get involved in politics, as stated in a focus group: “It has a lot to do with what they say, what is heard. It is heard, for example, so-and-so is running for President, and bad rumors have already begun. There are already rumors that she has done illegal things. It is come out on television. Then, this also leads us to think: this isn’t going to work, then it’s better, we’d rather not vote for this person.” (Focus Group, W, Indigenous Profile). In this way, the media continues to reproduce stereotypes in relation to the capacities of women, that she is a woman, and she doesn’t have the capacity to take on issues, programs or projects” (Focus Group, M, high education profile, mixed ethnicity).

The media, according to the perception of one of the people interviewed, tend to be more critical of female politicians: “If it is more critical and harsher with female candidates, there is a double standard and there are double judgments and higher barriers as well. Also, when it comes to classifying political activity as a campaign agenda, there is much more criticism of female candidates than of male candidates



in terms of their affiliations and relationships—everything, even including the picture they present” (KII, W, group of women profile).

The disparity in the presence of men and women in the media is evident, as stated in the interviews. “The media is very much directed at men, for obvious reasons, because close to 90 percent of the people who occupy positions of public office are men, and the media has their hands tied in the promotion of the political participation of women. Although we also see progress and we owe this to more progressive organizations, which are demanding greater participation of women in analysis of media, news and forums, which is what is seen as progress. Greater inclusion is being demanded” (KII, W, profile of civil society organizations).

Another axis of exclusion refers to the scant access of female politicians and leaders in rural areas in national media. Here the gap is accentuated by digital inequality—they have less access to communication devices—and other factors such as their native language, or the fact that women in rural areas are not considered news sources (Rotondi, 2020; (Galicia & Monzón, 2021). In contrast, according to one of the people interviewed, there is emerging media, alternative communication, and in these, “Women have more access to community and university radios.” However, “Television stations have greater female participation, but invite men more than women when economic or political issues are discussed” (KII, W, civil society organizations profile). Another informant indicated, “The voices authorized to talk about politics or certain issues are male voices. There is still a narrative more focused on masculinity and on the exercise of power by men” (KII, W, media profile). This is related to the reduced access of women to education and political training. For current politicians, they declare that they consume less news in mass media than men (WPPL General Survey Report, 2021).

The media are a positive driver of women's political leadership and participation, since they can contribute to transforming social representations in relation to the image of women, projecting their contributions, achievements and ideas, not objectifying them. As one of the interviewees puts it, “It is going to be a long-term change. It is a normative and cultural change, and we must do work within mass media so that the coverage, topics, and the source of the media include more women and this vision” (KII, W, media profile).

In fact, the interviews reflect the experience of community communicators who fight for the “democratization of the word, because that, consequently, allows the strengthening of democracies.” Based on one study, an organization determined that there was a lot of participation of women but that most of the positions they held were logistical and administrative, not communicative. Therefore, a radio program was created where the empowerment of women from a holistic perspective was addressed; 8 broadcasting stations were involved in the production of this program, which grew and became the network of Indigenous communicators which, among other interesting aspects, was produced and broadcast in Mayan languages, maintaining a daily relationship with their original communities, their perspective is transgressive in terms of the oversight role they should have at the local level, and the use of digital media such as Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok.

As stated by the person interviewed, “This network is active and is currently made up of 32 female colleagues from different areas (Maya, Garífuna, Xinca, and mestizo). With this network they wanted to transgress the idea that women cannot touch current issues and political issues” (KII, W, media profile).

## PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The private sector of Guatemala has been dominated by men. For example, the Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations (CACIF), created in 1957, which brings together representatives of large companies, has never been led by a woman. On the other hand, in trade-unions and cooperative spaces that are also part of the private sector, although they respond to a profile of small and medium-sized companies, the participation of women in management roles is also a minority, despite the fact that according to data from the National Institute of Cooperatives (INACOP) women represent 42 percent of all cooperative members in Guatemala (Américas, 2013).

However, in recent years, following the Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs),<sup>27</sup> the CACIF Women's Commission was formed in 2016, made up of businesswomen from various productive sectors with the aim of promoting entrepreneurship support programs, training, mentoring, networks for business leadership and support for trade-union processes (CACIF, 2022). Its actions are aimed at large, medium and small entrepreneurs, particularly Indigenous women from rural areas. Its support for women's political participation is not explicit, but its objectives do point to promoting women's leadership in the economy.

Regarding the situation of women in the economy and its impact on participation levels, it should be noted that women continue to be at a disadvantage in the labor market, they constitute barely 38 percent of the EAP, even though there are more women than men of working age<sup>28</sup>. It is more difficult for them, in comparison to men, and for Indigenous and rural women in relation to Ladinas and urban women, to have access to paid employment because they have a lower educational level, less social capital, and social networks. In addition, marriages and pregnancies at an early age, and the obligations imposed on them, place them in a precarious situation that limits their possibilities of participation (Barrios-Klée, 2009).

One of the distortions of the partisan political system is financing (CICIG, 2015), those who do not have economic resources have little chance of being nominated for elected positions, even when they have experience, recognition and a good track record. In this case, most women, with few exceptions, do not have the resources to take on a political campaign, so this dissuades them from participating.

Beyond the will and personal desire, or even beyond the rights that are already recognized, structural conditions persist that prevent the real participation of women, as recognized by one of the people interviewed: "We are living with the consequences that have been reproduced in historical periods of Guatemala, and since Colonial times, and have been repeated and we continue to be objects of a system that dominates us. Therefore, women must be aware of their participation, and fill their piggy banks because they will need resources, and also create their technology and social network platforms in order to make themselves known, share their vision, and how they want to see Guatemala" (KII, W, media profile).

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<sup>27</sup> This refers to an initiative launched by UN Women and the United Nations Global Compact in 2010 that promotes gender equality in companies in the work environment and in the communities where they operate.

<sup>28</sup> For statistical purposes, the working age is 10 years and older, according to the National Institute of Statistics.

## 4. KEY POLITICAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONAL ARENAS

This section focuses on the stakeholders that affect the WPPL and the empowerment of women in Guatemala. Below are the actors and institutions that the AT has identified as most relevant to advancing WPPL, as well as a description of how each is likely to influence or impact WPPL.

### EXECUTIVE BODY

The Executive body is made up of the President of the Republic, the Vice President, 14 ministries, secretariats, departmental governments, dependencies, and decentralized, autonomous, and semi-autonomous entities. The data shows a minimal participation of women directing specific dependencies, only one female minister among 14 ministers, an issue that has an impact on the participation and leadership of women since this body has the responsibility of promoting the rights of women, including civic-political rights, as contemplated in the National Policy for the Promotion and Integral Development of Women 2008-2023.

Coordinated by the Vice Presidency, the Specific Cabinet for Social Development is in charge of promoting policies related to the development, social protection and violence prevention, to reduce inequity and inequality of the population in conditions of vulnerability, such as children, youth, women, Indigenous peoples, older adults, people with disabilities and rural areas.

The Presidential Secretariat for Women (SEPREM), under the immediate leadership of the Presidency of the Republic, is the advisory and coordinating entity that provides support to public institutions, for the management of public policy instruments linked to equity between men and women, with the integral development of women and with the fulfillment of their human rights (SEPREM, 2022).

### POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES

The issue of women has not been a priority in the current government, although it is a situation that has been observed since 2012 when public entities created to guarantee women's rights began to be weakened, as affirmed by the CEDAW Women's Strategic Alliance Guatemala, made up of women's social organizations, in a report presented to the CEDAW Committee in 2017: "the agencies of the State have modified laws, public policies, plans and mechanisms for the advancement of women; ceasing to allocate specific budgets for the promotion and integral development of Mayan, Garífuna, Xinka, Afro-descendant and mestizo women, where it is estimated that women's rights will go back more than two decades" (CEDAW, 2017). In this perspective, the conditions for generating alliances that promote the participation and leadership of women are not favorable, at least in the current situation.

In the executive body, it is the System of Urban and Rural Development Councils, the place where actions could be promoted in favor of greater participation and female leadership, strengthening links with the Presidential Secretariat for Women and with the specific Cabinet for social development, which is headed by the Vice Presidency of the country.

### LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The Congress of the Republic of Guatemala is unicameral and is made up of 160 representatives elected for the period 2020–2023: of that total, 31 are women, and only 2 are Indigenous. The disparity is

evident. In the current legislature, the president of Congress is a woman, there have only been three female presidents since the current Constitution was approved and came into effect in 1985.

### POSITIONING TOWARDS WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES

Notwithstanding, although presided over by a woman, the actions of Congress have been contrary to the demands of women, as shown by the fact that on March 8, a law was approved, including the President's vote, that was openly regressive of the sexual and reproductive rights of women (Decree 18-2022). In the face of widespread social opposition, this law was shelved and left without effect.

Although there are women presiding over 7 of the 32 ordinary work commissions in Congress, and there is a Women's Commission, it has not promoted the legislative agenda for women which includes 24 initiatives around various issues: comprehensive health, sexual and reproductive rights, labor rights, economic empowerment and, in particular, encouragement for the political participation of women through reforms to the Electoral and Political Parties Law, specifically article 2012, and also other aspects that influence the low participation of women<sup>29</sup> (Congress of the Republic, 2022). The most recent reform of this Law took place in June 2022, through the Electoral Affairs Commission. However, despite pressure from women's organizations, the demand for parity and alternation was not included, so that in the 2023 elections there will be no legal mechanisms to encourage greater political participation by women.

Although the situation does not favor possibilities of change in the short term, constant lobbying to generate a change in the medium and long term cannot stop.

### JUDICIARY

In Guatemala, there are two key institutions that work together for the administration of justice: 1) the Public Prosecutor's Office (MP) "the institution that promotes criminal prosecution, directs the investigation of crimes of public action and ensures strict compliance with the laws of the country" (Decree 40-94); 2) the Judicial Body (OJ) whose function is to impart justice in accordance with the Political Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala, the laws of the country and treaties ratified by the Congress of the Republic.

### POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES

Both institutions have a role related to the political participation and leadership of women, such as promoting their participation in public administration, increasing the participation of women in decision-making positions, incorporating the perspective of women's human rights into one's person and, above all, to promote swift and fair justice for women.

Both the MP and the OJ have offices, secretariats or specific care units for women whose mandate is to raise awareness and training actions on the gender perspective to strengthen the internal staff of both entities and improve the services they provide to the public in general, so that the administration of justice is comprehensive, equitable, and with ethnic and cultural relevance.

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<sup>29</sup> These proposals have been promoted mainly by women's organizations such as: Political Civic Convergence of Women and the Political Association of Mayan Women (MOLOJ), Butterfly Wings and ASIGDHA.

However, in the current situation, the two main entities whose function is the administration of justice, do not have the conditions to promote alliances that foster the participation and leadership of women. On the contrary, there are public complaints of the spurious use of legal mechanisms to persecute and criminalize women leaders and human rights defenders (UDEFEQUA, 2022).

## **SUPREME ELECTORAL COURT**

The Supreme Electoral Court is the highest authority in electoral matters. It is an independent constitutional body of political control; therefore, it is not subject to any State agency. It is governed by the Electoral and Political Parties Law, Decree I-85 of the National Constituent Assembly.

Its functions include calling general elections for the positions of President and Vice President of the Republic; Representatives to the Congress of the Republic and the Central American Parliament (from the 2015 general elections), and also popular consultation processes, according to article 173 of the CPRG and the LEPP.

It is made up of five regular judges and five alternate judges. They are elected by the Congress of the Republic from a list of candidates proposed by the Nominating Commission, assuming office for a period of six years.

The Supreme Electoral Court is the entity responsible for promoting civic, political, and electoral education, training and reflection processes, through the Civic-Political and Electoral Education and Training Institute (IFCCPE). The Department for the Political Promotion of Women is part of the IFCCPE and aims to generate consultation processes and analysis of the training and information needs to strengthen the capacities and knowledge of women in political, electoral and civic matters.

In addition, it implements actions and activities that promote the political participation of women under equal conditions. Awareness and reflection processes are promoted on the exclusion of women and the challenges in the construction of inclusive democracy, in this way, it contributes to the improvement of the democratic-electoral system of the country.

## **POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES**

The current judiciary (since June 2020) is made up of two women and three men, as elected judges, and no woman as a substitute. Throughout the first two years, no reform has been promoted to the LEPP including the issue of gender or parity quotas, so it could be said that they maintain a neutral position regarding the issue, which provides an opening to discuss it more, however, not to carry out concrete actions to improve the regulatory framework of the WPPL.

Despite specifically having a Department for the Political Promotion of Women, the activities are centralized in a specific profile of women,<sup>30</sup> since the academic only offers virtual platforms. However, the strengthening and installation of personnel capacities in this department and others of the Electoral Institute is seen as an opportunity to promote the issues regarding participation and inclusion of women in political and leadership activities.

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<sup>30</sup> Urban women, with some education and with access to cell phones or computers with internet connection.

On the other hand, the presence of sub-delegations in the 340 municipalities of the country is also identified as an opportunity. The personnel assigned to the Supreme Electoral Court, TSE, in all the municipalities could act as strategic allies in the promotion of women's civic and political rights.

## **HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS**

The role of human rights institutions in terms of women's political participation and leadership is to accompany and observe compliance with the comprehensiveness of human rights, including the right to political and citizen participation, and other related rights such as freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and free association, non-discrimination, education, and development. Two stand out: one at a state level, the Public Defender's Office for Human Rights (PDH). The director is elected by the Congress of the Republic, is a judge of conscience and is not subject to any body, institution or official, acts with absolute independence; and the Unit for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Guatemala (UDEFEGUA), of civil character, who is responsible for recording, monitoring, and denouncing violations of the right to claim rights.

### **PUBLIC DEFENDER'S OFFICE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

There are several advocacies within the structure of the PDH, including the Women's Advocacy, created in 1991 and institutionalized in 1998, "in response to the high rates of violence that negatively impact the integral development of Guatemalan women. Its main objective is to defend and promote the human rights of women in public and private spaces" (PDH, 2022). These rights are related to specialized justice in favor of women; quality and caring health and justice without re-victimization; security and integrity; political participation; fairness and equality.

In electoral processes, the PDH acts as an observer and makes recommendations for development. In January 2022, the PDH delivered the primary recommendations issued in the supervision resolution for the electoral process carried out in 2019, highlighting some aspects of the importance of the work of the Supreme Electoral Court in terms of:

"promote civic-political and electoral training and participation, modernization of administrative processes, communication strategy and infrastructure that is necessary for the next electoral process, promotion and participation, particularly around the registration process and the processes for motivating youth participation that are necessary from the Supreme Electoral Court in addition to the role that they can play regarding motivating political parties and organizations to include those groups that are underrepresented such as women, youth, Indigenous peoples and sexually diversity" (PDH, 2022).

### **UNIT FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS IN GUATEMALA**

The Declaration on Human Rights Defenders recognizes the important role of human rights defenders, including women, and underlines the rights of all human rights defenders and the obligations of States in this regard (UN, 1999).

Women's rights defenders run more risks than their male peers, as UDEFEGUA has documented, they are subjected to threats, violence, prejudice, exclusion and rejection by community leaders, religious groups, families, and communities who consider their work as a threat to religion, honor or culture (UDEFEGUA, 2021).

## **POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES**

Both entities are key to guaranteeing the full exercise of human rights, including the civic-political rights of women, by accompanying, observing, recording, and denouncing violations of these rights. At the present time there is a change of authorities in the Public Defender's Office for Human Rights, so it is unknown what emphasis the management will have in the next four years. However, formally, the PDH has specific mandates that require legal compliance. As for UDEFEGUA, its position is clear and its role is fundamental for the promotion of women's rights, through its contributions in the registration, systematization, and follow-up of violations.

## **LOCAL POWER**

In the last two decades, the political participation of women has expanded at the local level in the municipalities, particularly in the Municipal Women's Departments, and in the civic committees. Meanwhile, their role as midwives has been made visible by Indigenous authorities.

## **MUNICIPAL WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT**

At the municipal level, the Municipal Women's Department constitutes an important channel of communication between women and the Municipal Council. Its functions include strengthening the participation of women in the formulation of local public policies, promoting citizen training processes, and promoting actions to favor women's leadership, as well as ensuring the participation of women in local government decision-making.

## **POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES**

The DMM is a potential ally for promoting the participation of women. Since they know the local dynamics and the stakeholders in this field, they can establish synergies that strengthen the organizational and leadership capacities of women. However, it is also necessary to strengthen this department in order for it to promote these actions.

## **ELECTORAL CIVIC COMMITTEES**

Article 97 of the Electoral and Political Parties Law (1985) states that the electoral civic committees are temporary political organizations, that represent the social sectors, current opinion and political thought that nominate candidates for positions of popular election, to integrate municipal corporations.

In Guatemala, during the 2019 general elections, 121 committees were registered: 23 more than in 2015 (Prensa Libre, 2019). Of these, 30 reached the mayor's office, representing 9.1 percent of the total. The departments of Quetzaltenango, Santa Rosa, and San Marcos are the ones that registered the most civic committees (Supreme Electoral Court, TSE, 2019). In these departments, although there is female participation, it is unequal, just as with political parties (Santa Cruz, 2018).

## **POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES**

Within the Civic Committees, there are possibilities to promote more female candidacies by taking advantage of the community leadership that many possess. However, this requires promotions and work to raise awareness among those forming these Committees.



## INDIGENOUS AUTHORITIES AND MIDWIVES

Guatemala is a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual country where four different peoples coexist. Three of them (Maya, Xinca, and Garífuna) have their own manner of organization based on their history and their way of relating to nature and the universe. Therefore, the Guatemalan legal framework<sup>31</sup> recognizes and creates spaces for participation by the Indigenous Authorities in decision-making; and likewise, it recognizes its existence and functioning from the viewpoint of its people (USAID, 2017). It is worth mentioning that in Guatemala, there are various forms of Indigenous organization based in leadership systems such as Indigenous mayorships; confraternities; and one of the most recognized forms, the 48 Districts, a community organization belonging to Totonicapán. All of these forms of Indigenous organization “exercise jurisdictional functions in accordance with their own institutions, norms, procedures, and customs” (Tzul, 2017) and have in common a communal will to maintain their worldview, identity, rituals, dress, and languages in opposition to the hegemonic power of the State that—since its origins 200 years ago—has tried to impose a national identity that does not correspond with the personal forms of Indigenous communities.<sup>32</sup>

In these Indigenous organizations, women fulfil an important role, and in the last three decades they have been occupying leadership positions; in addition to the fundamental role of midwives, women “are defenders of the basic right of women to access quality sexual and reproductive health services, making them the backbone of healthy families and communities” (UNFPA, 2019). In effect, especially in rural and Indigenous communities, although their work is related to health and specifically to maternal and neonatal care, they carry out other functions such as accompanying victims of violence against women and domestic violence, as well as tending to psychological and emotional violence. Therefore, they are leaders due to their contributions to female empowerment in the fields of health and human rights, and, primarily, in defending the rights of women and girls.

“Before becoming a midwife, you are a girl and you are a woman” (The Association for Community Health Services, ASECSA, 2014).

## POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES

One of the weaknesses that exist within the Indigenous authorities, and that disadvantages women, is the fact that they are vertical organizations. They place power and decision in the hands of “senior positions”—exercised mainly by men—and the lesser actions in the “lower positions”—exercised mainly by women. Being that men are the ones who meet the requirements to occupy managerial positions, women are left in the background.

Although, slowly, some women are beginning to be considered in the formation of the Indigenous Authorities, such as the case of Palín of the Poqomam Authorities, or the 48 Cantons of Totonicapán, where a woman has already held the highest management position, and several are participating in various committees. In addition, Indigenous women also have their own spaces for participation,

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<sup>31</sup> The Political Constitution of Guatemala, Municipal Code, General Decentralization Law, Law of Urban and Rural Development Councils and Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

<sup>32</sup> Because there are so many distinct systems, this theme of women in Indigenous organization and authority systems requires a separate and more in-depth investigation; the WPPL Assessment Framework focuses on different aspects of WPPL, without diving deep into any specific theme. For this reason, the AT was not able to cover this topic in much detail.



although they are less visible. The aforementioned, thus, makes it possible to consider the Indigenous authorities as potential allies for the political participation and leadership of women.

In the case of the midwives, they have led, in addition to their work in the communities, actions for the recognition of their rights by health authorities in the country, thus they are a model for other women in terms of organization, management and advocacy.

## **POLITICAL PARTIES**

As can be seen in this report, the multiparty system of political parties in Guatemala is fragmented and unstable. In addition, as Dabroy (2018) points out, over time, political parties have institutionalized a series of negative values such as warlordism and corruption within the system, caused by their consensual and repetitive practice. This situation is perceived by the population as the common denominator of the partisan political system. On the other hand, the inclusion of women within the organizational structure of political parties has been scarce, in part due to the non-existence of a formal obligation within the LEPP for the application of affirmative measures.

In addition, they lack strategic programs specifically aimed at youth and women. This does not allow space for constant participation in which training and information lines are established on issues related to the exercise of political rights and duties. This absence is in part due to the scant activity that political parties have in non-electoral times, since they appear to do politics, specifically, only at the time of general elections.

## **POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES**

In the case of female participation as supporters or candidates, the situation continues to be contradictory to the detriment of women. As seen in previous sections and expressed both in focus groups and in interviews with key informants, political parties use the local leadership of women, exploit their image and assign them irrelevant positions.

“Regularly, I have seen that yes, there are women who pull in a lot of people. They have this ability to draw people in. So, they use that to their convenience as well. And when women try to support someone else, they inaccurately assume other interests are involved” (FG, W, Indigenous profile).

“Without realizing it, in politics, and in some cases, women are used for their image” (FG, W, non-Indigenous profile).

Although some parties have voluntarily included gender quotas, it is not a general practice in the party system, particularly amongst the most conservative parties. However, the existence of women's secretariats or commissions that are established in the bylaws of political parties, presents itself as an opportunity. In addition, although it seems unpromising to make alliances with political parties, it is necessary since, in January 2023, the electoral process will begin, and it is an opportunity to promote the political participation of women at all levels.

## **WOMEN'S GROUPS, CIVIL SOCIETIES, AND NGOS**

In the last three decades, starting in the 1990s, self-organized women's groups have emerged to raise awareness about women's issues in the country. Their analyses are based on a critical view of reality and their agendas comprehensively cover political, social, economic, and sexual rights. Women's organizations can be classified by thematic areas, by their territorial projection, and by the type of actions they perform.

Thus, there are local-based organizations, others with national and even regional projection. There are others that focus on training, monitoring, or advocacy. In the field of promoting political rights, training, advocacy and communication aimed at encouraging women from all territories, to join political organizations, and for there to be favorable regulatory and political conditions for their participation and leadership, the following women's organizations can be identified: Political Civic Convergence of Women, Political Association of Mayan Women (MOLOJ), Butterfly Wings and the Integral Association on Gender and Human Rights for the Americas. The Chomijá Mayan Women Lawyers Association as well. At the local level, in Quetzaltenango, there is the Women Weavers Development Association (AMUTED) created in 1999. In the north of the country there is Afroamérica XXI, which encourages the training and promotion of Garífuna and Afro-descendant women, and is currently fostering actions to ensure that, for the first time in the 2023 elections, Afro-descendant women are present in the Congress of the Republic.

Another area of action is the advocacy for state agencies to advance the legislative agenda and public policies in favor of women. One of the issues addressed is political violence. In this field, the Guatemalan Women's Group, Women Transforming the World and the National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG) can be added.

Regarding civil society groups and NGOs, it is important to indicate that many direct their efforts and resources to encourage the creation and strengthening of youth groups and social organizations with various purposes. Most share a similar vision of citizen promotion that includes basic training in rights and tools for social auditing so that people can strengthen their capacities for political analysis and demand compliance from the relevant authorities.

It is also worth mentioning the emerging groups such as Guatemala Visible, which promotes the inclusion of vulnerable groups in electoral processes—for example, the LGBTIQ+ population that brings together organizations such as Redmutrans, Otrans, and Somos.

In addition, there are second-tier organizations that bring together various organizations, including the Women's Alliance and Indigenous Women for Access to Justice, whose purpose is to monitor and influence the election processes for positions in state agencies. Among the organizations that are part of the Alliance are those that promote political rights, as already mentioned above, and also the Union of Domestic Workers, Constituent Power, Union of Social Workers, and the Miriam Association.

