

# The prevalence of gender-based violence in Peru

Risk factors and influence of historical memory



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## Abstract

Gender-based violence is an increasing and prevalent trend worldwide. A disastrous outcome of gender-based violence occurs when women and girls are being intentionally killed on the basis of their gender. Gender-based violence and gender-related killings of females are on an alarming and increasing tendency, which also can be observed in Peru. It is estimated that every 2 days a woman is murdered on the account of simply being a woman.

This thesis aims to investigate the pressing social problem of gender-based violence in Peru, while simultaneously examining the role of historical memory in current society. The aspect of historical memory emerged from the deep-rooted trauma Peru seemingly still endures in present day, as a result from the over-decade long internal war. During the internal conflict, up to 70,000 people were killed or disappeared. Terrorism and violent episodes were widespread, and even women became victims to all types of violence mainly by military aggressors.

This thesis is guided by a social constructivist approach and utilizes Intersectionality as an analytic strategy. The theories employed, with the purpose of answering the research question, are the Feminist Ecological Model and the Four Dimensions of Historical Memory. In the analysis the Feminist Ecological Model highlights the influencing factors to gender-based violence as the following: Gender inequality, the police force, the education system and social spendings on the macrosystem layer and exosystem layer, as introduced by the theoretical framework. The factor in regard to gender inequality sheds light on the critical problem of underrepresentation in terms of gender, race and class. Further, the analysis confirms the importance of the education system in regard to accessibility and implementation of the gender approach in the curriculum. The poorly trained police officers and the ill-treatment of victims of gender-based violence are revealed in the analysis as well. Furthermore, the analysis regarding Historical Memory proves a connection between the violence from the internal war and the increasing violence against women in current Peruvian society. The normalization of violence and the impunity of it are consequences of the war, which even further enables women to become victims the patriarchal system. The conflict and the silence of it in following years have failed in bringing justice to the victims of gender-based violence during the war, which subsequently has influenced the violence we see today

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## 1.0 Introduction

According to UNODC (2019,10), in 2017 87000 women were victims of gender-related killings. In 2019, Peru reported 166 cases of femicide, a term used in research, in politics and in law to describe the intentional murder of women and girls (WHO 2012; MIMP 2019a). Around 63,2 percent of women in Peru have experienced some form of violence at the hand of their husband or cohabiting partner (INEI 2019, 51). Furthermore, and despite homicide rates decreasing worldwide in recent years, femicide rates have continued to increase, which may indicate that issues caused by gender inequality are not considered in relation to global preventive measures (United Nations 2019). The ongoing increase in statistical indicators of femicide and violence against women reflect the importance of addressing the phenomenon, as well as the necessity to improve the conditions in which girls grow up. Although Peru is considered to be a democratic country, it could be argued that the prevalence of violence against women in Peruvian society disables the country from achieving a true democracy. Thus, gender-based violence represents a violation of human rights, which the Peruvian state has the duty to eradicate (INEI 2019, 11).

It is important to mention that violence has been a serious feature of the country's recent history. Starting in 1980 and up to late 1990s, Peru experienced more than a decade-long internal war, during which the Communist Party of Peru (known as the Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path) engaged in a campaign of violence that terrorized the nation (Kirk & Thomas 1992; Boesten 2018, 167). During these brutal years, many civilians died, and many girls and women, particularly in remote areas of Peru, were the victims of threats, rape and murder, committed both by the insurgent forces and the Peruvian army. These attacks on women, especially at the hands of military forces, have since been underreported, if not completely ignored. This has left the victims to deal with the many consequences and enduring psychological damage caused by the violence while being erased from the traditional narrative surrounding the conflict. The effects of this violent past are still very much felt in the country, contributing, for instance, to the gender inequality and unequal power dynamics still present today (ibid.).

The pressing social problem of femicide and violence against women, whether it be psychological, verbal, physical, or sexual, briefly mentioned above has spurred a series of policy changes in Peru (INEI 2019, 11). However, and despite the implementation of preventive measures, violence against women continues to rise. Regarding this, there were 121 cases of

femicide in 2017, 149 cases in 2018, and 166 cases in 2019 (MIMP 2019a). This continual rise in rates of gender-based violence illustrates the need for further examination of the influencing factors. It also leads me to wonder the extent to which the country's violent past still influences the current situation. Keeping all of this in mind, this thesis will seek to answer the following research questions:

*Why is Peru seeing an increase of violence against women? And how is this influenced by historical memory?*

I aim to answer my research question utilizing the Feminist Ecological Model along with risk factors presented by World Health Organization. The relevant risk factors are gender inequality and reduction in social spending on the macrosystem layer and in addition, the education system, criminalization of perpetrators and number of police on the exosystem layer. Subsequently, I will use the framework with four dimensions of Historical Memory by Zheng Wang in order to incorporate the historical aspect of influence on society and people. Lastly, and in order to ensure the analysis goes beyond simplistic and one-dimensional arguments and considers a wide variety of perspectives, an intersectional lens will be employed throughout the development of the research.

## 2.0 Methodology

The purpose of this paper is to identify and understand the most prominent risk factors to gender-based violence in Peru, and thus obtain a better grasp of why the problem has dominated and has been exacerbated across Peru. Furthermore, I intend to examine the connection hypothesized to exist between the Peruvian armed conflict's violent years and the current climate. In order to do so, I will employ the theory of Historical Memory, thus enabling a discussion section commenting on this hypothesis. The intention is therefore to contribute to the literature of gender-based violence. Throughout this thesis violence against women will be used interchangeably with gender-based violence. Further, this investigation will examine Peru on a national level in order to produce an image of the current situation of the increasing violence

against women. However, certain parts of this paper will be limited to specific areas of Peru due to the relevance of this regarding certain sections of this thesis.

The methodological tools and the causality of the choices made in this thesis will be discussed in the following sections. Sub-section 2.1 will delve into the epistemological considerations at play in this research as well as touch upon the overall approach to this thesis. Meanwhile, sub-section 2.2 will present an overview of the theories, hence assessing the choices of the theories and the structure of the thesis. Sub-section 2.3 will provide details on how data was obtained, while the last sub-section will address some methodological limitations.

## 2.1 Epistemological Considerations

Epistemology is directly concerned “with knowledge and how people come to have knowledge” (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis 2005, 13 cited in Compton-Lilly 2012, 35). ). This thesis engages in the social constructivist approach to knowledge, and in social constructivism knowledge is to be filtered through the theories employed by the researcher (Della Porta & Keating 2008, 24). Within this social constructivist view, phenomena usually considered as a natural existence are instead understood as being shaped and characterized by human interests (Collin 2014, 759-760). (Collin 2014, 759-760). In relation to this thesis, the phenomenon is that of gender differences. Indeed, according to traditional and mainstream ways of thinking, gender differences are considered as being the result of biology and nature (ibid. 760). This ‘nature’ of gender differences has often been considered to be that women are biologically and inherently weaker than men are. This idea of gender differences is constructed in highly dichotomous and hierarchical ways, in which traditionally ‘female’ characteristics are being displayed as opposite to traditionally ‘male’ ones, and vice versa. The one common thread being that what is constructed as ‘male’ is seen as inherently superior, for instance passive vs. dominant, emotional vs. rational and weak vs. strong (ibid.). However, many philosophers and sociologists, and especially those identifying with feminism, have argued that gender is a social construction, meaning that it is culturally conditioned (ibid.). Given that social constructivism acknowledges that this phenomena is not conditioned by nature but by us, the collective, it suggests that we can collectively eliminate the apparent gender differences and thereby the discrimination that arises from the foundation of these gender differences (ibid., 762). Furthermore, social constructivism

suggests that the phenomena of gender differences is not a permanent concept, but rather that it is dependent on the ongoing interaction between people:

In itself, the minimalist constructivist view corresponds to what was previously stated that certain phenomena are *historical*, ie. that they are not eternal or natural, but timed, contingent formations. However, in so far as the term “constructivism” is to be taken at face value, it suggests a more active role for human actors: Not only is there historical variation in phenomena, but this variation is due to human action; it arises from differences in the way people think and act in relation to each other. (ibid.)<sup>1</sup>.

Another important aspect to social constructivism is that the investigator should remain critical to prevailing social conditions, meaning that a social constructivist researcher is to be critical towards the social circumstances and the preconceived notions we use to understand the world. (ibid., 763). This further requires the researcher to be reflexive in terms of their own subjectivity. This includes acknowledging that our observations, knowledge and assumptions will, to a certain degree at least, be subjective (Burr 2015, 3). The products of authors’ work do not exist in a vacuum, and cannot be considered as isolated from their worldviews, despite the intentions to have it be so (Bastin 2017, 269). Countering this entails acknowledging that articles and studies are always influenced by the individual’s perspective and their points of reference. As for me, this means being cautious of my own possible bias and critical of my preconceived ideas. This is made especially true given that I am a student at Aalborg University in Denmark, commenting on gender-based violence in Peru, illustrating that this thesis is constructed on the basis of privilege. Hence, I am aware that this paper is influenced by my decisions as a researcher, such as my experiences, background and worldviews.

