

Guatemala (2013)

The Guatemalan government has taken steps towards improving the nation's telecommunications infrastructure, but Internet connectivity and access in Guatemala remain limited, particularly in rural areas. According to the International Telecommunication Union, in 2011, only 11.7 percent of Guatemalans used the Internet.¹ Although the nation's constitution protects freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and individual privacy, government officials routinely violate these rights. Recent constitutional reforms have legalized various electronic surveillance techniques that threaten online privacy. ONI tests on Guatemala's largest ISPs show no evidence of Internet filtering by the Guatemalan government.

Background

Guatemala is a constitutional democratic republic under the leadership of President Otto Fernando Pérez Molina of the Partido Patriota (Patriotic Party), who took office in January 2012. Molina succeeded Álvaro Colom of the social-democratic political party, Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (National Unity of Hope or UNE), who had been in office since 2008.²

Over the latter half of the twentieth century, Guatemala endured decades of civil war between government military forces, the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity or URNG) guerilla army, and right-wing paramilitary groups, during which an estimated 200,000 people either were killed or disappeared.³ During the civil war, Guatemala became one of the most dangerous countries in the world for investigative journalists.⁴ Though the 1985 constitution explicitly protects press freedom and certain journalists' rights,⁵ journalists investigating crime and police and government corruption continue to face threats from state officials and leaders of organized crime groups.⁶

Six major daily newspapers are published in the country, all of which are based in Guatemala City, the nation's capital, and are also available online.⁷ Over six hundred radio stations also operate in the country, many of which are independently run.⁸ As in many countries in the region, political and financial leaders in Guatemala form part of a small and highly interconnected elite that wield a powerful influence over the media. Mexican media tycoon Remigio Ángel González, who has been an active fundraiser for the campaigns of several right-wing politicians, owns all four of Guatemala's private television networks, in spite of laws against both foreign ownership and media monopolies.⁹ In 2001, national daily newspaper *elPeriodico* exposed the corrupt practices of former Minister of Communications Luis Rabbé, a brother-in-law and former employee of Angel González.¹⁰ Reporters at *elPeriodico* were later threatened by Rabbé's supporters and suspected that González was behind these threats.¹¹ The country has witnessed numerous similar incidents over the last several decades, in which political leaders have used threats and intimidation tactics to discourage journalists from investigating political corruption.¹² This has not only served to normalize corrupt practices, but also to increase self-censorship among journalists. In 2012, Guatemala's Congress voted to ban members of the press from attending certain congressional sessions, despite internal opposition on the matter.¹³

The pervasive presence of organized crime groups and drug cartels, many of which work with Mexican cartels trafficking drugs to the United States, has also negatively affected journalism in Guatemala.¹⁴ The national press freedom advocacy group CERIGUA reported that 36 violations of

press freedom took place in 2012, ranging from threats of violence or death to instances of censorship in print and broadcast media.¹⁵ The group reports that two journalists have been killed in Guatemala in 2013, but motives in these killings have not been confirmed.¹⁶ Reports by various press freedom advocacy groups indicate that journalists have deliberately limited their coverage of organized crime, drug trafficking, and political corruption because of the threat of violent retaliation by the groups and insufficient protection from persecution by public authorities.¹⁷ In an October 2012 report, CERIGUA asserted that threats from organized crime groups, including drug cartels, were the leading cause of media censorship in the country.¹⁸

Although only 11.7 percent of Guatemalans have access to the Internet, information and communications technologies have nevertheless begun to play a critical role in exposing incidents of government corruption and crime. After the assassination of prominent attorney Rodrigo Rosenberg on May 10, 2009, a pre-recorded video was released on YouTube in which Rosenberg accused President Colom of committing multiple acts of political corruption. In the video, Rosenberg asserted that if he were to be murdered, the president would be directly responsible.¹⁹ The video triggered protests both on and offline calling for the president's resignation. After performing an independent investigation of the case, the Comisión Internacional contra la Impunidad en Guatemala (International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala or CICIG) concluded that Rosenberg had plotted the murder himself in order to frame the president and spark social unrest.²⁰ In the wake of the scandal surrounding Rodrigo Rosenberg's death, the public blogging platform WordPress.com was blocked on multiple ISPs in the country for several days. Twitter users speculated that Chapintocables,²¹ a WordPress blog created during the scandal on which contributors commented on political corruption in the country, might have been the target of the censorship.²²