The National Convergence for State Political Reform (CONAREP) brings together academic and civil society entities interested in following up on electoral reforms, and other aspects of the political

system.<sup>33</sup> The Naleb Organism carries out electoral observation processes, and incidence in decision-makers of public policies, especially in the consideration of Indigenous peoples' issues and the promotion of intercultural dialogue.

Some of the international non-governmental organizations that support training, advocacy, and electoral observation processes are the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), IFEX,<sup>34</sup> and the IRI-International Republican Institute. The JOTAY-Acting Together Organization brings together five organizations<sup>35</sup> with the common goal of ecumenical identity; focusing on mobilizing and encouraging faith-based civil leadership in order to promote human rights in Guatemala and challenge the underpinnings of social injustice, especially gender-based violence. DIAKONIA is a Swedish organization whose general objective is to contribute to the strengthening of civil society actors working for the most vulnerable people in society, in the three axes of democracy, human rights, and gender justice.

Additionally, both public and private universities present options for political participation, activism, and social change through youth groups and student parties (Ixchiu, 2016; González, 2021).

## POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES

Women's groups, civil society, and NGOs are the most relevant allies for promoting the participation and political leadership of women in Guatemala. Without their contributions, advances in terms of advocacy, training, awareness, observation, and oversight for the guarantee of civic-political rights and women's full citizenship rights would not have been achieved. It is these groups that have focused the debate on the multiplied inequalities and disadvantages for women in the political sphere and within the State. Similarly, they are the ones who have raised the demand for parity and alternation, as affirmative action mechanisms for equity in society and compliance for the constitutional precept of equality between men and women.

The possibilities for making alliances are very high and the advantage of these organizations' knowledge, presence, and projection in the various territories, from the local to the national level, stands out.

## MASS MEDIA

The media responds to two major profiles:

- a) The written commercial media, radio, television and digital media, whose agenda responds to the market, the narrative of the elites and the business community, and to the government. Their analyses are biased, sometimes reproducing sexist and racist stereotypes. They do not always present a balance of the facts and the authorized voices at the formal level are privileged. Treatment of the women's role in politics is not equitable, and the women's agenda is not visible. Even though women have ventured into the media, there is still a lack of measures to achieve

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<sup>33</sup>The constituting organizations are Citizen Action, Association for Development, Social Organization and Studies, Butterfly Wings Association, Alberto Fuentes Mohr Association, NGOs and Cooperatives, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, Central American Institute of Study for Social Democracy, Institute for Teaching Sustainable Development, Group 212, and Democratic Humanist Movement.

<sup>34</sup> This organization focuses on freedom of expression rights.

<sup>35</sup>Aid from the Norwegian Church, Christian Aid, Swedish Church, Bread for the World and the World Lutheran Federation.

equity in terms of the number of female producers, reporters and commentators (Galicia & Monzón, 2021)

- b) The alternative media, on radio, press, local cable channels, and increasingly, social networks, include diverse perspectives, both from the countryside and the city, and from voices that generally do not have access to mass media. Those that focus on rural communities make use of local languages, and their agenda incorporates controversial issues, complaints, oversight and demands for justice. The main ones are Ruda/Prensa Comunitaria, a digital medium; Voces de Mujeres, (self-convened) radio and Facebook; La Cuerda, a written newspaper; and other initiatives such as Agencia Ocote, a digital media outlet that has a group of reporters specialized in gender and women's issues. Media such as Plaza Pública and Gazeta provide outlets for contributions from critical columnists.

## POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES

Mass media can be allies for promoting new ways of projecting the image of women, of Indigenous women, and of politics, as long as there is prior work to raise awareness of the gains of promoting gender equality. There are also columnists in mass media, especially women, who are identified by their demands for women's rights. In this sense, they are allies in the promotion of women's political rights.

The alternative media, given that it is their communicative agenda, are allies in promoting the political participation and leadership of women, especially women from Indigenous communities, rural areas and on both the local and national levels.

## RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In the religious domain, several trends can be identified in terms of their vision for the role of women. On the one hand, the hierarchies of the Catholic, Evangelical, Pentecostal, and Neo-Pentecostal churches disseminate and reproduce restrictive norms, which object to the autonomy and exercise of women's rights because it is contrary to their beliefs. Their number has increased significantly since the 1990s, to the point of constituting a movement that allies with NGOs, educational centers, officials and businessmen, promoting a fundamentalist discourse that is contrary to sexual and reproductive rights, permeating the Congress of the Republic, state entities, and even the courts of justice (Barrios-Klée & Ramazzini, 2020).

On the other hand, there are faith-based organizations, with a critical, ecumenical approach, that are inclusive even though they are a minority, such as the Ecumenical Center for Pastoral Studies of Central America (CEDEPCA). CEDEPCA created a Women's Pastoral where training processes and defense initiatives for women's rights are promoted and has also made contributions to reflect on violence against women, including in religious spaces. There is also the ecumenical and mixed organization, Sentinels, which accompany social movements in their demands for justice. The Confederation of the Religious of Guatemala (CONFREGUA) is also located along these lines.

## POSITIONING TOWARD WPPL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALLIANCES

In the current situation, it is likely that religious hierarchies support proposals for women's candidacies, because their connections with the political system are undeniable, but the female candidate's profile would have to be conservative and related to their discourses. As happened previously in the 2019 elections, when in a forum with male and female presidential candidates organized by evangelical

churches, “the moderator said: ‘The following question is a statement: You represent Guatemala, a country with a Judeo-Christian background, a people who believe in God, who love and respect the family as the foundation of society, as well as life from its conception. Do you promise to uphold this statement?’. All, including the candidate-elect president, answered affirmatively. The candidates, with no exceptions and with eagerness to receive the votes of the large conservative population of the country, agreed with what the organizers wanted to hear” (Dary, 2019).

Although faith-based organizations, with a critical nature, are quantitatively marginal, they are allies for the promotion of women's rights due to their proximity to the country's impoverished communities, especially in urban and rural areas, which during electoral processes are the preferred profile of the client-based practices of political parties. Their actions can somewhat counteract such electoral co-optation.

## 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents a menu of recommendations for facilitating the Mission’s development of WPPL strategies and resource allocation.

### SUMMARY

The diagnosis of WPPL of Guatemala implies that structural factors such as the unequal distribution of wealth, racism, sexism, power hierarchies, and legal frameworks influence the persistent exclusion of women from political participation and the exercise of power and leadership, as evidenced by the indicators of the number of women as candidates, in elected positions, and in public administration positions.

Other cultural, symbolic, and subjective dimensions—such as traditional norms, religious precepts, media narratives, and family and parenting patterns—continue to reproduce gender stereotypes, roles, and mandates that place women in the private sphere, subject to housework, family care, and unpaid work. These conditions limit the exercise of their physical, sexual, and economic autonomy; the basic requirements for projecting themselves in the economic, cultural, and political public sphere.

Despite the challenges, there are leaderships of Indigenous, Afro-descendant, Ladino, and mestizo women who question the established order, who lead the assertion for rights, for example, for justice, for historical memory, for parity, for a healthy environment, for citizen security and non-violence, and the right to reject economic projects that put the reproduction of community life at risk. Since 1985, when the new Constitution was approved, which introduced the principle of equality between women and men, more women have entered politics and electoral processes. In 2011, they grew to constitute 54 percent of the electoral register, and by 2022 they make up 53.86 percent of those affiliated with political parties.

However, the deep-rooted sexist thoughts and practices limit a qualitative change in mentalities; women should be recognized as political subjects, and affirmative action measures should be adopted to close the gaps in women’s participation and leadership.

Among the key individuals who impede the political, economic, and educational progress of women are Congressmen, Governors, authorities at all levels, religious leaders, complacent media networks, and even leaders that are progressive on other issues but, when in relation to women, still support patriarchal ideas. In contrast, there are individuals, some marginal, who can contribute to the advancement of women at a social, cultural, and economic level, as well as a political one, by recognizing their leadership and their contributions to society.

### WPPL KEY OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

The challenges of promoting participation and political leadership of women are diverse. One substantial challenge is the concentration of decision-making arenas and the economic resources necessary for development lies in the hands of elites, generally men. These elites uphold and maintain social inequalities in basic rights for the majority of the population, particularly for women, and above all for Indigenous and Ladino women in rural areas. To overcome these gaps, affirmative action measures must be required from institutions that promote their rights, and the achievement of rights already conquered

must be monitored, embodied in both national and international human rights instruments. In addition, an equitable distribution of material resources will be necessary in order to achieve sustainability for women who participate in the political arena.

Another large challenge is the weak representation of women in decision-making positions. This situation transcends social classes, although it is more pronounced among women with fewer economic resources. No significant presence of women can be found in neither public nor private entities that lead the country; nor in arenas of power, such as municipal corporations or the Legislative body; nor social organizations or organizations with political purposes, associations, unions, and guilds. This prevents women from making their voices heard, from raising their demands, and from demanding the fulfillment of their rights.

In addition to the challenge of gender disparity in decision-making, there is also racism and territorial segregation, which leaves Indigenous, Afro-descendant and Garifuna women, Xinca women, and rural Ladino women outside the areas of influence.<sup>36</sup>

Religious hierarchies continue to propagate stereotypical ideas about the role of women in the public sphere. In accordance with its precepts, women must be relegated to the home, to care for their families, and be subject to the authority of men—be it their husbands, fathers, or pastors. All of this contributes to the normalization and permissiveness of machismo, and even gender violence.

In contrast to these challenges, opportunities are identified for advancing women's fight to reach positions of popular election, and to participate in leading institutions in conditions of equality with men. These, among others, are the organizational and political training experiences that women have been acquiring over the last three decades. The perception that women may be less prone to corruption and that they would prioritize agendas for the common good are also opportunities for women.

At the institutional level, the Supreme Electoral Court, the Municipal Women's Departments, the System of Urban and Rural Development Councils, and the Human Rights Attorney's Office are all capable of promoting political participation and women's leadership.

However, the weakening of the institutionalism created within the framework of the Peace Agreements for the purpose of strengthening citizenship, also implies restricted support for the agenda of women's demands, which includes, among others, greater representation of women, of Indigenous peoples, people from rural areas, better training in human rights and gender perspective, the ceasing of persecution of female leaders and human rights defenders, greater justice in cases of gender-based violence, and measures to alleviate the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The political parties' system, solely to the extent that changes are achieved in its structures, dynamics, and internal policies, could be allies. An entry point could be the women's and/or gender secretariats that some parties have created, although these also must be strengthened. Furthermore, critical religious expressions represent possible alliances. These promote a discourse that questions the most

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<sup>36</sup>Although not addressed in this report, the condition of disability also constitutes a barrier to the inclusion of girls and women with disabilities, emerging human rights subjects who demand rights' recognition, inclusion and a guarantee of their rights.

traditional religious perspectives, accompanying social struggles and the demand for rights, although their presence is minority.

As for the Indigenous authorities and midwives, their role is relevant in the Indigenous communities and, in this sense, they are spaces to explore as potential allies to promote women's political participation and leadership.

Although the purpose of women in the private sector, business chambers, medium and small businesses unions, and cooperatives is connected to encouraging female entrepreneurship, their actions to strengthen economic leadership can also help promote women's political participation, from their own agendas. On the other hand, stakeholders that could become allies are women's groups, civil society, and NGOs that focus on promoting capacity building and better citizenship training processes, the mass media, after first raising awareness, and alternative media due to their promotion of women's leadership and participation as part of their communicational agenda.

Finally, added to these groups are the multilateral cooperation and development agencies, which have an agenda to contribute to the building and strengthening of citizenship, to increase the capacity to demand rights, social auditing, and the participation of women in all territories.

## CURRENT USAID PROGRAMS

USAID/Guatemala currently promotes projects addressing the promotion for the inclusion of women in political processes. The objective is to strengthen civic participation and promote greater access to public services, in addition to equitable access to economic opportunities. To support women and ensure a more significant role in the formulation of public policies, USAID supports the Municipal Women's Department (DMM), which in turn is responsible for promoting the participation of women in community and municipal committees.

From the community arena, dialogue is also promoted between women's organizations and municipalities to work on equity policies and thus strengthen the role and incidence of these organizations at the local level. It also supports midwives, as leaders who enjoy recognition and authority in the communities. USAID also collaborates with the security and justice sector to increase and improve services to victims of gender-based violence and support community development and implement violence prevention plans, including prevention of gender-based and intrafamilial violence.

Although the main priority of the U.S. government in Central America is to stop illegal immigration, gender-based violence is considered a factor that drives irregular migration. This issue is therefore also part of the priorities of USAID Guatemala: by strengthening the government's capacity to address violence, this driver would be reduced. Additionally, it has an impact on other spheres of women's lives, including political participation.

Additionally, USAID supports women's economic empowerment, recognizing that one effect of irregular migration is the disintegration of families and the number of women-headed households. Economic independence facilitates breaking cycles of violence, given that it promotes independence and healthy self-esteem, thus contributing to women's civic and political participation.

Some projects implemented under this perspective are:



- Justice and Transparency Project
- Transforming Action Project
- Urban Municipal Governance Project
- Community Roots Project
- Local Connections

## PRIORITY DRIVERS AND ILLUSTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

### LEGAL FRAMEWORK

- **Promote reform initiatives that include affirmative action measures in favor of women, such as parity and alternating cycles.**
  - Prepare and/or strengthen the legislative agenda, which includes commitments that are identified in the Peace Agreements, in the Sustainable Development Agenda, as well as in the K'atun Plan,<sup>37</sup> from women's social organizations in synergy with allied representatives, which includes an analysis of the strategic impact to achieve its objectives. Since the Electoral Governance and Reforms Project has focused on similar issues, it's possible that this recommendation could be implemented under the subsequent USAID/Guatemala project, if any.
- **Promote the criminalization of political violence using a specific law linked with the Criminal Code and electoral regulations.**
  - Conduct specific research on political violence, from a gender and intersectionality perspective in order to generate evidence in support of the proposals of women's organizations. In addition, rethink a law initiative on this matter, taking into account the proposals already raised by women's groups, and women from political parties in the CAME, 2020. Since the USAID/Guatemala Justice and Transparency Project works on issues related to gender violence, it may be able to support this recommendation.

### GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

- **Promote and strengthen self-esteem and capacities of women participating in politics at the local and national level.** This should also include women with established leadership roles or who form part of community organizations, so they can face the stigma challenges that continues to weigh down sexist, racist and class discrimination against women, and Indigenous women, especially in rural areas. For this purpose, the creation of intergenerational spaces can be an incentive for more women to decide to participate in politics.

### EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- **Develop training programs on civic and political rights aimed at children and adolescents, prioritizing Indigenous girls in rural areas.** These programs must be coordinated among community leaders, families, and the authorities of the Ministry of Education.

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<sup>37</sup> This is a national development plan through 2032 created by the Government of Guatemala (through the National Council of Urban and Rural Development).

Some issues that are considered priorities are: equity and gender inclusion, and new types of masculinity. It is suggested that these processes be appropriate due to context, with cultural and linguistic relevance, and also taking into account people with disabilities who require specific educational resources. With its focus on youth, paying particular attention on women—and also its work with traditional authorities—the USAID/Guatemala Transforming Action Project provides a possible opportunity to incorporate this recommendation. In addition, the Assessment Team is aware that USAID/Guatemala has conducted research on new types of masculinity. It is recommended that the study’s pertinent findings be considered when designing training programs.

It is suggested that the actions directed at political parties be promoted by the Supreme Electoral Court in synergy with women's organizations and with international cooperation support.

- **Promote the creation of women's or gender sections or secretariats, or strengthen those already existing in political parties,**<sup>38</sup> with the aim of fostering measures for the inclusion of more women in key positions, and at all levels of party structures.
- **Develop programs to strengthen the capacities of female candidates** and to broaden their knowledge of public management.
- **Promote gender agendas in political parties** that respond to the social demands of women, implying a collective construction.

## GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

In consistency with the recommendation to classify political violence as a crime, and to conduct specific investigations in support of this initiative, the following is proposed:

- **Promote training and advocacy processes in order to understand the impact of political violence on the exercise of women’s right to participate.** The training processes must be directed at the entire population, with pertinent information differentiated by population segment.
- **Promote the culture of denouncing political violence,** as it was identified as a problem that discourages women’s participation. To implement this recommendation, USAID should work with the TSE and Congress to promote the typification and prosecution of this crime.<sup>39</sup> It is recommended to consider whether the USAID/Guatemala Justice and Transparency Project could support the implementation of this recommendation.

## CIVIL SOCIETY

- **Promote the creation of an Observatory of women’s political participation,** not only for observation during electoral processes but permanently, so as to have data that will support the political, legal and institutional demands regarding political participation.
- **Strengthen the organizational, advocacy, and social audit capacities of women’s organizations at the local and national levels** through educational actions (workshops, training, courses, and programs).

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<sup>38</sup> For the political parties that do not have them.

<sup>39</sup> Although it is not typified, complaints of political violence can be classified under other types of crimes, with the idea that they will not go unpunished.

- **Work with civil society organizations to promote the collective construction of national and local agendas based on women’s demands** and to be presented in electoral campaigns. At the local level, work could be done with the Women’s Municipal Department, DMMs. USAID/Guatemala already works with the Women’s Municipal Department, DMMs, so it is recommended to take advantage of the lessons and relationships of those projects.

## THE PUBLIC SECTOR

- **Strengthen the Gender Units of the Ministries and Secretariats, of the Executive body, as well as of the Municipal Women’s Department** so that they play an active role in promoting equity from State institutions and have, as a framework, the political participation axis of the Policy for the Promotion and Integral Development of Women.

USAID/Guatemala should work with the Supreme Electoral Court for the following recommendation, given that the promotion of women’s political participation is part of its mandate:

- **Promote registration days in rural areas** in order to facilitate access for women who live in remote places.

## MASS MEDIA

- **Promote awareness campaigns and dissemination of information through various media** (radio, television, and written and digital media), and directed in a differentiated manner towards the various segments of the population.
- **Provide skills development and leadership training for women journalists**, including personal protection and risk prevention, especially during electoral events, and support equitable coverage of women in the media.
- **Promote and/or strengthen networks of female communicators** to promote women’s leadership within the framework of the right to communication and freedom of expression.
- **Implement training for commercial communication media to incorporate the gender and intersectionality perspective, voices, ideas and proposals of women in politics into their communication products.** A previous iteration of the USAID/Guatemala Justice and Transparency Project implemented a similar activity. If it still has a communications component, USAID could probably implement this recommendation under this component.

**Table 12: Summary of Priority Drivers and Illustrative Activities**

DRIVER	CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE WPPL	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	INTERESTED PARTIES
Legal Framework	<p><b>Challenges</b></p> <p>There is not a favorable climate nor the necessary votes.</p> <p>The legal concept of political violence has not been defined.</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <p>There is a Women's Commission in Congress.</p> <p>Women's organizations act to influence legal change.</p>	<p>Promote reform initiatives that include affirmative action measures in favor of women, such as parity and alternating cycles.</p> <p>Promoting the criminalization of political violence using a specific law linked with the Criminal Code and electoral regulations. (investigations that generate data to support proposals).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Legislative Body</li> <li>– Women's Commission/Congress</li> <li>– <i>Tribunal Supremo Electoral</i> [Supreme Electoral Court]</li> <li>– Political Parties</li> <li>– Civil Society Organizations</li> <li>– Follow-up project to the USAID/Guatemala Electoral Governance and Reforms Project if any</li> <li>– USAID/Guatemala Justice and Transparency Project</li> </ul>
Gender Roles and Stereotypes	<p><b>Challenges</b></p> <p>Socially accepted and normalized social norms that propagate gender roles and stereotypes.</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <p>Openness of the population to transform behaviors and actions that perpetuate these norms.</p> <p>Legitimate community leadership.</p> <p>Stable community organizations.</p>	<p>Promote and strengthen self-esteem and capacities of women participating in politics at the local and national level.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Ministry of Education</li> <li>– <i>Tribunal Supremo Electoral</i> [Supreme Electoral Court]</li> <li>– Civil Society Organizations</li> <li>– DMM-Municipalities</li> <li>– USAID/Guatemala projects working with DMMs</li> <li>– Indigenous Authorities and midwives</li> <li>– USAID/Guatemala projects working with midwives</li> </ul>
Education and Training	<p><b>Challenges</b></p> <p>Access to formal and specific education regarding the exercise of politics is an evident obstacle to women's political participation</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <p>A genuine interest exists in balancing access to education, as it is a</p>	<p>Develop training programs on civic and political rights aimed at children and adolescents, prioritizing Indigenous girls in rural areas.</p> <p><b>With political parties, from the Supreme Electoral Court:</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Women Groups</li> <li>– <i>Tribunal Supremo Electoral</i> [Supreme Electoral Court]</li> <li>– Civil Society Organizations</li> <li>– Community Organizations</li> <li>– Indigenous Authorities and midwives</li> <li>– USAID/Guatemala projects working with midwives</li> </ul>

DRIVER	CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE WPPL	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	INTERESTED PARTIES
	<p>perceived means of improving women's living conditions.</p>	<p>Promote the creation of women's or gender sections or secretariats, or strengthen those already existing in political parties.</p> <p>Develop programs to strengthen the capacities of female candidates.</p> <p>Promote gender agendas in political parties.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- USAID/Guatemala Transforming Action Project</li> <li>- Organizations with political purposes</li> <li>- Follow-up project to the USAID/Guatemala Electoral Governance and Reforms Project if any</li> </ul>
<p>Gender-based Violence</p>	<p><b>Challenges</b></p> <p>Normalized gender violence justified in society.</p> <p>People do not identify or report certain practices of gender violence, especially political violence and sexual harassment.</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <p>Civil Society Organizations and Women's Groups that highlight gender-based violence and violence against women.</p>	<p>Promote training and advocacy processes to understand the impact of political violence on the exercise of the right to women's participation.</p> <p>Encourage a culture of political violence denunciation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Tribunal Supremo Electoral</i> [Supreme Electoral Court]</li> <li>- Ministry of Education</li> <li>- Civil Society Organizations</li> <li>- Women Groups</li> <li>- Executive Body (System of Development Councils)</li> <li>- Local Governments</li> <li>- Mass media and broadcast channels</li> <li>- USAID/Guatemala Justice and Transparency Project</li> </ul>
<p>Civil Society</p>	<p><b>Challenges</b></p> <p>Civil society organizations face adversity marked by the current government's situation.</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <p>There is an existing capacity in Women's Organizations with extensive experience, and other Civil Society Organizations that work on political and electoral issues.</p>	<p>Drive the creation of an Observatory for women's political participation.</p> <p>Strengthen the organizational, advocacy and social audit capacities of women's organizations at the local and national levels.</p> <p>Work with civil society organizations to promote the collective construction of national and local</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Civil Society Organizations</li> <li>- DMM</li> <li>- USAID/Guatemala projects working with DMMs</li> </ul>

DRIVER	CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE WPPL	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	INTERESTED PARTIES
		agendas based on women's demands.	
The Public Sector	<p><b>Challenges</b></p> <p>The gender units in the State and the DMMs exist formally but do not play an active role in promoting WPPL.</p> <p>There is resistance from Organizations with political purposes to include gender quotas within their structure and for candidatures.</p> <p>Strengthen the gender perspective in internal processes and in promoting the political participation of women, given that it is a mandate of the Supreme Electoral Court.</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <p>The existence of gender units in the State; Municipal Women's Departments (local level); Department of Political Participation of Women (TSE).</p> <p>Some political parties have secretariats for women; and (some) also have a local presence.</p> <p>The TSE has mobile brigades for registration.</p>	<p>Strengthen the Gender Units of the Ministries and Secretariats, of the executive body, as well as of the Municipal Women's Department.</p> <p><b>For the TSE</b></p> <p>Promote registration sessions in rural areas.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Executive Body</li> <li>- Political Parties</li> <li>- Civic Committees</li> <li>- <i>Tribunal Supremo Electoral</i> [Supreme Electoral Court]</li> <li>- Local Governments (DMM)</li> <li>- Cooperative Organizations</li> <li>- Civil Society Organizations</li> <li>- Women Groups</li> <li>- Follow-up project to the USAID/Guatemala Electoral Governance and Reforms Project, if any</li> </ul>
Mass Media	<p><b>Challenges</b></p> <p>Broadcasting channels that propagate gender roles, sexism, symbolical and political violence.</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b></p> <p>Alternative media and communication.</p>	<p>Promote awareness campaigns and dissemination of information through various media.</p> <p>Provide skills development and leadership training for women.</p> <p>Promote and/or strengthen</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Civil Society Organizations</li> <li>- USAID/Guatemala Justice and Transparency Project</li> </ul>

DRIVER	CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE WPPL	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	INTERESTED PARTIES
		<p>communication networks.</p> <p>Support local efforts to advocate for fair and equitable coverage of women in the media.</p> <p>Implement training for commercial communication media in order to incorporate gender and intersectionality perspectives into their communication products.</p>	

## **ANNEXES**



## **ANNEX A. STEPS IN THE WPPL ASSESSMENT**

## STEP 1: DESCRIBE THE FOUNDATIONAL FACTORS

Economic development; religion and traditional norms; historical legacies; social cleavages; conflict, peace, and security; history and presence of social movements; political regime and party systems; and electoral systems

## STEP 2: DIAGNOSE THE CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

This step aims to establish a “baseline” for the outcome of interest: women and girl’s political participation and leadership. Particular focus should be placed on understanding differences between men and women.