## 2.2 Structure of the Thesis

Firstly, before diving into the specific theories used in this thesis, it bears highlighting that the paper will start by introducing the field of women and gender studies, as well as by providing an overview of relevant contributions by feminist scholars. This presentation of the feminist perspective will allow me to position this research within discussions in the field. Particular

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<sup>1</sup> Own translation from “I og for sig svarer det minimale konstruktivistiske standpunkt til det, som tidligere hed, at visse fænomener er *historiske*, dvs. at de ikke er evige eller naturgivne, men tidsbestemte, kontingente dannelser. For så vidt termen “konstruktivisme” imidlertid skal tages for pålydende, antyder den en mere aktiv rolle til menneskelige aktører: Ikke alene er der historisk variation i fænomenerne, men denne variation skyldes menneskelig handling; den udspringer af forskellige i den måde, hvorpå mennesker tænker og handler i forhold til hinanden.” (Collin 2014, 763)

attention will be paid to the Latin American context, since this current thesis concerns the topic of violence against women in Peru. This discussion can be found in section 3.0

Next, the theoretical framework used in constructing this thesis consists of Intersectionality, of the Feminist Ecological Model and of the framework of Wang's Four Dimensions of Historical Memory. The definition and application of intersectionality is broad and ambiguous, and will be further explained in section 3.0.3. However, it is to be understood that this paper intends to apply intersectionality as an analytical strategy (Collins 2015, 12). Intersectionality encourages the researcher to proceed with their analysis by using multiple lenses and to recognize the different social variables that individuals experience in regard to interactions and power relations (Parker & Hefner 2013, 224). The purpose of intersectionality is not to incorporate all the social components that are available, but rather to examine and reflect upon the particular factors that seem to be relevant to the investigation (Collins 2015, 12). Hence, intersectionality allows me to decide which risk factors of gender-based violence I deem most relevant to this study. Next to this, and as mentioned above, I intend to include multiple lenses in the analysis, such as gender, ethnicity and race. These concepts are the same components suggested by the Feminist Ecological Model.

The Feminist Ecological Model (FEM), one of main guiding theories of this research, is explained to be "a multi-dimensional, mutually-interacting, shifting historical view of reality that explores the multi-identities of individuals and the multi-influencing systems and factors that shape their lives" (Martin 2010, 21). According to the FEM, the individual, microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem layers are examined in order to understand human experience on an individual as well as on multilayered levels. These multilayered levels are seen as influencing the individual, while interactions on the relational-social and socio structural levels are also considered (Ballou et. al. 2009, 141). Another aim of the FEM is to uncover power asymmetries and identity markers (ibid.). The purpose of using the FEM in this specific thesis is to discover the influencing factors of gender-based violence in Peru on a more national level, rather than on the individual level, and provide an understanding of the increasing femicide and attempted femicide rates. This will be explained in greater depth in section 3.1.2.

Furthermore, the FEM will be utilized as the foundation on which I can detail relevant factors, presented in the form of a table of risk and protective factors of femicide created by the



World Health Organization. In turn, this table will allow me to analyze the FEM in more depth. While some studies conducted in Latin America were utilized, the WHO's table is inspired by a majority of studies from the global north, which is evident when revising the references that were included in the elaboration of the table. However, I chose to add further information on gender-based violence that is specific to Peru as well as more current data. Castro et. al.'s investigation on risk factors of violence against women is therefore also included (Castro et. al. 2017). They present risk factors of violence against women in Peru from their study in 2017, which was based on research from multiple other studies on gender-based violence specific to Peru. In order to comprehend all of the relevant risk factors, another table was then created, with the intention of providing an easier overview of the factors deemed key in this thesis (table 2 in section 3.1.3). Using this table as a framework enables me to provide a tentative answer to the research question. However, when observing both table 2 and table 1, it becomes apparent that there nonetheless exists a lack of studies pertaining to risk factors of violence against women in Peru in the exosystem layer and in the macrosystem layer. Thus, this is where I will aim my attention.

While researching the thesis, it became evident that adopting a historical angle would provide an interesting perspective to the analysis given that the effects of Peru's violent past are still heavily felt today. Therefore, Wang's framework on the Four Dimensions of Historical Memory was incorporated to understand how historical memory influences present day occurrences. This framework will help to identify the extent to which Peru is influenced by these traumatic years and how the violent past influences the increasing violence that is currently observed.

The first dimension of the framework is historical consciousness. With this concept, I intend to analyze how Peru remembers the violent years between 1980 and 1990 by examining the memory of Peru's past in society, social discourse, monuments and the media's portrayal of this. Additionally, I will comment on the type of culture Peru emanates. Next, the second dimension is used in order to identify the political usage of historical memory in Peru. I will investigate political discourse and stances, as well as group identities within this context. The third dimension is reconciliation of past conflict. In this dimension, Wang refers to historical conflict between states. However, I will utilize it in relation to groups of people within Peru. More specifically, these groups of people are the military forces and the victims of violence, since it becomes apparent that sexual violence is a key aspect during the internal war. Lastly, in

the fourth dimension, concerned with openness and diversity of opinion, I aim to analyze public opinion, the media and to some extent the level of democracy, in order to determine the level of pluralism, freedom of press, freedom of opinion and so forth. From the analysis I will attempt to evaluate whether Peru is influenced by its violent history and particularly if this past has an impact on the current issue of violence against women. Lastly, I intend to discuss and reflect upon my findings and further conclude upon these findings.

### 2.3 Data Collection

This thesis is constructed on the basis of sources including both primary and secondary sources. The primary source consists of an interview with a member of a well-known and respected feminist organization in Peru, called DEMUS. DEMUS was founded in 1987 and its operations concerns improving women's rights in Peru as well as providing legal aid to victims of sexual violence and guidance to women experiencing violence (DEMUS n.d.). I created a semi-structured interview with open questions, and further questions were formulated depending on the answers (Helles & K ppe 2014, 2019). The questions for the interview were developed within the areas of this thesis. This interview took place through email and upon receiving the answers, I was able to send additional questions if deemed necessary. Taking ethical considerations into account, I ensured that the interviewee knew of the possibility of anonymity, which in this case the interviewee preferred. Furthermore, and despite this interview being part of my empirical material, due to ethical reasons of anonymity a transcription of this interview will not be included.

The secondary sources consist of academic articles concerning gender-based violence, the historical violence of Peru, risk factors and so forth. For instance, the secondary sources comprise of documents published by the Peruvian government, the report by the World Health Organization, the interview with Diana Russell on femicide, the report by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission published postliminary to the internal war amongst other documents. The sources further consist of reports and news articles to provide an understanding of the current climate of violence, politics and social issues within the context of this thesis. I acknowledge that news outlets can contain elements influenced by religious or political views, nonetheless, they tend to reflect the current state of society, hence the use of news articles.

I mainly employ qualitative data in terms of the interview with DEMUS as well as academic reports and articles mentioned above. Nevertheless, I incorporate quantitative data as well, such as the documents by the Peruvian government presenting the femicide rates as well as UNODC, UN, and other sources demonstrating the numbers of women who experience violence globally and nationally. In addition to that, while selecting the various academic sources, I specifically chose authors with experience in the specific fields of study this topic is related to. For instance, Castro et. al. who provided the paper on risk factors of violence against women in Peru have a background in research in Peru (Castro et. al. 2017, 807). Nancy Fraser, who discussed the concept of gender equity, is a professor of philosophy, politics and gender studies (The Guardian n.d.). Furthermore, Diana Russell has contributed various important articles and books in the field of feminist literature (Domingo and Russell 1992). This is to ensure credibility in the sources I am using in the analysis. I will also explore official governmental sites and news articles addressing various national policies concerning violence in order to determine whether there is evidence of historical memory along with an examination of museums, monuments, ceremonial events, political discourse and the media.

Additionally, in order to refrain, to some degree, from bias information I have attempted to select authors from the global south and the global north since one cannot escape the influence of one's point of reference. Notwithstanding, I recognize that a complete unbiased outcome is not feasible. Furthermore, the documents and reports from Peru are in Spanish, but this has not been an obstacle as the researcher of this thesis speaks Spanish fluently and has a specialization in Latin American studies and even further, a background in social studies in Peru.

## 2.4 Limitations

As mentioned above, I acknowledge that it is unlikely to completely prevent subjectivity, since textual materials used in this thesis, and this thesis itself, contain elements of the authors' worldviews (Bastin 2017, 269). Moreover, WHO discloses the challenges that exist in relation to collecting data on femicide (WHO 2012, 4-6). They credit this to countries' data collection systems, which lack proper resources in regard to police and medical staff that catalogue the information of homicides. For instance, common mistakes include underreporting the motives behind the murders and the victim-perpetrator relationship (ibid.). Additionally, data labeled

femicide is not uniform worldwide, as legal definitions of this concept vary across countries (UNODC 2019, 8). This correlates to the case of violence as well. Typically, the occurrence of violence against women and girls is underestimated due to women's "shame, fear of reprisal, lack of confidence in the legal system, and legal costs" (UNICEF 2000, 3 cited in Wilson 2013, 1). This is essential to recognize as this thesis employs numbers of violence and femicide. Furthermore, another crucial limitation to this project is that it was not possible to acquire the primary source of the Feminist Ecological Model by Mary Ballou, Atsushi Matsumoto and Michael Warner, which was published in their book *Toward a feminist ecological theory of human nature: Theory building in response to real-world dynamics* in 2002. As a consequence of this limitation, I was unable to encounter the explanation of the two elements of planetary/climatic and history, which are shown in figure 1 in section 3.1.1, presented by Balogun-Mwangi et. al. (2006, 4). Nonetheless, I made sure to utilize articles where the original authors of the FEM were co-authors. In addition to that, when analyzing historical memory, there are a number of concerns to take into account, such as the past not being neither a cold hard fact nor an objective reality in the present, and the difficulty of fully grasping these concepts in their entirety. However, I did attempt to follow the carefully researched indicators introduced by Zheng Wang, and had them guide the analysis (Wang 2018, 2). Additionally, due to Covid-19, I was unable to collect further interviews, as my stay in Peru was cut short. Therefore, my empirical material exclusively comprises a single interview through email. Lastly, the scope of this thesis is limited to a maximum amount of pages and to time constraints.

### 3.0 Theory

This section will start by discussing gender, as it is understood in the feminist perspective, before introducing Nancy Fraser's discussion on the perspectives of gender equity. This then leads to an introduction of Intersectionality, the influence it had on the feminist movement, and the very application of it. Subsequently, the paper will present the gender equality vs. gender inequality debate, and introduce both of the perspectives. Hereafter, the Feminist Ecological Model will be presented, as it is one of the main theoretical approaches used in this thesis. In order to analyze this model in more depth, the World Health Organization's table compiling the risk factors and protective factors to violence against women is explained, starting with the term femicide. Then

specific risk factors with relevance to Peru are included and a new table is elaborated with the intention of combining all the relevant risk factors. Finally, this section will end with an illustration of Wang's framework of the Four Dimensions of Historical Memory.

