

from survivors to defenders: Women Confronting Violence in Mexico, Honduras & Guatemala







We would also like to thank the host committees who welcomed us into their countries and facilitated our visit, shared their extensive knowledge on the issues facing women in the region, and who contributed so much hard work and thoughtful planning to ensure our visit would have the most impact possible.

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Letter from Nobel Peace Laureates Jody Williams & Rigoberta Menchú Tum

"What we really need to do to change things is to get to the root of things which is machismo, sexism, misogyny, and patriarchal systems," cried one of the dozens of women human rights defenders we met with during our delegation to Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala.

Sadly, in these countries these concepts literally play themselves out on the bodies of women. So much so, that the levels of violence against women in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala have reached crisis dimensions.

Over the course of ten days of our delegation to the region, we listened to the testimony of over 200 women directly affected by the crisis. Many of these are at the frontlines protecting women's and indigenous rights, defending their land and environment, and reporting on the daily struggles of those most vulnerable and voiceless. They told us countless stories of women murdered, rape and other sexual violence, disappearances and arbitrary detention.

The stories of the women were consistent in all three countries. So was the sad reality that the governments in all three countries are consistently failing the women. The vast majority of crimes against women are never investigated, much less prosecuted. Women are left to fend for themselves facing discrimination, stigmatization, threats and attacks as they resist militarization, megaprojects, and organized crime—or, just carry out their daily lives.



One woman we met in Honduras, her eyes swollen, had just been beaten up by police officers. Her crime? Selling food in the market. Remarkably, despite the known threat to her life, she worked up the courage to speak to the press about what just happened. As we left Honduras the next day, we were informed that one of her fellow vendors had been taken into custody again and brutally beaten. The message was clear: "This is what you get for speaking up!"

The war on drugs in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala has become a war on women. Efforts to improve 'security' have only led to greater militarization, rampant corruption and abuse within police forces and an erosion of rule of law. Ultimately, it has resulted in a crisis of insecurity where no one is safe. Homicide rates are among the highest in the world, with Honduras' capital now being described as the "murder capital of the world".

Both of us have worked for decades in this region, highlighting the suffering and human rights violations that people are enduring as power and guns win the day. Amidst the horror and tragedy, we have been persistently amazed by the resilience and strength women exhibit, and the clarity of their message: "No to militarization. Yes to rights and democracy." As one woman said: "We wake up as victims, but go to sleep as survivors." It is their strength that builds our commitment to amplify the women's voices and to raise protection of women human rights defenders.

This report is dedicated to the countless *defensoras* who refused to remain silent and have lost their lives as a result. Too many have fallen victim to the violence. But their courage and determination lives on in their mothers, sisters, and daughters who carry on the struggle. Their voices form the messages and stories of this report.

As we listened to the women's stories, we repeatedly heard pleas to use our voices, networks, skills and power to support the work of these women. When governments fail to protect, we carry the collective responsibility to fight for human rights and justice. The women are under attack and international support and solidarity is crucial in garnering the political will needed to bring about change. We hope that this report serves as an inspiration to join us in our efforts to bring peace, justice and equality to the women of Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala.

chapter one

Introduction

Bearing Witness to Violence Against Women

From January 21 to January 31, 2012, a women's rights fact-finding mission traveled to Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala. The delegation was organized by the Nobel Women's Initiative, JASS (Just Associates) and prominent national organizations that formed host committees in each country, and led by Nobel Laureates Jody Williams and Rigoberta Menchú Tum.

The purpose of the trip was to gather evidence of the impact of escalating violence in the region on women and women's rights, assess the role and response of governments, and acknowledge and evaluate ways of supporting women who are organizing to protect themselves and their communities. The combined experience of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, JASS and long-time activists on the delegation provided a strong basis for assessing the crisis in violence and human rights in these three countries.

The delegation built on the extensive organizing efforts and relationships with diverse women human rights defenders and organizations that have been established by JASS´ Mesoamerica team. This platform of trust enabled us to gather first-hand information from frontline women human rights defenders who are facing great risk as a result of their work. Moreover, these exchanges meant that the delegation's visit also contributed to strengthening the alliances that are so critical to women's survival and safety.

Of all the countries in the region, the delegation chose to visit Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala because these nations show alarming increases in violence against women over the past years, with evidence of the negligence of governments in protecting its citizens and direct participation in acts of violence. Although these countries are not currently involved in open warfare, the

massive deployment of military and police forces in all three has gravely affected civil society and spurred a rise in violence and violation of human rights, with particular impact on the lives and rights of women.

Over the course of ten days, we met with a number of government officials and representatives of international organizations. Most importantly, we gathered evidence and heard testimonies from over 200 women survivors of violence and human rights defenders from organizations that have been working against violence for decades. Building on JASS' and host committees' relationships, many women agreed to travel at great risk from cities and villages across their country to tell the stories of their struggles for the first time in an international forum.

The bravery of the women we met provided us with an unprecedented opportunity to combine the human element of personal experience recounted face to face, with studies, statistics and government declarations. We found that the line between survivors and defenders has been erased as survivors of violence take on the role of defenders. Importantly, the networks and protocols for protection that have been built over the last few years by the host committees with JASS' support, ensured that these brave women could safely return to their communities. JASS and the Nobel Women's Initiative will continue to support the women of Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala as they move forward.



chapter two Findings

Violence Against Women: Reaching Crisis Proportions

The delegation found that the incidence of *femicide* (the targeted murder of women), sexual violence, rape, forced disappearance and attacks and arbitrary detention of women and women human rights defenders in Mexico, Honduras, and Guatemala have reached crisis dimensions.

Women are increasingly the victims of violence that reflects the discrimination they suffer in society, viewing them as objects for manipulation and subjecting them to gender-specific forms of violence that are particularly cruel and demeaning.

Both governments and non-state actors are systematically committing crimes against women—and the perpetrators are rarely brought to justice. We found that the three governments sustain policies and practices that work against human rights in general, and deny the rights of women. Their security forces and institutions frequently act to support political interests and the economic interests of private sector companies rather than the public good, eroding public safety and blocking access to justice. The lack of a gender perspective deepens discrimination on all levels of government. This creates even greater barriers to justice for women and leads to attacks on them when they defend their rights and seek justice.

We found that the three governments are directly responsible for the failure to protect women and women human rights defenders and for the commission of crimes against women. Their failure is due to an underlying lack of political will at all levels of government.

Widespread violence against women is a top priority not only for humanitarian reasons but because it represents a serious violation of human rights since it demonstrates governments' non-compliance with two fundamental obligations: to guarantee the safety of their citizens and to eliminate discrimination. The delegation met with many high-level government officials and heads of international organizations. We greatly appreciated the opportunity to engage in dialogue on violence against women with President Porfirio Lobo of Honduras, President Otto Pérez Molina of Guatemala, Mexico's Attorney General Marisela Morales, and many other cabinet members and officials who shared their time and expertise.

Although government officials all agreed on the urgency of the issues and described the variety of structures, programs and laws designed to address violence against women in their countries, the delegation was greatly concerned by the overall lack of effective action to halt these disturbing trends and the direct participation of local and state officials in attacks on women defenders and cover-ups of the criminals responsible. We found that Honduras, in particular, lacked important legislation and institutional support for addressing the problem, while Mexico and Guatemala had tools but lacked effective implementation.

Government officials we spoke to attributed the climate of violence against women to organized crime while minimizing government responsibility. The delegation often encountered a huge gap between the governments' reading of the situation and women's description of their lived reality. Many officials presented legal and institutional reforms as proof of progress, despite evidence of the government's role in the rising violence.





AN ALARMING RISE IN FEMICIDES

- In Honduras, 460 women were murdered in 2011.
 During the coup regime, beginning in June 2009 and the post-coup regime led by Porfirio Lobo, there has been a spike in femicides, often with the complicity or involvement of government officials and state security forces. Femicides rose 257% between 2002 and 2010. The UN reports that Honduras now has the highest per capita homicide rate in the world. On average, one woman is murdered every day.
- In Mexico, femicides have gone up 40% since 2006, in the context of the war on drugs, which has left more than 50,000 dead, 250,000 displaced and thousands forcibly disappeared.
- The Mexican border state of Chihuahua has
 a female murder rate of 34.73 per 100,000—
 15 times higher than the world rate. Femicides
 in Chihuahua (where systematic femicide
 was detected in Ciudad Juarez back in 1993)
 increased 1,000 percent between 2007 and 2010.
- 685 women were assassinated in Guatemala in 2010, compared to 213 in 2000.

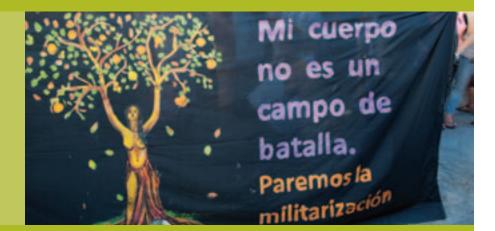
A LACK OF JUSTICE

 More than 95% of crimes are never punished in the three countries visited. Most are never even investigated by authorities. Courts routinely discriminate against women and frequently harass women who bring charges or petitions for justice. The levels of discrimination and lack of access to justice for indigenous and women of African descent is even more extreme.

- The use of trumped-up criminal charges against activists has become a common tactic to attack women activists.
- 200,000 people were murdered and thousands of women raped during the Guatemalan genocide in the 1980s; hundreds of members of the political opposition were assassinated or disappeared during the Mexican dirty war of the same period; and hundreds of people have been murdered during and after the Honduran coup in 2009. Very few of these cases have even gone to trial.