- **Political participation:** The assessment framework measures gender gaps in eight forms of political participation, including joining civic and political organizations or decision-making bodies, voting, and protesting. It also explores differences in political efficacy, general interest in politics, frequency of political news seeking, and political knowledge.
- **Political leadership:** The assessment team should look beyond indicators focusing on the presence of female politicians in parliaments and cabinets to evaluate political leadership, influence, and agency. It is important to examine representation among a broad range of political offices and electoral races and to analyze how women political and government leaders discharge their duties and responsibilities.

## STEP 3: EXAMINE DRIVERS OF WPPL

Drivers are the catalysts and barriers that positively or negatively influence WPPL outcomes. They can be internal or external to individuals and organizations and are thought to be areas within USAID’s manageable interests in the WPPL focus area.

- **Legal framework:** Does the country’s legal framework afford women basic liberties and civil and political rights? Are there quotas to promote women’s representation in public office?
- **Gender roles and stereotypes:** How do stereotypes and norms influence expectations for the types of opportunities afforded to women and girls, women and girls’ decisions to pursue opportunities, gendered responsibilities imposed upon women and girls, and how women and girls are treated inside and outside the home?
- **Education and capacity:** Do girls and women have the same access to education as boys and men? Are girls seen as deserving of education? What barriers keep them from education, including social norms and economic realities? Are women knowledgeable about politics, and do they possess a sense of self-efficacy around political engagement?
- **Media and information:** How are women represented in traditional and social media content? What barriers do women face in accessing information and working in media?
- **Personal and political networks:** What is the nature and extent of women’s interpersonal relationships? Do female candidates and politicians have strong political networks?
- **Gender-based violence:** To what extent does violence or harassment at home, work, in the community, or online inhibit women’s political participation? Do women politicians experience violence or harassment on the campaign trail?

- **Participation and leadership in the private sector:** Do women have equal opportunities as men to pursue work outside the home and to hold leadership and decision-making roles within their workplaces? Are women engaged in the formal or informal sectors, and what are the impacts of each? Do women control business finances and household earnings?
- **Participation and leadership in civil society:** To what extent do women participate in and lead civil society groups including labor organizations, savings groups, and others?
- **Participation and leadership in the public sector:** Do women have equal opportunities as men to hold public sector employment, including in police and military roles? What positions do they hold and in what types of agencies or offices?
- **Political parties:** How do parties encourage or inhibit women's political participation and leadership as candidates, policy and decision-makers, and members? Does party support for female candidates differ from male candidates in terms of financing and access to media/publicity?
- **Voter demand:** How do gender discrimination, stereotypes, or personally held beliefs about the capacity of women affect voters' views of candidates? How do perceptions (or misperceptions) about what voters believe affect decisions about nominating women as candidates and candidates' decisions to run?

#### **STEP 4: CONDUCT A STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS**

This step involves analyzing the ecosystem of stakeholders that influence WPPL and women's empowerment. In line with the DRG Strategic Assessment Framework (SAF), Step 4 of the WPPL Assessment Framework aims to:

- Identify relevant actors and institutions that influence or that are impacted by WPPL in a context
- Analyze the interests, resources, strategies, influence, and institutional arena in which these relevant actors operate
- Ascertain the prospects for working with like-minded actors to advance WPPL, be it in close partnership or as part of looser reform coalitions
- Ascertain the prospects for facing resistance or backlash as powerful actors opposing WPPL react to reform attempts

The context, the WPPL landscape, and the analysis of WPPL drivers should direct the assessment team to focus on the actors and institutions most relevant to WPPL advancement. Generally, the actors and institutions that are most relevant to consider include the executive; the legislature; the judiciary; political parties; women's groups; CSOs and nongovernmental organizations; the media; human rights institutions; and religious hierarchy and religious groups.

#### **STEP 5: MAKE EVIDENCE-BASED RECOMMENDATIONS**

Assessment teams should follow these steps to develop evidence-based recommendations and suggest illustrative activities:

- Summarize Steps 1-4, including key foundational factors, gender gaps in WPPL, analysis of drivers, and stakeholder analysis

- Describe key WPPL challenges and opportunities
- Identify priority WPPL drivers and make strategic recommendations for programming
- Suggest illustrative activities in priority areas identified in the assessment

## **ANNEX B. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS**

**GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY**

**WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION  
AND LEADERSHIP GENERAL  
POPULATION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE:  
GUATEMALA PILOT**

Prepared under Contract No. GS-10F-0033M/AID-0AA-M-13-00013, Tasking N080

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# DRG LEARNING, EVALUATION, AND RESEARCH ACTIVITY

## WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE: GUATEMALA PILOT

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**DISCLAIMER**

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## NOTE TO READERS

When reading through the WPPL survey instrument, please note the inclusion of color-coded text that provides enumerator- and programmer-specific instruction. Color-coded text will not be read to the respondent and is solely for internal use. Below is a brief summary of the different color-coded texts.

[Red text in brackets] are instructions for the survey enumerator. In most cases, they specify which response options should not be read aloud to the survey respondent. If the respondent states one of these options, the enumerator will code it as the response, but the enumerator will not state it as an option. They also demarcate module-specific instructions to guide the enumerator.

[Blue text in brackets] are survey programmer instructions.

[Purple text in brackets] indicate when a survey question or set of response options will need to be adjusted for country-specific use. For instance, whether a question referring to the top executive position should ask about the “President” or “Prime Minister” will be determined for each country. In countries that have both a President and Prime Minister, the assessment team may choose to ask questions about both positions where relevant.

Readers should also keep in mind that NORC will program the questionnaire for face-to-face tablet-assisted interviewing rather than for paper-and-pencil interviewing. Because of this, the survey does not include tables for the administration of testlets—i.e., sets of items with a common introduction or instructions and response scale—which are often recommended for paper-and pencil interviewing.

The questionnaire will be subject to testing in each Phase 3 pilot country, prior to fieldwork. NORC will cognitively test portions of the questionnaire to assess its clarity and efficiency, and will revise it based on the results of the testing, program it for administration using tablets, and conduct additional testing. This final round of testing will ensure the quality of the programmed questionnaire and serve as a final check on questionnaire length. When necessary, the questionnaire will be translated using the double translation with reconciliation method. This method is the industry gold standard and consists of the following steps: First, two translators with extensive experience with surveys independently translate the questionnaire. Next, they meet to consolidate their translations into a single translation flagging any translation discrepancies. Last, the translators meet with a third survey expert and together adjudicate on discrepancies to finalize the translation.

The WPPL survey is a nationally representative survey of the adult population. When appropriate, the survey will include youth of 16 and 17 years of age. The target sample size is 2,500 respondents. The survey design is planned to be multistage stratified cluster sampling, where primary sampling units are selected with probability proportional to size. The design will allow for analyses by gender and urban and rural populations, and should also allow for analyses of other relevant geographic, political, or social divisions to be determined in consultation with the USAID Mission and the assessment team.

The bullets below provide source information for sections of the survey that contain existing scales or that borrow heavily from previous works.

- The Legitimacy and Trust module measures satisfaction with democracy, support for political institutions, and trust in government using items taken from the AmericasBarometer (Latin

American Public Opinion Project, Vanderbilt University) and the American National Elections Study (Stanford University and University of Michigan). The module includes an experiment to assess the extent to which women’s equal presence in political decision-making bodies confers legitimacy to political decision-making processes and outcomes, and increases overall legitimacy. The survey aims to produce evidence that USAID can use to justify investing in WPPL programming from a governance perspective—and in addition to justifications focusing on fairness and women leaders’ contributions to development outcomes. Inspiration for the experiment comes from: Clayton, A., O’Brien, D.Z., and Piscopo, J.M. (2019). All male panels? Representation and democratic legitimacy, *American Journal of Political Science*, 63(1), 113-129.

- The Agency module includes questions about household and political decision-making. It is designed to measure the extent to which women (and men) have control over their choices and uncover the consequences they face when they defy traditional power structures. The following sources informed the development of this module.
  - Demographic and Health Surveys. (2019). Demographic and Health Surveys Phase 8: Woman’s Questionnaire. Retrieved from: <https://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-DHSQ8-DHS-Questionnaires-and-Manuals.cfm>
  - The “Decision-Making Dimension” in Wisor S., Bessell S., Castillo F., et al. (2014). *The individual deprivation measure: A gender-sensitive approach to poverty measurement*. Melbourne: The International Women’s Development Agency. See: <http://emerge.ucsd.edu/measure-id/>
  - Hinson, L., Edmeades, J., Murithi, L., and Puri, M. (2019). Developing and testing measures of reproductive decision-making agency in Nepal. *SSM Population Health*, 9, 100473. See: <http://emerge.ucsd.edu/measure-rdma/>
- The Norms module includes questions about general gender roles (i.e., roles in the household, education, and economy) and political gender roles. The gender role norms scale is taken from: Baird, S., Bhutta, Z. A., Hamad, B. A., et. al. (2019). Do restrictive gender attitudes and norms influence physical and mental health during very young Adolescence? Evidence from Bangladesh and Ethiopia. *SSM Population Health*, 9, 100480. See: [https://emerge.ucsd.edu/r\\_1q503c5n20z3lyv2/](https://emerge.ucsd.edu/r_1q503c5n20z3lyv2/).
- The Masculinity Attitudes scales is adapted from the GEM Scale, masculinity dominance and sexuality subscales. <https://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Measuring-Gender-Attitude-Using-Gender-Equitable-Men-Scale.pdf>.
- The Sexism module includes short versions of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick, P., and Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491-512) and the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (Glick, P., and Fiske, S. T. (1999). The ambivalence toward men inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent beliefs about men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23, 519-536). The short scales are discussed in: Rollero, C., Glick, P., and Tartaglia, S. (2014). Psychometric Properties of Short Versions of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory. *TPM*, 21(2), 1-11.
- The set of questions on attitudes toward domestic violence comes from the Demographic and Health Surveys (Demographic and Health Surveys Program, ICF International).
- The Traits module borrows heavily from Schneider, M.C. and Bos, A.L. (2014). Measuring stereotypes of female politicians. *Political Psychology*, 35(2), 245-266.

- The Generalized Self-efficacy submodule comprises a scale of the same name taken from Schwarzer, R., and Jerusalem, M. (1995). Causal and control beliefs, in J. Weinman, S. Wright, and M. Johnston, *Measures in Health Psychology: A User's Portfolio*, 35-37. Windsor, UK: NFER-NELSON.
- The Political Efficacy submodule includes external and internal political efficacy items from the AmericasBarometer and the short version of the Perceived Political Self-Efficacy scale from: Caprara, G.V., Vecchione, M., Capanna, C. and Mebane, M. (2009). Perceived political self-efficacy: Theory, assessment, and applications. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(6), 1002-1020.
- The Social Networks module was developed using social/political networks modules in the General Social Survey (NORC at the University of Chicago) and McClurg, S.D. (2003). Social networks and political participation: The role of social interaction in explaining political participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(4), 449-464.

## **CONSENT**

Good day. My name is [INTERVIEWER NAME]. I am an interviewer from the Centro de Investigaciones Economicas Nacionales (CIEN). I do not represent the government or a political party.

### **PURPOSE OF STUDY**

We are working with a research team in the United States at NORC at the University of Chicago. Together with NORC, we are gathering information about people's views, opinions, and experiences on a number of issues related to your daily life, society, and politics. This study will be used to help inform the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) programs related to these topics in Guatemala.

### **DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY PROCEDURES**

If you agree to be in this study, I will ask you questions about your household, your community, politics, civic engagement, and other topics. The survey will take approximately one hour to complete. I will record your answers on this tablet.

### **RISKS/DISCOMFORTS OF PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY**

Your participation in this study does not involve any risks other than what you would encounter in daily life. You may be uncomfortable with some of the questions and topics we will ask about. If you are uncomfortable, you are free to not answer or to skip to the next question.

### **BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY**

If you agree to participate, we will provide you with a kit containing a mask and gel hand sanitizer. Your participation is also important to help us and USAID learn more about your community and Guatemala.

### **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Your responses to this survey will be kept strictly confidential. This means I am not allowed to tell your parents, teachers, community leaders, or anyone else the information we discuss. We will not share any information that can be used to identify you or your household outside of the research team.

At the end of the study, we may share the data with USAID or others outside of our team. Before sharing the data, we will remove all details that could be used to identify you or your household. As such, no one will know if you or anyone else in your household participated in this survey. They also won't know which answers are yours. Since no one will know which answers are yours, we ask that you answer all questions honestly.

### **RIGHT TO REFUSE OR WITHDRAW**

The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study at any time. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the study at any point during the process; additionally, you have the right to request that I delete your answers. There are no penalties for refusing or withdrawing.

## **RIGHT TO ASK QUESTIONS AND REPORT CONCERNS**

You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, feel free to contact [Zulma Ramírez](mailto:norc@cien.org.gt) at [norc@cien.org.gt](mailto:norc@cien.org.gt) or by telephone at **2315-9679**. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigators, you may contact April Baker, NORC's Senior Institutional Review Board Manager, at [irb@norc.org](mailto:irb@norc.org).

### **Do you have any questions for me?**

**Consent.** Do you agree to participate in this survey?

1. Yes
2. No

## I. DEMOGRAPHICS

**Dem\_lang.** [ENUMERATOR: Record, do not ask] In what language is the interview being conducted?

1. Español
2. K'iche'
3. Q'eqchi'
4. Kaqchikel
5. Mam
6. Poqomchi'
7. Tz'utujil
8. Achi
9. Q'anjob'al
10. Ixil
11. Akateko
12. Jakalteco (o Popti')
13. Chuj
14. Poqomam
15. Ch'orti'
16. Awakateko
17. Sakapulteko
18. Sipakapense
19. Garífuna
20. Uspanteko
21. Tektiteko
22. Mopan
23. Chalchiteko
24. Xinca
25. Itza'

**Dem\_gender.** What is your gender? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Other, specify [open-ended]

**Dem\_dob\_l.** How old are you?

[Constrain to 16 years and older; if identified as a minor in assent, constrain age]

1. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
2. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_marry.** What is your marital status? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Single/never married
2. Married
3. Domestic partnership/Unmarried cohabitation/Common Law marriage
4. Divorced
5. Separated
6. Widowed
7. Other, specify [open-ended]
8. Don't know
9. Refused

**Dem\_child\_0.** Do you have any children? [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, please clarify that we are interested in their own children only and not all children living with them.]

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refuse to answer [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_child\_1.** [IF Dem\_child\_0 = 1] How many children do you have? [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, please clarify that we are interested in their own children only and not all children living with them.]

**Dem\_child\_2.** For each child, could you tell me their age and gender?

**Dem\_edu\_1.** Have you ever attended school?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refuse to answer [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_edu\_2.** What is the highest level of school you attended: Primaria, Básico, Diversificado, or Universitario?

1. Primaria
2. Básico
3. Diversificado
4. Universitario
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refuse to answer [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_edu\_3.** What is the highest grade you finished at that level?

1. First primaria
2. Second primaria
3. Third primaria
4. Fourth primaria
5. Fifth primaria
6. Sixth primaria
7. First básico
8. Second básico
9. Third básico
10. Fourth diversificado
11. Fifth diversificado
12. Sixth diversificado
13. First year Universitario
14. Second year Universitario
15. Third year Universitario
16. Fourth year Universitario
17. Fifth year Universitario
18. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
19. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_language.** What was the first language you learned to speak?

1. Español
2. K'iche'
3. Q'eqchi'
4. Kaqchiquel
5. Mam
6. Poqomchi'
7. Tz'utujil
8. Achi
9. Q'anjob'al
10. Ixil
11. Akateko
12. Jakalteco (o Popti')
13. Chuj
14. Poqomam
15. Ch'orti'
16. Awakateko
17. Sakapulteko
18. Sipakapense
19. Garifuna
20. Uspanteko
21. Tektiteko
22. Mopan
23. Chalchiteko
24. Xinca
25. Itza'
26. Other, specify
27. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
28. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_lingua.** Are you proficient Spanish?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_relig.** What is your religion, if any? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

1. Judaism
2. Catholic
3. Christian / Evangelical [ENUMERATOR: Use this option for bullets below]
  - Protestant; Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Anglican; Episcopalian
  - Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra
  - Eastern Orthodoxy; Oriental Orthodoxy; Church of the East
  - Restorationism; Latter-day Saint/Mormonism; Jehovah's Witnesses



4. Islam
5. Buddhist
6. Hinduism
7. Other non-Christian Eastern Religions (Sikh; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha’i; Shinto; Falun Gong)
8. Traditional Religions or Native Religions (Santería; Candomblé; Voodoo; Rastafarian)
9. Believes in a god/supreme entity but does not belong to any religion
10. Agnostic/atheist/does not believe in God → [Go to Dem\\_ethnic](#)
11. Other, specify [\[open-ended\]](#)
12. Don’t know [\[ENUMERATOR: Do not read\]](#)
13. Refused [\[ENUMERATOR: Do not read\]](#)

**Dem\_relig\_ser.** How often do you attend religious services? [\[ENUMERATOR: If they do not understand, ask: “How often do you attend mass / church / temple \(as appropriate\)?”\]](#)

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never
6. Don’t know [\[ENUMERATOR: Do not read\]](#)
7. Refused [\[ENUMERATOR: Do not read\]](#)

**Dem\_ethnic.** What is your ethnicity?

1. Mestizo/Ladino
2. K’iche’
3. Q’eqchi’
4. Kaqchikel
5. Mam
6. Poqomchi’
7. Tz’utujil
8. Achi
9. Q’anjob’al
10. Ixil
11. Akateko
12. Jakalteco (o Popti’)
13. Chuj
14. Poqomam
15. Ch’orti’
16. Awakateko
17. Sakapulteko
18. Sipakapense
19. Garífuna
20. Uspanteko
21. Tektiteko
22. Mopan
23. Chalchiteko
24. Xinca
25. Itza’
26. Other, Specify
27. Don’t know [\[ENUMERATOR: Do not read\]](#)
28. Refused [\[ENUMERATOR: Do not read\]](#)

**Dem\_work.** Which of the following best describes your current situation? Are you currently...

1. Working?
2. Not working, but you have a job? (on vacation or suspended)
3. Actively looking for work? → Go to Income
4. A student? → Go to Income
5. Taking care of the home? → Go to Income
6. Retired, pensioned or unable to work? → Go to Income
7. Not working and not looking for work? → Go to Income
8. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Income
9. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Income

**Ocup\_A.** What kind of work do you do? [Enumerator: Do not read alternatives; if respondent has more than one job, please ask them to answer about the one where they spend the most time; probe if needed: What does your job consist of?]

1. Legislators, senior officials, directors, and managers
2. Professionals, scientists, and intellectuals
3. Technicians and associate professionals
4. Administrative support staff
5. Service workers and sales workers
6. Farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers
7. Mechanical, craft, and related trade workers
8. Plant and machine operators, and assemblers
9. Elementary occupations (includes laborers and other non-skilled workers)
10. Armed Forces occupations
11. Other, specify [open-ended]
12. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Income
13. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Income

**Ocup\_B.** Do you work for yourself, a family member, or for someone who is not a family member?

1. Self → Go to Income
2. Family member → Go to Income
3. Someone who is not a family member
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Ocup\_C.** Who do you work for?

1. Private company
2. Government or state-owned company
3. Social service organization or religious organization
4. A person
5. Other; specify [open-ended]
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Income.** Please think of all the people in your household that work and earn money, and people who send money to your household regularly. Adding up those amounts, how much would you say is your household's monthly income?

1. No income
2. Less than Q700 per month
3. From Q700 to Q1,199 per month
4. From Q1,200 to Q2,399 per month
5. From Q2,400 to Q3,999 per month
6. More than Q3,999 per month
7. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
8. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 2. LEGITIMACY AND TRUST<sup>1</sup>

[Split sample:

- GROUP A: 1/4 of respondents skip to Sat\_dem
- GROUP B: 1/4 of respondents get Prompt1 AND EXP1 = all men AND EXP2 = of men; this group gets the photo array with eight men
- GROUP C: 1/4 of respondents get Prompt1 AND EXP1 = half men and half women AND EXP2 = with the same number of men and women; this group gets the photo array with four men and four women
- GROUP D: 1/4 of respondents get Prompt2]

(if Group == B) **GROUPBCHECK:** ENUMERATOR (a): please confirm that you have prepared the photo array of the group of 8 men to show the respondent

I. Confirm

(if Group == C) **GROUPCCHECK:** ENUMERATOR (a): please confirm that you have prepared the photo array of the group of 4 men and 4 women to show the respondent

I. Confirm

We are going to read you a short newspaper story. After, we will ask you some questions about how you feel about it.

**Prompt1.** Congress just gathered a small group of people to give advice on possible changes to the Constitution of Guatemala. The group will talk about how to improve the laws so voting is safe and fair in Guatemala. The group is [EXPI (options: all men; half men and half women)]. The group [EXP2 (options: of men; with the same number of men and women)] will give its recommendations to Congress at the end of this month. [Display appropriate photo array together with Prompt1.] [ENUMERATOR: Show the photo array to the respondent while reading Prompt1.]

**Prompt1 PhotoCheck.** ENUMERATOR: please take a photo of the photo array that you just showed the respondent.

**Prompt2.** Congress just gathered a small group of people to give advice on possible changes to the Constitution of Guatemala. The group will talk about how to improve laws so voting is safe and fair in Guatemala. The group will give its recommendations to Congress at the end of this month.

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<sup>1</sup> The Legitimacy and Trust module measures satisfaction with democracy (Sat\_dem) and support for political institutions (Polinst\_respect and Polinst\_protect) using items taken from the AmericasBarometer (Latin American Public Opinion Project, Vanderbilt University). It measures trust in government (Trust\_gov\_rev Trust\_gov\_corrupt) using items from the American National Elections Study (Stanford University and University of Michigan). The module includes an experiment to assess the extent to which women's equal presence in political decision-making bodies confers legitimacy to political decision-making processes and outcomes, and increases overall legitimacy. The survey aims to produce evidence that USAID can use to justify investing in WPPL programming from a governance perspective—and in addition to justifications focusing on fairness and women leaders' contributions to development outcomes. Inspiration for the experiment comes from: Clayton, A., O'Brien, D.Z., and Piscopo, J.M. (2019). All male panels? Representation and democratic legitimacy, *American Journal of Political Science*, 63(1), 113-129.

Now we are going to ask you some questions about how you feel about this news.

**Outcome\_1.** Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. This group can be trusted to make decisions that are right for all **Guatemalans**.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Outcome\_2.** How fair will the group's decision-making process be?

1. Very fair
2. Fair
3. Neither fair nor unfair [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Unfair
5. Very unfair
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

Changing the topic...

**Sat\_dem.** How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in **Guatemala**?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor not satisfied [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Polinst\_respect.** How much do you respect the government of **Guatemala**?

1. Not at all
2. Some
3. A lot
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Polinst\_protect.** How much do you believe that the government of **Guatemala** protects the human rights of its citizens?

1. Not at all
2. Some
3. A lot
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Trust\_gov\_rev.** How often can you trust the government of **Guatemala** to do what is right?

1. Always
2. Most of the time
3. About half the time
4. Some of the time
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Trust\_gov\_corrupt.** How many of the people running the government are corrupt?

1. None
2. A few
3. About half
4. Most
5. All
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Trust\_media.** How much do you trust the media?

1. Not at all
2. Some
3. A lot
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Ask **Check\_1** to GROUP B and GROUP C respondents]

**Check\_1.** Thinking back to the newspaper story that I read, do you remember how many men and how many women were in the group?