### 3.0.1 Gender: not the Biological Term

As the literature on gender will be examined, it is important to mention that this concept was first created in the field of Women's Studies in psychology (Ganga Contreras et. al. 2014, 855). Scholars such as John Money (1966) and Robert Stoller (1969) are considered to be "pioneers" in the field and some of the first researchers to use the concept of *gender* with the aim of distinguishing it from *sex*. Furthermore, the report by Ganga Contreras et. al. mentions that the scholars Stoller and Money's research illustrates that "what has been understood as being a man or being a woman is fundamentally related to sociocultural learning rather than to the biological characteristics of human males and females"<sup>2</sup> (Montecino & Donoso 2004, cited in Ganga Contreras et. al 2014, 855). These authors argued that social sex or gender, that is, the gender assigned by the social environment, should be understood as more important than the biological sex (ibid.). In fact, as Money and Stoller showed, female or male identities were the result of the identities assigned by parents and immediate environments rather than being determined by biology or hormones, thus demonstrating the importance of social sex or gender (ibid., 855-856). This echoes the feminist view of gender identity as a social construction, which implies the belief that gender is defined more by nurture rather than nature (Romero 2018, 80). Contrarily, for a long time and in many cultures still, it was assumed that gender identity was determined by biological data and defined by nature (ibid., 83). Romero mentions how the essentialist approach to gender identity has confined women's roles predominantly to domestic labor and care taking, as these activities are supposedly "in their nature" (ibid.). This view sustains that gender is beyond the dichotomous views of the concept of *sex*, where traits traditionally considered to be inherently *female* are viewed in contrast to supposed *male* traits (Alex et. al. 2012). Patriarchal society then proposes a gender hierarchy, in which men's status is considered superior; they are

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<sup>2</sup> Own translation from "lo que se ha entendido como ser hombre o ser mujer tiene relación fundamentalmente con un aprendizaje sociocultural más que con las características biológicas de machos y hembras humanos" to "what has been understood as being a man or being a woman is fundamentally related to sociocultural learning rather than to the biological characteristics of human males and females".

being rewarded for their strong, reasonable, assertive masculinity behavior (Agarwala 2015). This demonstrates how historically women have been treated as inferior to men, as men have naturally assumed the role of authority within patriarchal society (Romero 2018, 83).

In relation to Latin America, the imbalanced power dynamics date back to pre-Hispanic society and subsequently the colonial culture reestablished and solidified the patriarchal discriminatory ways (Ganga Contreras et. al. 2014, 856). In pre-Hispanic society, indigenous women's roles were sacred to the family and the community and were able to occupy important positions. However, women did experience a decrease in their social status under the Inca Empire and were therefore already victims of an imbalance in gender roles (Cumes 2012, 11; Silverblatt 1987, 7). However, following the colonization of the Americas, the colonial culture and oppression was imposed upon indigenous men and women who were forced to conform to the colonial “needs” (Cumes 2012, 11). As a consequence, indigenous women experienced further imbalanced power dynamics and were left as the weakest sex in the colonial-patriarchal food chain (ibid.). Once again this displays the disproportion of gender roles and power, which leads to the following section regarding what is implied by the term *gender equity*, and the various schools of thoughts that exist regarding the possibility of achieving gender equality as they are presented by Nancy Fraser.

### 3.0.2. Gender Equity: a Complex Conception

Nancy Fraser provides insight on the approaches to gender equity. She states:

Feminists have so far associated gender equity with either equality or difference, where equality means treating women exactly like men, and where difference means treating women differently insofar they differ from men. Theorists have debated the relative merits of these two approaches as if they represented two antithetical poles of an absolute dichotomy. (Fraser 1994, 594)

Scholars in favor of *difference* claim that the strategies of the *equality* theory presuppose “the male as norm” (ibid.), meaning that men set the baseline to which women are measured. This therefore puts the women at a disadvantage, as the women would have to reach the standards of men and hereby implying that women are inferior. However, *difference* relies on stereotypes and gender divisions in order to distinguish the treatment of the genders. Hence, Fraser argues that both approaches are at a stalemate (ibid.). Many feminists have intended to reinterpret *equality* or

*difference* in order to reach more permissible and valid approaches. Other scholars see the two approaches as “lost causes”, and their intention has instead been to conceptualize a third approach. Consequently, many feminists have moved away from these theories and turned to postmodern antinomianism, in which laws and social norms are dismissed and to piecemeal reformism, in which it concerns advocating a reform of existing systems (ibid, 595). Fraser recommends a new development of the concept of gender equity as being not simply an idea but a complex (ibid.). Through this reconceptualization she conveys that gender equity should not be understood as solely being associated with one norm; however, it should comprise various values and norms, such as *equality*, *difference*, and other principles. Fraser provides an example:

Assume, [...] that gender equity requires not only equal respect for women and men, but also some more substantive kind of equality, such as equality of resources or equality of capabilities. Assume, in addition, that it requires not only parity of participation in socially valued activities, but also decentering of androcentric measures of social value. In that case, each of four distinct norms must be respected for gender equity to be achieved. (ibid.)

In the specific case of a postindustrial welfare state, Fraser proposes five principles as composing the gender equity: “Antipoverty Principle, Antiexploitation Principle, Equality Principles, Antimarginalization Principle and Antiandrocentrism Principle” (ibid., 595 - 600). She disputes that preventing poverty is essential to achieving gender equity, which leads to the next principle of preventing exploitation of the vulnerable population, as people in need are susceptible to exploitation (ibid., 596 - 597). The equality principle discusses income equality, leisure-time equality and equality of respect and stresses the importance thereof in order to accomplish gender equity (ibid., 598). The antimarginalization principle is self-explanatory; indeed, it simply means that society should not marginalize women. Further, there should be support for marginalized groups, which then results in less dependency and more participation in society (ibid., 599). Lastly, the antiandrocentrism principle aims to provide gender norms that do not make the men’s standards the human norm, where women must assimilate to these standards (ibid.). The complex of gender equity presented by Nancy Fraser coincides with the functions of intersectionality.

### 3.0.3. Intersectionality and Feminism

It is essential to point out that intersectionality does not correspond directly to *diversity* or *multiculturalism* (Romero 2018, 38). However, intersectionality involves observing power relationships especially with regards to repression (ibid., 38-39). Intersectional theories emerged when marginalized activists demanded that others try to comprehend the distinctiveness of their situation, prompting intersectional theories to deal with inequalities. For instance, social activists would bring attention to class differences and the problems of the working class. However, women within this movement would then criticize it for not including the specific issues of women, without even mentioning those of women of color. This led to intersectionality promoting the understanding of how class alone did not pay homage to the differing lived experiences of both men and women. Furthermore, using class and gender paradigms alone did not account for the differences that exist when examining the experiences of men and women of color (ibid., 39). Romero further explains: “Social hierarchies are not one-dimensional, and power relations in families, communities, and nations cannot be explained without examining how and why certain social identities are subordinated to others and interact with each other in different ways.” (ibid.). Kimberlé Crenshaw, building upon the works of scholars like Bell Hooks, Audre Lorde or the Combahee River Collective<sup>3</sup>, is widely considered to have first coined the term *intersectionality* in her work on black feminism and anti-discrimination law. In it, she addresses the lack of recognition of how gender and race intersect to produce forms of discrimination unique to the experiences of black women (ibid., 39-40). Intersectionality took an important step forward in acknowledging the invisibilities that existed within feminism, anti-racism and class politics (ibid., 39). This introduced the development of a more multi-dimensional analysis of inequality in the feminist perspective (ibid., 46). Furthermore, it presented the third wave of feminism, which generated a connection between feminism, race, class and sexuality (ibid.) As Barbara and Beverly Smith commented:

The reason racism is a feminist issue is easily explained by the inherent definition of feminism. Feminism is the political theory and practice to free all women: women of color, working-class women, poor women, physically challenged women, lesbians, old women, as well as white economically privileged heterosexual women. *Anything less than this is not feminist, but merely female self-aggrandizement.*” (Barbara & Beverly Smith 1981, 61, as cited in Romero 2018, 46).

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<sup>3</sup> The Combahee River Collective is a black feminist organization paved the way for intersectionality before the term was conceived (Combahee River Collective 1983)



This demonstrates the importance of intersectional feminism in comparison to white feminism. Nevertheless, Crenshaw along with other authors discuss intersectionality and how the theory will continue to further develop, as “it is always already an analysis-in-progress.” (Carbado et. al. 2013, 304).

### 3.0.3.1 Applying Intersectionality

Applying intersectionality in the context of analyzing the factors of gender-based violence means recognizing the importance of not solely focusing on gender, but to include the more extensive social context of individuals’ lives as well (Parker & Hefner 2013, 224). As mentioned previously, intersectionality scholars argue that the experiences of individuals differ based on the intersection and connection of various social components, such as gender, race, sexual orientation and ethnicity. They posit that these intersections enforce and are enforced by inequality, and create power structures that enable it (ibid.). There exist various understandings of intersectionality, however, in this context it will be used and understood as an analytical strategy, in which an investigator adopts this way of thinking (Collins 2015, 11). Scholars such as Cho, Crenshaw and McCall claim:

What makes an analysis intersectional is not its use of the term ‘intersectionality,’ nor its being situated in a familiar genealogy, nor its drawing on lists of standard citations. Rather, what makes an analysis intersectional (...) is its adoption of an intersectional way of thinking about the problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power (Cho et. al. 2013, 795 as cited in Collins 2015, 11).