WOMEN HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS UNDER ATTACK

- In 2010 and 2011, 24 women human rights defenders have been assassinated in the region (14 in Mexico, 2 in Guatemala and 8 in Honduras)
- Everyday, on average, there is at least one attack on human rights defenders in Guatemala. Eightythree percent are activists working to protect their lands and natural resources.
- Women human rights defenders are frequently subjected to illegal arrests, persecution, cruel and inhumane mistreatment, rape, defamation campaigns, criminalization, robbery, intimidations, murder, threats against them and their families, and home invasion and destruction.
- In a recent survey, women defenders responded that the government (national, state and local) and its security forces were responsible for acts of violence and threats of violence in 55% of cases.
- Existing protective measures for women defenders do not have a gender perspective.





"The evictions come by order of the businessmen and they send in soldiers and anti-riot police to evict us. So many women have been raped... Once again it reminds us of what we already lived through it's like going back in time."

Indigenous woman, Guatemala



Mexican Attorney General Marisela Morales laid out a series of reforms and proclaimed Mexico "more secure, more just and more prosperous" just a day after the delegation heard testimony from women of a breakdown in justice and security throughout the country. Public officials presented existing security policies to the delegation as the only means to assure rights and safety, and referred to the attending violations of human rights as side effects of the cure.

In Mexico, women reported that the government "simulates" compliance with international treaties and norms on preventing and addressing violence against women rather than make real changes. For example in Ciudad Juarez, where the Inter-American Court of Human Rights found the Mexican government guilty of failing to protect women and prosecute femicide cases, the Mexican government created specialized agencies, made speeches and reformed laws—without solving the murders or stemming crimes against women.

In Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala, government officials recognized serious problems with their justice systems, including corruption, a lack of training and infrastructure to carry out investigations and a lack of coordination and capacity between local, state and federal governments. Some government officials referred to major investments in programs designed to address these issues, many funded with aid from the United States. However, we found no real progress and several women human rights defenders noted that without political changes, the reforms could not succeed.

The lack of access to justice caused by very low prosecution rates (in many places, only 2% of crimes) is worse for women, who report being discriminated against in the court system. Indigenous and poor women encounter many layers of discrimination.

"Most of us don't know how to read or write the dominant language, Spanish. For this reason, they treat us like we're inferior and make fun of us. Soldiers and police abuse us sexually and a lot of the time we keep quiet about what happened..." Celiflora Gallardo, Guerrero, Mexico.

Overwhelming evidence in all three countries indicates that governments and their security forces are not only failing to solve the problem of violence, as reflected in the trends and statistics. They *are* the problem.

"The LBGT community is the most affected by hate crimes. We live with the fear of being assassinated at any time... and it's the ones who are charged with our security—the police—that violate our rights." Victoria, transsexual activist, Honduras.

Formal complaints of human rights violations against the Mexican armed forces have risen 900% since President Felipe Calderon deployed troops to fight the drug war in 2006. Sexual violence is routinely used to intimidate and subdue women. After taking the cases to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights due to lack of due process within Mexico, in 2011 the Army was found guilty of the rapes of Valentina Rosendo and Inés Fernandez. Honduran women report routine beatings and rape by police forces. In Guatemala, we documented women's stories of violence and sexual abuse at the hands of security forces during the genocidal campaigns of the 1980s and again today as part of government and private company efforts to put down community resistance to displacement and environmentally destructive mining and other megaprojects.

The wave of violence in Mexico and Central America has deep economic, social and political roots. In all three countries, bloodshed is accompanied by silent forms of violence—hunger, poverty, inequality, and illiteracy—all of which hit women harder due to discrimination and the fact that so often women are main caregivers for their families. In addition to these social and economic causes, we identified three factors that combine to generate high levels of violence against women: state violence in the context of expanded military and police presence; corrupt and dysfunctional justice systems; and targeted attacks on women human rights defenders.

chapter three

In Defense of the *Defensoras*

Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala: High-Risk Countries for Women and Women's Rights Defenders

The history and current social and political context in each country contributes to violence. In Mexico, the war on drugs has unleashed violence throughout the country, by relying on a military model of confrontation with drug cartels.

Some 50,000 people have been killed in related violence between 2007-2011 and human rights violations have increased. The gendered aspects of this crisis are largely invisible. Although women are a minority of the victims of lethal attacks, they often lead efforts to seek justice in the cases of attacks on their loved ones and their communities. These bold human rights defenders have become targets, with little means of protection or support. At the same time, gender-based violence has risen precipitously under cover of a society engulfed in violence and lacking the institutional capacity, sensitivity—or political will—to deal with it.



"Since the coup, we've gone back some 40 years in human rights and the rights women had gained."

Martha Velazquez, Movimiento de Mujeres, Choloma, Honduras

In Honduras, the June 2009 coup d'état defines the current political, social and economic context. Many women's organizations do not recognize the government of Porfirio Lobo, who came to power in elections organized by the coup regime. Since the coup, women report that achievements in human rights and policy gains of the feminist movement are being systematically wiped out, and women who oppose the government policies or resist new development projects aimed at transferring land and resources to international investors meet with fierce repression. With the government's legitimacy in question and a divided society, both organized crime and common crime have risen sharply and human rights violations are rampant.

In Guatemala, the surge in femicides demonstrates that peace is not just the cessation of war. The lack of justice for crimes of the 1980s has left victims without redress, and culprits in power. Weak institutions and new factors of conflict have lead to a climate of danger for women. Women human rights defenders, especially indigenous women defending land rights and natural resources, face threats and attacks. Foreign investments in mining and other megaprojects that displace native communities have been a focal point for violence against women community activists.





Defending Women Human Rights Defenders

Women human rights defenders are on the front line of defending democratic values and building peace. They are union organizers working for labor rights; mothers who demand justice for children who have been killed or disappeared; community activists in defense of land, water and life; women who fight the backlash against sexual and reproductive rights; members of the LGBT community, and members of movements and organizations for peace and justice.

Every woman defender who is assassinated or attacked or forced into exile or quits due to threats, is one less hope for all of us to live in a world without violence and injustice.

Here are some things we can call for to defend women rights defenders:

- Recognition of women human rights defenders, including public declarations of support for defenders involved in defense of land and natural resources, reproductive rights, peace and other campaigns. Immediate and effective responses to threats against them.
- 2. Call for and apply effective protective measures for women human rights defenders at risk. Precautionary measures are often not granted or implemented when needed, and when they are applied only to the individual they are often not effective since they do not modify the situation of risk. Protective measures should include: a) full investigations into attacks and prosecution of perpetrators of attacks on or discrimination against women defenders, including government officials if warranted by the case; b) psycho-social support, especially in cases of relocation; c) public education campaigns with the media and communities affected by attacks on defenders.
- 3. International monitoring to implement protective measures. The international community should monitor cases and measure results, not rhetoric, through the use of specific systems and mechanisms. Follow-up by international human rights organizations requires benchmarks for evaluating government action to protect women activists and prevent harassment and attacks.
- 4. Release of all women held as political prisoners and the lifting of arrest orders against women human rights defenders.
- 5. End the practice of bringing unwarranted criminal charges against activists and issue clear instructions to police to halt violent attacks on protests, political gatherings, human rights groups and journalists.
- 6. Assure that organizations working to protect and defend women human rights defenders and peace and democracy activists have an adequate budget to carry out their work.
- 7. Directly support women's organizations and women human rights defenders. Although guaranteeing rights is the responsibility of the government, it is fundamental to strengthen the organizations and create networks of women human rights defenders to assure their immediate and effective protection.



"To wear a huipil (traditional embroidered blouse), to make a huipil is a way of being ourselves, of feeling fulfilled. When an indigenous woman makes a huipil, she makes the decision of how to do it, the story she wants to tell with the figures she puts there."

Reyna Rivera, Mixtecan, Metlatónac, Guerrero, Mexico



Weaving Words and Dreams

Becoming a woman human rights defender means taking risks and facing violence in these countries. And for many women, it also means breaking internalized chains and stereotypes. Social and community norms teach women that they are next to worthless. Making decisions as simple as what to stitch on a blouse becomes an act of self-affirmation.

For many of the women who presented testimony to our delegation, speaking out in an all-woman's forum was a new and empowering experience, enabling them to vividly see how the violence they face is shared by other women. The host committees in each country worked hard to organize safe places for women's voices to be heard. In five forums in three countries, we gathered the words of women who don't appear in the media, who are silenced by cultural norms and machismo in their families and communities, who are ignored or abused by authorities. They testified to human rights violations in their own lives and the lives of those they love. They talked about the chains of the past and their dreams for their future and their daughters' futures.

While much work remains to be done to build the links needed for effective action, these acts of speaking out, of defiant tears, of bearing witness to silent wrongs and personal rebellions, inspired all of us. The forums also produced an extraordinary vision of what women human rights defenders face on a day-to-day basis and the resources they are building to change that reality.

The state of women's rights and safety directly affects more than half the population. It is also a barometer for how countries are managing human rights in general. Our findings show that unless all parts of government and society—along with international actors—engage immediately in finding solutions in these countries, the crisis of violence against women will claim many more lives and lead to a severe deterioration in rule of law and basic human rights for all.