1. All men
2. Mostly men
3. About half and half
4. Mostly women
5. All women
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Ask **Check\_2** to GROUP D respondents]

**Check\_2.** Thinking back to the newspaper story that I read, about how many men and how many women do you think were in the group?

1. All men
2. Mostly men
3. About half and half
4. Mostly women
5. All women
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Ask **Committee** only to 1/4 of respondents that skipped to sat\_dem above]

**Committee.** Imagine that the **Congress** has to put a small group of people together to give advice on changes to the constitution of **Guatemala**. The group will talk about how to make laws better so voting is safe and fair in **Guatemala**. Do you think the group should be: [ENUMERATOR: Read all before accepting an answer]

1. All men
2. Mostly men
3. Half men and half women
4. Mostly women
5. All women
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

### 3. MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE

In your opinion, what are the three most important problems facing **Guatemala** that the government should address?

[Display Issue\_id1, Issue\_id2, and Issue\_id3 each on its own page of the programmed instrument.]

**Issue\_id1. [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]**

1. Crime and security
2. Infrastructure/roads
3. Food shortage/famine
4. Farming/agriculture
5. Jobs and unemployment
6. Managing/taking care of the economy
7. Wages, income, and salaries
8. Poverty
9. Health [ENUMERATOR: include COVID-related responses in option below]
10. COVID-19 pandemic and its effects
11. Corruption/bribery
12. Education/schools
13. Water supply
14. Energy
15. Pensions/old age pay and benefits
16. Housing
17. Immigration/border entry
18. National defense/military
19. Environment [ENUMERATOR: include responses related to environmental conflict here]
20. Social conflict [ENUMERATOR: include responses related to ethnic/tribal/racial conflict here]
21. Women's rights [ENUMERATOR: include responses related to gender-based violence here]
22. Other, specify [open-ended]
23. Don't know
24. Refused

**Issue\_id2. [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]**

[List same response options as Issue\_id1. Exclude response selected for Issue\_id1.]

**Issue\_id3. [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]**

[List same response options as Issue\_id2. Exclude responses selected for Issue\_id1 and issue\_id2.]



## 4. AGENCY<sup>2</sup>

### 4.1 HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about how much control you have over personal decisions, such as whether you will go out of the house into the community, who you spend time with outside of your house, or when and from whom to seek health care for yourself.

[Ask questions below for each HH\_Decision:

- A. Leaving your house to go into the community
- B. Who you spend time with outside of your house
- C. From whom to seek health care for yourself
- D. When to seek health care for yourself
- E. Buying expensive things for the house
- F. Leaving your house to visit family members]

[Display: ENUMERATOR: Read [HH\_Decision]

Keep ENUMERATOR: Read [HH\_Decision] at top of screen for each follow-up question]

**Hhdm\_control.** How much control do you have over your decision?

1. No control
2. Some control
3. A lot of control
4. Full control
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Hhdm\_control\_other.** How much control do your spouse or other household members have over your decision? [ENUMERATOR: If respondent says they don't have a spouse, ask them to focus on other household members like parents, siblings, children, etc.]

1. No control
2. Some control
3. A lot of control
4. Full control

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<sup>2</sup> The Agency module includes questions about household and political decision-making. It is designed to measure the extent to which women (and men) have control over their choices and uncover the consequences they face when they defy traditional power structures. The following sources informed the development of this module:

- Demographic and Health Surveys. (2019). Demographic and Health Surveys Phase 8: Woman's Questionnaire. Retrieved from: <https://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-DHSQ8-DHS-Questionnaires-and-Manuals.cfm>
- The "Decision-Making Dimension" in Wisor S., Bessell S., Castillo F., et al. (2014). *The individual deprivation measure: A gender-sensitive approach to poverty measurement*. Melbourne: The International Women's Development Agency. See: <http://emerge.ucsd.edu/measure-id/>
- Hinson, L., Edmeades, J., Murithi, L., and Puri, M. (2019). Developing and testing measures of reproductive decision-making agency in Nepal. *SSM Population Health*, 9, 100473. See: <http://emerge.ucsd.edu/measure-rdma/>

5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Ask Hhdm\_disagree1 and Hhdm\_disagree2 of all respondents]

**Hhdm\_disagree1.** If your spouse/partner or other household members do not agree with your decision, what can happen?

[Present a grid with response options “Yes,” “No,” and “Not Sure [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]”]

1. They will stop you from acting
2. They will be angry with you
3. They will say bad things about you

**Hhdm\_disagree2.** What other things can happen? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for additional responses] [Select multiple]

1. Physical violence
2. Verbal abuse
3. Other, specify [open-ended]
4. Nothing [Should be exclusive]
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[End loop]

#### 4.1 POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about how much control you have over other decisions.

[Ask questions below for each POL\_Decision:

- A. Leaving your house to go to a community meeting
- B. Leaving your house to go to a political rally or other campaign event
- C. Whether to vote or not to vote in a general election
- D. Who to vote for in a general election]

[Display: ENUMERATOR: Read [POL\_Decision]

Keep ENUMERATOR: Read [POL\_Decision] at top of screen for each follow-up question]

**Pdm\_control.** How much control do you have over your decision?

1. No control
2. Some control
3. A lot of control
4. Full control
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Pdm\_control\_other.** How much control do your spouse or other household members have over your decision? [ENUMERATOR: If respondent says they don't have a spouse, ask them to focus on other household members like parents, siblings, children, etc.]

1. No control
2. Some control
3. A lot of control
4. Full control
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Ask Pdm\_disagree1 and Pdm\_disagree2 of all respondents]

**Pdm\_disagree1.** If your spouse or other household members do not agree with your decision, what can happen?

[Present a grid with response options “Yes,” “No,” and “Not Sure [Enumerator: Do not read]”]

1. They will stop you
2. They will be angry
3. They will say bad things about you

**Pdm\_disagree2.** What other things can happen? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for additional responses] [Select multiple]

1. Physical violence
2. Verbal abuse
3. Other, specify [open-ended]
4. Nothing [Should be exclusive]
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[End loop]

[Split sample:

- 1/2 of respondents answer 5. NORMS module
- 1/2 of respondents answer 6. ATTITUDES module]

## 5. NORMS

### 5.1 GENDER ROLE NORMS<sup>3</sup>

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about what people in your community do or think. When I say "community," I mean the people who are important to you. Please tell me how many people in your community would agree with the following statements

**Norm\_genrol\_4.** Girls should be sent to school only if they are not needed at home.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_genrol\_6.** Girls and boys should share household tasks equally.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_genrol\_8.** Men should make the decisions in the home.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_genrol\_10.** Women should have the same chance to work outside the home as men.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>3</sup> The gender role norms scale is taken from: Baird, S., Bhutta, Z. A., Hamad, B. A., et. al. (2019). Do restrictive gender attitudes and norms influence physical and mental health during very young Adolescence? Evidence from Bangladesh and Ethiopia. *SSM Population Health*, 9, 100480. See: [https://emerge.ucsd.edu/r\\_1q503c5n20z3lyv2/](https://emerge.ucsd.edu/r_1q503c5n20z3lyv2/).

**Norm\_genrol\_12.** Women should get married before the age of 18 years.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_genrol\_14.** Families should control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons' behaviors.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_genrol\_15.** When it comes to giving women the same rights as men, do most people in your community think the country:

1. Has advanced more than necessary
2. Has advanced a little
3. Has been about right
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 5.2 POLITICS NORMS

And now I'm going to ask you about the beliefs people in your community hold about politics. Remember we are not asking about your personal beliefs. Please tell me how many people in your community would agree with the following statements

**Norm\_pol\_1.** It is appropriate for women to vote in elections.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_2.** Families should let their daughters become members of a political party.

[ENUMERATOR: If respondent says they do not have a daughter, ask them to respond as if they had one]

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_3.** Families should let their sons become members of a political party. [ENUMERATOR: If respondent says they do not have a son, ask them to respond as if they had one]

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_11.** It is appropriate for women to speak out publicly.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_4.** It is appropriate for women to run for mayor.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_5.** Most people in your community think it is appropriate for women to run for President.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_9.** Men are better political leaders than women.

1. Everyone in your community would agree
2. Most of your community would agree
3. Some people in your community would agree
4. No one in your community would agree
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_6.** How many people in your community would be willing to vote a woman for mayor?

1. Everyone in your community
2. Most of your community
3. Some people in your community
4. No one in your community
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Note: If the country has a president, Norm\_pol\_7 should read, “Most people would never vote for a woman for President. If there is no president, Norm\_pol\_7 should change to “Most people would never support a woman for Prime Minister.”]

**Norm\_pol\_7.** How many people in your community would be willing to vote for a woman for President?

1. Everyone in your community
2. Most of your community
3. Some people in your community
4. No one in your community
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_8a.** How many people in your community would be willing to vote for a homosexual person for mayor?

1. Everyone in your community
2. Most of your community
3. Some people in your community
4. No one in your community
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_8b.** How many people in your community would be willing to vote for an African-descendent person for mayor?

1. Everyone in your community
2. Most of your community
3. Some people in your community
4. No one in your community
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_8c.** How many people in your community would be willing to vote for a person with some type of disability for mayor?

1. Everyone in your community
2. Most of your community
3. Some people in your community
4. No one in your community
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Norm\_pol\_10.** Without thinking about any specific person running, do you think most people in your community would prefer to vote for [ROTATE] \_a man or \_a woman for elected office?

1. Woman
2. Man
3. No difference [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 6. ATTITUDES

### 6.1 GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES<sup>4</sup>

Now I'd like to ask about your own personal beliefs. Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**Att\_genrol\_1.** Girls should be sent to school only if they are not needed at home.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_genrol\_2.** Girls and boys should share household tasks equally.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_genrol\_3.** Men should make the decisions in the home.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_genrol\_4.** Women should have the same chance to work outside the home as men.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>4</sup> NORC developed the set of items measuring gender role attitudes (att\_genrol\_1 – att\_genrol\_6) to correspond to items measuring gender role norms. See section 5.1 and footnote 3.



**Att\_genrol\_5.** Women should get married before the age of 18 years.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_genrol\_6.** Families should control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons' behaviors.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_genrol\_7.** When women get rights, they are taking rights away from men.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

Now, I'm going to ask you about the opportunities men and women have.

**Att\_genrol\_8a.** When it comes to getting a good education, do you think women have more opportunities than men, fewer opportunities than men, or about the same level of opportunity?

[ENUMERATOR: If respondent says more or fewer, read:] Is that a lot more/fewer or a little more/fewer?

- |   |  |                   |
|---|--|-------------------|
| A. More                                 | → Is that a lot more or a somewhat more?   | 1. A lot more     |
| B. About the same                       | →  | 2. Somewhat more  |
| C. Fewer                                | → Is that a lot fewer or a somewhat fewer? | 3. About the same |
| D. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] | →  | 4. Somewhat fewer |
| E. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]    | →  | 5. A lot fewer    |
|   |  | 6. Don't know     |
|   |  | 7. Refused        |

**Att\_genrol\_8b.** When it comes to getting a job, do you think women have more opportunities than men, fewer opportunities than men, or about the same level of opportunity? [ENUMERATOR: If respondent says more or fewer, read:] Is that a lot more/fewer or a little more/fewer?

- |         |  |                  |
|---------|--|------------------|
| A. More | → Is that a lot more or a somewhat more? | 1. A lot more    |
|         |  | 2. Somewhat more |

- |                   |                           |  |                   |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--|-------------------|
| B. About the same | →                         |  | 3. About the same |
| C. Fewer          | →                         | Is that a lot fewer or a somewhat fewer? | 4. Somewhat fewer |
|                   |                           |  | 5. A lot fewer    |
| D. Don't know     | [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] | →  | 6. Don't know     |
| E. Refused        | [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] | →  | 7. Refused        |

**Att\_genrol\_8c.** When it comes to holding a supervisory role at work, do you think women have more opportunities than men, fewer opportunities than men, or about the same level of opportunity?  
 [ENUMERATOR: If respondent says more or fewer, read:] Is that a lot more/fewer or somewhat more/fewer?

- |                   |                           |  |                   |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--|-------------------|
| A. More           | →                         | Is that a lot more or a somewhat more?   | 1. A lot more     |
|                   |                           |  | 2. Somewhat more  |
| B. About the same | →                         |  | 3. About the same |
| C. Fewer          | →                         | Is that a lot fewer or a somewhat fewer? | 4. Somewhat fewer |
|                   |                           |  | 5. A lot fewer    |
| D. Don't know     | [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] | →  | 6. Don't know     |
| E. Refused        | [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] | →  | 7. Refused        |

**Att\_genrol\_8d.** When it comes to running for political office, do you think women have more opportunities than men, fewer opportunities than men, or about the same level of opportunity?  
 [ENUMERATOR: If respondent says more or fewer, read:] Is that a lot more/fewer or a little more/fewer?

- |                   |                           |  |                   |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--|-------------------|
| A. More           | →                         | Is that a lot more or a somewhat more?   | 1. A lot more     |
|                   |                           |  | 2. Somewhat more  |
| B. About the same | →                         |  | 3. About the same |
| C. Fewer          | →                         | Is that a lot fewer or a somewhat fewer? | 4. Somewhat fewer |
|                   |                           |  | 5. A lot fewer    |
| D. Don't know     | [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] | →  | 6. Don't know     |
| E. Refused        | [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] | →  | 7. Refused        |

**Att\_genrol\_9.** When it comes to giving women the same rights as men, do you think the country:

1. Has advanced more than necessary
2. Has advanced a little
3. Has been about right
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 6.2 POLITICS ATTITUDES

And now I'd like to ask about your own personal beliefs related to politics. Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**Att\_pol\_1.** It is appropriate for women to vote in elections.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_2.** You would let your daughter become a member of a political party.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_3.** You would let your son become a member of a political party.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_4.** It is appropriate for a woman to run **mayor**.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_5.** It is appropriate for a woman to **run for President**.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_6.** You would be willing to vote for a woman for **mayor**.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Note: If the country has a president, Att\_pol\_7 should read, “You would never vote for a woman for President. If there is no president, Att\_pol\_7 should change to “You would never support a woman for Prime Minister.”]

**Att\_pol\_7.** You would be willing to vote for a woman for President.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_8a.** You would be willing to vote for a homosexual person for mayor.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_8b.** You would be willing to vote for an indigenous person for mayor.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_8c.** You would be willing to vote for a person with disabilities for mayor.

8. Strongly agree
9. Agree
10. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
11. Disagree
12. Strongly disagree
13. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
14. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_9.** Men are better political leaders than women.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_I1.** It is appropriate for women to express their opinions in public.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_I2.** There should be equal numbers of men and women in [the municipal council](#).

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_I3.** There should be equal numbers of men and women in Congress.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_I4.** There should be a law that requires political parties to have a minimum number of women candidates in Congress of the Republic.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_I5.** There should be a law that requires political parties to have a minimum number of women candidates in the municipal councils.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_10.** Without thinking about any specific person running, would you prefer to vote for [ROTATE] \_a man or \_a woman for elected office?

1. Woman
2. Man
3. No difference [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Split sample:

1/2 of respondents answer 7. MASCULINITY ATTITUDES module

1/2 of respondents answer 8. SEXISM module]

## 7. MASCULINITY ATTITUDES<sup>5</sup>

In this section, I'd like to ask about your own personal beliefs. Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**Masc\_1.** To be a man, you need to be tough.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Masc\_2.** Changing diapers, bathing and feeding children are mothers' responsibilities.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Masc\_3.** If someone insults a man, he should defend his reputation, with force if he has to.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Masc\_4.** A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>5</sup> The Masculinity Attitudes scales is adapted from the GEM Scale, masculinity dominance and sexuality subscales. <https://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Measuring-Gender-Attitude-Using-Gender-Equitable-Men-Scale.pdf>.

**Masc\_5.** If a man gets a woman pregnant, the child is responsibility of both.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Masc\_6.** It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Masc\_7.** Most men will not want to be friends with homosexual/gay men.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Masc\_8.** It's important for a man to have male friends to talk about his problems.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Masc\_9.** A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]



## 8. SEXISM<sup>6</sup>

In this section, I'd like to ask about your own personal beliefs. Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**ASI\_1.** Many women have a purity that few men possess.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_2.** Women should be cherished and protected by men.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_3.** Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_4.** Every man should have a woman whom he adores.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

---

<sup>6</sup> The Sexism module comprises short versions of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick, P., and Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491-512) and the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (Glick, P., and Fiske, S. T. (1999). The ambivalence toward men inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent beliefs about men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23, 519-536). The short scales are discussed in: Rollero, C., Glick, P., and Tartaglia, S. (2014). Psychometric Properties of Short Versions of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory. *TPM*, 21(2), 1-11.

**ASI\_5.** Men are incomplete without women.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_6.** Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_7.** When a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to control him.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_8.** When women lose to men, they usually complain about being treated unfairly.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_10.** Women have a better sense of right and wrong than men.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_11.** Men should be willing to sacrifice in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**ASI\_12.** People who fight for women's rights are making unreasonable demands of men.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 9. VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT

### 9.1 SAFETY

Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**Move\_safe\_day.** You feel safe moving around your neighborhood or village alone during the day.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Move\_safe\_night.** You feel safe moving around your neighborhood or village alone at night.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Split sample:

1/2 of respondents answer 9.2 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE NORMS submodule

1/2 of respondents answer 9.3 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ATTITUDES submodule]

### 9.2 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE NORMS<sup>7</sup>

Now, I am going to ask you about disagreements between husbands and wives. Sometimes a husband might be annoyed or angered by something his wife does.

[Ask questions below for each ACTION:

- A. Leaves the house without telling him
- B. Does not take care of the children properly
- C. Argues with him
- D. Refuses to have sex with him]

**vhd\_verb\_norm.** In your community, do most people believe a husband is justified in yelling at his wife if she [ACTION]?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

---

<sup>7</sup> NORC developed the set of items measuring norms about domestic violence by adapting the set of items measuring attitudes toward domestic violence. See section 9.3 and footnote 8.

**vhd\_phys\_norm.** In your community, do most people believe a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she **[ACTION]**?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**
4. Refused **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**

**[End loop]**

**vhd\_act\_norm.** Suppose a husband beats his wife almost every night. Some people think that friends and family should get involved and try to stop it. Others think that friends and family should not get involved in married people's business. What do most people in your community think?

1. Friends and family should get involved and try to stop it.
2. Friends and family should not get involved in married people's business.
3. Don't know **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**
4. Refused **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**

### **9.3 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ATTITUDES<sup>8</sup>**

Now, I am going to ask you about disagreements between husbands and wives. Sometimes a husband might be annoyed or angered by something his wife does.

**[Ask questions below for each ACTION:**

- A. Leaves the house without telling him
- B. Does not take care of the children properly
- C. Argues with him
- D. Refuses to have sex with him]

**vhd\_verb\_att.** In your opinion, is a husband justified in yelling at his wife if she **[ACTION]**?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**
4. Refused **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**

**vhd\_phys\_att.** In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife if she **[ACTION]**?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**
4. Refused **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read]**

**[End loop]**

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<sup>8</sup> The set of items measuring attitudes toward domestic violence comes for the Demographic and Health Surveys (Demographic and Health Surveys Program, ICF International).

**vhd\_act\_att.** Suppose a husband beats his wife almost every night. Some people think that friends and family should get involved and try to stop it. Others think that friends and family should not get involved in married people's business. What do you think?

1. Friends and family should get involved and try to stop it.
2. Friends and family should not get involved in married people's business.
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

#### 9.4 HARASSMENT

**vhd\_tease.** [Ask if Dem\_gender = 2] When you go out in your community, how often do boys or men make sexual comments, gestures, or noises directed at you?

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**vhd\_cmnt\_likely.** How common is it for people to make sexual comments to women at their workplace?

1. Not common at all
2. Somewhat common
3. Very common
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**vhd\_cmnt\_prob.** [If Dem\_work = 1 OR 2] Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: Women in your workplace worry about people making sexual comments to them.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**vhd\_cmnt\_online.** Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: Women you know worry about people harassing them or making sexual comments to them online.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree

5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 9.5 EXPERIENCES DURING THE WAR<sup>9</sup>

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your experiences during the war.

**War\_0.** Did you experience the armed conflict?

1. Yes
2. No [Skip to the "I know some of these questions may have been hard to answer. Thank you for answering honestly" note below **War\_2.**]
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] [Skip to the "I know some of these questions may have been hard to answer. Thank you for answering honestly" note below **War\_2.**]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] [Skip to the "I know some of these questions may have been hard to answer. Thank you for answering honestly" note below **War\_2.**]

**War\_1.** During the war, did someone physically hurt you, a family member, or a friend?

5. Yes
6. No
7. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
8. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**War\_2.** During the war, did someone damage or take away your property or the property of a family member or friend?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

I know some of those questions may have been hard to answer. Thank you for answering honestly.

---

<sup>9</sup> This sub-module may not be included in every country.

## 10. TRAITS<sup>10</sup>

[Split sample:

- 1/5 of respondents: GROUP = politicians
- 1/5 of respondents: GROUP = men politicians
- 1/5 of respondents: GROUP = women politicians
- 1/5 of respondents: GROUP = men
- 1/5 of respondents: GROUP = women]

Next, I will ask you what most people in your community think about [GROUP]. The way people in your community think about [GROUP] may or may not match your personal beliefs. Give me your answer based on what most people in your community think, whether or not you agree with it.

For each of the following words or phrases, please tell me if most people in your community would say it describes [GROUP]. Please tell me yes or no for each one.

[ENUMERATOR: Select the gender as necessary to refer to [GROUP]]

[Ask question below for each TRAIT, with traits appearing in random order

- A. Commands Respect
- B. Inspiring, one who motivates others
- C. Compassionate, one who is concerned for others
- D. Honest
- E. Intelligent
- F. Hardworking
- G. Sensitive, one who gets excited quickly
- H. Submissive, one who submits to others
- I. Complaining, one who complains a lot
- J. Creative
- K. Beautiful
- L. Uptight, one who does not accept change
- M. Ambitious, one who wants and fights for something they don't have
- N. Competitive
- O. Proud
- P. Analytical, one who studies everything in detail
- Q. Physically strong]

trait\_X. [Trait]

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
- 4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>10</sup> The Traits module borrows heavily from Schneider, M.C. and Bos, A.L. (2014). Measuring stereotypes of female politicians. *Political Psychology*, 35(2), 245-266.



## II. ISSUES/LEADERSHIP POSITIONS AND GENDER

[Split sample:

1/2 of respondents answer II.1 ISSUE AREAS AND POLITICIAN GENDER submodule

1/2 of respondents answer II.2 POLITICAL POSITIONS AND POLITICIAN GENDER submodule]

### II.1 ISSUE AREAS AND POLITICIAN GENDER

Now I'm going to ask you about some things people in government work on. For each one, please tell me if you think men are better, women are better, or there is no difference between men and women.

**Gen\_iss\_1.** National defense and the military [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_iss\_2.** Education [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_iss\_3.** Health [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_iss\_4.** Management of the economy [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_iss\_5.** Poverty reduction [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_iss\_6.** [Ask if issue\_id\_3 != 6, 8, 9, 12, 18] [Pipe Issue\_id\_1] [ENUMERATOR: If necessary for understanding, use “Manage / Reduce / Control” or another similar word to clarify the issue area; If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_iss\_7.** [Ask if issue\_id\_3 != 6, 8, 9, 12, 18] [Pipe Issue\_id\_2] [ENUMERATOR: If necessary for understanding, use “Manage / Reduce / Control” or another similar word to clarify the issue area; If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_iss\_8.** [Ask if issue\_id\_3 != 6, 8, 9, 12, 18] [Pipe Issue\_id\_3] [ENUMERATOR: If necessary for understanding, use “Manage / Reduce / Control” or another similar word to clarify the issue area; If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 11.2 POLITICAL POSITIONS AND POLITICIAN GENDER

Now I'm going to ask you about your thoughts regarding specific political positions. For each political position, please tell me if you think men would do a better job, women would to a better job, or there is no difference between men and women.

**Gen\_pos\_1a. Municipal Mayor**[ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_1b. COCODE President** [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_2. Judge** [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_3. Minister of Health** [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_4. Minister of Defense** [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_5. Representative in the Congress of the Republic** [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_7. President of the Republic** [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better
3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_8. Political party leader** [ENUMERATOR: If necessary, repeat: are men better, women better, or is there no difference?]