This proposes that intersectionality should be viewed as an analytical sensibility, however, Collins recommends to go further than mere sensibility (ibid.). In the case of violence and social issues, Collins mentions how intersectional frameworks can be used to confront these issues in other ways (ibid., 12). For instance, the issue of violence against women has been widely discussed through the prism of intersectionality. However, as Collins stresses, it is important to not analyze it only through “mono-categorical lenses”. Applying only gender lenses or racial lenses in order to analyze the issue of violence against women will not result in an outcome where the researcher is able to provide well-rounded and multifaceted solutions (ibid.).

### 3.0.4 Gender Equality vs. Gender Inequality

For many years, feminist scholars have engaged in the polemical discussion concerning the reasons behind violence against women. An important aspect to this discussion is the feminist perspective, which arose in the 1970s and 1980s, that suggested that gender inequality at a societal level is the incentive for violence against women (Meyer & Post 2006, 209). Feminist scholars such as Brownmiller (1975), Bograd (1988), Dobash and Dobash (1979), argued that because of inequality, women inherently experience a higher threat of violence. As Meyer and Post suggests: “Inequality has been defined in the literature as occupying a status in which the structural context and roles are disparate for men and women” (Meyer & Post 2006, 209). This implies the more insignificant women are viewed in comparison to men in society, the more probable women are to experience violence by men. In relation to this, Jasinski and Williams (1998) mention male-dominated cultures to be the foundation in which violence is accepted and imbalance in power exists, therefore resulting in a society where violence against women seems to prosper. This correlates to gender inequality being the factor behind violence against women. Furthermore, anti-rape movements’ have argued that male dominance and power are the causes of rape (Whaley 2001, 531). This, too, indicates that there is a link between sexual violence and how patriarchal a society is, giving further substance to this feminist viewpoint. In fact, feminist scholar Russell states that “eradicating rape requires getting rid of the power discrepancy between men and women, because abuse of power flows from unequal power” (1975, 265). On the contrary, Russell also provides a different perspective to the equality vs. inequality debate, demonstrating the complexity of the connection between rape and inequality. Examining the male backlash resulting from women's increasing independence, Russell argues that “rape is the way some men express their hostility to women. More threatened male egos may mean more rape” (ibid.). In relation to this, some scholars found that feminist anti-rape campaigns showed opposite results than the expected outcome, as subsequently sexual violence increased (Meyer & Post 2006, 209). Nonetheless, feminist scholars suggest that the hostile response or male backlash to gender equality potentially will only leave a temporary effect as “equality would produce a social climate that does not foster rape” (Whaley 2001, 532). This perspective is not yet regarded as a formal feminist hypothesis, but has been labeled the *backlash hypothesis*, where it demonstrates the short-term effect of gender equality (ibid.). Whaley proposes two hypotheses, the first of which suggests that a short term effect of gender equality would be a

temporary increase in rape, while the second proposes a long term ameliorative effect (ibid.). Furthermore, she revealed that gender equality may lead to displeasing results, however these would be for a short amount of time. This implies that the process to gender equality will slowly but surely develop, since “the passage of time and reactive social change appear to be capable of reversing some negative trends” (ibid., 552).

Everything discussed above demonstrates the importance of having gender-based violence and power dynamics to be part of the social discourse as it can provoke social changes (Meyer & Post 2006, 209). For instance, when positive social change occurs, discourse on gender roles and rights progresses, and violence against women declines (ibid.). Research in this area still needs to come to an agreement upon the debate of whether increased gender equality or gender inequality are causal factors of violence against women. Nevertheless, what researchers can agree upon is the significance of considering family, community, cultural environments, etc., as elements that should be incorporated in analytical paragraphs to establish the risk factors of violence on all levels (ibid.).

### 3.1 The Feminist Ecological Model & Enabling Factors

This thesis will adopt the Feminist Ecological Model developed by Mary Ballou, Atsushi Matsumoto and Michael Warner in 2002. Furthermore, the World Health Organization’s report on femicide and the Table of Risk and Protective factors will be presented in this section and the risk and protective factors included in this theoretical framework (WHO 2012). Additionally, Castro et. al.’s investigation on risk factors of violence against women in Peru and other feminist scholars’ contributions to the topic of risk factors of violence against women will also be incorporated in this theoretical framework. Lastly, a table elaborated by the author of this thesis will be introduced, as it allows for an incorporation of the important and relevant elements from the aforementioned scholars.

#### 3.1.1 Feminist Ecological Model

This theory section will discuss the Feminist Ecological Model in order to analyze the various levels presented below. Firstly, the Feminist Ecological Model, also referred to as FEM, is

elaborated by Mary Ballou, Atsushi Matsumoto and Michael Warner in 2002 (Balogun-Mwangi et. al. 2016, 4). The model comprise elements from critical psychology, multicultural psychology, liberation psychology, feminist therapy theory and of an ecological model (Martin 2010, 21). Furthermore, FEM is based on Feminist Political Ecology, also referred to as FPE, which emerged from the field of political ecology. In this context, Political Ecology is a framework composed in order to understand environmental conflicts by examining the relations between political, social and economic elements. (Robbins 2011, 15-16). It furthermore invites the researcher to analyze the power relations in regard to the various ways environmental transitions impact society (ibid., 69). FPE stresses the importance of including gender in the analysis regarding power relations, environmental changes and social relations (Rocheleau et. al. 1996). Moreover, FPE “deals with the complex context which gender interacts with class, race, culture and national identity to shape our experience of and interest in “the environment.”” (Ibid, 5). As FPE discusses these factors in relation to the environment, FEM seeks to examine the influences of the individual and how they experience their lives (Martin 2010, 21). These influences include societal systems, such as family and work, and personal identities such as sex, gender, age, class etc. (ibid.). Furthermore, the model attempts to explore and analyze the layers of influence and divides these layers into individual, microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem (Balogun-Mwangi et. al. 2016, 4). As Ballou et. al. (2009, 141) comment: “The feminist ecological model (Ballou, Matsumoto, & Wagner, 2002) calls for an exploration not only of the human experience at an individual level but the interaction and multilayered influences on an individual within an ecological system”. The authors further explain the feminist therapy theory and they expres that sociocultural factors are essential to the comprehension of psychological functioning (Ballou et. al. 2009, 141). The various factors on the personal, interpersonal and systemic level are among the following: ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, religion, access to resources, class and age and so on (ibid.) Moreover, the Feminist Ecological Model takes power into account and intends to analyze the power dynamics individually and systemically present in all of the various contexts, such as relation-social, socio-structural etc., demonstrating the purpose of the model to be diminishing power imbalances and redistributing power (ibid.).

Balogun-Mwangi et. al. (2016, 5) present the Feminist Ecological Model, which also will be used in this paper. See figure 1:

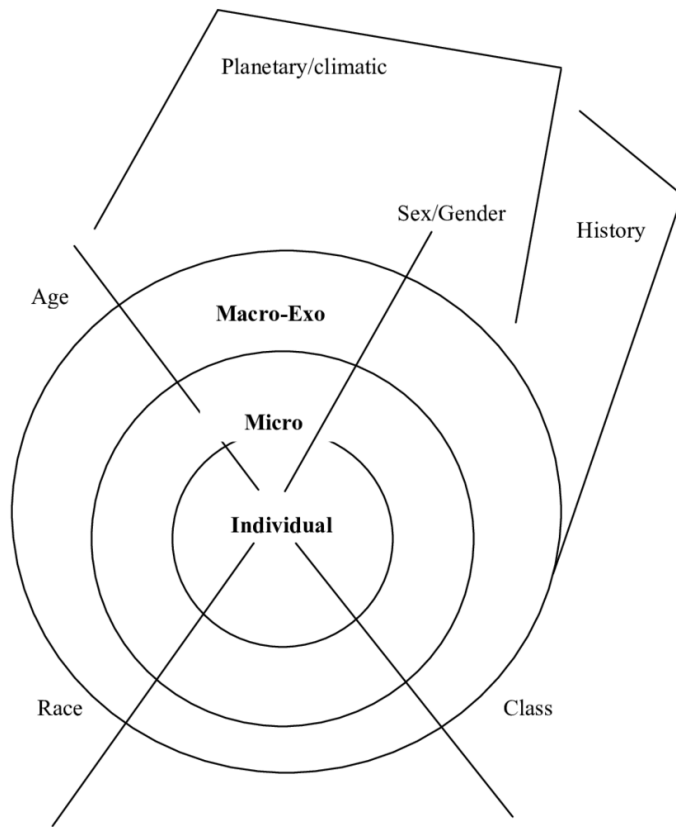


Figure 1: The Feminist Ecological Model (Balogun-Mwangi et. al. 2016, 5)

First and foremost, there is the individual layer or inner circle, which is composed of multiple dimensions of the self-interacting over time (Balogun-Mwangi et. al. 2016, 4). These dimensions include biological, emotional, cognitive, creative, social, sexual, intuitive, spiritual, physical and intellectual factors. Secondly, there is the microsystem layer, which is concerned with the immediate face to face interactions and influences, and includes relationships, family, community such as school, employment, church, friends, disability and activities. As one can see in figure 1, macrosystem and exosystem are in the same circle, however when explaining the figure they are mentioned separately, which will also be the case here (ibid.). The exosystem layer comprises of institutional bodies such as legal systems, governments, as well as educational, religious and professional institutions. Moreover, the macrosystem includes “structural and environmental forces including politics, economy, values, worldviews, human rights, global distribution of resources” (Balogun-Mwangi et. al. 2016, 4). The intention of the

model is to advocate and bring light to topics that contribute to societal disparities. In correlation to this, Martin (2010, 21) discloses:

The feminist ecological model also strives to promote social changes by challenging society's values and norms in a way that increases awareness of inequalities and explores different ways that women can cope with events, such as sexual violence, in their lives.

