**Appendix C: Thematic Codes for Interview Analysis**

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|  | Code\* | Explanation |
| Historicization | Personal history | Explanations of how respondents came to occupy their professional positions, become active in the women’s movement, and/or hold their political views, often drawing on childhood memories, educational background, wartime experiences, early experiences with mobilization or politicization, among other topics. |
| Organizational history | Discussions of how activist organizations formed, how they self-identified (feminist or not, associated with a political ideology, etc.), and their main foci and activities over time. |
| Women’s movement history | Reflections on the formation of the women’s movement, its development over time, its main priorities or debates over time, and/or particularly important turning points. |
| 1996 law history | Discussion of the events leading up to the passage of the Law against Intrafamilial Violence, with a focus on temporal order of events, proposals and debates. |
| 2008 law history | Discussion of the processes leading up to the passage of the Law against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women, with a focus on temporal order of events, debates, and earlier proposals. |
| Other reforms | Discussion of other legislation or policies respondents deemed relevant to the eventual passage of the Law against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women (for example, the Law for the Dignification and Integral Promotion of Women). |
| Views of VAW | VAW causes | Discussion of respondent’s or respondent’s organizations/institutions’ understandings of the primary factors that lead to VAW or that explain why Guatemala has such high rates of VAW.  |
| VAW effects | Discussion of the short, medium, or long-term effect of different forms of VAW, either for the individual or collective. |
| VAW over time | Discussion of how present-day VAW compares with, or is linked to, that of the past. |
| VAW forms | Discussion of most common or most damaging forms of VAW. |
| VAW emblematic cases | Discussion of particularly impactful cases for the respondent/organization, or particularly well-known cases of VAW that garnered international or national attention. |
|  Activist Strategies | Service provision | Discussion of direct services provided to women including domestic abuse shelters, legal aid, socio-economic projects, healthcare. |
| Community organizing | Discussion of activist and organizational activities including self-reflection groups, education in rights, political organizing at local level. |
| Protest | Discussion of disruptive protest tactics including marches, rallies, vigils in public spaces or government buildings. |
| Lobbying | Discussion of tactics that focus on developing relationships with, persuading, and negotiating with elected representative or political party or bureaucratic insiders. |
| Information politics | Discussion of efforts to pressure the government to collect and release VAW information, and/or activists’ efforts to collect, generate, and disseminate new knowledge about VAW (statistics, analyses of patterns of violence, testimonials). |
| Intra-movement dynamics | Priorities | Discussions on how and why certain issues became organizational or movement priorities, as well as which issues on which there was or was not consensus among women’s organizations. |
| Engaging the state | Discussions of debates and decision making related to engaging with the state to address women’s issues, including working with representatives or government insiders and focusing on state reform as way of addressing women’s concerns. |
| VAW discourse | Discussion about debates among activists, insiders, and other advocates about the use of “femicide” or “feminicide” to describe the gender-based killing of women. |
| NGOization | Reflection on debates about the strengths and limits of formalized organizational structures, government subcontracting, internationally funded project-based work. |
| Intra-movement networks | Discussion of the creation of intra-movement networks or collaborative efforts to address women’s concerns generally and VAW specifically. |
| Domestic and International Context | Insider allies | Discussion of government or party officials that supported women’s claims and/or networks between activists and government insiders, including individuals (legislative representative, bureaucrats, political party insiders) and institutions. |
| Insider resistance | Discussion of backlash or government or party officials that did not support women’s claims. |
| International support | Discussion of funding, information, or other forms of support provided by international actors (individuals, nongovernmental organizations, foreign governments). |
| Regional networks | Discussion of the formation and activities of horizontal networks with activists in other countries, as well as the importance of regional campaigns and institutions. |
| Peace Accords | Discussion of the opening and mobilizing around peace negotiations and their effects on civil society broadly and the women’s movement specifically, alongside discussions of the specific content of accords. |
| International accords  | Discussion of the importance of international gatherings such as World Conferences on Women as well as the passage/importance of international accords related to women’s rights such as CEDAW, Belém do Para, UN Declaration on the Elimination of VAW. |
| International norms | Discussion of international norms or international attention to issues of women’s rights including VAW and femicide/feminicide. |
| Democratization | Discussion of the importance, impact and/or limitations of the liberalization that took place in the mid-1980s for civil society generally and women’s mobilization specifically. |
| 1996 law political context | Discussion of political context leading up to and during passage of the Law Against Intrafamilial Violence including reflections on what was deemed politically feasible, partisanship, timing of legislative proposals. |
| 2008 law political context | Discussion of political context leading up to and during passage of the Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women including reflections on what was deemed politically feasible, partisanship, timing of legislative proposals. |
| Views of VAW reforms | 1996 law limitations | Critiques of the Law Against Intrafamilial Violence or discussions of its limitations. |
| 1996 law advances | Discussions of the advances or advantages of the Law Against Intrafamilial Violence. |
| 2008 law limitations | Critiques of the Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women or discussions of its limitations. |
| 2008 law advances | Discussions of the advances or advantages of the Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women. |

\*Codes are not mutually exclusive. Some quotes/sections were marked with multiple relevant codes.