Since this incident, the Guatemalan government has become increasingly wary of the power of social media. Months after the Rosenberg scandal, Twitter user Jean Anleu Fernández sent a tweet encouraging his followers to divest from the state-owned bank, Banrural, as a first step towards "bankrupt[ing] the bank of the corrupt." Fernández was detained for inciting "financial panic," a crime in Guatemala, and was ordered to pay a \$6,500 fine.²³ This angered many bloggers and members of the Twitter community, who launched an online campaign to help him pay the fines and legal fees.²⁴ He was soon released; in December 2009, the Supreme Court of Justice ruled that he had not committed a crime of financial panic.²⁵ The incident is now known as Guatemala's "Twitter Revolution."²⁶

Internet in Guatemala

Guatemala connected to the global Internet in 1992, through the Americas Region Caribbean Ring System (ARCOS-1) and the SAM-1 submarine fiber optic system.²⁷ The .gt domain is administrated by the Universidad del Valle de Guatemala,²⁸ and the nation has nearly thirty ISPs.²⁹ The Guatemalan government has expressed a commitment to expanding Internet connectivity, but congressional budget allocations for technological infrastructure development are low relative to other nations in the region.³⁰

The Secretary of Science and Technology reported in 2007 that just over two percent of Guatemalans have Internet connections in their homes; the government has not released new figures in this area since that time.³¹ The telecommunications industry association GSMA reported in 2010 a fixed broadband penetration rate of 15.8 percent; GSMA also reported that 53 percent of

OpenNet Initiative Country Profile

Guatemalans owned cell phones and that 24 percent of these phones were Internet capable.³² In addition to private connections, many Guatemalans are able to access the Internet at telecommunications centers where pay telephones and computers with Internet access are available for public use.³³ The government has also established several community Internet centers where citizens may access the web and participate in digital education classes.³⁴

In 2007, the Guatemalan Ministry of Education launched an initiative called Escuelas del Futuro (Schools of the Future) with support from Qualcomm Inc., telecommunications company TELGUA, education foundation FunSEPA, and USAID. Through this program, the Guatemalan Ministry of Education has provided computers, Internet access, and digital education curricula to 54 of the nation's secondary schools.³⁵ ³⁶ Intecap, a state-owned technical training company, and several state universities have begun offering distance and e-learning opportunities for adults online.³⁷

Beyond government efforts, NGOs such as Enlace Quiché,³⁸ RAGIE³⁹ and CEIBA⁴⁰ have created programs that aim to increase Internet connectivity and access opportunities. The Mesoamerican Information and Technology Highway, an organization funded in part by the Inter-American Development Bank, is in the process of building a broadband network that will improve national Internet access.⁴¹

High levels of illiteracy and language barriers have a significant impact on how Guatemalans experience the Internet. At 74.5 percent, Guatemala's literacy rate is among the lowest in the Americas.⁴² In many rural areas, indigenous languages such as Quiché Maya are often the primary languages spoken, rather than Spanish, and web content is seldom available in these languages. Local and international NGOs such as Kyosei Cities and the Council for Mayan Communications are working to change this by creating multilingual platforms for digital learning and political participation that are geared towards indigenous communities.⁴³ ⁴⁴ Cholsamaj, a publishing house that exclusively serves indigenous authors, has begun publishing these works (along with Spanish translations) online.⁴⁵

In 2006, *The Scotsman* reported that Broadband Bridge Services, a Scottish Internet Service Provider, was under contract in Guatemala to develop and distribute an Internet filtering and monitoring service called GuardianBox for individual household or business use. GuardianBox can block access to content deemed inappropriate for children and can be used by companies to monitor employees' Internet use.⁴⁶ Subsequent reports on the use of GuardianBox in Guatemala are unavailable; whether the government or individual ISPs have implemented the software is unclear.