### 3.1.2 Risk and Protective Factors of Femicide

#### 3.1.2.1 Femicide

The first definition of femicide was conceptualized by Diana Russell. She stated in an interview that femicide was mostly understood as “misogynous killing of women by men” (Domingo and Russell 1992). Russell began her academic career by contributing considerably to the literature on rape with the acclaimed book: *The Politics of Rape*. Russell started investigating the lack of attention towards the issue of misogynist murders of women in a time where rape was highly discussed. However, she emphasized the issue of “hate-killing against women” to demonstrate that femicide is a political issue, just as she considered rape was (ibid.). The World Health Organization has adopted this definition of femicide and further recognizes a number of other types of violence against women, which consist of verbal harassment, emotional and psychological abuse, physical and sexual abuse, and murder (WHO 2012, 1). According to WHO, femicide mainly involves the “intentional murder of women because they are women” (ibid.). Moreover, femicide can be committed by women, such as the mother of a daughter, nonetheless, more commonly it is executed by men (ibid.). It is further stated:

Femicide differs from male homicide in specific ways. For example, most cases of femicide are committed by partners or ex-partners, and involve ongoing abuse in the home, threats or intimidation, sexual violence or situations where women have less power or fewer resources than their partner. (ibid.)

Russell also argues that the definition of femicide should include women dying due to mishandled abortions or girls dying because of undernourishment in situations where boys are not, as “such deaths are caused by patriarchy” (Domingo and Russell 1992).

Additionally, WHO characterizes the different types of femicide as following: Intimate femicide, murders in the name of ‘honor’, dowry-related femicide and non-intimate femicide. Intimate femicide concerns femicide where an intimate partner is the perpetrator, whether it be a current or former spouse or boyfriend. Domestic partner abuse falls under this category as well

(WHO 2012, 1). Furthermore, women who seem to be even more at risk of intimate partner femicide are pregnant women (ibid., 2). Other consequences of femicide include further victims of homicide, in that the victims of intimate partner femicide are rarely the only victims. Children of the victims, family members, and “allies” of the victims, among others, are often susceptible to being killed as well (ibid.). Further consequences are the impacts that femicide leave behind, such as that on children of the victim and of the perpetrator who will “experience a long-lasting effect” (ibid.).

Murders in the name of “honor” or “honor murders” are called so due to families murdering a woman in the family in order to “save the family honor” (ibid.). Male and female members of the family are willing to kill a girl or woman if it is assumed that this girl or woman is engaging in behavior that is frowned upon in the family’s culture. This behavior could entail sexual intercourse or pregnancy outside marriage, marriage, even including rape. It could also include adultery, on the part of both men and women, although it is the woman that typically suffers graver consequences. This is often a result of misinterpreted religious demands, intent to preserve family tradition and embedded culturally accepted discrimination, which therefore leads to the need of protecting the family’s reputation (ibid.). These killings are often justified in communities with the same cultural and religious beliefs, that can even at times protect the murderer (ibid., 3). Women family members, too, play a great role in perpetrating femicide categorized as “honor” murders, given that they encourage them in a significant amount of cases. As mentioned, “honor” murderers at times are legally protected by the law in countries and communities where discrimination against girls are ingrained in the society due to religion. However, even in countries where “honor” murders are illegal and are condemned victims of this type of femicide are at a disadvantage as “honor” murders are a foreign concept and therefore often categorized as “‘cultural traditions’ rather than extreme forms of violence against women” (ibid.).

Moreover, dowry-related femicide is an additional type of femicide that is connected to cultural practices (ibid.). This involves women being killed by the family of the in-laws because of dowry related issues for instance lack of or inadequate amount of dowry brought to the family. This type of femicide is predominantly found in south-east Asia and in areas of the Indian subcontinent (ibid.).

Lastly, non-intimate femicide encompasses murders of females who have no intimate relationship with the perpetrator (ibid.). In most cases, femicide involving sexual assault is referred to sexual femicide. These types of femicide, which often are committed at random, are particularly seen in Latin America (ibid.). Furthermore, these killings are on occasion directed at women in marginalized professions such as different types of work in night life (ibid.).

The most common femicide, of the types mentioned above, is the intimate femicide. According to the United Nations, 58 per cent of the 87.000 women that were intentionally murdered in 2017 globally, were killed by intimate partners or other family members (UNODC 2019, 10). In Latin America, the intimate partner femicide rate is five times higher than the rate of male intimate partner homicide, demonstrating a great discrepancy (ibid., 21). Specifically in Peru, the number of femicides caused by an intimate partner is much greater than non-intimate femicide, as this only covers a small percentage of all femicide cases (ibid., 28). For this reason, there exists more research in relation to domestic violence and/or intimate partner violence concerning Peru, compared to violence perpetrated by non-intimate partners. In a 2006 study by the World Health Organization, 24.000 women in 10 countries were interviewed, among them were women in rural and urban areas in Peru (Wilsen 2013, 5). This study showed that 61 percent of the questioned Peruvian women had experienced a high level of violence by a partner (ibid.). Furthermore, “in anonymous reports 19 percent of the Peruvian urban sample and 18 percent of the Peruvian provincial sample admitted to having been sexually abused by male family members before the age of 15” (ibid.). In addition to that, according to the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables, or MIMP), in 2017 and 2018 there were 9,815 cases of sexual abuse nationwide of children under the age of 14, 88 percent of them were girls (MIMP 2019b). In their 2017 annual report, the MIMP declared that there were 121 cases of femicides in Peru and 247 attempted femicide cases recorded by Women’s Emergency Centers, also known as CEMs. In the year 2018, CEMs registered 149 cases of femicide and 304 attempted cases. Most recently, from 2018 to 2019 the number of femicides increased to 166 and the number of attempted femicide cases increased to 404 (MIMP 2019a) (MIMP 2020). This demonstrates the troubling numbers of violence against women in Peru and further illustrates an increase in violence and femicide.



### 3.1.2.2 Factors that Increase or Decrease Femicide

The WHO provides a table of protective and risk factors for femicide both for perpetrator and victims. Most of the data is associated with intimate femicide, while research on honor, dowry and non-intimate femicide is lacking in comparison (ibid., 4). The table is presented below, and includes examples of risk and protective factors for perpetration and victimization related to femicide.

	For perpetrating femicide	For being a victim of femicide
<b>Risk factors</b>	<b>Individual level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment<sup>a</sup> (3,4,11)</li> <li>• Gun ownership (especially in the USA but also in countries with high levels of gun violence, such as South Africa, and in conflict and post-conflict settings) (3,4,11,29)</li> <li>• Threats to kill with a weapon (3,11)</li> <li>• Forcing sexual intercourse on a partner (3,11)</li> <li>• Problematic alcohol use and illicit drug use<sup>b</sup> (3,4)</li> <li>• Mental health problems<sup>b</sup> (3,30) (especially for femicide-suicide, in which the male perpetrator kills himself after killing his female partner) (30)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pregnancy, and being abused during pregnancy<sup>a</sup> (3,11,30). This association has been found primarily in the USA but studies from a few other countries have linked intimate partner violence with maternal mortality. For example, a study from Mozambique found that violence was the fourth highest cause of maternal death at one hospital; and as much as 16% of maternal mortality was attributable to intimate partner violence in Maharashtra, India.</li> </ul>
	<b>Family/relationship level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prior intimate partner abuse<sup>a</sup> (particularly against the woman they killed) (3,11)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prior abuse by the perpetrator<sup>a</sup> (32), especially severe abuse which took place within the previous month, and when abuse was increasingly frequent<sup>a</sup></li> <li>• Presence of a child from a previous relationship (not the biological child of the perpetrator) (3,4,11)</li> <li>• Estrangement from the partner (3,11)</li> <li>• Leaving an abusive relationship (4,32)</li> </ul>
<b>Protective factors</b>	<b>Societal/structural level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender inequality, including low number of women in elected government<sup>b</sup> (33)</li> <li>• Reductions in government social spending on areas such as health and education (i.e. government final consumption expenditure) (33)</li> </ul>	
	<b>Individual level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• University education (versus a high school education), including when unemployed but looking for work (11)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Having a separate domicile (3)</li> </ul>
	<b>Societal/structural level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased numbers of police (34)</li> <li>• Legislation restricting access to firearms for perpetrators of intimate partner violence (34)</li> <li>• Mandated arrest for violation of restraining orders related to intimate partner violence (34)</li> </ul>	

Table 1: Examples of Risk and Protective Factors for Perpetration of and Victimization related to Femicide (WHO 2012, 4)

The factors presented by WHO are the following: in the case of risk factors, the leading factor to perpetrating femicide on the individual level is unemployment. In a study by Cambell et. al. (2003), they found that unemployment was a very crucial demographic risk factor in the case of intimate femicide, demonstrating that lack of employment puts strain on the household (Cambell et. al. 2003). After unemployment are gun ownership, threats to kill with a weapon, forcing sexual intercourse on a partner, alcohol and drug abuse and mental problems (WHO 2012, 4). Additionally, an unstable mental health in regard to the perpetrator also plays a role. However, evidence remains unclear due to the way mental illnesses tend to be imprecisely measured and that it is sometimes subjective to each specific case (ibid., 257). Furthermore, protective factors on the individual level for both perpetrating and being a victim of femicide is having a university degree, as it provides the perpetrator and the victim with resources to recognize an abusive relationship (WHO 2012, 4; Castro. et al. 2017, 813). Another protective factor is having a separate accommodation to one's intimate partner (ibid.). A risk factor specific for being a victim of femicide is pregnancy, since a great percentage of victims of femicide were pregnant.

Additionally, risk factors in the family/relationship level for perpetrating femicide is prior intimate partner abuse (ibid.). The risk factors for victims are prior abuse by a domestic partner, presence of a child from another relationship, meaning that the perpetrator is not the biological father, estrangement from the partner and ending a violent and abusive relationship (ibid.)

As for the societal/structural level, the risk factors are gender inequality and diminution of government spendings in regard to social policies (ibid.). Protective factors on the societal/structural level are incrementing the number of police officers, bringing about legislation that limit the access to firearms and mandated arrest for violation of restraining orders related to intimate partner violence (ibid.). This table is constructed in order to understand the risk factors and protective factors and it is essential to recognize that not one of these factors will necessarily lead to femicide. On the other hand, several of these factors in combination will increase the likelihood of femicide.