1. Men are better
2. Women are better

3. No difference between men and women
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_leg.** If there were more women lawmakers, do you think the government would do a better job of dealing with the country's problems, do a worse job of dealing with the country's problems, or the number of women lawmakers doesn't have much to do with this? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Do a better job
2. Do a worse job
3. The number of women lawmakers doesn't have much to do with this
4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Gen\_pos\_desc.** Thinking about **Guatemala**, would you say there should be more or fewer women in politics, or is the number just about right? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. More women
2. Fewer women
3. The number is just about right
4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Gen\_pos\_rep.** Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

1. Women and men politicians represent my interests equally
2. Men politicians represent my interests better
3. Women politicians represent my interests better
4. None of them represent my interests
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

### 11.3 MEDIA AND GENDER

**Gen\_media\_1.** Now I'm going to ask you some questions about people who work in the news media. In **Guatemala**, should there be more women journalists, fewer women journalists, or is the number just about right? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. More women
2. Fewer women
3. The number is just about right
4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Gen\_media\_2.** Still talking about people who work in the news media, who do you think does a better job: men journalists, women journalists, or there is no difference between men and women journalists? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Men
2. Women
3. No difference between men and women

4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Gen\_media\_3.** And who do you think is more trustworthy: men journalists, women journalists, or there is no difference between men and women journalists? **[ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]**

1. Men
2. Women
3. No difference between men and women
4. None is trustworthy
5. Don't know
6. Refused

## 12. POLITICAL AWARENESS

Now I am going to ask you some questions about your interest and involvement in politics.

### 12.1 POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT OR INTEREST

**Awr\_eng\_1.** How interested are you in politics?

1. Very interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Not at all interested
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Awr\_eng\_2.** How often do you talk about politics with people in your household?

1. Every day
1. A few times a week
2. A few times a month
3. Less than once a month
4. Never
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Motiv\_poldisc.** When you were growing up, how much did your family talk about politics?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not at all
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Awr\_eng\_3.** I'm going to say some places where you can get news. For each one, please tell me how often you get news from this place. How often do you get news from:

[Ask question below for each SOURCE:

- A. Radio
- B. Television
- C. Newspapers
- D. Internet
- E. Social media such as Facebook or Twitter

[SOURCE]

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Awr\_eng\_4.** Which of the following statements describes you better: “I try to avoid getting into discussions on uncomfortable topics” or “I enjoy discussions on uncomfortable topics, even though it sometimes leads to arguments.”

1. I try to avoid getting into discussions on uncomfortable topics
2. Somewhere in the middle [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
3. I enjoy discussions on uncomfortable topics, even though it sometimes leads to arguments
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 12.2 POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

To the best of your knowledge, could you tell me...

**Awr\_know\_1.** Who is the President? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Alejandro Giammattei
2. Other name
3. Don't know
4. Refused

**Awr\_know\_2.** Which political party has more members in the Congress? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE)
2. Other Party
3. Don't know
4. Refused

**Awr\_know\_3.** How many members are there in the Congress? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. 160
2. Other number
3. Don't know
4. Refused

**Awr\_know\_4.** Who is the Minister of External Affairs? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Pedro Brolo Vila
2. Other name
3. Don't know
4. Refused

**Awr\_know\_quota\_1.** In various countries there are laws that mandate political parties have a minimum number of women candidates in Congressional elections. Does a law like this exist for Congressional elections in Guatemala?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

### 12.3 VIEWS OF POLITICIANS

Please name three political leaders in your country. [ENUMERATOR: Record three names or political offices. Enter -98 if Don't know, -99 if Refused]

**Awr\_pol\_1\_name.** [open-ended]

**Awr\_pol\_2\_name.** [open-ended]

**Awr\_pol\_3\_name.** [open-ended]

**Awr\_pol\_1\_role.** What is the position of [Awr\_pol\_1\_name]?

[Response options will be country-specific, similar to:

1. President
2. Member of Congress
3. Other national government official
4. Municipal government official
5. COCODE Member]
6. Other, specify [open-ended] [ENUMERATOR: Use this rather than Don't know if respondent is unsure]
7. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
8. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Awr\_pol\_1\_gen.** What gender is [Awr\_pol\_1\_name]? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Other, specify [open-ended]
4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Awr\_pol\_2\_role.** What is the position of [Awr\_pol\_2\_name]?

[Response options will be country-specific, similar to:

1. President
2. Member of Congress
3. Other national government official
4. Municipal government official
5. COCODE Member]
6. Other, specify [open-ended] [ENUMERATOR: Use this rather than Don't know if respondent is unsure]
7. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
8. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Awr\_pol\_2\_gen.** What gender is [Awr\_pol\_2\_name]? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Man
2. Woman



3. Other, specify [open-ended]
4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Awr\_pol\_3\_role.** What is the position of [Awr\_pol\_3\_name]? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

[Response options will be country-specific, similar to:

1. President
2. Member of Congress
3. Other national government official
4. Municipal government official
5. COCODE Member]
6. Other, specify [open-ended] [ENUMERATOR: Use this rather than Don't know if respondent is unsure]
7. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
8. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Awr\_pol\_3\_gen.** What gender is [Awr\_pol\_3\_name]? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Other, specify [open-ended]
4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Awr\_pol\_woman.** [Ask if Awr\_pol\_1\_gen != 2 AND Awr\_pol\_2\_gen != 2 AND Awr\_pol\_3\_gen !=2]  
Can you name a woman politician in your country? [open-ended]

**Awr\_pol\_desc.** [Randomly select 1 of the following: pol\_1\_name if Awr\_pol\_1\_gen = 2;  
Awr\_pol\_2\_name if Awr\_pol\_2\_gen = 2; Awr\_pol\_3\_name if Awr\_pol\_3\_gen = 2 ; or  
Awr\_pol\_woman]

In a few words, how would you describe [Pipe in name of selected woman politician]? Please use any three words or phrases that come to mind. [open-ended]

**wpl\_pol\_desc.** [Randomly select 1 of the following: pol\_1\_name if Awr\_pol\_1\_gen = 1;  
Awr\_pol\_2\_name if Awr\_pol\_2\_gen = 1; Awr\_pol\_3\_name if Awr\_pol\_3\_gen = 1]

In a few words, how would you describe [Pipe in name of selected man politician]? Please use any three words or phrases that come to mind. [open-ended]

## 13. SELF-EFFICACY

### 13.1. GENERALIZED SELF-EFFICACY<sup>11</sup>

Now I am going to read you some statements. For each one, please tell me how true it is for you. Your answer will be not true at all, somewhat true, or true.

**eff\_gse\_1.** You can always solve difficult problems if you try hard enough.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_2.** If someone opposes you, you can find a way to get what you want.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_3.** It is easy for you to stay on track and reach your goals.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_4.** You can easily resolve situations that come up suddenly.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_5.** You are sure you can resolve unexpected difficulties you encounter in your life.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>11</sup> The Generalized Self-efficacy submodule comprises a scale of the same name taken from Schwarzer, R., and Jerusalem, M. (1995). Causal and control beliefs, in J. Weinman, S. Wright, and M. Johnston, *Measures in Health Psychology: A User's Portfolio*, 35-37. Windsor, UK: NFER-NELSON.

**eff\_gse\_6.** You can solve most problems if you put in the necessary effort.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_7.** You can stay calm when you have problems because you can control your feelings.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_8.** When you are confronted with a problem, you can usually find several solutions.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_9.** If you are in trouble, you can usually think of a solution.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_gse\_10.** You can usually handle whatever comes your way.

1. Not true at all
2. Somewhat true
3. True
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

### 13.2. POLITICAL EFFICACY<sup>12</sup>

Now I'm going to ask you about some specific political actions. For each one, please tell me how confident you are in your ability to do the specific action described.

**eff\_pol\_PPSE1.** Seek government support for causes in which you believe.

1. Not at all confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Confident
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_PPSE2.** Talk to, call, or write representatives of national government authorities.

1. Not at all confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Confident
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_PPSE3.** Bring together people in your community of work, friends, and family in support of political causes in which you believe.

1. Not at all confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Confident
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_PPSE4.** Monitor the actions of authorities.

1. Not at all confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Confident
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_meeting1.** Speak up in a community meeting to help decide how government money should be spent in your community.

1. Not at all confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Confident
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>12</sup> The political efficacy section includes the following:

- The short version of the Perceived Political Self-Efficacy scale (eff\_pol\_PPSE1 to eff\_pol\_PPSE4) from: Caprara, G.V., Vecchione, M., Capanna, C. and Mebane, M. (2009). Perceived political self-efficacy: Theory, assessment, and applications. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(6), 1002-1020
- External and internal political efficacy items (eff\_pol\_ext and eff\_pol\_int) from the AmericasBarometer

**eff\_pol\_meeting2.** Speak up in a community meeting if you disagree with what someone else is doing or saying.

1. Not at all confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Confident
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**eff\_pol\_ext.** The people who govern this country are interested in what people like me think.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_int.** You feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_power.** How much power do you think people like yourself have to change things in your community?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not at all
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_ambition1.** How much would you enjoy working in politics?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not at all
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**eff\_pol\_ambition2.** How much of a difference could you make working in politics?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not at all
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 14. CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTION

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your involvement in civic and political activities. Please remember your answers are confidential.

### 14.1 VOTE

[Ask section if dem\_dob\_l is voting age or older]

**Act\_vote\_last.** Did you vote in the **most recent general elections**?

1. Yes → Go to Act\_vote\_patron
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_vote\_patron
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_vote\_patron

**Act\_vote\_novote.** What is the main reason you didn't vote? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Out of country
2. Due to illness
3. Due to distance
4. Didn't want to vote
5. Party wasn't represented
6. Prevented by spouse/partner/family
7. Lack of time/didn't have time to vote
8. Lack of money/financial resources
9. Concerned about violence/harassment/personal safety
10. Not registered to vote
11. Was not old enough to vote
12. Other, specify [open-ended]
13. Don't know
14. Refused

**Act\_vote\_patron.** During the **most recent general election**, how many times did someone give you food, money, or gifts and ask you to vote for someone?

1. Never
2. One or two times
3. A few times
4. Often
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_vote\_sanc.** Do women in your community face problems when they try to vote in elections?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_vote\_forwoman
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_vote\_forwoman
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_vote\_forwoman

**Act\_vote\_sanc\_fu.** What kinds of problems do women face when they try to vote? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options, probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple]

1. Husband or family members will be angry
2. Scared of getting harassed, threatened or hurt
3. Scared it could hurt their reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
4. Other, specify [open-ended]
5. Don't know
6. Refused

**Act\_vote\_forwoman.** Have you ever voted for a woman candidate in an election? [ENUMERATOR: If they ask which election, say "whichever"]

1. Yes → Why? [open-ended] → Go to Act\_run\_recruit
2. No
3. Have never voted in an election [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_recruit
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_recruit
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_recruit

**Act\_vote\_noforwoman.** Why have you not voted for a woman candidate before? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. There were no women candidates
2. There were no women candidates from my preferred party
3. Women candidates are not suitable for the position
4. Men are more qualified than women
5. Women cannot handle the stress
6. Women cannot be trusted
7. Other, specify [open-ended]
8. Don't know
9. Refused

## 14.2 RUN FOR OFFICE

**Act\_run\_recruit.** Has anyone ever suggested you run for political office?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_run\_accept
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_accept
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_accept

**Act\_run\_recruiter.** Who suggested that you run for political office? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe to understand person's position/affiliation or group type]

1. Party leader/member
2. Elected official
3. Political activist [ENUMERATOR: include individuals from NGOs, interest groups, and community organizations]
4. Community/members of the community/neighbors
5. Friend
6. Family

7. Other, specify [open-ended]
8. Don't know
9. Refused

**Act\_run\_accept.** If offered an opportunity to run for office, how likely would you be to accept?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. A little likely
4. Not at all likely
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_run\_past.** Have you ever run for political office?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_run\_stage
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_stage
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_stage

**Act\_run\_past\_level.** At which levels of government have you run for political office? [Select multiple]  
[ENUMERATOR: Read all response options and select all that apply]

1. Congress
2. Municipal
3. Community (COCODE)
4. Other, specify [open-ended]
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_run\_pastmotive.** What was your main reason for running for political office? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. I come from an important political family
2. Improve daily life in my city, town, or village
3. I feel a responsibility to serve the community / country
4. Promote social, economic issues and development
5. Change legislation and policy
6. Need more women represented in politics
7. Need more representatives from my ethnic community/cultural group/tribe
8. My personal dream – long wanted to
9. I have the right skills/education for the job
10. I wanted to improve something specific in my community/country → Specify [open-ended]
11. Other, specify [open-ended]
12. Don't know
13. Refused

**Act\_run\_repeat.** Would you consider running for political office again?

1. Yes → Go to Act\_run\_sanc
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_sanc
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_run\_sanc



**Act\_run\_norepeat.** Why not? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple]

1. Lack of time
2. Lack of money/financial resources
3. Lack of support from party leaders or other party members
4. I don't have enough capacity, training, or education
5. Lack of family support
6. I would be concerned about harassment or violence
7. Scared it could hurt my reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
8. Other, specify [open-ended]
9. Don't know
10. Refused

[Go to Act\_run\_sanc after Act\_run\_norepeat]

**Act\_run\_stage.** Which best describes your attitudes toward running for political office in the future?

1. It is something you are unlikely to do
2. You would not rule it out forever, but you currently have no interest
3. It is something you might do if you had the opportunity
4. It is something you definitely would like to do in the future
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_run\_possmotive.** If you were to consider running for political office, what is the primary reason you would consider running? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Improve daily life in my city, town, or village
2. I feel a responsibility to serve the community/country
3. Promote social, economic issues and development
4. Change legislation and policy for the country
5. Need more women represented in politics
6. My personal dream – long wanted to
7. I have the right skills/education for the job
8. Other, specify [open-ended]
9. Don't know
10. Refused

**Act\_run\_primarybarrier.** What would be your primary barrier to running for political office? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Lack of time
2. Lack of money/financial resources
3. Lack of support from party leaders or other party members
4. I don't have enough capacity, training, or education
5. Lack of family support
6. I would be concerned about harassment or violence
7. Scared it could hurt my reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
8. Other, specify [open-ended]

9. No barrier → Go to Act\_run\_sanc
10. Don't know → Go to Act\_run\_sanc
11. Refused → Go to Act\_run\_sanc

**Act\_run\_otherbarrier.** What other barriers would you have to running for political office?

[ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple] [Do not show selected response from Act\_run\_primarybarrier if Act\_run\_primarybarrier = 1-7]

1. Lack of time
2. Lack of money/financial resources
3. Lack of support from party leaders or other party members
4. I don't have enough capacity, training, or education
5. Lack of family support
6. I would be concerned about harassment or violence
7. Scared it could hurt my reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
8. Other, specify [open-ended]
9. No barriers
10. Don't know
11. Refused

**Act\_run\_sanc.** Do women in your community face problems when they run for political office?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_contact\_past
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_contact\_past
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_contact\_past

**Act\_run\_sanc\_sp.** What kinds of problems do women face when they run for political office?

[ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple]

1. Rumors/gossip spread about them
2. Danger to their life
3. Unwanted text messages/emails/phone calls
4. Harassing or threatening their supporters
5. Physical violence toward them or their supporters
6. Touching or rubbing
7. Sexual comments or remarks
8. Scared it could hurt one's reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the community's opinion of oneself
9. Sexualized media coverage
10. Other, specify [open-ended]
11. Don't know
12. Refused

### 14.3 CONTACT ELECTED OFFICIAL

**Act\_contact\_past.** Have you ever contacted an elected official about a social, economic, or political problem?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_contact\_stage
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_contact\_stage
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_contact\_stage

**Act\_contact\_repeat.** Would you consider contacting an elected official about a social, economic, or political problem again?

1. Yes → Go to Act\_rally\_past
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_rally\_past
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_rally\_past

**Act\_contact\_norepeat.** Why not? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple]

1. Not enough time
2. Not enough money
3. Don't know how to do it
4. Scared of people harassing, threatening, or hurting you
5. Scared to talk to government official
6. No reason to talk to a government official
7. Politicians / the government / the authorities don't respond/don't do what they promise, they mislead people
8. Other, specify [open-ended]
9. Don't know
10. Refused

[Go to Act\_rally\_past after Act\_contact\_norepeat]

**Act\_contact\_stage.** Which best describes your attitudes toward contacting an elected official about a social, economic, or political problem in the future?

1. It is something you are unlikely to do
2. You would not rule it out forever, but you currently have no interest
3. It is something you might do if you had the opportunity
4. It is something you definitely would like to do in the future
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

#### 14.4 ATTENDED A POLITICAL RALLY OR CAMPAIGN EVENT

**Act\_rally\_past.** Have you ever attended a political rally or campaign event?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_rally\_stage
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_rally\_stage
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_rally\_stage

**Act\_rally\_repeat.** Would you consider attending a political rally or campaign event again?

1. Yes → Go to Act\_pet\_past
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_pet\_past
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_pet\_past

**Act\_rally\_norepeat.** Why not? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple]

1. No time
2. No money
3. No support from party leaders or other people in the party
4. Scared of people harassing, threatening, or hurting you
5. Scared it could hurt your reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
6. Husband, wife, or family members will be angry
7. Politicians / the government / authorities don't do what they promise, they mislead people
8. It's not good to participate in political rallies or campaign events/Don't like to participate in political rallies or campaign events
9. Other, specify [open-ended]
10. Don't know
11. Refused

[Go to Act\_pet\_past after Act\_rally\_norepeat]

**Act\_rally\_stage.** Which best describes your attitudes toward attending a political rally or campaign event in the future?

1. It is something you are unlikely to do
2. You would not rule it out forever, but you currently have no interest
3. It is something you might do if you had the opportunity
4. It is something you definitely would like to do in the future
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

#### 14.5 SIGN PETITION

**Act\_pet\_past.** Have you ever signed a petition directed at a government official or office?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_pet\_stage
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_pet\_stage
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_pet\_stage

**Act\_pet\_repeat.** Would you consider signing a petition directed at a government official or office again?

1. Yes → Go to Act\_protest\_past
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_protest\_past
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_protest\_past

**Act\_pet\_norepeat.** Why not? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple]

1. No time
2. No money

3. Don't know how to read or write
4. Scared of people disturbing, threatening, or hurting you
5. Scared it could hurt your reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
6. Husband, wife, or family members will be angry
7. Politicians / the government / the authorities don't respond, they don't do what they promise, they mislead people
8. It's not good to sign petitions directed at government officials or offices
9. Other, specify [open-ended]
10. Don't know
11. Refused

[Go to Act\_protest\_past after Act\_pet\_norepeat]

**Act\_pet\_stage.** Which best describes your attitudes toward signing a petition in the future?

1. It is something you are unlikely to do
2. You would not rule it out forever, but you currently have no interest
3. It is something you might do if you had the opportunity
4. It is something you definitely would like to do in the future
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 14.6 PROTEST

**Act\_protest\_past.** Have you ever participated in a protest?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_protest\_stage
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_protest\_stage
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_protest\_stage

**Act\_protest\_repeat.** Would you consider participating in a protest again?

1. Yes → Go to Act\_group\_partyaff
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_group\_partyaff
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_group\_partyaff

**Act\_protest\_norepeat.** Why not? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons] [select multiple]

1. No time
2. No money
3. No support from party leaders or other people in the party
4. Husband, wife, or family members will be angry
5. Scared of people harassing, threatening, or hurting you
6. Scared it could hurt your reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
7. Politicians / the government / the authorities don't do what they promise, they mislead people
8. It's not good to participate in protests / Don't like to participate in protests

9. Other, specify [open-ended]
10. Don't know
11. Refused

[Go to Act\_group\_partyaff after Act\_protest\_norepeat]

**Act\_protest\_stage.** Which best describes your attitudes toward participating in a protest in the future?

1. It is something you are unlikely to do
2. You would not rule it out forever, but you currently have no interest
3. It is something you might do if you had the opportunity
4. It is something you definitely would like to do in the future
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

#### 14.7 POLITICAL PARTIES

Now I'm going to ask a few questions about your involvement with political parties, political groups, or political associations.

**Act\_group\_partyaff.** Are you a member of any political party?

1. Yes → Go to Act\_group\_partyaffil
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_group\_partysup.** Do you feel close to any political party?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Act\_group\_member
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_group\_member
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_group\_member

**Act\_group\_partyaffil.** Which party?

1. Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza - UNE
2. Vamos por una Guatemala diferente
3. Unión del Cambio Nacional - UCN
4. Valor
5. Frente de Convergencia Nacional - FCN-Nación
6. Bienestar Nacional - BIEN
7. Semilla
8. Visión con Valores - VIVA
9. Todos
10. Partido Humanista de Guatemala - PHG
11. Compromiso, Renovación y Orden - CREO
12. Movimiento Político WINAQ
13. Victoria
14. Prosperidad Ciudadana - PC
15. Partido Unionista - PU

16. Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca - URNG-MAIZ
17. Partido de Avanzada Nacional - PAN
18. Movimiento para la Liberación de los Pueblos - MLP
19. Podemos
20. Otros, especifique
21. No sé [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
22. Rechaza [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_group\_partylead.** Do you have a leadership role in that political party at any level?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_group\_partydecide.** How much input do you have in making decisions in that political party?

1. None
2. Some
3. A lot
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_group\_partymtg.** When was the last time you went to a political party meeting?

1. Never → Go to Act\_group\_member
2. More than a year ago
3. Within the past year
4. Within the past month
5. Within the past week
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_group\_member
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Act\_group\_member

**Act\_group\_partyspeak.** Did you speak at that meeting?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 14.8 GROUP PARTICIPATION

**Act\_group\_member.** Now I am going to read you a list of different groups that people might belong to or participate in. Please tell me if you belong to or participate in each of these groups. [Select multiple] [ENUMERATOR: Read all response options and select all that apply; after each option probe: Do you belong to or participate in this group?]

1. Group that tries to fix problems in your community
2. Organization related to the work that you do to get money (e.g., business or professional association, farmers' association or cooperative, labor union)
3. Village savings and loan or credit group

4. Religious organization
5. Charitable organization that does voluntary work
6. Group for entertainment, sports or culture (e.g., birthday club, football team, kickball team, dance crew)
7. Another group that is important to you that I didn't ask about, specify [open-ended]
8. None
9. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
10. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[Ask questions below for each GROUP/ORGANIZATION selected in Act\_group\_member]

**Act\_group\_lead.** Do you have a leadership role in the [GROUP/ORGANIZATION]?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_group\_decide.** How much input do you have in making decisions in the [GROUP/ORGANIZATION]?

1. None
2. Some
3. A lot
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_group\_mtg1.** When was the last time you attended a meeting of the [GROUP/ORGANIZATION]?

1. Never
2. More than a year ago
3. Within the past year
4. Within the past month
5. Within the past week
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Act\_group\_speak1.** Did you speak at that meeting?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

[End loop]

**Group\_barrier\_1.** Did you ever want to participate in a committee, association, club, or other group but were unable to do so?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to next module



3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to next module
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to next module

**Group\_barrier\_2.** Why were you not able to participate? [Select multiple] [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple reasons]

1. Lack of time
2. Lack of money/financial resources
3. Lack of support from group leaders or other group members
4. I don't have enough capacity, training, or education
5. Lack of family support
6. I would be concerned about harassment or violence
7. Scared it could hurt your reputation or good name in the community/Scared of hurting the opinion that the community has of me
8. Other, specify [open-ended]
9. Don't know
10. Refused

## 15. SOCIAL NETWORKS<sup>13</sup>

From time to time, most people talk about important things with other people. Please name up to three people who you talk to about the things that matter most to you. If you can think of more than three people, please name those you feel closest to. Please name only people who don't live with you. Just tell me their first names or initials. [ENUMERATOR do not read: Only record first 3 names. If less than 3 names mentioned, probe: Anyone else?]

Name\_1. [open-ended]

Name\_2. [open-ended]

Name\_3. [open-ended]

[Ask questions below for each NAME:

1. [Name\_1]
2. [Name\_2]
3. [Name\_3]]

**Network0.** What is your relationship with [NAME]? [ENUMERATOR: do not read response options]

1. Spouse/partner/boyfriend/girlfriend (including ex-husband or ex-wife)
2. Family member not living in your house
3. Friend
4. Co-worker
5. Neighbor
6. Other, specify [open-ended]
7. Don't know
8. Refused

**Network1.** How often do you talk to [NAME]?

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Network2.** And how often do you talk to [NAME] about politics?

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never

---

<sup>13</sup> NORC developed the Social Networks module adapting social/political networks modules in the General Social Survey (NORC at the University of Chicago) and McClurg, S.D. (2003). Social networks and political participation: The role of social interaction in explaining political participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(4), 449-464.