Legal and Regulatory Framework

Guatemala is a member of the United Nations and the Organization of American States and is signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights⁴⁷ and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.⁴⁸ Article 35 of the Guatemalan Constitution guarantees freedom of opinion, and Article 9 guarantees freedom of the press.⁴⁹ Yet recent laws have undermined these constitutional guarantees, putting free expression in danger in Guatemala in both print and online media.

The Ley de Emisión del Pensamiento (Law on Expression of Thought) is the primary law regulating freedom of speech in Guatemala. Under this law, no person may be harassed or persecuted for his

or her opinions.⁵⁰ The law prohibits the forcible closure of newspapers and the refusal to grant press or broadcast licenses to media organizations. The law also outlaws libel, slander, and treason in printed form, and stipulates that the author of any publication containing an opinion that the judiciary considers to be subversive, morally damaging, or “disrespectful” of private life may be subject to punishment.⁵¹

The Law on Expression of Thought explicitly requires newspapers that have incorrectly attributed acts to or published false information about people or entities to publish any corrections, explanations, or refutations sent to them by those they have accused.⁵² In cases of printed material that involves treason, is subversive, is “damaging to morals,” or contains slander or libel, newspapers may be subject to a trial by jury; decisions may be appealed within 48 hours. The law makes an exception when the offended party is a government employee or official: if the offending content concerns “purely official acts” related to government work, the case will be judged in a “court of honor,” and the decision will be final and closed to appeal.⁵³

The Ley de Orden Público (Law of Public Order) states that if the government has declared the country to be “in a state of siege,” journalists must “refrain from publishing anything that might cause confusion or panic.”⁵⁴

In 2012, the Ley General de Telecomunicaciones (General Law of Telecommunications) was reformed to allow for the automatic renewal of spectrum licenses for television and radio frequencies for those who had leased them previously. Press freedom groups and local UN representatives criticized the change, arguing that it would restrict the rights and capabilities of community television and radio groups.⁵⁵ Two radio stations and six local TV channels have been closed down since the legislation was passed.⁵⁶

The Ley de Protección Integral de la Niñez y Adolescencia (Law on the Protection of Children and Adolescents) permits the restriction of content for children younger than eighteen years of age if it is deemed harmful to their development. Media outlets and organizers of public events are required to evaluate and classify programmed content according to this law.⁵⁷

Guatemala altered its Penal Code to include cybercrime in 2000.⁵⁸ Under the Inter-American Convention Against Terrorism, which the Guatemalan Congress ratified in 2006, banking institutions are required to disclose to the government the personal and financial information of all customers who perform online transactions.⁵⁹

Surveillance

Under the Ley Contra la Delincuencia Organizada (Law Against Organized Crime), the government may record and monitor the conversations of any individual in person, by telephone, or online, provided that it has obtained a judicial warrant to do so.⁶⁰ The Ley de Dirección General de Inteligencia Civil (Law of the Direction of Civil Intelligence) calls for the establishment of a state counterintelligence division to monitor potential terrorist activity using electronic surveillance methods.⁶¹ In 2007 the Law of the Direction of Civil Intelligence and the Law Against Organized Crime were challenged in the nation’s constitutional court.⁶² The court upheld both laws as necessary for guaranteeing public safety, even though they stand in violation of constitutional laws that protect privacy and freedom of expression.⁶³

Article 31 of the Constitution guarantees the citizen's right to know and obtain any information about himself that appears in public record; he also has the right to know why the record is being kept, and to request updates to the record.⁶⁴