Other prominent studies show additional risk factors to examine in relation to intimate partner violence. Regarding Castro et. al.'s investigation on risk factors of violence against women in Peru, there are additional factors which are worthy of investigation. On the individual level, the study shows that, specifically in Peru, a great risk factor of domestic violence is having experienced childhood abuse and / or witnessed domestic violence as a child (Castro et. al. 2017, 808). The reason for this is that boys are more likely to perpetrate domestic violence in the future and girls are more likely to accept passive roles when confronted with violent situations in the future (ibid., 813). Typically, women having employment is a protective factor, since employment generally means that the individual enjoys economic independence (ibid., 808). Contrarily, in Peru this is a risk factor of intimate partner violence, since the investigation shows that housewives endure less domestic abuse in comparison to Peruvian women who work. Castro et. al. further explains:

This tendency has been found also in Peru among women's different occupations (Flake 2005; Díaz and Miranda 2010). On the other hand, one of the variables most commonly considered as a risk factor for domestic abuse was belonging to the lowest socioeconomic levels." (ibid.).

Notwithstanding, poverty cannot stand as a factor alone, as domestic violence can be found in all socioeconomic levels (ibid.). Again, a higher education is a protective factor as well as age, in that when women grow older the risk of intimate partner violence seems to decrease (ibid.). Nonetheless, disparity in education and in age between the two partners increase the probability of intimate partner violence. Hence, differences in status are far more important determinants of intimate partner violence than education for instance (ibid.). Furthermore, the research compared married women to women living in cohabitation relationships and found that women cohabitating with their partner, who is not married, experience greater risk factors of abuse (ibid.). At the community level the various studies presented by Castro et. al. (2017) demonstrated that living in urban areas, with high crime rates, is also a risk factor. However, other studies showed that living in rural areas, where poverty and illiteracy are more common, could also increase the possibility of being victim to intimate partner violence (ibid., 809). Thus, evidence seems to be ambiguous in regard to whether residing in rural areas or urban areas are risk factors. In order to see these additional risk factors that are more specific to Peru along some of the risk factors from table 1 by WHO, see table 2 below.

### Risk Factors of Violence Against Women in Peru

<b>Individual layer</b>	<b>Perpetrator:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Unemployment</li> <li>- Substance abuse</li> <li>- Low education level</li> <li>- Experienced domestic abuse in childhood or child abuse</li> <li>- Mental health</li> </ul>	<b>Victim:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Low education level</li> <li>- Experienced domestic abuse in childhood or child abuse</li> <li>- Pregnancy</li> <li>- Young in regard to the age factor</li> <li>- Employment vs. housewife</li> </ul>
<b>Microsystem layer</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prior intimate partner abuse</li> <li>- Disparity in status of the two partners</li> <li>- Women living in cohabitation relationships</li> <li>- Living in areas with high crime rates and poverty rates</li> </ul>	
<b>Exosystem layer</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Low number of police</li> <li>- Poor criminalization of perpetrators</li> <li>- Education system</li> </ul>	
<b>Macrosystem layer</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender inequality</li> <li>- Reduction in social spending</li> </ul>	

Table 2: Risk Factors of Violence Against Women in Peru (Own Elaboration)

### 3.2 Historical Memory

This section will focus on the Four Dimensions of Historical Memory elaborated by Zheng Wang. Firstly, the purpose of Wang's book on memory politics, identity and conflict is to contribute to the research of theoretical and methodological aspects of the use of historical memory as a variable to explain social and political situations (Wang 2018, 4). Wang analyzes the effects of historical memory on a state, society and / or people. Some scholars believe that Historical Memory merely influences emotions. Likewise, others believe that historical memory is used by political elites in order to manipulate the masses and encourage national identity and group mentality for the purpose of gaining support (ibid., 3). Nonetheless, in the context of conflict, some scholars recognize the effects that historical memory has on human thoughts and actions (ibid.). These scholars' research has provided evidence of current conflicts being "deeply rooted in the involved parties' history and memory" (ibid.). Historical memory refers to national memory of past historical events and is often considered a social narrative, and it can function as national or collective identity (ibid., 12).

In order to analyze whether historical memory affects a specific country or people, Wang encourages the researcher to measure “(...) the levels of high or low-context of historical memory, political usage of historical memory, reconciliation between historically feuding parties, and openness and diversity of opinions regarding historical issues (...)” (Wang 2018, 57). Furthermore, he developed a framework containing these very same elements (see figure 2 below).

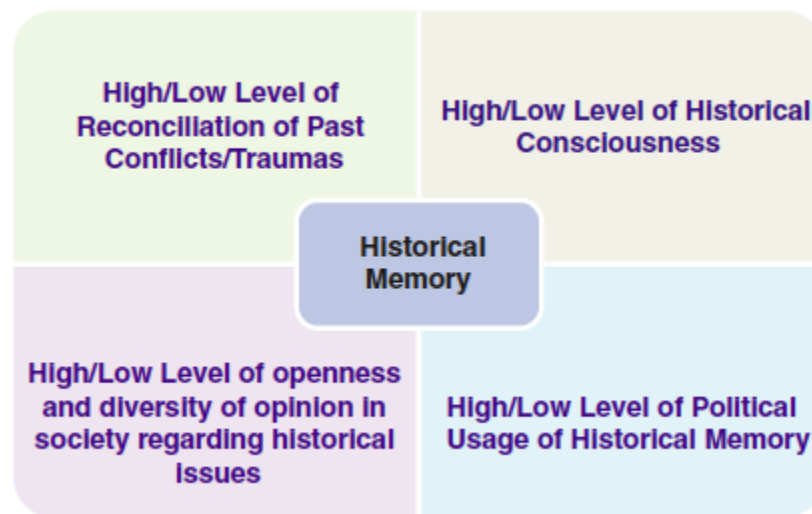


Figure 2: Four Contexts of Historical Memory (Wang 2018, 59)

Wang acknowledges that the different meanings of historical memory depend on the respective country. He thus recommends gaining an understanding of the various contexts of historical memory (Wang 2018, 7). The idea of “context” was developed by Edward Hall, and it concerns “the amount of commonly assumed information in a society” (ibid., 58), implying that the way people view a historical event is influenced by the volume of understood knowledge. This means that people in a high-context culture include more of the context into their communication whereas people in a low-context culture consider a little amount of context into their communication. In this case, context refers to history, customs etc.. Discovering whether a country or society is considered as high-context or low-context can help to establish the level of influence of historical memory in said country or society (ibid.). Then, in order to assess the high-context level or the low-context level of historical memory of the respective country or society, Wang introduces the framework with respect to four political and cultural contexts, as

mentioned above (ibid.). The four dimensions provide indicators to understand the functions of historical memory, in addition to assessing the probability of potential conflict between two parties (ibid.).

### 3.2.1 Historical Consciousness

Wang borrows his definition of historical consciousness from The Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness at The University of British Columbia, which states that: “Historical consciousness can (...) be defined as individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors which shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future.” (The University of British Columbia 2017, cited in Wang 2018, 59). This implies that past, present and future are considered to be connected in this case. Firstly, it is recognized that historical consciousness is difficult to measure, given how intangible it is. However, as mentioned, there are indicators that the researcher should consider that may be of aid when examining historical consciousness levels (Wang 2018., 60).

The first indicator is to identify any major historical events that seem to have a lasting effect on a specific group of people. Wang suggests that the researcher can analyze how a country looks back at the respective event. Here he provides examples, like ceremonies organized in a particular way for remembrance, for instance (ibid.). Most importantly, a group of people’s historical consciousness is generally associated with a period of time during which the nation experienced trauma (ibid., 61). The experience of hardship for a nation can leave people with a strong sense of history, which likewise can come from education created by influential and manipulative leaders (ibid.). The second indicator is the meaning of historical memory in regard to national and group identity. This refers to how a country’s historical events are employed to describe group membership or identity. Here Wang proposes to examine official documents issued by the government such as national policies. This is because often traumatic historical events influence future goals and policies of the nation (ibid., 62). Another indicator is to examine whether the specific historical events are still highly discussed in current society. For instance, if references to these particular past events are reemerging in films, theater, literature or have statues dedicated to them, all of which indicate a trend to remember the past hardship.

Wang claims that “if there is a strong sense of historical consciousness, the past becomes an important source for current social discourse”. Moreover, the historical education can be utilized to analyze the position in which the country and the government stand in comparison to past events and this therefore is presented as another indicator by Wang. Lastly, the importance of memory sites to the society dedicated to historical events is another indicator. Here, Wang mentions that “monuments, museums, and sites, to commemorate historical events or people” demonstrate a higher level of historical consciousness (ibid., 62-63). The amount and size of the commemorable memorials show how the country is recalling its history. The title of a monument is often important to observe as it can describe how the historical event is depicted, hence showing the country’s collective viewpoint (ibid., 63).

Furthermore, the level of historical consciousness can also be linked to distinct cultural patterns, which in turn relate to the two main types of culture that exist according to scholars of cultural studies, namely collectivism and individualism. A collectivist culture is concerned with the collective, the community and the group as a whole and it includes the individuals’ identities to be associated with the national identity, while a master narrative is promoted by the state (ibid.). Contrarily, in an individualist culture there is not reinforced a shared consensus in regard to history, and personal beliefs and judgments in society are normalized. Individualism does recognize collective memories, however they are not being imposed by political figures, as this type of culture proves to have a greater tolerance towards different opinions. This will be further discussed in section 3.2.4.

### 3.2.2 Political Usage of Historical Memory

“Memories are influenced by political and cultural forces” (ibid., 63). Political policies and social norms can have an impact on how a society remembers the past. Government leaders often draw from historical events and in some cases exaggerate or manipulate history in order to gain support, especially during election campaigns. One indication of historical memory being employed for political purposes is having political leaders utilize historical events in discourses, often manipulating historical facts in order to evoke emotions in the audience (ibid., 64). Another indicator of political usage of historical memory is whether there exists a master or official narrative. This can, again, be found in the education system, in that a specific interpretation or version of a historical event is promoted, as a way to preserve the “correct” version of history.