6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Network3.** If you needed help with a household or a garden job that you couldn't do yourself, could you count on [NAME]?

1. Definitely yes
2. Probably yes
3. Probably not
4. Definitely not
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Network4.** If you needed to borrow money, could you count on [NAME]?

1. Definitely yes
2. Probably yes
3. Probably not
4. Definitely not
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 16. DISABILITY STATUS

Now, I am going to ask you a few questions about yourself.

**Dem\_dis\_1.** Do you have difficulty seeing, even if wearing glasses? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_2.** Do you have difficulty hearing, even if using a hearing aid? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_3.** Do you have difficulty walking or climbing steps? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_4.** Do you have difficulty remembering or concentrating? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_5.** Do you have difficulty with self-care, such as washing all over or dressing? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_6.** Do you have difficulty communicating in your own languages, that is, understanding or being understood? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 17. COVID EFFECTS

Before we finish the survey, I'm going to ask you a few questions about the effects that the COVID-19 pandemic has had on you.

[Split sample:

- 1/2 of respondents answer Covid\_1
- 1/2 of respondents answer Covid\_2]

**Covid\_1.** In the past three months, have you been affected by the following situations? For each one, please tell me yes or no.

[Present a grid with response options “Yes,” “No,” “Not applicable,” and “Not Sure [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]”]

1. Quarantine requirements or stay-at-home rules
2. Closed schools or institutes
3. Closed pre-school or childcare
4. Closed restaurants, bars or clubs
5. Closed local food market
6. Closed place of worship
7. Cancelled events or gatherings
8. Reduced transportation options
9. Rules to stop people from traveling around the community or country
10. Rules to stop people from traveling outside the country
11. Rules to make people work from home
12. Closed workplace
13. Lost job

**Covid\_2.** Which of the following measures, if any, are you taking in response to the COVID-19 pandemic? For each one, please tell me yes or no.

[Present a grid with response options “Yes,” “No,” and “Not Sure [Enumerator: Do not read]”]

1. Worn a face mask
2. Visited a doctor or hospital
3. Canceled or postponed work activities
4. Canceled or postponed school activities
5. Canceled or postponed a visit to the doctor
6. Canceled or postponed a visit to the dentist
7. Canceled outside housekeepers or caregivers
8. Stopped going to some or all restaurants
9. Worked from home
10. Studied at home
11. Canceled or postponed fun, social, or entertainment activities
12. Kept extra food or water in the house
13. Stopped going to public or crowded places
14. Stopped seeing high-risk or sick people
15. Washed or sanitized hands
16. Kept six feet distance from people not living in your house
17. Stayed home because you didn't feel well
18. Cleaned things or goods entering your home

**Covid\_3.** Has the time you spend on household chores and caring for family members changed as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic? Would you say: [ENUMERATOR: Read all options and probe: which comes closest to your experience?]

1. You spend less time on these activities?
2. You spend about the same amount of time?
3. You spend a few more hours?
4. You spend several more hours?
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**End of Survey Message:**

[Display for respondents that did not skip to sat\_dem in 2. LEGITIMACY AND TRUST module]

The news story you heard at the start was not true. The Congress of Guatemala is not changing the laws about elections. The goal of that section was to test respondents' reactions based on the types of people changing the laws.

[Display for all respondents]

You have now completed the survey. Thank you for your participation. If you have any questions or concerns about the survey, you can contact [Zulma Ramirez](mailto:Zulma.Ramirez@norc.cien.org.gt) at [norc@cien.org.gt](mailto:norc@cien.org.gt) or by phone at 2315-9679.

[ENUMERATOR: This is the end of the interview]

## 18. INTERVIEWER QUESTIONS

**Resp\_coop.** In your opinion, how cooperative was the respondent?

1. Cooperative
2. In between
3. Uncooperative

**Resp\_hon.** In your opinion, how honest was the respondent when answering?

1. Honest
2. In between
3. Misleading

**Resp\_interest.** In your opinion, how interested was the respondent?

1. Interested
2. In between
3. Uninterested

**Other\_present.** Was anyone else present during the interview?

1. Yes
2. No → [Go to Resp\\_influence](#)

**Other\_present\_sp.** Who was present? [\[open-ended\]](#)

**Resp\_influence.** Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview?

1. Yes
2. No → [Go to Resp\\_help](#)

**Resp\_influence\_sp.** Who influenced the respondent's answers? [\[open-ended\]](#)

**Resp\_help.** Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?

1. Yes
2. No → [Go to Enumerator Comments](#)

**Resp\_help\_sp.** Who did the respondent check with? [\[open-ended\]](#)

**Enumerator Comments.** [\[open-ended\]](#)



# U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Washington, DC 20523

**POLITICIAN SURVEY**



**USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

# WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP POLITICIAN SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

## Guatemala

Prepared under Contract No. GS-10F-0033M/AID-0AA-M-13-00013, Tasking N080

# DRG LEARNING, EVALUATION, AND RESEARCH ACTIVITY

## WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP POLITICIAN SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Guatemala

NOVEMBER 9, 2021

Prepared under Contract No. GS-I0F-0033M/AID-0AA-M-13-00013, Tasking N080

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**DISCLAIMER**

The authors' views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

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## NOTE TO READERS

The Guatemala politician survey will be conducted with a representative sample of politicians at the local level. It will be conducted with elected officials in each municipality selected for the general population survey. In each selected municipality, interviews will be conducted with two municipal council members. Interviews will also be conducted with the president and one other woman member of a Community Development Council (COCODE) or a woman leader to be determined by NORC in each selected municipality. This will result in a total of 1,000 interviews, 500 interviews at the municipal level and 500 at the COCODE level.

The WPPL politician survey includes relevant items from the WPPL general population survey to allow for comparison between citizens and political elites. These items contain the same variable names as in the WPPL general population survey (e.g. Gen\_pos\_desc). The survey instrument also includes a number of politician-specific items developed by consulting the following surveys of political elites. Throughout the instrument, items are attributed to their original sources using footnotes.

- African Legislatures Project (ALP) (2011)<sup>14</sup>
- Latin American Elites project of the University of Salamanca (PELA-USAL)<sup>15</sup>
- Center for American Women in Politics (CAWP) Recruitment Studies<sup>16</sup>
- Fox and Lawless (2004)<sup>17</sup>
- Grossman et al. (2011), a survey of Ugandan MPs<sup>18</sup>
- Karim (2020), a survey of Liberian security forces<sup>19</sup>

When reading through the WPPL survey instrument, please note the inclusion of color-coded text that provides enumerator- and programmer-specific instruction. Color-coded text will not be read to the respondent, and is solely for internal use. Below is a brief summary of the different color-coded texts.

**[Red text in brackets]** are instructions for the survey enumerator. In most cases, they specify which response options should not be read aloud to the survey respondent. If the respondent states one of these options, the enumerator will code it as the response, but the enumerator will not state it as an option. They also demarcate module-specific instructions to guide the enumerator.

**[Blue text in brackets]** are survey programmer instructions.

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<sup>14</sup> Link to ALP's [First Findings Report](#). Survey questionnaire saved in [Google Drive](#).

<sup>15</sup> Link to PELA-USAL [project description](#). Link to [country questionnaires](#) (Spanish language).

<sup>16</sup> Link to Center for American Women in Politics' [website](#). Survey questionnaire saved in [Google Drive](#).

<sup>17</sup> Fox, R.L. and Lawless, J.L., 2010. If only they'd ask: Gender, recruitment, and political ambition. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(2):310-326. Survey questionnaire saved in [Google Drive](#)

<sup>18</sup> Grossman, G., Humphreys, M. and Sacramone-Lutz, G., 2014. "I wld like u WMP to extend electricity 2 our village": On Information Technology and Interest Articulation. *American Political Science Review*, pp.688-705." Survey questionnaire saved in [Google Drive](#).

<sup>19</sup> This survey is from an ongoing project focused on Liberian security forces. More information on the Principal Investigator, Sabrina Karim, can be found [here](#). Survey questionnaire saved in [Google Drive](#).

[Purple text in brackets] indicate when a survey question or set of response options will need to be adjusted for country-specific use. For instance, whether a question referring to the top executive position should ask about the “President” or “Prime Minister” will be determined for each country. In countries that have both a President and Prime Minister, the assessment team may choose to ask questions about both positions where relevant.

## CONSENT

Good day. My name is [INTERVIEWER NAME]. I am an interviewer from Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales - CIEN. I do not represent the government or a political party.

### PURPOSE OF STUDY

Together with NORC at the University of Chicago, we are gathering information about the experiences of a representative sample of elected officials at the municipal and community level in Guatemala, as well as their opinions related to daily life, society, and politics. This study will be used to help inform the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) programs related to these topics in Guatemala.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY PROCEDURES

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to answer survey questions about your experiences, your household, politics, civic engagement, and other topics. The survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. I will record your answers on my tablet.

### RISKS/DISCOMFORTS OF PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY

Your participation in this study does not involve any risks other than what you would encounter in daily life. You may be uncomfortable with some of the questions and topics we will ask about. If you are uncomfortable, you are free to not answer or to skip to the next question.

### BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

Your participation is important to help us and USAID learn more about the experiences of elected officials in Guatemala.

### CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses to this survey will be kept strictly confidential. We will report all results as averages. We will never share any information that could be used to identify you outside of the research team.

At the end of the study, we may share the data with USAID or others outside the study team. Before sharing the data, we will remove all details that could be used to identify you. As such, no one will know whether you participated in the survey or which answers are yours. Since no one will know which answers are yours, we ask that you answer all questions honestly.

### RIGHT TO REFUSE OR WITHDRAW

The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study at any time. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the study at any point during the process; additionally, you have the right to request that I delete your answers. There are no penalties for refusing or withdrawing.

## **RIGHT TO ASK QUESTIONS AND REPORT CONCERNS**

You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, feel free to [Jorge Lavarreda](mailto:jlavarre@cien.org.gt) at [jlavarre@cien.org.gt](mailto:jlavarre@cien.org.gt) or by telephone at [2319-8269](tel:2319-8269). If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigators, you may contact April Baker, NORC's Senior Institutional Review Board Manager, at [irb@norc.org](mailto:irb@norc.org).

### **Do you have any questions for me?**

**Consent.** Do you agree to participate in this survey?

1. Yes
2. No



## 0. INTERVIEWER QUESTIONS

Name of enumerator

Name of supervisor

**RespType.** [ENUMERATOR: Record, do not ask] This question is being asked to:

1. Municipal Council
2. Community Government (COCODE, o Comité Único de Barrio neighborhood committee) → skip to RespTypeI.b
3. Community Government (Auxiliary Mayor's Office) → skip to RespTypeI.c

**RespTypeI.a** [If RespType = 1] [ENUMERATOR: Record, do not ask] What is the title of the respondent?

1. Mayor
2. First Representative
3. Second Representative
4. Third Representative
5. First Councilor
6. Second Councilor
7. Third Councilor
8. Fourth Councilor
9. Fifth Councilor
10. Sixth Councilor
11. Seventh Councilor
12. Eighth Councilor
13. Ninth Councilor
14. Tenth Councilor
15. Other, specify [open-ended]

**RespTypeI.b** [If RespType = 2] [ENUMERATOR: Record, do not ask] What is the title of the respondent?

1. President
2. Vice President
3. Secretary
4. Treasurer
5. First Member
6. Second Member
7. Third Member
8. Other, specify [open-ended]

**RespTypeI.c** [If RespType = 3] [ENUMERATOR: Record, do not ask] What is the title of the respondent?

1. First Auxiliary Mayor
2. Second Auxiliary Mayor

3. Third Auxiliary Mayor
4. Secretary
5. First Member
6. Second Member
7. Third Member
8. Fourth Member
9. Fifth Member
10. First Sheriff
11. Second Sheriff

**RespType2.** [ENUMERATOR: Record, do not ask] What is the political party of the respondent?

1. Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza - UNE
2. Vamos (por una Guatemala diferente)
3. Unión del Cambio Nacional - UCN
4. Valor
5. Frente de Convergencia Nacional - FCN-Nación
6. Bienestar Nacional - BIEN
7. Semilla
8. Visión con Valores - VIVA
9. Todos
10. Partido Humanista de Guatemala - PHG
11. Compromiso, Renovación y Orden - CREO
12. Movimiento Político WINAQ
13. Victoria
14. Prosperidad Ciudadana - PC
15. Partido Unionista - PU
16. Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca - URNG-MAIZ
17. Partido de Avanzada Nacional - PAN
18. Movimiento para la Liberación de los Pueblos - MLP
19. Podemos
20. Comité Cívico
21. Ninguno (no era partido político)
22. Other, specify [open-ended]

## I. DEMOGRAPHICS

**Dem\_gender.** What is your gender? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Other, specify [open-ended]
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**em\_dob\_1.** About how old are you? ## [Constrain range to [18; 99]]

1. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
2. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_marry.** What is your marital status? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Single/never married
2. Married
3. Domestic partnership/Unmarried cohabitation
4. Divorced
5. Separated
6. Widowed
7. Other, specify [open-ended]
8. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
9. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_child\_0.** How many children do you have? ## [ENUMERATOR: Enter number of children, if none, enter zero (0)]

**Dem\_child\_1.** [If Dem\_child\_0 != 0] Do you have children under age 5 living with you?

1. Yes
2. No

**Dem\_edu\_1.** Have you ever gone to school?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refuse to answer [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_edu\_2.** What is the highest level of school you attended: Básico, Diversificado, or Universitario?

1. Primaria
2. Básico
3. Diversificado
4. Universitario
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refuse to answer [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_edu\_3.** What is the highest grade you finished at that level?

1. First Primaria
2. Second Primaria
3. Third Primaria
4. Fourth Primaria
5. Fifth Primaria
6. Sixth Primaria
7. First Básico
8. Second Básico
9. Third Básico
10. Fourth Diversificado
11. Fifth Diversificado
12. Sixth Diversificado
13. First Year Universitario
14. Second Year Universitario

15. Third Year Universitario
16. Fourth Year Universitario
17. Fifth Year Universitario
18. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
19. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_ethnic.** What is your ethnicity?

1. Mestizo / Ladino
2. K'iche'
3. Q'eqchi'
4. Kaqchikel
5. Mam
6. Poqomchi'
7. Tz'utujil
8. Achi
9. Q'anjob'al
10. Ixil
11. Akateko
12. Jakalteco (o Popti')
13. Chuj
14. Poqomam
15. Ch'orti'
16. Awakateko
17. Sakapulteko
18. Sipakapense
19. Garífuna
20. Uspanteko
21. Tektiteko
22. Mopan
23. Chalchiteko
24. Xinca
25. Itza'
26. Other, specify [open-ended]
27. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
28. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_language.** What was the first language you learned to speak? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read responses]

1. Español
2. K'iche'
3. Q'eqchi'
4. Kaqchikel
5. Mam
6. Poqomchi'
7. Tz'utujil
8. Achi
9. Q'anjob'al

10. Ixil
11. Akateko
12. Jakalteco (o Popti')
13. Chuj
14. Poqomam
15. Ch'orti'
16. Awakateko
17. Sakapulteko
18. Sipakapense
19. Garífuna
20. Uspanteko
21. Tektiteko
22. Mopan
23. Chalchiteko
24. Xinca
25. Itza'
26. Other, specify [open-ended]
27. Don't know
28. Refused

**Dem\_relig.** What is your religion, if any? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

1. Judaism
2. Catholicism
3. Christianity [ENUMERATOR: Use this option for bullets below]
  - Protestant; Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Anglican; Episcopalian
  - Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra
  - Eastern Orthodoxy; Oriental Orthodoxy; Church of the East
  - Restorationism; Latter-day Saint/Mormonism; Jehovah's Witnesses
4. Islam [ENUMERATOR: Use this option for bullets below]
  - Sunni
  - Shia
  - Sufi
5. Buddhism
6. Hinduism
7. Other non-Christian Eastern Religions (Sikhism; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha'i; Shinto; Falun Gong)
8. Traditional Religions or Native Religions (Santería; Candomblé; Voodoo; Rastafarian; ; maya)
9. Believes in a god/supreme entity but does not belong to any religion
10. Agnostic/atheist/does not believe in god
11. Other, specify [open-ended]
12. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
13. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 2. MOTIVATION

**Motiv\_age\_int.**<sup>20</sup> To the best of your recollection, how old were you when you first thought about running or being nominated for public office? ## [Constrain range to [1; 99]]

**Motiv\_polfig.** Growing up, were you inspired to run for elected office because of the example set by a contemporary or historic political figure?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Motiv\_poldisc
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Motiv\_poldisc
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Motiv\_poldisc

**Motiv\_polfig\_name.** Who? [open-ended]

**Motiv\_polfig\_gen.** What gender is [Motiv\_polfig\_name]? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Other, specify [open-ended]
4. Don't know
5. Refused

**Motiv\_poldisc.** Growing up, do you remember your family talking about politics rarely, sometimes or a great deal?

1. Rarely [ENUMERATOR: If the respondent says "Never," mark this option]
2. Sometimes
3. A great deal
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Motiv\_enc.** When you were growing up, was there anyone who particularly encouraged you to think about running for office one day?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Motiv\_enc\_rel.** [If Motiv\_enc = 1] What was this person's relationship to you? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read. Depending on the answer, probe: Was this person a man or a woman?]

1. Mother
2. Father
3. Grandfather
4. Grandmother

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<sup>20</sup> From Fox & Lawless (2004).

5. Aunt
6. Uncle
7. Male cousin or other extended family relative
8. Female cousin or other extended family relative
9. Male friend or acquaintance
10. Female friend or acquaintance
11. Male teacher
12. Female teacher
13. Male coach
14. Female coach
15. Other, specify [\[open-ended\]](#)
16. Don't know
17. Refused

### 3. ELECTORAL HISTORY

**Run\_year.** Please recall the first time that you ran or were nominated for public office. About what year was this? ##### [Constrain range to [1920; 2021]]

**Run\_pos.** Still thinking back to the first time you ran or were nominated for public office, could you please tell me what position you ran or were nominated for? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. President
2. Vice President
3. Minister
4. Representative or Assistant Minister
5. Legislator
6. Municipal Mayor
7. Municipal Representative
8. Councilman or Councilwoman
9. Auxiliary Mayor
10. COCODE President
11. Another position in the COCODE
12. Other, specify [open-ended]
13. Don't know
14. Refused

**Run\_party.** Still thinking of the first time you ran or were nominated for office, what was your political party?

1. Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza - UNE
2. Vamos por una Guatemala Diferente
3. Unión del Cambio Nacional - UCN
4. Valor
5. Frente de Convergencia Nacional - FCN-Nación
6. Bienestar Nacional - BIEN
7. Semilla
8. Visión con Valores - VIVA
9. Todos
10. Partido Humanista de Guatemala - PHG
11. Compromiso, Renovación y Orden - CREO
12. Movimiento Político WINAQ
13. Victoria
14. Prosperidad Ciudadana - PC
15. Partido Unionista - PU
16. Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca - URNG-MAIZ
17. Partido de Avanzada Nacional - PAN
18. Movimiento para la Liberación de los Pueblos - MLP
19. Podemos
20. Comité Cívico
21. None
22. Other, specify [open-ended]
23. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
24. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]



**Run\_motiv.** Still thinking back about the first time that you ran or were nominated for public office, what was your main reason for running or accepting the nomination? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. I come from an important political family
2. Improve daily life in my city, town, or village
3. I feel a responsibility to serve the community / country
4. Promote social, economic issues and development
5. Change legislation and policy
6. Need more women represented in politics
7. Need more representatives from my ethnic community/cultural group/tribe
8. My personal dream – long wanted to
9. I have the right skills/education for the job
10. I wanted to improve something specific in my community/country → Specify [open-ended]
11. Other, specify [open-ended]
12. Don't know
13. Refused

**Run\_win.** Did you win or lose your first election the first time you ran or were nominated for public office?

1. Win
2. Lose
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Run\_past.** Prior to being elected for your current position, had you ever won an election?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to Bkgd\_exp\_par
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Bkgd\_exp\_par
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read] → Go to Bkgd\_exp\_par

**Run\_past\_year.** Think back to the first time that you won an election, about what year was this? ##### [Constrain range to [1920;2021]]

**Bkgd\_exp\_par.** How many years have you served in your current position? Please count the years in your current term as well as any previous terms you might have served. ##### [Constrain range to [1; 60]]

**Bkgd\_occup.** What was your main occupation before entering your current position? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Legislators, senior officials, directors, and managers
2. Professionals, scientists, and intellectuals
3. Technicians and associate professionals
4. Administrative support staff
5. Service workers and sales workers
6. Farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers
7. Mechanical, craft, and related trade workers
8. Plant and machine operators, and assemblers

9. Elementary occupations (includes laborers and other non-skilled workers)
10. Armed Forces occupations
11. Merchant
12. Other, specify [open-ended]
13. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
14. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Bkgd\_occup\_gov.**<sup>21</sup> Before entering your current position, did you ever work or serve in any of the following?

1. Elected office
2. Appointed office
3. Government employee
4. None of the above [ENUMERATOR: Do not read and select if none of the above applies]
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Bkgd\_partylead.** Before entering your current position, did you ever hold a leadership position in a political party?

1. Yes → What was your position? [open-ended]
2. No

**Cand\_runagain.** Would you consider running or accepting the nomination for your current position again?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Cand\_runagain\_barrier.** [If Cand\_runagain!=2]What would be your primary barriers to running or accepting the nomination again for your current position? You may name up to three. [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options; probe for multiple answers, allow up to 3] [Select up to 3]

1. Lack of time
2. Lack of money/financial resources
3. Lack of support from party leaders or other party members
4. I don't have enough capacity, training, or education
5. Lack of family support
6. I would be concerned about harassment or violence
7. I am concerned it might hurt my reputation in the community
8. Lack of community support
9. Other, specify [open-ended]
10. No barrier
11. Don't know
12. Refused

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<sup>21</sup> Question wording and response options from ALP (2011).

**vhd\_pol\_run.**<sup>22</sup> Did you experience any of the following problems when you ran or were nominated for your current position? [ENUMERATOR: Read all responses; probe for multiple problems and select all that apply] [select multiple]

1. Rumors/gossip spread about me
2. Unwanted text messages/emails/phone calls
3. Threats to my life
4. Harassment of my supporters
5. Beating up of my supporters
6. I was beaten
7. Touching or groping during campaign event
8. Violence at my events
9. Other, specify [open-ended]
10. None of these
11. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
12. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Career\_plan.** When you think about your career plans for the future, what is the top position that you would like to hold one day? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

1. I'm happy in my current position
2. President
3. Vice President
4. Minister
5. Representative or Assistant Minister
6. A top position in party's legislative leadership
7. Member of Congress
8. Municipal Mayor
9. Member of the Municipal Council
10. Deputy Mayor / Representative Delegate of a rural municipality
11. President of Neighborhood
12. Departmental Governor
13. COCODE President
14. Other, specify [open-ended]
15. Don't know
16. Refused

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<sup>22</sup> Adapted from Karim (2020).

## 4. RECRUITMENT

**Recruit\_influ\_int.**<sup>23</sup> Did any of the following ever suggest that you run for your current position? [ENUMERATOR: Read list of individuals but do not read response options] [Present a grid with response options “Yes,” “No,” “Not Sure,” “Don’t Know,” and “Refused”]

1. Friend or acquaintance
2. Co-worker or business associate
3. Elected official
4. Representative or leader from a political party
5. Spouse or partner
6. Member of your family
7. Non-elected political affiliate
8. Women’s organization
9. Someone from church, mosque, or a religious group

**Recruit\_neg.**<sup>24</sup> Did any of the following ever discourage you or try to talk you out of running or being nominated for your current position? [ENUMERATOR: Read list of individuals; probe yes/no if needed] [Present a grid with response options “Yes,” “No,” “Not Sure,” “Don’t Know,” and “Refused”]

1. Friend or acquaintance
2. Co-worker or business associate
3. Elected official
4. Official from a political party
5. Spouse or partner
6. Member of your family
7. Non-elected political affiliate
8. Someone from a women’s organization
9. Someone from church, mosque, or a religious group

**Cost.**<sup>25</sup> [If RespType!=2] When you last ran for your current position, what was the approximate total cost of your campaign (in Quetzales)? ##### [ENUMERATOR: use -98 for "Do not know" and -99 for "Refused"]

**Cost\_source1.** [If RespType!=2] About what share of the Q[Pipe response to Cost] came from your personal funds? [ENUMERATOR: If the respondent provides a share (e.g., one half or two-thirds), enter it in words; if the respondent provides a percentage (e.g., fifty percent or thirty percent) enter numerals followed by the percentage symbol (e.g., 50% or 30%; if the respondent provides an amount of quetzales, enter numerals followed by Q)] [open-ended]

**Cost\_source2.** [If RespType!=2 and RespType2!=21] And about what share much of the Q[Pipe response to Cost] came from your political party? [ENUMERATOR: If the respondent provides a share (e.g., one half or two-thirds), enter it in words; if the respondent provides a percentage (e.g., fifty

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<sup>23</sup> Adapted from Fox and Lawless (2004).