Despite its expansive legal powers, the government has allegedly engaged in extralegal surveillance operations in recent years. In 2006, *Prensa Libre*, one of Guatemala's most popular and respected newspapers, reported that several of its phones had been tapped without judicial authorization, either by military intelligence officers or by individual government officials.⁶⁵ In January 2007, the NGO Seguridad en Democracia (Security in Democracy) accused the government of engaging in widespread electronic surveillance of the civilian population.⁶⁶ In October 2008, former president Colom found cameras and audio recording devices hidden in his offices and home. Many believed that the president was placed under surveillance due to allegations that he had been involved with an organized crime group.⁶⁷

In November 2008, the Public Prosecutors Office, the Ministry of the Interior, and CICIG signed the Inter-institutional Agreement for the Establishment and Implementation of a Wire Tapping System. Under the agreement, a wiretapping center would be established and administered by the Office of the Public Prosecutor and the Ministry of the Interior.⁶⁸

In June 2009, the Reglamento para la Aplicación de Métodos Especiales de Averiguación (Regulation on the use of special investigatory methods) was approved; this law obligates private telecommunications companies and service providers to collaborate in police investigations by recording and releasing the communicational exchanges of their customers. Police may request a recording of any electronic conversation that may pertain to a criminal investigation.⁶⁹

ONI Testing Results

In May 2011, ONI conducted tests on three Guatemalan Internet Service Providers (ISPs): Unisky, Telgua, and Comcel. Testing revealed no evidence of Internet filtering. Popular blogging service WordPress, which in 2009 was reported to be blocked in Guatemala on the ISPs Telgua and Comcel, was accessible at the time of testing.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Although the government has expressed a commitment to increasing public Internet access and connectivity, Guatemala's Internet penetration rate remains relatively low, and illiteracy and language barriers prevent many Guatemalans from participating in online activity. Many Guatemalans who do have Internet access have begun to use online social networks to engage in political debate and activism, and these digital networks have become powerful tools for revealing cases of government corruption. In spite of laws protecting freedom of expression and preventing indiscriminate surveillance, the government has been accused of performing illegal acts of surveillance, invading the privacy of human rights activists and members of the press. Although ONI tests showed no evidence of Internet filtering in Guatemala, recent events suggest that online surveillance may become more prevalent as more Guatemalans gain Internet access.

Notes

¹ "TTU ICT Eye: Guatemala," International Telecommunication Union, <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ICTEYE/DisplayCountry.aspx?code=GUA>.