"I think everyone, especially
Mexicans, should come
together more, listen to each
other more, support each other
more—not only to be able to
uproot an obsolete system that's
militarized and taken over by
organized crime, but also to
build a new system... I think this
forum can be a starting point
for walking toward a horizon of
justice, equity and dignity for all
those who decide to take the
first step."

Martha Ojeda, Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, Mexico



chapter four

Causes of Rising Violence Against Women

In discussions with the women's organizations, we identified the following underlying factors in the surge of violence against women and sexual violence in these countries:

- a. Expanded military and police presence, in the context of the drug war and increasing displacement for natural resources exploitation and megaprojects, leading to abuses, attacks and violation of women's human rights;
- b. Corrupt, discriminating and inept justice systems; and
- Targeted attacks on women human rights defenders and the misuse of the legal system to persecute them and their organizations.

Most disturbingly we found clear evidence that these factors are not accidental, but correspond to the tactical use of violence and in particular violence against women and women defenders by governments and de facto powers including organized crime to exert control through fear, intimidation and in all-too-common extreme cases, assassination.

a. Militarization and Army and Police Abuse

"The war on drugs and increased militarization in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala is becoming a war on women." Jody Williams, Nobel Peace Laureate

Although the job of the military and police is to guarantee national and public security, many human rights defenders and women affected by violence identified these forces as a significant factor for the increase in violence in their communities, and especially for violence against women. Militarization and the increase in public security forces is disproportionately affecting women, and women human rights defenders are being directly attacked in all three countries. This takes place in the context of weakened or perverted government institutions and repressive policies.

The so-called "war on drugs"—a security strategy that defines drug cartel operations as the principal threat to

the nation and focuses on interdiction and enforcement to stop trafficking of prohibited substances—has led to widespread militarization in the region. Throughout Mesoamerica in recent years, governments have sent soldiers out to perform public safety tasks that would normally be reserved for police forces.

The delegation questioned Presidents Lobo and Peréz Molina and Mexican authorities about this, and was told that drug cartels have become so pervasive and disruptive—and their own police forces are so notoriously weak and corrupt—that the armed forces must be used to guarantee security. The U.S. government actively promotes the strategy through regional security aid under the Merida Initiative (Mexico) and the Central American Regional Security Initiative (CARSI).

The Mexican government has deployed more than 45,000 troops in its own country, leading to a tremendous increase in drug war-related homicides. Military presence has led to numerous abuses against the civilian population, including sexual violence. In the case of the forced disappearance of Rosendo Radilla 35 years ago, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights found that trying military offences against civilians in military tribunals violates international norms. The Mexican Supreme Court upheld the ruling on June 13, 2011—yet the military has resisted the ruling, and maintains the practice.

Government officials stated that their response to the rise in human rights violations is focused on human rights training programs, but innumerable cases of human rights violations by both army and police indicate a deep disregard for human rights among security forces and intentional violations to punish or control certain individuals and populations.



At 50,000 dead and rising, Mexico's drug war has taken a huge toll on the population.

"In many places where the federal government's security strategy' has been applied with the most force, violence got worse and diversified. Vulnerability has increased, placing citizens in a situation of alarming risk, particularly for certain groups such as youth, children, women, indigenous communities and migrants." Dolores Gonzalez, Serapaz, Mexico.

In Guatemala, military units have returned to the highlands and other predominantly indigenous areas, after withdrawal following the armed conflict. For indigenous communities that lived through genocidal violence at the hands of military forces in the eighties, the return is traumatic and intimidating. Women presented testimonies and evidence of many cases where army and private security presence is associated with putting down local protests against mining operations and other development projects that displace and disrupt communities to exploit natural resources.

In Honduras, the military moved into the streets to fight citizen opposition to the coup d'etat on June 28, 2009. Although the nation supposedly returned to civilian rule following the election of November 2009, state institutions are in shambles and former military leaders—including many implicated in the coup—hold major positions of power. The armed forces have been deployed across the country with the stated purpose of confronting organized crime, which has burgeoned since the coup. But they have frequently played a role in supporting prominent businessmen, large landowners and investors against local communities, particularly in Bajo Aguan and other land conflicts, and continuing to attack members of the citizen opposition.

Our findings show that the presence of the army in cities and communities is more often the cause of violence against women than a solution. Although the violence of organized crime and common criminals is very real, women reported that the presence of the army has not made them feel safer and constitutes a threat in itself. In many cases we documented, women's accounts and the surrounding circumstances pointed to the systematic use of violence by the armed forces to intimidate or punish women and their communities, along with widespread institutional efforts to deny any legal responsibility for the crimes.

women face violence under the boot

(i) "My first experience with the soldiers happened when I was just twelve years old. They came into the community and stole our harvest. They stole our animals and forced us to make tortillas for them. Nobody reported it because nobody knew where you go to denounce. There were women who were raped by soldiers and have never reported it." Obtilia Eugenio Manuel, President of the Organization of the Me'phaa Indigenous People

In the Mexican state of Guerrero, indigenous communities are accustomed to abuses by the military. From army occupation in the eighties to wipe out guerrilla movements and political opposition, to today's presence under the guise of the drug war, the impact on women has been unchecked violence, abuse and fear.

The law of force trumps rule of law in militarily occupied territories—especially for women who face several layers of discrimination. Obtilia, who

has been a human rights defender for years and suffered attacks and threats on her life, adds, "Many women don't know how to speak Spanish, just their language. One woman was raped by soldiers and we helped her report it, but many decide not to out of fear-because the soldiers carry guns."

In Mexico, the most heavily militarized region is the U.S.-Mexico border, where illegal drugs cross into the U.S. market. Many women from the border reported conditions identical to a war zone, with particularly ominous tones for women.

(a) "My region is a place where the population, and especially women, face shoot-outs, grenades, roadblocks and confrontations between the cartels and the soldiers on a daily basis. It's a region where police, soldiers and patrols are cloned by organized crime. Where whole villages are displaced by violence and replaced by military bases. Where soldiers carry out de facto raids on houses, imposing martial law, and U.S. military personnel violate national sovereignty." Martha Ojeda, Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, Tamaulipas, U.S.-Mexico border.

The Lenca indigenous leader Bertha Cáceres has seen the effects of militarization first-hand. Subject to constant threats against her and her family, she described the situation in territories in conflict in Honduras, where the army serves to enforce the transfer of land from small producers to large developers.

(we're seeing a process of militarization, and also private security agencies coming into our regions and gun shops opening everywhere... They're recruiting our young people because it's the only way to get a job without having to migrate. There's harassment, death threats to our members, sexual abuse of women members of the organization... They have total impunity to abuse women, especially poor women, indigenous women and women of African descent." Bertha Caceres, (Civic Committee of Popular and Indigenous Campesino Organizations of Honduras-COPINH), Western Honduras

With the coup, repression got worse. We are threatened all the time: I received a death threat from members of the military. I have precautionary measures like others from the community, because of the persecution we've suffered." Esly Vanegas of the Coalition of Popular Organizations of Aguan (COPA), who was arrested and released after the organization mobilized to demand her freedom and continues to be harassed and spied on.



The Honduran Center for Women's Studies reports that as military expenditures rise, so do femicides—at an even higher rate than the skyrocketing homicide rate. Between 2006 and 2011 the military budget rose from \$63 million USD to \$175 million.



"There's been an increase in military spending and a rise in femicides. It should be the other way around in theory—more spending, more security. But 'citizen security' throughout Central America has meant more death for women."

Suyapa Martinez, Center for Women's Studies, Honduras



Militarism spreads a culture of violence and creates more access to arms, driving up domestic violence against women as well. The Center reports that 81% of murders of women are committed with guns now, compared to just 55% in 2003.

Expanded military operations in Honduras have been actively encouraged and funded by the U.S. government, which has expanded its military presence in the country. Since the coup, the U.S. Pentagon spent more than \$53 million on contract work in Honduras, much

of it to expand its military facilities on the Soto Cano (aka Palmerola) air base and build two new small naval bases—despite a constitutional provision barring permanent foreign military bases.

We heard testimonies from women regarding two different periods of military abuses—the 1970s-80s dirty war against political opposition in Mexico and genocide in the Guatemalan armed conflict, and the current period in all three countries. Crimes of the past that have never been brought to justice were often cited as contributing factors to abuse today.

In the three countries, the deployment of the armed forces to fight organized crime has blurred the line between the police and army.

Many women testified that in their towns and neighborhoods police officers abuse and attack women. The problem emerged as particularly severe and pervasive in Honduras.

When delegation members questioned President Lobo, he admitted that there is a serious problem of corruption among police and that the government is in the process of vetting and "modernizing" the force. U.S. Ambassador Lisa Kubiskie told the delegation that the U.S. government funds programs to train police. However, we found no evidence that the Honduran government or its U.S. ally are regularly prosecuting and following up on these crimes. Programs were presented as yielding results in the long term, while the levels of violence are already intolerable. Even government officials admitted that throwing money at the problem of police and judicial corruption is not working, but presented no alternatives.

Honduran women's organizations argued that these programs are a waste of money in the absence of the political will to make sweeping changes in the police force and end tolerance of criminal behavior toward women and targeting of grassroots activists. There has been no effort to prosecute policemen for assault and sexual violence during the coup.

Guatemala's Militarization and Women's Bodies: Then and Now

The military came to indigenous communities in the early 1980s with a purpose: to annihilate Mayan resistance to dictatorship, repression and displacement. The result was a genocidal campaign of assassinations and torture and also of rape and sexual enslavement of women in primarily Mayan areas.