<sup>24</sup> Adapted from Fox and Lawless (2004).

<sup>25</sup> From ALP (2011).

percent or thirty percent) enter numerals followed by the percentage symbol (e.g., 50% or 30%; if the respondent provides an amount of **quetzales**, enter numerals followed by **Q**) [open-ended]

**Recruit\_party\_help.** [If RespType!=2 and RespType2!=21] In addition to funds, we would like to know about other ways your party may have helped you with your campaign. Did your party provide any of the following types of support? [ENUMERATOR: Read list; probe yes/no if needed] [Present a grid with response options “Yes,” “No,” “Not Sure,” “Don’t Know,” and “Refused”]

1. Courses, conferences, and other opportunities to learn skills useful to politicians like public speaking, fundraising, voter outreach, etc.
2. Security personnel
3. Food, clothing, and other goods to distribute to voters
4. Support to organize rallies or other activities to solicit votes
5. Vehicles or fare for transportation
6. Access to journalists or opportunities for media coverage

## 5. LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

**Act\_group\_partydecide.** [If RespType!=2 and RespType2!=2] How much input do you have in the following decisions in your political party? [Present a grid with response options “None,” “Very little,” “Some,” “A lot,” “Don’t know,” “Refused”]

1. Decisions about the government plans or policy positions
2. Decisions about candidate selection and recruitment

## 6. LEADERSHIP AND REPRESENTATION STYLES

**Legstyle\_1a.**<sup>26</sup> [If RespType!=2] In general, when you take a position about an issue, which of the following is most important?

1. I am an independent [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
2. The views of your constituents
3. The national interest
4. Your knowledge about the issue
5. Your personal convictions
6. The views of your family members
7. The views of your party leader [Show only if RespType2 != independent]
8. The views of your party [Show only if RespType2 != independent]
9. None of these
10. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
11. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Legstyle\_7.** During Council sessions/meetings / COCODE meetings, would you say that you participate:

1. Always
2. Frequently
3. Occasionally
4. Rarely
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Symb\_1.** Please recall the last few times that citizens of your municipality/community contacted you directly. Were they mostly men, mostly women, or about half-and-half?

1. Mostly men
2. Mostly women
3. About half and half
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>26</sup> From ALP (2011).

## 7. SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION

In your own thinking, what are the three most important problems facing **Guatemala** that the government should address?

[Display Issue\_id1, Issue\_id2, and Issue\_id3 each on its own page of the programmed instrument.]

**Issue\_id1.** [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Crime and lack of safety
2. Infrastructure/roads
3. Food shortage/famine
4. Farming/agriculture
5. Jobs and unemployment
6. Managing/taking care of the economy
7. Wages, income, and salaries
8. Poverty
9. Health [ENUMERATOR: include COVID-related responses in option below]
10. COVID-19 pandemic and its effects
11. Corruption/bribery
12. Education/schools
13. Water supply
14. Energy
15. Pensions/old age pay and benefits
16. Housing
17. Immigration/border entry
18. National defense/military
19. Environment [ENUMERATOR: include responses related to environmental conflict here]
20. Social conflict [ENUMERATOR: include responses related to ethnic/tribal/racial conflict here]
21. Women's rights
22. Other, specify [open-ended]
23. Don't know
24. Refused

**Issue\_id2.** [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

[List same response options as Issue\_id1. Exclude response selected for Issue\_id1.]

**Issue\_id3.** [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

[List same response options as Issue\_id2. Exclude responses selected for Issue\_id1 and issue\_id2.]

**Rep\_yesno.** In addition to the needs of your constituents/supporters generally, do you think it is also important to represent the needs of other particular groups of people?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]



**Rep\_who.** [If Rep\_yesno = 1] Which groups of people? [ENUMERATOR: Do not read response options]

1. Women
2. Men
3. Children
4. Workers
5. People with disabilities
6. People from my ethnic group
7. People from an ethnic group that is not my own
8. People in poverty
9. Victims of armed conflict
10. LGBTQ people (lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals and people who question or queer)
11. Older people/pensioners/retirees
12. Other, specify [open-ended]
13. Don't know
14. Refused

## 8. EFFICACY

**Eff\_pol\_debate1.** How confident are you in your ability to speak up during **Council sessions/meetings / COCODE meetings** if you disagree with what someone else is doing or saying?

1. Not at all confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Confident
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Eff\_pol\_debate2.** Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: When I speak during **Council sessions/meetings / COCODE meetings** I feel that others recognize and respect what I am saying.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 9. ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN IN POLITICS

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your own personal beliefs.

**Att\_genrol\_9.** When it comes to giving women the same rights as men, do you think [Guatemala](#):

1. Has gone too far
2. Has not gone far enough
3. Has been about right
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Gen\_pos\_desc.** Thinking about [Guatemala](#), would you say there should be more or fewer women in politics, or is the number just about right?

1. More women
2. Fewer women
3. The number is just about right
4. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
5. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**Att\_pol\_13.** There should be equal numbers of men and women in [Congress](#).

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Att\_pol\_15.** There should be a quota that requires political parties to have a minimum number of women candidates running for [Congress](#).

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 10. FAMILY DYNAMICS

[If Dem\_marry=2 or Dem\_marry=3] Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your household.

**Famsupport\_1.** Would you say that your spouse/partner:

1. Is very supportive of your holding public office.
2. Is somewhat supportive of your holding public office.
3. Is indifferent toward your holding public office.
4. Is somewhat resistant toward your holding public office.
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Famsupport\_2.** Which of the following statements best describes the division of labor on household tasks (cleaning, laundry, and cooking)?

1. I have a lot more responsibilities for household tasks than my spouse/partner.
2. I have some more responsibilities for household tasks than my spouse/partner.
3. My spouse/partner and I have the same amount of responsibilities for household tasks.
4. My spouse/partner has some more responsibilities for household tasks than I do.
5. My spouse/partner has a lot more responsibilities for household tasks than I do.
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Famsupport\_3.** [If Dem\_child\_0 != 0] Which statement best characterizes your child-care responsibilities, or characterized them when your children lived at home?

1. I have a lot more child-care responsibilities than my spouse/partner.
2. I have some more child-care responsibilities than my spouse/partner.
3. My spouse/partner and I have the same amount of child-care responsibilities.
4. My spouse/partner has some more child-care responsibilities than I do.
5. My spouse/partner has a lot more child-care responsibilities than I do.
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## II. VIOLENCE AND SEXISM

**vhd\_online1.** Now I'm going to ask you some questions about things that can happen to you. How often do people post belittling, offensive or threatening comments, pictures or memes about you on social media or the internet?

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**vhd\_online2.** And how often do people post sexist or sexual comments, pictures, or memes about you on social media or the internet?

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**vhd\_tease.** [If Dem\_gender = 2] When you go out in your community, how often do boys or men make unwanted sexual comments, gestures, or noises directed at you?

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. Less than once a month
5. Never
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**vhd\_pol\_parl.**<sup>27</sup> In the past twelve months, which of the following have you personally experienced in the Council sessions / COCODE meetings? [ENUMERATOR: Read all responses; probe for multiple answers and select all that apply] [select multiple]

1. Unwanted text messages, emails or phone calls from colleagues
2. A colleague referred to you by something other than your name or title (for example, honey, baby, sweetheart, - etc.)
3. A colleague criticized you for not fulfilling your family obligations (for example, being a bad spouse or parent, or for working late or too much, etc.)
4. Unwanted physical contact from colleagues
5. None of these
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

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<sup>27</sup> Adapted from Karim (2020).

Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement:

**ASI\_8.** When women lose to men in a fair competition, they usually complain about being discriminated against.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
7. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## 12. EXPERIENCES DURING THE WAR<sup>28</sup>

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions about your experiences during the war.

**War\_1.** During the civil war, did someone physically harm you, a family member, or a friend?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**War\_2.** During the civil war, did someone damage or take away your property or the property of a family member or friend?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
4. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

I know some of these questions may have been hard to answer. Thank you for your answers.

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<sup>28</sup> Questions in this module are adapted from Karim (2020).

### 13. DISABILITY STATUS

Before we finish the survey, I am going to ask you a few questions about yourself.

**Dem\_dis\_1.** Do you have difficulty seeing, even if wearing glasses? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all?

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_2.** Do you have difficulty hearing, even if using a hearing aid? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all?

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_3.** Do you have difficulty walking or climbing steps? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all?

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_4.** Do you have difficulty remembering or concentrating? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all?

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_5.** Do you have difficulty with self-care, such as washing all over or dressing? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all?

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all



5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

**Dem\_dis\_6.** Do you have difficulty communicating in your own languages, that is, understanding or being understood? Would you say you have no difficulty, some difficulty, a lot of difficulty or is this an activity you cannot do at all?

1. No, no difficulty
2. Yes, some difficulty
3. Yes, a lot of difficulty
4. Cannot do at all
5. Don't know [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]
6. Refused [ENUMERATOR: Do not read]

## **I4. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW OPT IN**

**KII\_optin.** In the near future, we are conducting in-depth interviews with some of the participants from this survey. Would you be willing to participate in a 60-minute interview with our researcher to share more about your experiences as a politician? Your identity will remain confidential and data will only be presented in aggregate.

1. Yes
2. No

**KII\_optin\_yes.** [If KII\_optin = 1] Thank you. Our team **may** be in touch with you regarding this interview early next year.

### **End of Survey Message:**

You have now completed the survey. Thank you for your participation.

[ENUMERATOR: This is the end of the interview]

# U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Washington, DC 20523

## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

### USAID WPPL FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

#### **Purpose:**

- Identify the root causes for the norms identified in the general population survey
- Determine who is perpetuating the norms and their reasons for doing so
- Determine gender differences in reasons for perceived norms
- Identify positive gender norms about women

**Notes:** Assessment teams will select norms using the results of the WPPL general population survey, desk review findings, and prior knowledge of the country context and USAID Mission priorities. Assessment teams will justify the basis for their selections in the Inception Report. Norms of particular interest include, but are not limited to:

- Political norms
- Norms that are the least progressive
- Norms for which the general population survey shows significant gender gaps
- Norms for which the general population survey shows large disparities among different subgroups of women
- Norms of particular interest to the USAID Mission

#### **I. Introduction** (15 minutes)

*[Start the recording; Respondents will individually consent to recording during recruitment and again upon arrival]*

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is \_\_\_\_\_ (moderator name) and this is my colleague \_\_\_\_\_ (assistant name) who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. We work for Solutions Consult, an independent research firm here in Nepal. We have been commissioned by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to conduct an assessment of political participation and leadership in *Nepal*. USAID is a United States government agency that provides assistance to developing countries. **[If a member of USAID's staff is present: We are also joined by a member of USAID today, who will be observing the discussion.] [If a member of NORC's staff is present: A member of NORC, our research partner in the US, is also observing today.]**

We want to learn more about how people in this area think about women's roles in the community and in society and the root causes for those beliefs. Solutions Consult is a non-political research firm, and we are not related to any political parties. We are completely neutral on all of the issues we'll be talking about; we're just here to learn about your experiences.

Our discussion should take approximately 90 minutes. Your participation does not involve any risks other than what you would encounter in daily life. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can choose not to answer a question or leave the discussion at any time without providing a reason.

Your privacy will be protected. In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not use our real names today and will instead use numbers. We’ll count off starting at 1.... [Count off by number]. Before you say something today, I ask that you please say your number first so we can record it. Only your participant number will appear in our notes.

We will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. Please note that we cannot guarantee full confidentiality because of the group setting, as we cannot ensure that other participants will not disclose any information shared during the discussion. However, we ask that what we discuss during our group talk remains here with us.

We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. We may also share this recording with USAID but will not share this recording with anyone else. We ask that you do not mention your full name, your address, or your community’s name, so your answers can remain confidential. **[If a member of USAID’s staff is present: Please note that USAID staff are also bound to keep today’s conversation confidential.]**

If you have any questions, you may ask them now or later, even after the discussion has started. If you have any further questions about the study, feel free to contact [\[name of contact at local data collection firm\]](#) at [\[email\]](#) or by telephone at [\[phone number\]](#). If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigators, you may contact Sarah Long at [long-sarah@norc.org](mailto:long-sarah@norc.org).

Do you agree to participate in this discussion today?	Yes	No
Do you agree to being recorded for today’s interview?	Yes	No

**[IF THE RESPONDENTS SAY “YES”, CONTINUE DISCUSSION]**

Ground Rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

Self-Introductions:

Before we start, let’s do a quick round of self-introductions so we all get to know each other. Please tell us:

- A hobby/interest

*[Ask someone to start; call out first names to go next; moderator finishes]*

### **I. Icebreaker** (5 minutes)

I am going to go around the room and ask each of you to give me ONE WORD that describes your community’s values, that is, what your community holds dear. What is the one word that you would use to describe your community’s values?

## **II. Identifying the Root Cause of Norms**

People have different views about women participating in politics. Today we're going to talk about some of those different views. What we talk about may match your view, or it might be different from your view. Our goal is to not to say that one is right or wrong; we just want to understand where these views come from.

### **A. Reference Groups & Reasoning (10 minutes)**

***Some think that people should NOT vote for a woman for a political position.***

- 1) *[Heads down vote:]* Who here has similar views?
- 2) Where do you think this view comes from? *[Continue to probe to find out the root cause: Is it religious, tribal/ethnic, mythological, historical based on specific time or incident that has evolved over time, something else?]*
- 3) Who in your community has this view? Who supports or encourages this? *[Probe until you get a short list of reference groups. Reference groups may include people within household and those who are external, such as family, peers, community leaders]*  
*[For each reference group, ask:]*
  - a. Why do you think people have this view?
  - b. Thinking about all the people mentioned, whose views have the greatest influence on women? Why? How about on men?
- 4) Who benefits from upholding this norm? Are there people who are harmed by upholding this norm – who are they? *[Restate norm as needed to remind respondents]*
  - a. Do men and women benefit differently or are harmed differently? Why/Why not?
- 5) What types of behaviors does this norm cause? What types of behaviors in women? What types in men? *[Probe to focus on how women's participation in public life, especially political participation, are impacted by these norms]*
- 6) To what extent are ideas about this norm changing in your community? Are there people who used to [think that people should not let their daughters participate in politics/people should NOT vote for a woman for a political position] but they changed their mind? Please explain.
  - a. Would changing this norm disempower certain groups? Who are they and why do you think so?

### **B. Norm Strength (Women) (5 minutes)**

- 7) What happens when women challenge or go against this expectation?
  - a. Are there good things that can happen? What are some of the good things that women can experience?
  - b. Are there bad things that can happen? What are some of the bad things that women can experience or punishments for women? *[Probe if not mentioned:]*

*violence/harassment/discrimination (internal/external to household; in person and online), harm to their reputation/good name]*

- i. Of the bad things mentioned *[restate them]*, which do you think are the strongest deterrents for women?
  - ii. Who or what influences women to uphold this expectation?
- 8) *[If time permits]* Are there people who encourage women to challenge this norm? *[Restate norm as needed to remind respondents]* Who are they and why do you think they are encouraging people to do so?

### **C. Norm Strength (Men) (5 minutes)**

- 9) What happens when men challenge or go against this expectation?
- a. Are there good things that can happen? What are some of the good things that men can experience?
  - b. Are there bad things that can happen? What are some of the bad things that men can experience or punishments for men? *[Probe if not mentioned: loss of status, loss of respect in the eyes of other men, loss of power, harm to their reputation/good name]*
    - o Of the bad things mentioned *[restate them]*, which do you think are the strongest deterrents for men?
    - o Who or what influences men to uphold this expectation?
- 10) *[If time permits]* Are there people who encourage men to challenge this norm? Who are they and why do you think they are encouraging people to do so?

### **III. Identifying Positive Norms about Women (10 minutes)**

Now we have a few questions about the role of women in your communities.

- 11) What things do you think women do particularly well in your communities? What makes women good at these things?
- a. What are the main roles women play in your community? Are these different from the roles men play?
- 12) In your opinion, are there other roles women should play in the community? Please explain. *[Probe for roles outside of the home, including solving community problems]*
- 13) Are there things men do to help women have a space in politics? What are some of these things? *[Probe if necessary: Do men help women with things such as getting educated, earning money, participating in community meetings, etc.?)*
- a. What kind of men do these things? What do men who do these things have in common?
  - b. Why do you think men do these things?
  - c. Is it good or bad that men do these things? Why?

#### **IV. Closing**

Thank you for your participation in this discussion. The information you provided will be very helpful to our report.



## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES

### CONSENT

#### INTRODUCTION AND CONSENT

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is \_\_\_\_\_ (moderator name) and this is my colleague \_\_\_\_\_ (assistant name) who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. We work for CIEN, an independent research firm here in Guatemala.

The purpose of our discussion today is to learn more about your thoughts related to women’s political participation and leadership in Guatemala. CIEN is a non-political research firm, and we are not related to any political parties. We are completely neutral on all of the issues we’ll be talking about; we’re just here to learn about your experiences.

Our discussion should take approximately 60 minutes. Your participation does not involve any risks other than what you would encounter in daily life. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can choose not to answer a question or leave the discussion at any time without providing a reason.

Your privacy will be protected. We will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports.

We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. We may also share this recording with USAID but will not share this recording with anyone else. We ask that you do not mention your full name, so your answers can remain confidential.

If you have any questions you may ask them now or later, even after the discussion has started. If you wish to ask questions later, you may contact the following individual: [to be completed by CIEN]

[START THE RECORDING TO GET VERBAL CONSENT]

Do you agree to participate in this interview today?                      Yes                      No

[IF THE RESPONDENT SAYS “YES”, CONTINUE INTERVIEW]

## KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Three KII templates are provided: (1) politicians/candidates; (2) political party leaders; and (3) WPPL experts. Assessment teams should adapt these guides to fit their country context and research needs.

### Key Informant Interview Guide Template - Politicians/Candidates

**Purpose:** To explore the following questions:

- What are the common pathways to office for women vs. men?
- What obstacles do women vs. men candidates face when running for office? What factors enable them to be successful?
- What obstacles do women vs. men face in exercising their duties as an elected official?

**Use with:** Women and men who have run for office (both successfully and unsuccessfully). Sampling to be guided by availability of politicians and those who opt-in to an interview as part of the politician survey (where conducted).

**Time:** 60 minutes

#### Introduction: (5 mins)

*[Confirm conversationally: most recent election contested and political party.]*

1. How long have you been a member of this party?
2. How long were you a member before you were offered your first nomination?

#### Deciding to Run: (15 mins)

3. How old were you when you first became interested in politics? What sparked your interest?  
*[Probe if needed: Were there specific events, experiences, or people that sparked your interest?]*
4. Tell me about the time you first thought about running for elected office. Were there specific events, experiences or people that motivated you to consider running for office?
5. Who or what encouraged you to run? *[Probe if not mentioned: family, community members]*
6. Did any elected official, political party leader, or political activist suggest you run? If so, who?
7. Who or what discouraged you from running?
  - a. *[If discouraged by a person or group:]* What did they say or imply? Why do you think they did that? *[Probe if not mentioned: family, community members]*
  - b. Did you experience any violence, intimidation, threats, or coercion from your family members when you decided to run? This could include physical violence, verbal abuse, sexual violence, psychological attacks, or threats or coercion. *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violence they experienced: physical violence, verbal violence, domestic violence, economic/financial repercussions]*
8. What concerns did you have about running for office? *[Probe if not mentioned: gender, ethnic/tribal/racial or other identity]*
9. Now let's talk about your experience running for office on your party's ticket.
  - a. How easy or hard was it for you to get nominated? *[For a long term politician, ask about first time they were nominated]* What were some of the things you had to do? *[If they say it was hard, probe for corruption within the party structure]*

- b. Did you experience any violence, intimidation, threats, or coercion from other party members while seeking the nomination? *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violence they experienced: physical violence, verbal violence, sexual harassment or violence, economic/financial repercussions]*
10. Please describe the process by which you were nominated to become a candidate.
- a. What do you think were the reasons your party chose to run you on their ticket? *[Probe if not mentioned: quotas]*
  - b. *[For long term politicians who say quotas were the reason their party chose them, ask:]* To what extent do you think your continued ability to run still rests on quotas? If no, what changed?

### **Campaigning: (10 mins)**

*Now I'm going to ask some questions about your campaign experience.*

- 11. Thinking about the campaign funds you had, approximately what share of the funds came from your political party?
  - a. In general, do you think men or women candidates in your party receive more campaign funding? Please explain.
  - b. What are some of the challenges you faced in securing party funding for your campaign, if any? How do you think these challenges may vary between men and women?
  - c. Did you raise money from voters? If so, what were some things that worked well raising money from voters and what were some of the things that did not work so well?
- 12. What other kinds of support did you receive from your political party when running for office?
  - a. Did you receive any training from your party to improve your chances of being elected? Please describe.
  - b. What media promotion opportunities did you receive from your party?
  - c. What organizational or logistical support did you receive from your party?
  - d. Do you think there are differences in party support for men/women candidates?
  - e. How could support for women candidates be improved? What other support did you need?
- 13. Was security on the campaign trail a concern? *[Probe for physical and digital security]* What did your party do to help you with that?
  - a. Was security among your own party members a concern? Please explain.
- 14. During the campaign period, what challenges did you encounter (if any)? Please describe.
- 15. Did you experience, or witness another candidate experiencing, violence or threats of violence during the campaign period?. *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they experienced or witnessed.]*
  - a. Where did this violence occur? *[Probe if needed: in the home, outside the home, online]*
  - b. Who perpetrated this violence? *[Probe if needed: someone in the home, someone in the party, someone else]*
  - c. Why do you think the perpetrator did this violence? *[If a social or cultural norm, probe to understand where norm comes from/why perpetrators feel that way]*

- d. How did you respond to this violence? *[Probe if not mentioned: Did you report it to anyone? Why/why not?]*
- 16. *[For candidates who won:]* What do you view as the key factors that allowed you to be successful in your campaign?
- 17. *[For candidates who did not win:]* What do you think prevented you from winning the election?
  - a. What are some of the things you think you can do or that your party should do next time that will lead to a successful campaign?

**In Office: (15 minutes)**

*[The following questions are designed for use with successful candidates.]*

Now I'm going to ask some questions about your experience since you were elected.

- 18. What were some of the key goals you wanted to achieve in office?
  - a. Why were these goals important to you?
  - b. Who influenced these goals?
- 19. To what extent have you been able to achieve these goals? Please explain.
  - a. Have you received support or mentorship from your peers? From whom?
- 20. What were some of the barriers you faced when trying to achieve your goals?
  - a. Have you ever experienced any violence, intimidation, threats, or coercion from your peers? From whom? *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violence they experienced: physical violence, verbal violence, sexual harassment or violence, economic/financial repercussions]*
- 21. Did you receive training from your party to ensure you could carry-out your duties once elected? Please describe.
- 22. How much do you think your colleagues listen to you?
  - a. Do they ever try take it for granted that you would vote a certain way? Why do you think that is?
- 23. When it comes to voting for legislation who or what is the greatest influence in your decision making? Why?
- 24. Have you ever been concerned that if you don't vote a certain way, there could be violence or threats of violence? This could include physical violence, verbal abuse, sexual harassment, psychological attacks, or threats or coercion. *[Guide the interviewee to share, to the extent that they feel comfortable, what types of violent acts they experienced or witnessed.]*
  - a. *[If yes, ask:]* Who are you concerned could perpetuate this violence or threats of violence?
  - b. *[If yes, ask:]* Have these concerns ever made you change your mind about how to vote or if you want to stay involved in politics?
  - c. Do you think that the consequences for not voting a certain way are different for men or women?
- 25. On which issue areas do you typically work?
  - a. Are these the same or different issue areas from those you are most interested in?
  - b. How did you end up working in these issue areas *[Ask especially if different from area of interest?]*
- 26. *[Ask members of legislative bodies:]* Are you a member of any committees? Which one(s)?