-
- ² “Álvaro Colom Caballeros,” Gobierno de Álvaro Colom, <http://www.guatemala.gob.gt/pres.php>.
- ³ Human Rights Watch, “Guatemala: Events of 2009,” <http://www.hrw.org/en/world-report-2010/Guatemala>.
- ⁴ Marylene Smeets, “Speaking Out: Postwar Journalism in Guatemala and El Salvador,” Committee to Protect Journalists, August 11, 1999, <http://cpj.org/reports/1999/08/guatemala11august99.php/>.
- ⁵ Republic of Guatemala, 1985 Constitution with 1993 Reforms, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Guate/guate93.html>.
- ⁶ “Attacks on the Press in 2008: Guatemala,” Committee to Protect Journalists, <http://cpj.org/2009/02/attacks-on-the-press-in-2008-guatemala.php>.
- ⁷ “Guatemala: News,” Latin American Network Information Center, University of Texas at Austin, <http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/ca/guatemala/>.
- ⁸ Press Reference, “Guatemala: Press, media, TV, radio, newspapers,” 2007, <http://www.pressreference.com/FaGu/Guatemala.html/>.
- ⁹ “Attacks on the Press 2001: Guatemala,” Committee to Protect Journalists, <http://cpj.org/2002/03/attacks-on-the-press-2001-guatemala.php>.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Marylene Smeets, “Speaking Out: Postwar Journalism in Guatemala and El Salvador,” Committee to Protect Journalists, August 11, 1999, <http://cpj.org/reports/1999/08/guatemala11august99.php/>.
- ¹³ “Roxana Baldetti: Es un error bloquear a la prensa,” *Prensa Libre*, February 14, 2012, http://www.prensalibre.com/noticias/Baldetti-error-bloquear-Prensa_0_646135394.html.
- ¹⁴ Monica Medel, “Guatemala tras los pasos de México: Cómo ser periodista en tiempos violentos?” Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas Blog, July 12, 2011, <https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/es/comment/reply/6597>.
- ¹⁵ “Libertad de Expresión en Guatemala 2012: Luces, sombras e incertidumbres,” Cerigua, February 2013, <http://www.youblisher.com/p/581072-LIBERTAD-DE-EXPRESION-EN-GUATEMALA-2012-Luces-sombras-e-incertidumbres/>.
- ¹⁶ “Media owner killed in Guatemala,” IFEX.org, April 9, 2013, http://www.ifex.org/guatemala/2013/04/09/lemus_killed/. See also “Guatemalan Journalist Shot Dead,” IFEX.org, March 22, 2013, http://www.ifex.org/guatemala/2013/03/22/jarquín_killed/.
- ¹⁷ Carolina Gamazo, “Disminuyen las violaciones a la libre expresión [Freedom of expression violations decrease],” *Prensa Libre*, April 11, 2011, http://www.prensalibre.com/noticias/justicia/Disminuyen-violaciones-libre-expresion_0_460753944.html.
- ¹⁸ “Continúan ataques, agresiones y censura contra prensa guatemalteca,” CERIGUA, October 2012, http://cerigua.org/1520/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10910:continuan-ataques-agresiones-y-censura-contraprensa-guatemalteca&catid=48:libertad-de-expresion&Itemid=10.
- ¹⁹ “Rodrigo Rosenberg’s declarations,” YouTube, May 12, 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZS3bYjI40&>.
- ²⁰ Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad en Guatemala, “Presentación de Caso Rosenberg, [Results of Rosenberg investigation],” January 12, 2010, http://cicig.org/uploads/documents/Presentacion_Caso_Rosenberg.pdf.
- ²¹ Chapintocables, “Quiénes Somos? [Who are we?]” <http://chapintocables.wordpress.com/about/>.
- ²² Rebekah Heacock, “WordPress blocked in Guatemala,” OpenNet Initiative, June 29, 2009, <http://opennet.net/blog/2009/06/wordpress-blocked-guatemala>.
- ²³ “Caso [Rosenberg],” YouTube, May 14, 2009, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-rL06zPI_A&.
- ²⁴ “Guatemala police arrest Twitter user for ‘inciting financial panic,’” *The Guardian*, May 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/may/15/guatemala-twitter-jean-anleu-fernandez>. See also: “Capturan a usuario de la red social Twitter por crear pánico financiero [Twitter user taken into custody for generating financial panic],” *Prensa Libre*, May 15, 2009, <http://www.prensalibre.com.gt/pl/2009/mayo/14/314279.html>.
- ²⁵ “No hubo pánico financiero en el caso del Twittero [There was no financial panic in the Twitter case],” *La*

Hora, December 29, 2009, <http://www.lahora.com.gt/notas.php?key=60397&fch=2009-12-29>.

26 “BB on GOOD: The “Twitter Revolution” - Social media meets social unrest in Guatemala,” *Boing Boing*, June 1, 2009, <http://boingboing.net/2009/06/01/bb-on-good-the-twitt.html>.

See also: “The Twitter Revolution,” *Good*, May 29, 2010, <http://www.good.is/post/the-twitter-revolution/?show=latest>.

27 Columbus Networks, <http://www.columbus-networks.com/>.

See also: Federal Communications Commission, “Application for a License to Land and Operate in the United States a Private Submarine Fiber Optic Cable Network Extending Between Florida, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Guatemala,” August 9, 2009, <http://www.fcc.gov/Bureaus/International/Orders/2000/da001826.txt>.

28 “Políticas de Registro [Registration policies],” <http://www.gt/politicas.html>.

29 International Telecommunication Union, “Guatemala: ICT Statistics 2009,” http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/icteye/Reporting/ShowReportFrame.aspx?ReportName=/WTI/InformationTechnologyPublic&RP_intYear=2008&RP_intLanguageID=1.