For decades the voices of the victims who survived were muted by their own shame and pain or by a legal and political system that refused to acknowledge their existence. Even the Historical Clarification Commission failed to unearth the dimensions of sexual violence against women during the armed conflict and it wasn't until women's rights organizations convened the extraordinary Tribunal of Consciousness in March of 2012 that women began to come forward.

Our delegation heard the words and saw the tears of women who suffered three decades ago and women who are victims of the new wave of militarization today. They described that today's intent is subtler: to force communities out of areas where mineral and other types of resources are coveted. But the methods are very similar: rape, murder, imprisonment, division and harassment.

(i) "I want to share what we suffered in the war, which had its maximum expression in 1982. I'm not afraid or ashamed to share it because the same thing happened to so many women in my country... I am from the Polochic Valley and what happened to me happened to many sisters—the way we were persecuted and mistreated, the pain we still feel, all for defending our Mother Earth and asking for a little respect. You could say I'm lucky to be here to talk to you. So many sisters didn't survive, they were tortured for so long. I was the victim of kidnapping, of torture. Soldiers passed over my body; they played with my body—and not just with me. And it hasn't stopped, our bodies are still used to torture and divide our communities." Indigenous woman, Polochic, Guatemala



In Mexico, the violent repression of a peaceful protest in San Salvador Atenco, Mexico State, provides a vivid example of violence against women and the use of security forces to repress and silence women activists. On May 4, 2006, the police violently broke up a protest, killing two youth and rounding up men and women. Women were sexually tortured and raped by police in the paddy wagon and then thrown in jail. Enrique Peña Nieto, the state governor who ordered the police raid and subsequently blocked criminal proceedings against the guilty agents is now a presidential candidate. Due to the lack of justice in Mexico, the case of the women raped by police in Atenco is currently before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Claudia Hernandez, who was attacked, described to us the permanent psychological trauma she suffers, compounded by the knowledge that the rapists were never punished.



"You'll never be able to change this rottenness with courses, curriculums or police training. They've spent millions in foreign aid on these programs and the result is pitiful. We need to take it all down and start over."

Gilda Rivera, Center for Women's Rights, Tegucigalpa, Honduras



The women who met with the delegation in Mexico City provided chilling accounts of police violence against women and the utter refusal of the state to prosecute them. In November of 2009, some 50 police agents raided the house of Margarita Martinez, a human rights defender who works among indigenous communities in Chiapas. They held the family at gunpoint, offering no

warrants or explanations. After she filed a complaint, the persecution got worse. On February 24, 2010, Margarita was tortured and raped. She is now under protective custody, but the guards assigned her have allowed the threats to continue. The state refuses to prosecute the agents and higher-ups responsible.

Nenetzin Rojas, whose mother Eva Alarcon, was kidnapped December 7, 2011 in an ambush that included state and local police in the state of Guerrero, told us that although 28 police agents were arrested, all but one were released. Eva Alarcon worked with the Ecologist Peasant Organization of Petatlan and was kidnapped along with Marcial Bautista. Bautista's daughter accompanied her, and the two young women frequently broke down in tears during the testimony.

"I'm 21 years old and I'm tired of seeing so much violence. No child should have to see as much death as I have. Mama, if you can hear me, you must be brave. Mama, I won't stop fighting until you're free."

Particularly in Honduras and Guatemala, the growing use of private security agents presents new threats to women. In Guatemala in 2010, there were an estimated 28,000 legal and 50,000 unregistered private security agents, outstripping the police. In Honduras, we heard reports of the use of private security forces at the service of large landowners to harass and attack women and men defending their lands, particularly in Bajo Aguan. Honduras has the second highest number of private security guards in Central America according to the 2011 Small Arms Survey. Honduras has at least 60,000 private security agents in more than 630 security companies. There are few mechanisms of accountability for these forces.

b. Corrupt and Dysfunctional Justice Systems

The delegation found that a key element that enables and perpetuates violence against women is the lack of a fair and functioning justice system and strong rule of law in the countries. When crimes routinely go unpunished, it emboldens violent actors, including organized crime, common criminals and state actors.

Women interviewed pointed to several explanations for why their justice systems fail. In Honduras and Guatemala, years of dictatorships and conflict left institutions weak. Guatemala's peace-making process

never moved into a necessary *peace-building* process that could assure strong institutions and practices. The government typically fails to conduct investigations or prosecute the perpetrators of women's murders. Last year, only 12% of cases were brought to trial and only 28 cases resulted in sentencing. The Guatemalan Public Ministry received more than 40,000 complaints of violence against women in 2010. Of complaints registered by the Judicial Department, only 1% resulted in sentencing. The dimension of the problem is even greater, since attacks on women in the home are registered simply as "intrafamily violence" although 96% of victims are women and girls.



"The IACHR manifests its major concern regarding the fact that the majority of acts of violence against women go unpunished, perpetuating social acceptance of this phenomenon. For this reason, it reaffirms the need for States to improve the judicial response to comply fully with their obligation of due diligence."

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Report on "Access to justice for women victims of violence in the Americas" 2007



In Mexico democratic and judicial institutions are also weak and do not comply with their obligations, as a result of 71 years of authoritarian, one-party rule (1929-2000) and the persistence of systematic corruption

and the use of the government in the interests of those holding political and economic power. The justice system leaves 98% of crimes unsolved and unpunished.

The upshot is that in all three of the countries the justice systems successfully prosecute only a fraction of crimes committed, including those that are not reported due to lack of faith in the system, those that are never investigated by authorities, and those that are thrown out of court. Violence against women, human rights violations and threats to human rights defenders are often not investigated. There are seldom punishments, reparations for damages, or programs of prevention. This encourages drug cartels and individuals to use violence against women and women defenders as a means of control, in collusion with the authorities. There is also a severe shortage of resources to respond to violations of human rights, exacerbated by the sharp rise in complaints since the onset of the war on drugs.

The majority of those who seek justice—searching for loved ones, or denouncing violations of human rightsare women. They are the mothers, wives, daughters who are emerging as the new group of defenders although they are often not recognized as such. These women face indifference, discrimination, lies, cover-ups and complicity, and outright hostility within the justice system. They often are treated like criminals for insisting on solving crimes involving their loved ones and "re-victimized" by mistreatment at the hands of the legal system itself. We heard numerous testimonies of individuals and organizations that have reported abuses by the army and been subject to threats and acts of intimidation. Several women human rights defenders who protested military abuse and presence have been murdered or suffered attacks on their families, without any progress toward arresting and prosecuting the perpetrators.

"It's been two years, two months, six days since my son's disappearance—and all we have are words and papers... It's the families that have to demand their children be found and we face all kinds of risks—the loss of our homes and belongings, the agonizing uncertainty of not knowing where they are, the unending pain, to wake up knowing it's not a nightmare, that their absence is real and the impunity is real too." Araceli Rodríguez Nava, whose son Angel, a federal police agent, was disappeared in Michoacán Mexico in 2009. The police have provided contradictory accounts and refused to investigate the case.



The system also routinely discriminates on the basis of sex, class, ethnicity and age. The Inter-American Human Rights Court has pronounced sentences against Mexico affirming that the Mexican government and its officials systematically discriminate against women, which propitiates violence against women. This discrimination is intensified against indigenous, young, migrant, poor and lesbian women and women who demand justice. There are also more attacks on women who defend women's reproductive and sexual rights. Conservative groups are attacking those who promote the right to choose and defend women in jail for aborting, and those who defend sexual diversity. Discrimination exists not only in the laws and rules, but also in practices of government officials that result in unequal access to justice.

Impunity for crimes of the past contributes to current violence. Many women's organizations in Honduras reported that the lack of prosecution for crimes committed during the coup has undermined already weak institutions. Criminals go free and the lack of justice for past crimes contributes to questions about the current government's legitimacy.

The delegation heard numerous testimonies from women who suffered sexual enslavement in Guatemala during the 1980s and crimes of the dirty war in Mexico during the same period. They continue to demand justice.

"This impunity that has existed for so many years is what has given rise to this violence that currently exists. These same individuals have joined the drug-trafficking groups..." Tita Radilla, human rights defender whose father Rosendo Radilla was forcibly disappeared from an army checkpoint 35 years ago in Guerrero, Mexico

c. Attacks on WomenHuman Rights Defenders

"...Explicit death threats against women human rights defenders are one of the main forms of violence in the region, with more than half coming from Latin America, most of those (27) from Mexico." Second Report on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders in the Americas, UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders, 2011

In a recent survey of women human rights defenders in Mexico, half reported suffering violence as a direct

"It's like denying the Holocaust.

They want to deny that there was genocide; they want to deny the massacres, that there was sexual violence against women. It's very serious because what happened remains completely invisible."

Maya Alvarado, Guatemala City



consequence of their work. Violence against women and women human rights defenders nearly always shows gender-specific characteristics. Seventy-six percent of women human rights defenders surveyed identified gender-specific aspects in the cases of violence they handle, defined by the type of violence, including sexual violence; the ways in which violence is carried out; the actors; the causes and consequences. The defenders surveyed responded that the government (national, state and local) and its security forces were responsible for the violence and threats of violence in 55% of cases.