With regards to investigating this indicator, Wang advises the researcher to explore government documents and discourses. In addition to that, the researcher should also focus on the influence the government has on educational trends when it comes to national history (ibid., 65). A final indicator in this context is whether there are national myths concerning past events. In relation to this, the media, which contribute significantly in pushing political agenda, along with political protests are often linked to political usage of historical memory (ibid.).

### 3.2.3 Reconciliation of Past Conflicts

Critical trauma due to historical events between countries or people greatly affects the present relationship between the two parties (ibid.). Furthermore, post-conflict reconciliation and the origins of the conflict are major influencing factors to the current emotions and / or potential enduring conflict between the two involved parties. Wang comments: “The reconciliation, or lack thereof, between the feuding states can help determine whether the past events play an important role or not. Lower levels of reconciliation between states cause continued conflict and the dangerous possibility of an escalation in the present day.” (ibid., 66).

Here, Wang also presents several indicators, which help establish the level of reconciliation in a given society (ibid.). The first indicator is proof of a normalized relationship between the historical enemies. Additionally, there should be no demonization between either parties. Moreover, an indicator of reconciliation is “grassroots level mutual acceptance and communication between two or more states” (ibid.). An additional indicator of reconciliation between the parties involved is that there should be obvious dialogue between them and a common consensus on the historical events, even more so when these past events were violent (ibid., 67). Wang expresses that a commonly understood consensus involves an attempt to comprehend the reasons why the events occurred, and for the parties to take responsibility for what happened. This consensus should be shared across all levels of society (ibid.). Furthermore, the researcher may also observe intentions and joint projects where the aim is to improve relations and reconciliation. Here, one can detect joint dialogues between scholars or government officials and in addition, the researcher may investigate the media and social narratives, as it often demonstrates the perspectives of each side. Lastly, an important aspect is to detect whether the aggressor has apologized and to establish if the victim accepted this apology (ibid., 68).



### 3.2.4 Openness and Diversity of Opinion

This dimension concerns the level of pluralism, meaning how open a society is to discuss different views and how much freedom there is to speak one's mind, especially in relation to traumatic and sensitive past events (ibid.). The more open a society is, the more different interpretations, perspectives and ideas are welcomed. In contrast, the less open a society is, the more different views are condemned. Wang provides four indicators “in order to measure the level of openness and diversity of opinion in a society” (ibid., 68). With respect to historical events, the first indicator concerns how diversity of opinion is present in society as well as the level of freedom of press. Moreover, the existence of conflicting opinions, tolerance thereof, and debates with people whose views are opposite, serve as the second indicator. “Third, the level of freedom in choosing history textbooks can indicate the level of openness to different opinions. And fourth is the level of pluralism in media and popular culture toward national history reflection.” (ibid.). If a society advocates for a master narrative, opposing beliefs are, at best, criticized. The level of pluralism and freedom of opinion depends on the type of government (ibid., 69). Generally, in democracies, people are taught various interpretations of historical events, whereas authoritarian regimes are characterized in part by having the government control the media and the narrative. Nevertheless, Wang mentions that in some democratic societies, there can be “hidden rules in expressing opinions regarding specific historical events” (ibid.). Meaning that some opinions can be socially unacceptable to have, resulting in other generations not being educated about multiple interpretations of events, which in turn leads to the population not having nuanced opinions.

When it comes to the outcomes of using this four dimensions analysis, it should be noted that one country is not required to have a high level in all of the four contexts or dimensions, as it is possible to have lower level in some aspects and higher level in others (ibid., 70). Different variations and combinations of low and high levels of context will help identify the functions of historical memory and the influence of historical memory in relation to current situations. This section covered the framework of four contexts of historical memory, which provides the researcher with indicators to determine the levels of historical consciousness, political usage of

historical memory, reconciliation of past conflicts, and openness and diversity of opinions. By identifying these levels, it is possible to obtain an understanding of the impact that historical memory can have on a country, society or people.

## 4.0 Analysis

### 4.1 The Risk Factors of Violence Against Women in Peru

In the theory section both the Feminist Ecological Model and the Table of Risk and Protective Factors by WHO were introduced. Then, a table combining the FEM, the risk factors from the WHO and risk factors specific to Peru was elaborated. In this table, referred to as table 2, the individual layer and the microsystem layer are comprehensively filled in. These factors and the research behind them were also elaborated upon in the theory section. The majority of the research focused on the individual and microsystem layers, given that most studies predominantly explore domestic violence or intimate femicide rather than violence against women as a whole. Hence, on account of the realization that most available research is concerned with the two first layers, this analysis will aim the focus towards the exosystem layer and the macrosystem layer.

#### 4.1.1 The Macrosystem

Firstly, the following section will examine the macrosystem layer. The macrosystem layer includes politics, values, the economy etc. (Balogun-Mwangi et. al. 2016, 4). Furthermore, table 1, elaborated by the WHO, introduces two risk factors on the societal level, which coincide with the macrosystem layer from the FEM. These two risk factors introduced by the WHO are a decline in social spending and gender inequality, specifically in regard to the number of female representatives in government. This guides the analysis to examine these risk factors in the context of violence against women in Peru.

#### 4.1.1.1 Gender Inequality

The first factor that will be analyzed is gender inequality, and more specifically the low percentage of women representatives in government. In other words, the political participation of women in Peru will be assessed.

Scholars in the field of political science disclose that the quality of a democracy is dependent on diverse representation, in this case the representation of all women in Peru (Moisés & Sanchez 2016, 11). As of late 2019, there are no female regional governors, and only 92 female mayors out of 1800, constituting just 5 percent (HacerPerú 2019). In 2016, the Peruvian congress reached the highest number of women as legislators. There were 36 women out of a total 130 legislators in congress, which constitutes 28 percent (ibid.). Some sources claim that the congress reached 30 percent at some point in the 4 year legislative term<sup>4</sup>, due to replacements. As of May 2020, there are 33 female legislators in congress and only even female ministers in the 19 person ministerial cabinet led by President Martín Alberto Vizcarra Cornejo (Reisman 2020) (Peruvian Government n.d.). According to the Gender Quotas Database, Peru established gender quotas in 1997, with the most recent gender quotas establishing 30 percent of seats to be occupied by women (International IDEA n.d). This indicates that Peru is barely reaching the gender quotas it has set. Regardless of the existence of this policy meant to ensure women's political participation, it does not improve upon the general issue of underrepresentation, despite being what this law intends to correct (Moisés & Sanchez 2016, 12). Indeed, women are grossly underrepresented in politics, which contributes to the wider unequal treatment of women, worsening the financial opportunities for women to run for office. This results in a feedback mechanism of low percentage of female representation in politics. Furthermore, this ultimately affects the rights of women to take part in the decision-making processes that influence all of Peru (ibid., 11).

However, it bears highlighting that a higher level of participation of women in government does not automatically indicate that decision-making in the interest of women and girls will occur. A recent example of this can be seen in the sexual violence rates during the

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<sup>4</sup> President Martín Vizcarra dissolved the Peruvian congress in September 2019, ending the legislative term after less than 4 years rather than 5. The president made it clear that shutting down the congress was on the account of the inability to reach agreements due to obstruction, however the decision came about after corruption scandals in regard to the congress emerged. (BBC News Mundo 2019). Furthermore, the President Vizcarra permitted a single-term limit of legislators in congress (Human Rights Watch 2020).

Covid-19 state of emergency, where 226 under aged girls were victims of sexual violence in a less than 2 months window. The minister and vice minister of MIMP, who are both women, and were confronted with and unable to answer a question during a recent press conference concerning whether these victims had been provided, as prescribed by law, with an emergency kit containing tests to rule out sexually transmitted diseases and an emergency contraception pill (Loayza 2020). This lack of regard could potentially result in 226 young girls having to carry out an unwanted pregnancy, resulting in them to further become victims of the patriarchy, by being confronted with economic issues or forced to withdraw from school. This refers back to the point of lack of representation in the sense that having one woman appointed does not ensure the representation of all women. Nonetheless, it could be accredited to lack of majority in congress, demonstrating that despite the intention of distributing the emergency kits, the majority did not push this issue.

This perspective confirms the risk factor of gender inequality in terms of female political participation to be true for Peru. However, lack of female representation is not exclusive to Peru nor to Latin America. This is an issue that is observed in developed countries as well. As a matter of fact, 30 percent of seats being occupied by women in the national parliament is not an arguably low percentage, especially in comparison to other developing countries in 2019, such as Australia where the percentage also is 30 and in Germany the percentage is 31 (Inter-Parliamentary Union n.d.). Consequently, Peru is not alone in this issue of underrepresentation of women; nonetheless, this problem becomes more complex in Latin American countries due to many underlying structural issues. For instance, inequities of power, corruption and socioeconomic inequality. These elements worsen the democratic problem of underrepresentation. In late 2019, President Vizcarra approved a law in relation to gender parity in congressional elections. Here, it is established that 40 percent of congressional candidate lists must be occupied by women in 2021, 45 percent in 2026, and 50 percent in 2031 (Human Rights Watch 2020). Again, this does not ensure the female candidates to be elected, but it is a step in the right direction. Nonetheless, it does not specify how the law will guarantee female candidates to enjoy similar financial opportunities as male candidates. Additionally, the law does not acknowledge the misrepresentation of all women, in that poor, indigenous, disabled, young and old women should be considered as well in order to ensure maximum representation in government, which could further the process of gender equality. This proves that further

government intervention can contribute to the advancement of gender equality and therefore improve on the social issue of gender-based violence. This leads to the following risk factor on the macrosystem layer, which is reduction in social spending.