30 El Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, “Indicadores de actividades científicas, tecnológicas y de innovación 2005 [Indicators on scientific, technological and innovation activities],” 2007, http://www.concyt.gob.gt/attachments/088_INFORME%20FINAL%202005%20_2_.pdf.

31 *Ibid.*

32 “Latin American Mobile Observatory 2011,” Groupe Speciale Mobile Association, <http://www.gsma.com/publicpolicy/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/latammoeng.pdf>.

33 El Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, “Telecentros [Telecenters],”

http://www.concyt.gob.gt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=227%3Atelecentros&catid=90%3Apuntos-de-acceso&Itemid=253/

34 El Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, “Centros Comunitarios Digitales [Digital community centers],” http://www.concyt.gob.gt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=90%3Apuntos-de-acceso&id=226%3Acentros-comunitarios-digitales&Itemid=253.

35 “Qualcomm and TELGUA Bring Wireless Connectivity to 15 Rural Schools in Guatemala” Qualcomm, April 23, 2007 <http://www.qualcomm.com/media/releases/2007/04/23/qualcomm-and-telgua-bring-wireless-connectivity-15-rural-schools-guatemala>.

36 Ministerio de Educación, “Escuelas del Futuro [Schools of the future],” <http://www.mineduc.gob.gt/portal/index.asp>.

37 Intecap e-Learning, <http://www.intecap.edu.gt/>.

38 Enlace Quiché, <http://www.enlacequiche.org>.

39 Red Avanzada Guatemalteca para la Investigación y Educación [Guatemala advanced network for research and education], <http://www.ragie.org.gt/>.

40 CEIBA, <http://www.ceibaguatemala.org/>.

41 Iniciativa de Integración de los Servicios de Telecomunicaciones, “La autopista mesoamericana de la información [Mesoamerican information highway],” November 14, 2006, <http://www.iadb.org/IDBDocs.cfm?docnum=848414/>.

42 United Nations Development Programme, “Guatemala Country Profile: Human Development Indicators 2011,” <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/99.html>.

43 Kyosei Project, <http://www.kyosei.org/index.php/>.

44 Council for Mayan Communications, <http://mayacom.org/>.

45 Karina Portocarerro, “Primera editorial indígena a nivel mundial [The first indigenous publisher in the world],” *The Guatemala Times*, May 11, 2008, <http://www.guatemala-times.com/espanol/barbarita/198-primera-editorial-indigena-a-nivel-mundial.html>.

46 “Scottish Business Briefing – March 22,” *The Scotsman*, March 22, 2006, <http://www.scotsman.com/business/Scottish-Business-Briefing--March.2760901.jp>.

47 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Human Rights by Country,” <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/Pages/HumanRightsintheWorld.aspx>.

48 “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,” United Nations Treaty Collection,

http://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-4&chapter=4&lang=en.

⁴⁹ Republic of Guatemala, 1985 Constitution with 1993 Reforms, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Guate/guate93.html>.

⁵⁰ Decree 9, Ley de Emisión del Pensamiento [Law on the Expression of Thought], Congress of the Republic of Guatemala,

<http://www.oj.gob.gt/es/QueEsOJ/EstructuraOJ/UnidadesAdministrativas/CentroAnalisisDocumentacionJudicial/cds%20leyes/2006/pdfs/normativa/D009.pdf>

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, “Reports on the Situation of Human Rights in the Republic of Guatemala, Chapter VII: Freedom of Thought and Expression,” Organization of American States, October 13, 1981, <http://www.cidh.org/countryrep/Guatemala81eng/chap.7.htm>.

⁵³ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, “Reports on the Situation of Human Rights in the Republic of Guatemala, Chapter V: Freedom of Expression,” Organization of American States, October 5, 1983, <http://www.cidh.org/countryrep/Guatemala83eng/chap.5.htm>.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Tania Lara, “Community radio stations say new communications law in Guatemala tunes them out,” Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, December 5, 2011,

<https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/blog/community-radio-stations-say-new-communications-law-guatemala-tunes-them-out>.