"In this context of violence and faced with the denial of the State to provide protective measures, men and women human rights defenders confront serious risks and are constantly threatened. Various defenders and their relatives have been assassinated in the state of Chihuahua. The demand for justice has brought devastating and irreparable consequences for those who document abuses and issue public complaints." Alma Gomez, Center for Human Rights of Women, Chihuahua, Mexico

Men and women of the pro-democracy movement in Honduras have been targeted for their political activity, with 61 murdered in 2010 and 59 in 2011. Women human rights defenders are prominent among the 4,000-6,000 illegal detentions that have taken place in Honduras since the coup.

In Guatemala, women human rights defenders have been subjected to illegal arrests, persecution, cruel and inhumane mistreatment, rape, robbery, intimidations, murder, threats, and home invasion and destruction. Recent data indicates that Guatemala ranks seventh in the world in terms of violent deaths, with targeted attacks against women going up. In Honduras, women defenders reported that they and their organizations are persecuted through anti-terrorist and anti-narcotics laws that are applied to cut off their funding.

In alarming contrast to the lack of effective legal proceedings in cases of human rights violations and attacks on human rights defenders, there has been an increase in the use of the justice system to treat activists and defenders like criminals to repress their activity.



"We women of the community are not criminals, we're humble women. We are just defending our lands, because we live off our lands; defending our rivers, defending our homes.

Our struggle is to live well in our communities—not what the companies are accusing us of."

Crisanta Perez, Mam, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, who is one of eight women who had arrest orders against them for opposing mining operations on their lands. The charges were recently dropped due to public pressure.



"After the consultation (on mining) in 2007, 17 community members were captured, among them local officials and farmers who were only defending their rights. The response of the Guatemalan government has been criminalization. There are currently three people in prison and the Public Ministry won't even tell us why they're detained..." Indigenous Woman, Guatemala

In addition to the criminalization of anti-mining activists, we also heard testimony from Guatemalan women who have had charges, including terrorism, filed against them by former military personnel and their families, ostensibly for crimes committed by the guerrilla forces in the 1980s. According to an analysis by La Unidad de Protección a Defensoras y Defensores de Derechos Humanos, Guatemala (UDEFEGUA), the charges appear to be aimed at dissuading legal processes against the military and harassing the women and men for their current human rights work. One defender, Sandra Moran, brought to light that she had been accused of crimes that took place when she was a child. Sensationalist media often amplify accusations.

Another source of violence against women and violation of basic rights stems from conservative laws and policies to roll back gains in women's reproductive and sexual rights. One of the first acts taken by the government after the Honduran coup in 2009 was to ban the morning-after pill. This was a clear message to Feminists in Resistance and other opposition women's organizations that both their members and their pro-rights and pro-choice causes would be repressed. In Mexico, state anti-abortion laws have resulted in women serving prison terms for aborting.

Women human rights defenders in this region of the world are in a double bind. They face threats and violence against them and yet cannot turn to the state for protection, since it is often state agents who are threatening them. Many women reported that precautionary measures are ineffective or counter-productive. Fear constrains their work. We received many reports of women rights defenders, especially in the border region of Mexico and in Honduras, who have had to leave their countries and their work to ensure their safety and that of their families.

chapter five

Call to End Violence Against Women in Mexico, Honduras & Guatemala

The following recommendations aimed at ending violence against women in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala are based on extensive consultation with women activists and women's organizations in these countries, as well information gathered from international organizations, governments and policy analysts.

General Recommendations

- Recognition of and effective protection of women activists and human rights defenders, including adequate precautionary measures and effective implementation, full investigation and prosecution of cases of attacks on women, public declarations of support and immediate responses to threats. We recommend particular attention to indigenous women and members of the LGBT community who face greater obstacles and dangers when investigating and denouncing human rights violations due to racism and discrimination.
- Develop and implement a protocol for investigation of crimes of gender-based violence and work closely with organizations and initiatives of women human rights defenders on specific cases, opening permanent lines of communication with appropriate agencies for rapid response.
- 3. Develop and implement new national and international policies of security and public safety that instead of emphasizing police and military control of the population, address root social problems of poverty, inequality, health and education deficits, and gender inequality and discrimination, and that have human rights at the core. This must include

- a nuanced understanding of the gender-specific nature of threats to men and women, and of the impact of measures designed to prevent threats, protect women and redress wrongs.
- 4. Launch national campaigns to eliminate corruption and foment a citizen culture of zero tolerance of corruption, which seriously impedes the proper functioning of the justice system.
- 5. Legally define and actively prosecute femicides. Provide adequate resources and adoption of protocols for investigation and prosecution of femicide and crimes of sexual violence, to increase effectiveness and reduce widespread ignorance of gender crimes and sexual discrimination among government officials and legal institutions.
- Release all women held as political prisoners, and stop criminalizing women human rights defenders, including those involved in land and resources struggles.
- 7. Classify forced disappearance as a crime, take immediate action to return disappeared persons alive, create special prosecutors for cases of forced disappearances, and foster open and responsive dialogue with organizations of relatives of the disappeared.



- 8. Immediately halt all acts of harassment and violence against persons (mostly women) who seek justice in cases of forced disappearances, murders, sexual violence and human rights violations.
- Support international networks of women human right defenders to exchange information and provide solidarity to those under threat.
- 10. Strengthen national data systems to ensure that adequate data is being collected on gender crimes, including femicides—and ensure adequate resources for standardizing data collection in each country and across the region.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO

- Prosecute cases of violence against women. Investigate and impose sentences on those found guilty of violence against women. Prioritize the resolution of a short-list of key cases in a maximum of one year: Marisela Escobedo—imprisonment of Sergio Barraza and resolution of Marisela's murder; Eva Alarcón—her release and the capture and trial of those responsible for her abduction; the Reyes family—including prosecution for the six murders, protection of the family. Report on progress in the cases of seven women murdered in Ciudad Juárez, currently under investigation by the Federal Attorney General's Office: Perla Ivonne Aguirre Gutiérrez, Griselda Murua López, Brenda Ivonne Ponce Saénz, Idaly Juache Laguna, Mónica Janeth Alanis Esparza, Brenda Berenice Castillo García, Yanira Frayre and recent cases of women journalists.
- 2. Ensure justice in cases of forced disappearances. Develop an action plan that includes the immediate search for all disappeared persons; create a nationwide database of forcibly disappeared persons with frequent progress reports; transfer cases to the Federal Attorney General's Office and establish a Special Prosecutor for Disappeared Persons; develop and implement Protocols of Investigation in cases of forcibly disappeared persons; create a Federal Program of Attention to Relatives of Disappeared Persons (health, housing, employment, education) and release genetic information for all unidentified bodies of women and girls held in state morgues to assist in identification.

- 3. Investigate and prosecute police, military personnel and other government agents accused of sexual violence and abuse, and compensate victims. As concrete proof of commitment, immediately prosecute police identified as guilty of sexual torture in the Atenco case.
- 4. Withdraw the proposed reforms to the National Security Law that would legalize the permanent participation of the armed forces in public security tasks and violate clauses of human rights laws. Implement the mandate that military offenses against civilians be tried in civil courts.
- 5. Coordinate the implementation of precautionary and provisional measures assigned to women human rights defenders at risk and assure the effective implementation of the Mechanism for Protection of Human Rights Defenders, with special attention to gender-based characteristics of risk to women human rights defenders. Provide public information regarding compliance with precautionary measures and explain why women who have been granted precautionary protection measures—including Margarita González, Obtilia Eugenio and Norma Andrade—have been attacked repeatedly and how to prevent these attacks.
- 6. Adopt appropriate Protocols of Investigation in cases of gender-based violence, human trafficking, torture and sexual violence, in accordance with international standards and the sentences dictated by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Help design federal public policies to guarantee the incorporation of gender and multicultural perspectives; end criminalization of women human rights defenders, especially those who engage in public protest; complete the investigations of the cases of Inés Fernandez and Valentina Rosendo as soon as possible.
- 7. Guarantee that compliance with the sentences ordered by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights generates practices and administrative procedures that serve to guide future processes of the same type.

 Develop a plan for the protection of women's rights in the Supreme Court and other judicial branches, especially in regard to sexual and reproductive rights of women in light of recent criminal treatment of such cases.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF HONDURAS

- 1. Stop dismantling legal reforms aimed at ending discrimination against women and give high priority to reforming legislation, including provisions in the Family Law and Labor Code that discriminate against women. This process must include the annulment of recently adopted measures that represent a setback for women's and feminist organizations in terms of research and legislation, and include guaranteeing access to the morning-after contraceptive pill and providing integral sex education in the public school system.
- 2. Halt police and military repression of women human rights defenders, members of political opposition, peasant and indigenous leaders, journalists and feminists immediately. Recognize the rights of women in protesting human rights abuses. Immediately end the criminalization of protest, and the intimidation and harassment of women's human rights defenders. Fully investigate cases of women's human rights defenders, as well as the maternal deaths and incidents in Bajo Aguan, and initiate appropriate legal proceedings.
- 3. Ensure that all forms of violence against women are prosecuted and punished. Women and girls who are survivors of such crimes must have immediate means of redress and protection. Such access to justice must apply equally to poor, rural, and indigenous women and women of African descent. Femicide should be characterized in law and rigorously prosecuted.
- 4. Publicly adopt clear and legally-binding commitments to transforming the national police force. This can be achieved through effective measures to eliminate corruption, and applying the full force of the law against those who commit acts of corruption. Prosecute violence against women and violations of their rights by members of the police forces.