- a. How easy or hard was it for you to get on these committees? What were some of the things you had to do? *[If they say it was hard, probe for corruption]*
  - b. Do you feel that you have been able to contribute meaningfully? If so, how? Please give an example.
27. *[Ask members of legislative bodies:]* Do you hold a leadership position? Which one(s). Please describe.
- a. How easy or hard was it for you to get your leadership position(s)? What were some of the things you had to do? *[If they say it was hard, probe for corruption]*
  - b. Do you feel that you have been able to contribute meaningfully? If so, how? Please give an example.
28. Since you were elected, what are you most proud of in your political career?
- a. Do you feel that your contributions have been recognized? Why or why not?

**Recommendations on How to Improve Women’s Political Participation and Leadership: (10 minutes)**

*Now I have a few questions about women’s participation and leadership in politics.*

29. Thinking about the gender composition in your party, why do you think there are so few women [leaders/candidates/members]?,
30. How important do you think it is to increase the representation of women in politics? Please explain.
31. What is your party doing to increase the number of:
- a. Women party members
  - b. Women in leadership positions within the party?
  - c. Women candidates?
32. Now I’d like you to think about the general public. How important is increasing the representation of women in politics for the general public?
- a. What can the party do to improve the public’s recognition of the value of having women in government?
33. What could be done to increase the number of women politicians in this country? *[May adapt to ask about specific institution - e.g., Parliament]*
- a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Actions that could be taken by candidates, CSOs, political parties, other women politicians; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., to promote tolerance/openness to women playing roles outside the household)]*
34. What could be done to increase the involvement of women in this country in other political activities? By other political activities, I mean things like voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending political rallies or campaign events, signing petitions, or protesting.
- a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Actions that could be taken by candidates, CSOs, political parties, other women politicians; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., to promote tolerance/openness to women playing roles outside the household)]*

**Conclusion: (5 minutes)**

35. Are there any other comments you'd like to share?

Thank you for your participation in this interview. It will be very helpful to our report.

## Key Informant Interview Guide Template - Political Party Leaders

**Purpose:** To explore how political parties inhibit and/or facilitate women's political participation and leadership.

**Use with:** Political party leaders

**Time:** 30-60 minutes

### Introduction: (5 mins)

1. When did you first join the party?
2. When did you first assume a leadership role in the party? Please describe your role.

### Party Membership: (10 mins)

3. How does your party recruit and select members? Please walk me through the process. *[Also ask for a copy of written official statutes/bylaws to cross check]*
  - a. Are there differences for men/women members?
4. Are there ongoing efforts to recruit women members, specifically? If so, please describe.
  - a. How successful have these efforts been? Please describe.
  - b. How do these efforts differ from those used to recruit men members?
  - c. What challenges recruitment of women members?
    - i. *[Probe if response relates to lack of interest or not enough women:]* Why do you think that is? What, if anything, can your party do to increase enthusiasm among women? Are you currently doing any of those things?
5. What do you see as the biggest advantages and the biggest disadvantages of having women members?
  - a. Does having women members give your party an advantage in the elections, does it make no difference, or is it a disadvantage for your party? Why?

### Party Support for Candidates: (15 mins)

6. How does your party recruit and select candidates? Please walk me through the process. *[Also ask for a copy of written official statutes/bylaws to cross check]*
  - a. Are there differences for men/women candidates?
7. Is the recruitment of women candidates mandated by the party or elsewhere? Please describe.
  - a. Does your party have voluntary party quotas? Please describe.
  - b. Are there any challenges specific to running a woman candidate? What are they? *[Probe specifically on security, cultural/societal norms].*
    - i. *[If challenges are mentioned, ask:]* What policies and protocols does your party have in place to overcome these challenges?
  - c. What are the advantages (other than ones mandated by quota) in running a woman candidate?
8. What kinds of support does your party provide to party candidates? Please describe.
  - a. What campaign training is provided to party candidates? Is there any special training provided to women candidates only? Please describe.

- b. What financial support is provided to party candidates? Are there differences for men/women candidates? *[If yes, ask:]* What are these differences and why do they exist?
- c. What types of media promotion opportunities are provided to party candidates? Are there differences for men/women candidates? *[If yes, ask:]* What are they and why do they exist?
- d. What organizational or logistical support is provided to party candidates? Are there differences for men/women candidates? *[If yes, ask:]* What are they and why do they exist?
- e. What type of security support is provided to party candidates? *[Probe for both physical and digital security]* Are there differences for men/women candidates? *[If yes, ask:]* What are they and why do they exist?
- f. Would you say it is more costly, costs about the same, or is less costly to the party to run a woman candidate compared to a man? Please describe. *[Probe for both monetary costs and non-monetary/perception-based costs (e.g., how voters view the party)]*
- g. What additional support to party candidates do you think is needed, if any?

### **Party Internal Operations: (10 mins)**

- 9. Now I'm going to ask you about specific activities that happen within political parties. For each activity, please tell me who does it in your party - is it all men, mostly men, mostly women, all women, or men and women equally?
  - a. Writes the party manifesto or platform?
  - b. Leads the party?
  - c. Decides how party funds are used?
  - d. Is trained within the party?
  - e. Gets the party tickets/nominations in election?
  - f. Decides who gets party nominations for elections?
- 10. In general, for the activities just discussed, who decides who participates in these tasks?
  - a. Why are certain individuals chosen? What are the criteria used?
  - b. Is a conscious effort made to include women in these activities?
- 11. Does your party have any strategies to increase the representation of women among party leadership? What are those strategies?
  - a. *[If yes, ask:]* Are those strategies practiced? Why or why not?
  - b. Have these strategies helped increase women's representation within the party? Why/Why not?
- 12. Does the party have a women's wing/commission/branch?
  - [If yes, ask:]*
    - a. What does it do?
    - b. Does the party provide the women's wing/commission/branch with financial resources? If yes, please explain.
    - c. Does the women's wing/commission/branch have representation on the party's executive committee? If yes, please explain.
    - d. Does the leader of the women's wing/commission/branch attend the annual party congress?
    - e. Does the women's wing/commission/branch have any special voting rights? If yes, please explain.



## Recommendations on How to Improve Women’s Political Participation and Leadership:

*Now I have a few questions about women’s participation and leadership in politics.*

13. Thinking about the gender composition in your party, why do you think there are so few women [leaders/candidates/members]?
14. How important do you think it is to increase the representation of women in politics? Please explain.
15. What is your party doing to increase the number of:
  - a. Women party members?
  - b. Women in leadership positions within the party?
  - c. Women candidates?
16. Now I’d like you to think about the general public. How important is increasing the representation of women in politics for the general public?
  - a. What can the party do to improve the public’s recognition of the value of having women in government?
17. What could be done to increase the number of women politicians in this country? *[May adapt to ask about specific institution - e.g., Parliament]*
  - a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Actions that could be taken by candidates, CSOs, political parties, other women politicians; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., to promote tolerance/openness to women playing roles outside the household)]*
18. What could be done to increase the involvement of women in this country in other political activities? By other political activities, I mean things like voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending political rallies or campaign events, signing petitions, or protesting.
  - a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Actions that could be taken by candidates, CSOs, political parties, other women politicians; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., to promote tolerance/openness to women playing roles outside the household)]*

### Conclusion:

19. Are there any other comments you’d like to share?

Thank you for your participation in this interview. It will be very helpful to our report.

## Key Informant Interview Guide Template - WPPL Experts

**Purpose:** To explore the following questions:

- What enables women to participate in politics, including running for office?
- What are the common pathways to office for women politicians?
- What obstacles do women candidates face when running for office? What factors enable them to be successful in becoming elected?
- What obstacles do women face in exercising their duties as elected officials?
- How do political parties inhibit or facilitate women's political participation and leadership?
- How does the media environment affect WPPL?
- How does the legal framework of the country affect WPPL?

**Use with:** WPPL experts, sampling to be done purposively depending on information needs. Experts may include academics; government officials; journalists or other media experts; representatives of women's groups and other civil society organizations; activists; and other key actors relevant to WPPL.

**Time:** 60 minutes. All modules may not apply to all interviewees; the assessment team should adapt this instrument to the country context and the specific interviewee's area of expertise.

### Introduction: (5 mins)

1. Please tell me a little about yourself and how you are involved in issues related to women's political participation and leadership.

### Women in Politics: (15 mins)

2. What do you see as the key factors that lead women to participate in politics in this country? By participate in politics, I mean doing things like voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending a political rally or campaign event, signing petitions, or protesting. *[If needed, interviewer can explain that factors could be events, experiences, or people. Assessment teams may adapt this question to ask about specific civic/political actions of interest - e.g., voting, group participation]*
  - a. Are these key factors different from what allows men to participate in politics? If so, how?
  - b. What types of women are most likely to participate in politics? *[Probe if needed: rural/urban, wealthy/poor, women from certain ethnic/tribal/racial/religious groups]*
3. What are the main barriers that prevent women from participating in politics in this country?
4. *[If a barrier is a social or cultural norm, probe to understand who perpetuates the norm and where the norm comes from]*What type of negative and positive consequences do women experience when participating in politics? *[May adapt to ask about specific civic/political actions of interest - e.g., voting, group participation]*
  - a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Consequences in public life, consequences in private/home life.]*
  - b. *[Probe on various types of backlash and potential of violence against women both inside the home and outside of it].*

- c. Who are the perpetrators of negative consequences? What do you think is their motivation?
- d. Are there particular sub-groups of women who experience different or greater consequences? Please describe.

**Women as Candidates:**

- 5. What do you see as the key factors that lead women to run for office in this country?
  - a. What do women who run for office in this country have in common? *[Probe if not mentioned: Professional background, norms in household when growing up, demographic characteristics such as ethnic/tribal/racial/religious identity, socioeconomic status, access to resources, family in politics]*
- 6. What are the main barriers that prevent women from running for office in this country? Why do you think these barriers exist?
  - a. *[If a barrier is a social or cultural norm, probe to understand who perpetuates the norm and where the norm comes from]*
- 7. What type of negative and positive consequences do women experience as a result of running for office, and why?
  - a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Consequences in public life, consequences in private/home life]*
  - b. Are there particular sub-groups of women who experience different or greater consequences? Please describe.

**Legal Framework:** *[During desk review, assessment teams should identify key laws and policies that discriminate against women. Assessment teams are encouraged to adapt this section to learn more about the effect of the legal framework on WPPL and how it might be reformed]*

Now I'm going to ask you about a few different factors that may have an impact on women's political participation and leadership. The first is the legal framework.

- 8. What legal or policy reforms in this country have changed the number of women who run for elected office, if at all? Please describe the change.
  - a. Who championed the reforms? *[Probe if not mentioned: Were women's movements involved? Were men involved? If so, what do you think motivated them to be involved?]*
  - b. Who were against the reforms and why do you think they were opposed?
  - c. What types of women were most affected by these reforms? What types of women were not as affected? Why?
- 9. What legal or policy reforms in this country have changed the way women participate in politics, if at all? Again, by participating in politics, I mean doing things like voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending a political rally or campaign event, signing petitions, or protesting. Please describe how the reform changed participation? *[Be sure the interviewee identifies the type of participation of which they are speaking]*
  - a. Who championed the reforms? *[Probe if not mentioned: Were women's movements involved? Were men involved? If so, what do you think motivated them to be involved?]*
  - b. For what types of women have these reforms changed participation? For what types of women has it not changed participation? Why?
- 10. What are the barriers to enforcing [name of law/policy that facilitates women's participation]?

- a. Who is most vocal against enforcing these reforms? What are their reasons you think for being opposed? What, if anything, can potentially change their minds?
- b. Who was in favor of these reforms and why do you think they supported the reforms? How powerful are these stakeholders? How can they be best leveraged to ensure the enforcement of these reforms?

*[The following questions are designed for use in countries that have special temporary measures in place to increase the representation of women (e.g., quotas). Assessment teams should adapt the questions to speak to specific measures in place.]*

11. How well are [special temporary measures] enforced?
  - a. What happens in the case of non-compliance?
12. How have these measures changed women's participation, if at all?
  - a. For what types of women have these measures changed participation? For what types of women has it not changed participation?
13. Who supports these measures? Who opposes these measures? Why? How powerful are these actors?
14. In your opinion, should these measures be reformed? If so, how?

#### **Media:**

*Now I'd like to ask you some questions about the media environment and the impact it might have on women's political participation and leadership.*

15. Are there differences in how men and women in this country access and engage with media? Please describe.
  - a. *[Probe if not mentioned:]* Platforms used, frequency of engagement, types of news consumed. *[May also choose to add questions based on results of general population survey module about how respondents get political information]*
16. What barriers do women face in accessing and engaging with the media?
  - a. Why do you think these barriers exist?
  - b. *[Probe if not mentioned:]* Who perpetrates these barriers and why?
  - c. What types of women are most likely to face each barrier? *[Probe if needed: rural/urban, wealthy/poor, women from certain ethnic/tribal/racial/religious groups]*
17. Are there differences in how the media portrays men and women politicians? Please describe.

#### **Women's Organizations/Civil Society Organizations:**

*Now I'm going to ask you some questions about civil society organizations [specifically women's organizations if applicable] in this country and the impact they might have on women's political participation and leadership.*

18. Thinking about civil society organizations in this country, what types of support do they provide for women's participation in politics? Again, by participate in politics, I mean doing things like voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending a political rally or campaign event, signing petitions, or protesting.

- a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Education and training, mentoring, organizational/logistical support, support for certain policies or legislation, information campaigns, support women candidates during election, mobilize women to vote, defend gender issues in politics etc.]*
  - b. How is this support different from that provided for men's participation in politics?
19. How active are women's organizations in promoting women's political participation and leadership in this country? Please note differences by geographic region, ethnicity, or other characteristic where relevant.
- a. What do they do? *[Probe if not mentioned: Education and training, mentoring, organizational/logistical support, support for certain policies or legislation, information campaigns, support women candidates during election, mobilize women to vote, defend gender issues etc.]*

**Political Parties:**

*Now I'm going to ask you some questions about political parties in this country and the impact they might have on women's political participation and leadership.*

20. Thinking about political parties in this country, what types of support do they provide to women candidates? Please note differences by party where relevant. *[May also choose to ask about specific types of support based on politician survey findings (where possible)]*
- a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Mentoring opportunities, trainings, organizational/logistical support, media promotion opportunities]*
  - b. How is this support different from that provided to male candidates?
  - c. What do you think are motivations of parties promoting or not promoting women?
  - d. Who are the main actors within parties who are for or against WPPL in your opinion? Why?
21. How active are women's branches/wings of political parties in promoting women's political participation and leadership in this country? Please note differences by party, where relevant.
- a. What do they do? *[Probe if not mentioned: provide organizational/logistical support to women, support women candidates during election, mobilize women to vote, defend gender issues within party]*

**Recommendations on How to Improve Women's Political Participation and Leadership:**

22. What could be done to increase the number of women politicians in this country? *[May adapt to ask about specific institution - e.g., Parliament]*
- a. *[Probe if not mentioned:] Actions that could be taken by candidates, CSOs, political parties, other women politicians; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., to promote tolerance/openness to women playing roles outside the household).]*
23. How important is increasing the representation of women in politics for the general public?
- a. What could be done to improve the public's recognition of the value of having women in government?
24. What could be done to increase the involvement of women in this country in other political activities? By other political activities, I mean things like voting, engaging in political discussions,

contacting elected officials, attending political rallies or campaign events, signing petitions, or protesting.

- a. *[Probe if not mentioned: Actions that could be taken by candidates, CSOs, political parties, other women politicians; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., to promote tolerance/openness to women playing roles outside the household)]*

**Conclusion:**

25. Are there any other comments you'd like to share?

Thank you for your participation in this interview. It will be very helpful to our report.

**Key Informant Interview Guide Template: Midwives**

**Purpose:** To explore the perspective and experience of midwives as women recognized as community authorities, in indigenous communities.

**Use with:** Midwives

**Time:** 1.5 hours

**Reading consent. (5 minutes)**

**Introduction: (10 minutes)**

1. Please tell me a little about yourself and your role as midwives in the community.  
How long have you been doing this work? Who taught you?

**Participation as midwives in the community: (20 minutes)**

2. What are the actions you take as midwives?
3. Do you belong to any midwife association/organization?
4. If so, what is it called and what is the mission of that association/organization?
5. In addition to addressing the health of women, girls and boys in early childhood, are you consulted in other situations in the community? If so, what kind of inquiries are made? (cite/exemplify, cases of violence against women, ask the frequency) How do you see access to family planning for women?
6. Are women freer to use birth control now?

7. Is your opinion taken into account in other community matters? What kind of issues? Can you give some examples?
8. In your experience, have women's rights advanced in your community? Do women participate more? If so, since when? In which spaces? If not, why not? What prevents them from participating?

### **Women's political participation in their communities (20 minutes)**

*Now I'm going to ask you some questions about women's political participation in their communities.*

9. Are women seen in leadership positions in the community? What types of positions do they occupy?
10. How do women lead in the community? Is there a difference between a woman's leadership and that of a man?
11. What barriers do women leaders face in your community?
12. Do you believe that women can hold the same positions as men on the boards of community organizations? In municipalities? Why?
13. What would women need to participate in more leadership spaces? (Committees, COCODES)
14. In your communities, has a female midwife run for political office? If yes, in what positions? And if not, why do you think they do not run or participate in these spaces?
15. For you, what key factors lead women to participate in their communities?

### **Factors influencing women's participation (10 minutes)**

*Now I'm going to ask you some questions about some factors that can influence women's participation in leadership positions.*

16. Do you think there are other factors that influence women's participation, such as motherhood or childcare? Others? (Work, low income)

### **Recommendations on how to improve women's political participation and leadership (20 minutes)**

*Now I'm going to ask you some questions about how to improve women's political participation.*

17. How important do you think it is to increase women's representation in politics? Please explain.

18. Now I want you to think about the general public. How important do you think the general public thinks it is to increase women's representation in politics?

19. What could be done in this country to increase the number of women in politics? *[The question can be adapted to inquire about a particular institution, e.g. Parliament]*

b. *[Inquire into the following if not mentioned: Actions that could be taken by candidates, civil society organizations, political parties, other women in politics; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., promoting tolerance/openness to women's roles outside the domestic sphere)]*

20. What could be done in this country to increase women's participation in other political activities? When I talk about other political activities I mean voting, participating in political discussions, communicating with elected officials, attending election rallies or campaign events, signing petitions or holding demonstrations.

a. *[Inquire into the following if not mentioned: Actions that could be taken by candidates, civil society organizations, political parties, other women in politics; changes in laws/regulations; changes in social norms (e.g., promoting tolerance/openness to women's roles outside the domestic sphere)]*

**Conclusion: (5 minutes)**

21. Is there anything else you would like to say regarding this topic?



## **ANNEX C. SOURCES**

## KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED

KII PROFILE	GENDER	ETHNICITY	# OF KIIS
Politicians/candidates	Woman	Indigenous	1
Politicians/candidates	Woman	Non-indigenous	2
Politicians/candidates	Man	Non-indigenous	1
Political party members	Woman	Indigenous	1
Political party members	Woman	Non-indigenous	1
Political party members	Man	Indigenous	1
Members of the government	Woman	Indigenous	1
Members of the government	Woman	Non-indigenous	1
Members of the government	Man	Non-indigenous	1
Community organization members	Man	Indigenous	1
WPPL experts/members of women's groups, civil society organizations, or NGOs (1 group interview)	Woman	Indigenous	4
WPPL experts/members of women's groups, civil society organizations, or NGOs (1 group interview)	Woman	Non-indigenous	3
WPPL Experts/members of women's groups, civil society organizations, or NGOs (1 group interview)	Man	Non-indigenous	1
Journalists	Woman	Indigenous	1
Journalists	Woman	Non-indigenous	1
Religious leaders	Woman	Non-indigenous	1
Religious leaders	Man	Non-indigenous	1
USAID/Guatemala personnel (1 group interview)	Woman	Non-indigenous	3
USAID/Guatemala personnel (1 group interview)	Man	Non-indigenous	1

## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS

NO.	LOCATION	GROUP DESCRIPTION	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS
1	Tactic, Alta Verapaz	Indigenous women ages 25-40 (Q'eqchi')	9
2	Tactic, Alta Verapaz	Non-indigenous women ages 25-40 (Q'eqchi')	10
3	Guatemala, Guatemala	Women ages 25-40 with an education level of high school or higher, mix of indigenous and non-indigenous	10
4	Guatemala, Guatemala	Men ages 25-40 with an education level of high school or higher, mix of indigenous and non-indigenous	10
5	Guatemala, Guatemala	Women ages 25-40 with an education level of primary or lower secondary school, mix of indigenous and non-indigenous	9
6	Guatemala, Guatemala	Men ages 25-40 with an education level of primary or lower secondary school, mix of indigenous and non-indigenous	9
7	Momostenango, Totonicapán	Indigenous women ages 25-40 (K'iche')	10
8	Momostenango, Totonicapán	Indigenous men ages 25-40 (K'iche')	10

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## **ANNEX D. METHODOLOGY**

## **DESK REVIEW**

The Assessment Team conducted a desk review prior to beginning fieldwork to inform the team on current gender inequality gaps between women and men in political participation and leadership and the drivers behind those gaps. The desk review also informed the team on key issues, areas of particular interest, key informants, and other stakeholders relevant for fieldwork. The desk review process considered the dimensions of analysis proposed in the assessment framework (Annex A). It primarily included material that had been published in the last ten years. The AT identified academic sources (universities and research centers) and gray literature produced by organizations and institutions that study the situation of women in Guatemala. Another source of information was the data from the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE), which was requested through the law on access to public information (Ref. UIP-O-32-01-022). The AT also reviewed program and project documents that the USAID Mission in Guatemala (GT) has published on its website. For a full list of sources consulted, please see Annex C.

## **GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY**

NORC and CIEN conducted a nationally representative survey of 2,580 adults (age 16+). The survey design used multistage stratified cluster sampling, where primary sampling units were selected with probability proportional to size. The General Population survey was carried out from November 19, 2021, to January 10, 2022, and cognitive testing was completed prior to fielding the survey. See Annex B for the survey questionnaire.

## **POLITICIAN SURVEY**

NORC and CIEN conducted a survey of 529 politicians, including 390 COCODE authorities and 139 municipal officials. See Annex B: General Population Survey for the questionnaire.

## **KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS**

The Assessment Team conducted KIIs to examine factors that inhibit or facilitate WPPL. A total of 22 KIIs with 27 persons between May 9 and May 20, 2022. Informants came from a variety of groups, including politicians and candidates, political party members, government officials, members of community organizations, journalists, religious leaders, midwives, WPPL experts and people affiliated with women's groups, CSOs, and NGOs, , and people affiliated with USAID/Guatemala. Informants were 74% women and 26% men. KIIs were recorded, transcribed, and translated, and the Assessment Team took detailed notes. For the key informant interview guides, see Annex B: Key informant Interview Guides.

## **FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS**

NORC and CIEN conducted a series of FGDs to gain a deeper understanding of factors that inhibit political participation and leadership from a citizens' perspective. A total of 8 FGDs were conducted between May 9 and May 14, 2022. Four FGDs were carried out in Guatemala City and four in a rural area of each of the following departments: Totonicapán and Las Verapaces (Alta Verapaz or Baja Verapaz). The locations of the FGDs were chosen to map onto the different regions of the country. Another selection consideration was ensuring the participation of diverse groups with representation of indigenous and mestiza/ladina women. Their views would provide the best approach to analyzing different perspectives on WPPL. In addition, it is worth mentioning that research is rarely done in these

rural areas. In Guatemala City, the groups were segmented by educational level (low and high) and gender. In the Verapaces, the groups were segmented by ethnicity, and in Totonicapán, the groups were segmented by gender. For the focus group composition, see Annex C: Focus Group Discussion Participants. For the focus group discussion guide, see Annex B: Focus Group Discussion Guide.

Each FGD contained 9 or 10 participants. In total, 77 people participated in the FGDs, including 29 men and 48 women. CIEN recorded, transcribed, and translated the FGDs, and the Assessment Team observed and took detailed notes.

CIEN recruited participants for the FGDs. Recruitment involved various activities. CIEN personnel who lived in the area recruited participants from Baja Verapaz. For the recruitment of participants from Totonicapán, a supervisor was sent to coordinate logistics with the venue and to recruit staff. In Guatemala City, the recruitment process fell to CIEN field supervisors, who visited different areas of the city to try and recruit people with the appropriate profile.

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