⁵⁶ Tania Lara, “Two community radio stations, six local TV channels shut down in Guatemala,” Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, May 11, 2012, <https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/blog/00-10089-two-community-radio-stations-six-local-tv-channels-shut-down-guatemala>.

⁵⁷ Decree 27- 2003, Ley de Protección Integral de la Niñez y Adolescencia [Law on the Protection of Children and Adolescents], Congress of the Republic of Guatemala,

<http://www.congreso.gob.gt/archivos/decretos/2003/gtdcx27-2003.pdf/>.

⁵⁸ “A fine balance: Mapping cyber (in)security in Latin America,” Igarape Institute and The SecDev Foundation, June 2012,

https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B4_q2kV2AqfVWXdlNEZkbXFTUGc/edit?pli=1

⁵⁹ Decree 86-2006, Reglamento de la Ley para Prevenir y Reprimir el Financiamiento del Terrorismo [Regulation of the Law to Prevent and Suppress The Financing of Terrorism], March 2, 2006,

http://www.congreso.gob.gt/gt/mostrar_acuerdo.asp?id=16372.

⁶⁰ Decree 21-2006, Ley Contra la Delincuencia Organizada [Law Against Organized Crime], August 10, 2006, http://www.congreso.gob.gt/gt/mostrar_ley.asp?id=12907.

⁶¹ Decree 71-2005, Ley de la Dirección de Inteligencia Civil [Law of the Direction of Civil Intelligence], November 11, 2005, http://www.congreso.gob.gt/gt/mostrar_ley.asp?id=12854.

⁶² “Impugnación de las escuchas [Contestation of wiretappings],” *El Periódico*, June 15, 2007, <http://www.elperiodico.com.gt/es/20070615/opinion/40687/>.

⁶³ Expediente 2837-2006, Constitutional Court of Guatemala, January 5, 2008.

⁶⁴ “Guatemala: 1985 Constitution with 1993 reforms,” Georgetown University Law Center, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/constitutions/guate/guate93.html>.

⁶⁵ Albedrío, “¿Cuál es la transparencia del Mingob? [How transparent is the Ministry of Governance?],”

October 5, 2006, <http://www.albedrio.org/htm/otrosdocs/comunicados/gam-053.htm>. See also: Amnesty International, “Guatemala: Defensores y Defensoras de Los Derechos Humanos en Peligro [Human rights defenders in peril],” August 1, 2006.

<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ESLAMR340162006?open&of=ESL-GTM>; Carlos Menocal,

“Intervenciones telefónicas sin control (Wiretapping without control),” November 5, 2006,

<http://www.prensalibre.com/pl/2006/noviembre/05/155661.html>.

⁶⁶ Albedrío, “Peligrosa acción de espionaje gubernamental [A dangerous act of government espionage],” January 23, 2007, <http://www.albedrio.org/htm/otrosdocs/comunicados/sedem-001.htm>.

⁶⁷ “Mics, cameras found in Guatemalan presidential palace,” *CNN*, September 5, 2008,

<http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/americas/09/05/guatemala.spy/index.html>.

OpenNet Initiative Country Profile

⁶⁸ Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad en Guatemala, “ Acuerdo Interinstitucional para establecer e implementar el Sistema de escuchas telefónicas,” November 24, 2008,

<http://cicig.org/uploads/kristen/Convenios/Convenio%20Interceptaciones%20Telefonicas%20MG-MP-CICIG.pdf>

⁶⁹ Acuerdo Gubernativo 158-2009, Reglamento para la Aplicación de Métodos Especiales de Averiguación [Regulation on the use of special investigatory methods], Ministerio de Gobernación de Guatemala, http://sgp.gob.gt/PaginaWeb/PEsp/AG2009_Esp.htm.

⁷⁰ Renata Avila, “WordPress.com blocked in Guatemala,” *Global Voices Advocacy*, June 6, 2009, <http://advocacy.globalvoicesonline.org/2009/06/29/wordpresscom-blocked-in-guatemala/>.