- 5. Prevent the use of the military in domestic policing and for private interests. Acts of violence against women committed by military forces, including crimes committed under the coup regime as part of the repression of opposition members, must be prosecuted in civil courts and perpetrators be removed from government positions.
- Ratify the Optional Protocol for CEDAW, which
 enables women to bring cases to the international
 human rights system when the national judicial
 process fails and provides tools for defending
 women's rights.
- 7. Ensure freedom of expression for all journalists, including women, and immediately end the impunity for the killings and harassment of journalists, including Gilda Silvestrucchi and reverse the sentence against Elba Rubio.
- 8. Heed the calls by civil society organizations for real and effective participation in the development of the new mining law and immediately stop harassment and threats against members of the Siria Valley Environmental Committee and instead drop their charges and implement the precautionary measures. Ensure the right to consultation on mining concessions and megaprojects, as set out under ILO Convention No. 169.
- 9. Respect the separation of Church and State.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF GUATEMALA

- Protect and publicly recognize the work of women human rights defenders involved in land struggles and other campaigns. Support the efforts of human rights defenders as union organizers, peasants, academics, members of non-governmental and human rights organizations, indigenous women, etc. and denounce violence against women working to end violence and assist victims.
- Stop the practice of criminalization of women and men rights defenders. Dismiss charges against women rights defenders in San Miguel Ixtahuacan and unsubstantiated charges against women activists for crimes during the armed conflict.

The Special Prosecutor for Human Rights must step up efforts to investigate and prosecute attacks against human rights defenders.

- Enforce the law against femicide on all levels and prosecute crimes against women and girls.
- 4. Maintain and strengthen the progress made in protecting and promoting women's rights, including enforcement of laws and international agreements and strengthening government institutions working for gender equality (CONAPREVI, SEPREM; DEMI) and the database on crimes against women.
- 5. Support efforts to end impunity and advance justice currently taking place under Attorney General Claudia Paz y Paz and provide all the resources and support necessary for her to carry out effective measures. Guarantee justice, including reparations, in cases of rape, torture and murder by the armed forces during the armed conflict.
- 6. Guarantee the right of all women to participate in decisions on policies and measures that affect their lives and territories. Recognize and respect community consultations on mining concessions and megaprojects, enshrined in ILO convention 169, and assure that existing concessions comply with all environmental and social requirements. Stop violent evictions and expropriations carried out against communities and comply with the precautionary measures dictated by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, particularly in favor of the 14 communities evicted in Polochic.
- 7. Suspend future mining concessions until proper regulations have been implemented and community consultations have taken place. Assure that existing concessions comply with all environmental and social requirements.
- 8. End all forms of harassment and investigate all displacements of local communities in areas where mining, hydroelectric plants and agrofuel production concessions have taken place. Halt the expansion of agrofuel production and hydroelectric

- plants that displace local communities. Explore environmentally friendly, community-run alternatives.
- Address agrarian and environmental conflicts, taking into consideration the rights of indigenous peoples. Enact rural development policies, in consultation with local rural communities, that include a gender-sensitive perspective and human rights.
- Guarantee justice, including reparations, in cases of rape, torture and murder by the armed forces during the armed conflict.
- 11. Implement all remaining points on security and justice contained in the Peace Accords, including reform of the police forces, the judiciary, civil intelligence, and pending regulations to effectively implement these measures.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

- 1. Modify the framework for cooperation between the U.S. and the region to emphasize human rights, civil society participation and development rather than police and military intervention. Consider alternatives to military aid to Mexico, which reinforces the dangerous role of the Army (SEDENA) and Navy (SEMAR) in law enforcement. Re-orient current counternarcotics aid packages, including the Merida Initiative and CARSI, and work with government partners and civil society to develop a safer, rights- and community-based approach with attention to gender and women's rights.
- Create mechanisms of public information and accountability in the Department of Defense budget. Specifically, release detailed information on defense aid to Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala.
- 3. Suspend military aid to Honduras and demand investigations into state crimes and human rights violations. Maintain restrictions on military aid to Guatemala and suspend further military aid to Mexico until thorough and comprehensive investigations into crimes and human rights violations by government security forces have been carried out.

- 4. Ensure that more resources are made available to bring cases of multinational companies infringing on human rights standards into US courts under the Alien Tort Claims Act. This would ensure that companies understand they will be held responsible for their operations that are committing abuses and would combat impunity.
- 5. Support women human rights defenders by publicly denouncing acts of violence against women and lending recognition to the important work they do. This includes monitoring the safety of women rights defenders at risk, meeting with them, and also providing resources to the organizations to expand their work and raise the levels of protection for women defenders at risk.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

- Review trade and foreign investment agreements to incorporate labor, women's rights and safety and eliminate clauses that have had negative impacts on human and economic rights.
- 2. Enforce corporate social responsibility and legislate basic rules of conduct for Canadian companies abroad. The Extractive Sector Corporate Social Responsibility Counsellor's mandate must be strengthened to include investigations and punitive measures for companies implicated in human rights violations. Canada must adopt legislation that will withdraw financial and consular support by the government to mining companies who are found in violation of human rights standards and allow non-citizen plaintiffs to challenge any body, including mining companies, in a federal court. This includes violations of the principles set out in ILO Convention No. 169, which deals specifically with the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples.
- 3. Develop strategies implemented by Canadian missions abroad to ensure greater protection of women human rights defenders. A strategy must involve public denouncements of acts of violence against women, monitoring their situation by frequently meeting with them, immediate responses to attacks, trial observations and public recognition of the importance of their work.



Aura Lolita Chávez Ixcaquic, of Santa Cruz, Quiché, Guatemala summed up the current situation and the value of solidarity:

"Fifteen years since the Peace Accords the war hasn't ended because for us there is no peace. It has only changed forms. With the free trade agreement, there are new alliances and more people are coming into our lands. For a long time, if they were gringos, we were afraid, because we thought that everyone from the US and Canada were enemies. But now we understand that there are people who are fighting the same fight and so we ask youlet our voice be your voice."



chapter six

Creating Hope, Building Peace

Despite the shocking rise in violence against women in the region and the lack of effective governmental measures to stop it, the delegation found much cause for hope and action during the visits.

Women from Ciudad Juarez on the US-Mexico border to San Pedro Sula, Honduras are organizing to assure security for their families and themselves, to seek justice and to defend their homes. Often not recognized as human rights defenders, they have few allies and many opponents—government officials working with organized crime or for economic interests to exploit resources, police and military forces, criminal organizations that seek territorial control, transnational corporations seeking access to natural resources in their territories, members of their own organizations and communities, and even their husbands who try to hold them down in deeply patriarchal societies. In many cases they work in women's organizations or grassroots movements, but in others they are relatives of victims of the violence who have organized to demand justice and through their activity in pressuring the government taken on the societal role of human rights defenders.

In Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala, the delegation listened to hundreds of women organized in defense of their rights, and their lands and resources. In many cases, women's—especially indigenous and peasant women's—frontline resistance to land grabs and megaprojects is the heart of the struggles. Their role in defense of the earth and their place on it or, as they put it, the defense of life, has forced them to assume great risks.

In Guatemala, indigenous communities are carrying out community consultations on mining and hydroelectric and oil development projects. In the 55 consultations held to date, the communities overwhelmingly rejected these development projects in their territory. The government refuses to recognize the consultations as binding, although Guatemala signed ILO Convention 169 that mandates that indigenous peoples have a say in how their lands are used and by whom.

Women play a key role in local organization to oppose evictions and pollution of their land. San Miguel Ixtahuacan of Guatemala's San Marcos department is a prime example. The Canadian company Goldcorp runs the Montana open-pit mine there. In the pitched battle between the company and indigenous villagers, families and individuals have been attacked and evicted, communities divided, and protestors threatened, killed and imprisoned. But they vow to continue.



Women organizing in defense of their lands—Guatemala's Community Consultations

"There are historical documents that recognize the legacy of our ancestors, how they inherited the knowledge necessary to defend Mother Nature, which for us is the same as defending life itself... Transnational companies are invading the territory of indigenous peoples, and the national government authorizes it. They make money off the harm they do to the planet, irreversible harm to Mother Nature.

The community consultations that have taken place since 2005 are a means to defend the rights of Mother Nature that reflect our feelings about the development proposals of the mining companies. The royalties from the projects can never compensate the damage to Mother Nature. The consultations are a path toward dialogue and consensus, a way to build other kinds of relations among us and a place to give our views. The defense of the earth is the defense of every part of life." Mam leader, Guatemala

Many of the mining companies are Canadian. One message we heard frequently referred to the injustice of foreign companies coming into their communities without their permission and disrupting lives and taking resources.

"We're natives of our communities—our ancestors lived here, our grandparents, our parents; we were born here and live here. And the company wants to strip us of our lands... From our way of thinking, the company will take everything we have from us. Where will we live? What inheritance will we leave our children, our grandchildren? We're not going to let them take away our rights. They're Canadians and we are San Miguelans." Crisanta Perez, San Miguel Ixtahuacán, Guatemala

"The company has come in to deceive us, because we women don't know how to read or write and in this way they caused a big conflict in our community. I ask the government now that you are here to ask, that it withdraw the company from our village. They didn't tell us they were going to take out the gold, they're thieves in our community." Patrocinia Mejia Pérez, Mam, Guatemala

When we asked President Peréz Molina if the consultations would be respected, he replied that they were not binding and the government had another mechanism to provide information to communities to arrive at agreements.

Indigenous communities have called on the government to respect both their opinions and their own means of expressing them.



chapter seven

An Urgent Call to the International Community

The delegation concluded that it is urgent that the international community responds to the growing crisis of violence against women in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala. The problem has many causes, including increasingly militarized and patriarchal societies and current security policies supported by the US and Canadian governments that are doing much more harm than good. The lack of justice and economic pressures in the region greatly fuels violence against women.

Violations of social and economic rights to decent jobs, healthcare, education a safe and clean environment and living standards lie at the root of the increase in violence. Women reported severe discrimination in accessing these rights and clear negligence on the part of governments. Business interests present a grave threat to these rights. Governments, rather than enforcing protective laws, have been active in encouraging investments that violate the rights of citizens. Citizens in countries where transnational corporations are headquartered can pressure their governments and the corporations directly to respect rights and be accountable for damages.

Overall, we encountered government officials who recognize the problem of violence against women, who are taking some action, but who seemed disturbingly complacent about the need to arrive at immediate or even short-term solutions and in practice refuse to take measures that affect political and economic interests, including prosecution of government officials or security forces known to be guilty of committing or covering up crimes against women. Complicity and corruption are rampant. For this reason, we need to acknowledge that the main obstacle to ending violence against women is a lack of political will, rather than a shortage of technical knowledge or resources.



Many of the women we spoke to asked for us to tell their stories in our countries. Women's organizations and women in mixed organizations in all three countries recognize the value of strategic alliances and solidarity with women in the international community. Often they mentioned that precisely because these governments are contributing to the violence, they need women in the U.S. and Canada to speak up and support policy initiatives aimed at placing human rights firmly in the center of U.S. and Canadian policies. As the threats get worse, the urgency for cross-border alliances grows - as does the need to find ways to support Mexican, Honduran and Guatemalan women's agendas and courageous strategies.



"All of you who are taking notes, don't let our words stay inside of those machines you have—tell everyone out there that many sisters have been unjustly tortured."

Indigenous woman activist, Guatemala



The more we can help strengthen women and their networks, the safer they will be.



"We ask you to contribute to generating linkages with other sectors of international civil society to publicize, support and strengthen our efforts. We need to create ways to maintain permanent communication and coordination."

Dolores González, Serapaz, Mexico



The international delegation on violence against women didn't end in January 2012. Each delegate carries the commitment to make the voices of the women we met with heard throughout the world, especially in our own countries where misguided policies contribute to the violence. Together we can keep each other safer, and build lives and societies without violence.

As we find ways to do this in our organizations and in solidarity with women's organizations in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala, we must also pressure governments to immediately end policies that hurt women. We must demand a halt to militaristic approaches that violate human rights and foment conflict. And we must join together to call for *all* international aid and relations to be oriented toward building peace and democracy and strengthening human rights and equality.

Voices Silenced: Women Human Rights Defenders



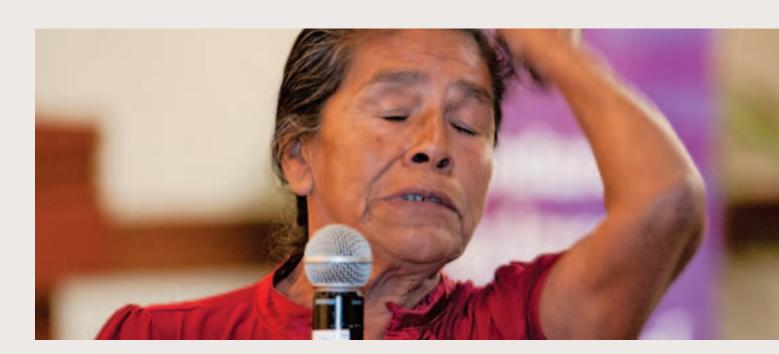
MARISELA ESCOBEDO, ACTIVIST AGAINST FEMICIDES, CHIHUAHUA, CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO. Marisela was shot dead as she protested outside the Chihuahua state government building on Dec. 16, 2010. She was demanding justice for the murder of her daughter Rubí Frayre after the murderer was absolved, then convicted but allowed to escape. Although Marisela had received numerous death threats, the government did not provide protective measures and there was no effort to detain her assailant. To date, Rubi's assassin has not been captured and Marisela's murder has not been solved. Days after the crime, the family business was burned down and Marisela's brother-in-law kidnapped and murdered.



MARIA MARGARITA CHUB CHE, COMMUNITY LEADER IN PARANÁ, PANZOS, ALTA VERAPAZ, GUATEMALA. Margarita was shot to death on June 4, 2011 at her home, at the age of 37. She was active in the Counsel of Communities of Polochic to demand justice for crimes of the past. Her community, along with others in the area, was evicted Mar. 15, 2011 by private security guards hired by a company and accompanied by members of the police and army. Chub worked to protest the evictions of the indigenous communities. She leaves two children; although arrest orders have been issued, to date no one has been captured or tried for her murder.



JOSEFINA REYES SALAZAR, ANTI-MILITARIZATION ACTIVIST AND HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDER, JUAREZ VALLEY, CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO. Josefina began her human rights work in 1992 to seek justice for the many femicides in Ciudad Juarez, Chi., Mexico. She was outspoken in denouncing crimes committed by the Mexican Army in her region and calling for demilitarization. She was assassinated on January 1, 2010. Five other members of her family have been assassinated; none of the crimes have been prosecuted to date.



chapter eight

What You Can Do

- 1. Prioritize human rights and women's human rights in foreign policymaking, international cooperation and citizen diplomacy. We urge you to pressure the governments of the U.S. and Canada, Honduras, Mexico and Guatemala to ensure that they uphold their responsibility to prevent violence and human rights violations, develop gender-sensitive mechanisms for protecting women human rights defenders, investigate complaints of human rights violations against women and against women human rights defenders using established protocols for dealing with gender-specific violations, prosecute violations and compensate survivors.
- 2. Publicly denounce violence against women and against women activists/human rights defenders, including the targeting of women human rights defenders. Diplomats, media and members of the international community can help end the climate of tolerance for targeted violence against women and women defenders by denouncing specific cases as they arise and demanding legal action.
- 3. Urge your legislators to design and adopt foreign aid programs that place human rights at the center of security and development. We urge you to ensure that technical and financial support provided by different international organizations and governments to the governments of Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras fully complies with, and respects, human rights standards and specific standards for women's human rights and gender-based violence, and does not contribute to the causal factors of the crisis in violence against women.

- 4. Respond to international action alerts on cases of women human rights defenders, which help pressure the governments of Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala to protect them and effectively address the lack of justice in cases of violence against women and women human rights defenders.
- 5. Support women and women's organizations at all levels in these countries to help bring an end to violence in the region and to protect women human rights defenders in this struggle for peace and justice. Investing in women's organizations involved in organizing women to fight for justice, to protect themselves from and to end violence in their community is a cost-effective, efficient and sustainable way of improving security and democracy for people in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala. Support women's rights work directly and ask your governments to earmark a greater proportion of foreign assistance to women's organizations.
- 6. Urge governments and corporations in your country to comply with indigenous peoples' rights to consultation and decision-making over land use in their territories, as defined by the ILO Convention 169 and other international and national laws. Demand enforcement of laws and international treaties on cases of damages caused by corporations in your countries.



chapter nine

Endnotes

Nobel Women's Initiative Delegation to Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala, 2012

DELEGATES

- Jody Williams, 1997 Nobel Peace Prize, President-Nobel Women's Initiative, USA
- Rigoberta Menchú Tum, 1992 Nobel Peace Prize, Nobel Women's Initiative, Guatemala
- Caryl Athanasiu, Vice President, Wells Fargo Bank, USA
- Lauren Embrey, President of the Embrey Family Foundation and CEO of Embrey Interests, Ltd., USA
- Lauren Wolfe, Journalist and Director of Women Under Seige, USA
- Lisa VeneKlasen, Executive Director, JASS (Just Associates), USA
- Maria Hinojosa, Broadcast Journalist and President of the Futuro Media Group, USA
- María Martin, Journalist, USA/Guatemala
- Martha Chaves, Comedian, Canada
- Nancy Word, Co-Founder of Impact Austin, USA
- Pamela Yates, Documentary Filmmaker, USA
- Patricia Gras, Journalist and TV producer, USA
- Paula Todd, Journalist, Canada
- Sara Vetter, Soul of Money Institute, USA
- Sarah Harmer, Singer/Songwriter, Co-founder of Protecting Escarpment Rural Land (PERL), Canada
- Tantoo Cardinal, Actor and Activist, Canada
- Veronica Arreola, Feminist Blogger and Director of Women in Science & Engineering Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago, USA

STAFF AND CONSULTANTS

- Aury Cuxé, Assistant to Rigoberta Menchú Tum, Guatemala
- Demetri López, Logistics Coordinator
- Diana Sarosi, Advocacy Manager, Nobel Women's Initiative, Canada
- Judy Rand, Photographer and videographer
- Kara Andrade, Photojournalist
- Kay Stubbs, Interpreter
- Kimberly MacKenzie,
 Online Media Coordinator,
 Nobel Women's Initiative, Canada
- Laura Carlsen, Documentation Consultant
- Liz Bernstein, Executive Director, Nobel Women's Initiative, Canada
- Rachel Vincent, Media Manager, Nobel Women's Initiative, Canada
- Ruth Warner, Interpreter



HOST COMMITTEES

MEXICO

National Network of Women Human Rights Defenders in Mexico

• Tlachinollan Human Rights Center

Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Montaña Tlachinollan is based in Tlapa de Comonfort and has worked for over 15 years in one of the poorest regions in Mexico: the Montaña and Costa Chica regions of the state of Guerrero, where poverty, discrimination, and abandonment of the indigenous communities are common and these communities are deprived of the right to justice and dignity. http://www.tlachinollan.org/

Consortium for Parliamentary Dialogue and Equality A.C

Consorcio para el Diálogo Parlamentario y la Equidad A.C, is a feminist organization founded in 1998 seeking to strengthen the political participation of women and the creation of a democratic and just society and rule of law by: influencing legislation in favor of women rights, involving civil organizations in the creation of legislation, maintaining an open dialogue between women's organizations, social movements and legislators, among others.

http://www.consorcio.org.mx/

Americas Program at the Center for International Policy

With more than 30 years of experience in Latin American news and analysis, the Americas Program of the Center for International Policy is a leading source of information for activists, academics and citizens concerned about US foreign policy toward Latin America and movements for social justice within the hemisphere. http://www.cipamericas.org/

JASS Mesoamerica (Asociadas por lo Justo)
 JASS Mesoamerica strengthens and leverages
 the collective power of women to promote justice,
 safety, and accountability in a context of impunity
 and violence.

http://www.justassociates.org/meso/index.htm

Andrea Medina

Feminist human rights lawyer and independent consultant with the Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales (PRODESC) and the network of defensoras in Mexico.

HONDURAS

Center for Women's Rights (CDM)

A social and feminist institution, *el Centro de Derechos de Mujeres* (CDM) is committed to defending and promoting women's human rights in Honduras through legal aid, legal education, advocacy and community organizing.

http://www.derechosdelamujer.org/

Center for Women's Studies-Honduras

Centro de Estudios de la Mujer-Honduras (CEM-H) is a legally constituted NGO since 1987, nationally and internationally recognized as one of the most important feminist organizations in Honduras, specialized in incidence and investigations on the situation of women in Honduras.

http://www.cemh.org.hn/

National Network of Women Human Rights Defenders in Honduras

Women for Life Forum

Foro de Mujeres por la Vida http://forodemujeresporlavidazonanorte.blogspot.com/

Committee of Relatives of the Disappeared in Honduras (COFADEH)

The Comité de Familiares de Detenidos
Desparecidos en Honduras (COFADEH) is a NGO
with national and international activities whose fundamental aim it is to fight against all different forms of impunity as well as to revive the memory of the victims.
http://www.cofadeh.org/

JASS Mesoamerica (Asociadas por lo Justo) JASS Mesoamerica strengthens and leverages the

collective power of women to promote justice, safety, and accountability in a context of impunity and violence. http://www.justassociates.org/meso/index.htm

Feminists in Resistance

Feministas en Resistencia (FER) is a broad-based alliance of diverse women and organizations from across Honduras who came together in response to the 2009 coup in Honduras to promote a return of democratic order and to protect democratic and women's rights gains over the last 20 years. http://feministascontraelgolpehn.blogspot.com/

Ninoska Benitez, nbolancho@yahoo.com

GUATEMALA

- National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG)
 Union Nacional de Guatemaltecas
 Founded in 1980 on International Women's Day,
 UNAMG is an autonomous feminist organization that
 promotes equal rights, social justice, and respect for
 ethnic and cultural diversity.
 http://unamg.org/v1/
- Association of Women for Feminist Studies (AMEF) Asociación de Mujeres para Estudios Feministas was founded on June 23, 2010, in Guatemala City in the context of a post-conflict patriarchal society, as an association committed politically, ideologically, and ethically to defending women's rights: the right to a life with dignity, to be heard, to holistic health, to the recognition of cultural knowledge, to social and political participation, justice, and ethnic diversity. http://amefguatemala.blogspot.com/

Sinergia No'j

Sinergia No'j was founded in 2006 with the objective of strengthening the leadership of social movements, in particular those of indigenous peoples, women and youth in Guatemala.

http://www.sinergianoj.org/index.php

- JASS Mesoamerica (Asociadas por lo Justo)
 JASS Mesoamerica strengthens and leverages the collective power of women to promote justice, safety, and accountability in a context of impunity and violence. http://www.justassociates.org/meso/index.htm
- Mayan Association Uk'ux B'e,

La Asociación Maya Uk'ux B'e is a Mayan organization with capacity to promote the reconstitution of the Mayan People (Mayab' Tinamit). From the perspective of Mayan cosmology and culture, the association aims to contribute to the inter-generational formation of Mayan leadership and the re-vindication and exercise of Mayan historic rights. Their main objectives include education, health, teaching and research. http://ukuxbe.org/Index.html

Unit for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Guatemala (UDEFEGUA)

La Unidad de Protección a Defensoras y Defensores de Derechos Humanos, Guatemala was founded in 2004 with the objective of promoting the security of human rights defenders in Guatemala and to contribute to the protection of the political space in which they work. http://www.udefegua.org/

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

During the 10-day visit to Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala, the delegation met with over 200 women activists and human rights defenders. Below is a list of all the organizations that were represented throughout five different gatherings in Mexico City, Chilpancingo, Tegucigalpa, Guatemala City, and Panajachel.

MEXICO

- · Alternativas Pacificas, AC
- Asociación Familiares Detenidos Desaparecidos
- Centro de Apoyo al Trabajador (CAT)
- Centro de Derechos de las Mujeres
- Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Montaña Tlachinollan
- Centro de Derechos Humanos de las Mujeres AC.
- Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez, AC (Centro Prodh)
- Centro Diocesano para los Derechos Humanos "Fray Juan de Larios"
- CIMAC (Comunicación e información de la Mujer)
- · Coalición para la Justicia en las Maquiladoras
- COLEM Colectivo de Mujeres
- Comité Cerezo
- Comité de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos-Hasta Encontrarlos
- Comité de Familiares de Victimas
- Consorcio para el Diálogo Parlamentario y la Equidad A.C,
- Coordinadora Regional de Autoridades Comunitarias (CRAC)
- ENLACE (Comunicación y Capacitación, A.C. – Guerreronlace)
- Equis Justicia para las Mujeres
- Fondo de Derechos Humanos Globales
- Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra-Mujeres del Frente de Atenco
- Grupo de Mujeres de San Cristóbal de las Casas (COLEM)
- Hijas de Campesinas Ecologistas Desaparecidos
- Hijos
- JASS Mesoamérica
- Las Libres
- Movimiento Campesino Regional Independiente

- Movimiento Nacional (MOCRI-CNPA-MN)
- Movimiento por la Paz
- Organización de Campesinos Ecologistas de la Sierra de Petatlán y de Coyuca de Catalán, A.C.
- Organización de Mujeres Ecologistas de la Sierra de Petatlán
- Organización del Pueblo Indígena Me´phaa
- Organización para el Futuro del pueblo Mixteco
- Programa de las Américas,
 Centro para la Política Internacional
- Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturarles, AC (PRODESC)
- Red Mesa de Mujeres de Ciudad Juárez (RMMCJ)
- · Red Nacional de Defensoras, México
- Tribunal Permanente de los Pueblos (TPP)
- Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México (UACM)
- Varias Victimas de Violencia Sexual

HONDURAS

- Asociación para el Desarrollo de la Península Zacate Grande (ADEPZA)
- CCT
- Centro de Derechos de la Mujer (CDM)
- Centro de Estudios de la Mujer-Honduras (CEM-H)
- Centro de Investigación y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos (CIPRODEH)
- Choloma
- Comité Ambiental del Valle de Siria
- Comité de Familiares de Detenidos Desparecidos en Honduras (COFADEH)
- Comité de Organizaciones Populares del Aguán (COPA)
- ESEM Aded Valle
- Feministas en Resistencia
- Foro de Mujeres por la Vida
- JASS Mesoamérica
- Red Choluteco
- Red Nacional de Defensoras, Honduras
- Red de Mujeres de Santa Barbara
- Red Mujeres La Paz
- Red Mujeres de Ojojona
- Red Mujeres San Luna
- · Varias Victimas de Violencia Sexual

GUATEMALA

- Asociación de Mujeres para Estudios Feministas (AMEF)
- Asociación Maya Uk´Ux B´e
- Comunidades de San Juan Sacatepequez
- Coordinadora Nacional para la Prevención de la Violencia Intrafamiliar y contra las Mujeres (CONAPREVI)
- Consejo de Pueblos K'iches
- Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial (ECAP)
- Fundación Sobrevivientes
- Grupo de Mujeres de San Miguel Ixtahuacán
- Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres
- JASS Mesoamérica
- La Voz de la Resistencia.
- Mamá Maquín
- Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas Tzununijá
- Mujeres Transformando el Mundo (MTM)
- Organización de Mujeres de San Miguel Ixtahuacán
- Procuradora de la Mujer
- Qnan Choch Uk'ux B'e, Chimaltenango
- Red de la No Violencia contra las Mujeres
- San Juan Sacatepequez
- San Miguel Ixtahuacán
- Sector de Mujeres
- Sí Vamos por la Paz
- Sinergia No´i
- Solidaridad Holanda
- Tierra Viva
- Unidad de Protección a Defensoras y Defensores de Derechos Humanos – Guatemala (UDEFEGUA)
- Unión Nacional de Mujeres Guatemaltecas (UNAM-G)
- Varias Victimas de Violencia Sexual
- Voces de Mujeres

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