#### 4.1.1.2 Reduction in Social Spending

A decline in social spending on the governmental level is a risk factor of femicide. Less attention aimed at social policies indicate less government intervention in regard to social issues such as violence against women, and this can consequently result in an increase thereof. As mentioned previously, Peru is currently experiencing an increase in femicide rates, and Lima, its capital, ranks third worldwide on a list of cities concerning the level of probability of sexual assault for young women in public spaces (Plan International 2018, 7). Social spending on programs of universal scope, such as education, health and programs to combat poverty and promote social inclusion reached 78,076 million Peruvian soles in 2018, representing a decrease of 3.14 percent in relation to social spending for 2017, then standing at 80,610 million Peruvian soles (MEF 2018). Nonetheless, Peru's national budget for 2019 demonstrated that 81,522 million Peruvian soles were allocated to social spendings, indicating a growth in this sector (Gastulo 2018). Specifically in the context of preventive measures for gender-based violence, the current government has tripled the funds from 164 million soles in 2018 to 435 million in 2019 (DEMUS 2020a). These numbers prove that the government's social spending is increasing, albeit not giving the expected outcome as violence against women is still on the rise. Examining this risk factor by merely determining whether there is an increase or decrease in spendings towards social programs, does not provide enough information given that this factor seemingly does not concur in the case of Peru. Thus, other factors should be taken into account, as Peru's national budget can be considered as rather low when compared to developed countries and to many smaller countries as well, illustrating that the entire national budget is comparatively small when considering the size of Peru and its population<sup>5</sup> (CIA n.d.). This demonstrates that while a reduction in social spending may be a risk factor of femicide for some countries, the particular case of Peru is more complex. Indeed, although there is an increase in spending focused on social affairs, this increase is nonetheless minimal when evaluated in terms of the country's size and

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<sup>5</sup> In 2018, Peru's population count was at 31,9 million (The World Bank n.d.)

GDP. In fact, for a long time Peru has had the lowest levels of public investment in terms of education and healthcare in the region (The Guardian 2020). In the case of tripling the budget destined to face violence against women and minors, the significance remains minimal, since it ultimately only constitutes 0.37 percent of the entire national government budget (DEMUS 2020a). Furthermore, increasing the government's social spendings will highly unlikely result in favorable outcomes in regard to the occurrence of femicide, if all social policies are not composed using a gendered lens. This points back to the decline in homicide rates while the femicide rates increase. If gender lenses are applied to policy making with the intention of advancing gender equality, then an increase in social spendings could indeed be a crucial tool in the fight to decrease violence against women. It is important to note that in addition to the gendered lens, class lenses and racial lenses will further promote gender equality, since it would take into account the unique and particular societal disadvantages and oppression faced by all members of society, and not just women as a wide and undifferentiated category.

This respective topic, in terms of social spending, is a risk factor since socioeconomic determinants are very often directly linked to an increase or decrease of violence, as shown in table 2 at the microsystem layer. Here, it is important to recognize that despite Peru seeing an increase in the social spending, it is arguably not sufficient. On the other hand, for the year 2019, the health and education budget increases by 13.7 percent and 11.1 percent, respectively, compared to the previous year. It should be taken into account that for social programs to fully provoke a social change, they should be given a few years to be implemented and operate. Given this, the current increase of femicide could be a consequence of lower social spending in the previous years (MEF 2018). It is essential to recognize that public safety for girls in Lima is poor, referring back to the 2018 study by Plan International, where Lima ranks third as the most dangerous city worldwide in terms of public safety for girls. This consequently should serve as a warning sign and should result in more women occupying positions in public and safety planning, which consequently also relates to the gender inequality factor above. In the realm of public safety, an important factor to look at in terms of the probability of gender-based violence is the police. This will be discussed in the section below.

#### 4.1.2 The Exosystem

The exosystem layer concerns institutional bodies. In table 2, the influencing factors of violence against women at this level were laid out to be the number of police, the educational system and level of criminalization of perpetrators. These factors are presented by the WHO and other scholars, which can be seen in section 3.1.2.2.

##### 4.1.2.1 Police

The number of police is recognized as an influencing factor, implying that an increase of properly trained police officers is linked with improved prevention of violence. This indicates that poorly trained police officers in regard to dealing with violence against women and / or a decline in the total number of police officers may result in an increase of violence. Over the last decade, Peru has experienced a decrease in the number of police officers assigned to police stations (Campuzano 2019). Indeed, UNODC recommends 300 police officers per 100,000 inhabitants and in Peru there are 241 for every 100,000 inhabitants (RPP Noticias 2017). This coincides with the risk factor claiming that a low number of police officers increase the occurrence of gender-based violence. In the case of Peru, an increase in gender-based violence can be observed subsequently in an increase of reports of domestic violence. According to the CEMs, there were 133,697 cases of violence registered in 2018, including all types of violence such as physical, psychological, economical and sexual (MIMP 2019c). In 2019, there were 181,885 cases registered, indicating a significant increase (ibid.). It is crucial to recognize that these are the numbers of cases that have been reported, meaning that this number does not reflect the reality as there are arguably more cases of violence in Peru, however it depicts the high rate of violence against women. Simultaneously, there have been implemented a greater number of CEMs in different areas of Peru. In total there are 355, of which 109 are located in police stations (MIMP 2019d). The increase of reports of violence could be credited to the growing number of CEMs, nonetheless, this does not disprove the existence of violence against women. If it does not reveal the increasing and alarming trend of violence, at the very least it illustrates the need of the emergency centers for women.

In regard to the increasing femicide rates, as mentioned in the methodology, the meaning of the term femicide can vary depending on different countries. Here, it is important to determine

if Peru considers the significance and the context behind the term, as this has an impact on how healthcare professionals and police officers report the incidents, which consequently reflects the number of femicides. In Peru the definition of femicide is the following:

THE FEMICIDE is the death of women due to the very condition of being a woman, in the context of family violence, coercion, harassment or sexual harassment; abuse of power, trust or any other position or relationship that confers authority on the aggressor; and in any form of discrimination against women, regardless of whether there is or has been a conjugal relationship or coexistence with the aggressor.<sup>6</sup> (MIMP 2020).

This proves that the Peruvian government does acknowledge femicide and the motives behind it, however, this does not take away from the fact that health service personnel and police in all parts of Peru equally consider the meaning of femicide when dealing with female murders. Nevertheless, since 2009, Peru has recognized the term femicide by acknowledging the existence of intentional murders of women because they are women and by acknowledging the difference between that and female homicide (MIMP 2020). This indicates that police officers have had a 10 year period to understand femicide and to implement measures in order to report femicide, which ultimately implies that the correct way of dealing with femicide should be employed by now.

Perhaps even more relevant in this specific case than just the total number of police effectives, is the kind of training that they receive. Indeed, victims' complaints are mishandled more often than not, leading to many women and girls choosing not to report. Jessica Tejeda, who now serves as an example of police incompetence, was murdered along with her children, just 159 meters from the police station, when police neglected to respond to calls of help (Yrigoyen 2019). An additional example of gross incompetence of police in Peru, is as of recent amidst the Covid-19 national emergency, several reports emerged of young adolescent girls being raped and sexually harassed by police officers (Urbina 2020). According to the Ministry of the Interior, there were 54 complaints regarding poor treatment by police agencies in the case of violence against women in just a six-month period in 2018 (Campuzano 2018). Unfortunately, this ill-treatment of victims ultimately affects the number of women reporting violence and

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<sup>6</sup> Own translation from: "El FEMINICIDIO es la muerte de las mujeres por su condición de tal, en contexto de violencia familiar, coacción, hostigamiento o acoso sexual; abuso de poder, confianza o de cualquier otra posición o relación que confiere autoridad a la persona agresora; y en cualquier forma de discriminación contra la mujer, independientemente de que exista o haya existido una relación conyugal o de convivencia con la persona agresora".



therefore hinder the women from getting the help they need, which consequently can result in an increase of femicide cases, since prior intimate partner abuse is a risk factor of femicide in the microsystem layer, see table 2. For instance, between January and April in 2018, only 5 of the 43 victims of femicide had reported the attacks they had suffered to the police (ibid.). It is often the case that women are less likely to report incidents of violence when law enforcement fails to do their job such as when blaming the victims of violence. As a response to the increasing issue of gender-based violence, in 2015 the Law to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women (Law no. 30364) was passed, however a problem was discovered by the office of the legislator Indira Isabel Huilca Flores after observing 12 police stations in Lima (ibid.). The report was published in 2017 and it revealed that police officers were not fully trained in dealing with female victims of gender-based violence. Furthermore, many stations were not equipped to execute the protective measures for victims, for instance, there was an absence of location maps and of special phone numbers for victims as well as a lack of patrolling officers (ibid.). Despite this discovery and the intention of training police officers in order to improve the police stations concerning violence against women, in the following years complaints of ill-treatment of victims emerged, as mentioned above.

Due to the decreasing number of police officers and poor implementations of the Law to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women in police stations, the Vice Minister of Public Security of the Ministry of the Interior, Víctor Rucoba, announced that by 2020, 300 million Peruvian soles will be allocated just to finance the sustainability of the police officers (Campuzano 2019). Nevertheless, the purpose of “financing the sustainability of the police officers” does not necessarily include improvement on the police stations and on the training of police officers in order to better meet the needs of the victims of gender-based violence. Moreover, to advance the response by the police concerning violence against women, not only is it necessary to improve upon the training of the police officers, however, inviting more women to join the police force can provide female victims of violence a sense of safety. This can lead more women to report when experiencing violence. As of 2018, almost 19 percent of the entire Peruvian national police consist of women, which, although it may exceed other Latin American countries, is still far from enough (Cantú 2018). Furthermore, to improve upon the situation regarding violence against women, it is essential to act on and react to the complaints in order to prevent further actions of violence.

#### 4.1.2.2 Education System

In the individual layer in table 2, a low education level or lack thereof is a risk factor of gender-based violence. The education system on the exosystem layer is also an influencing factor to violence against women, however, in this context it relates to education as an institutional body. Education affects employment opportunities and the education system has a great impact on how society is shaped since the teachings in school influence the belief systems and opinions of the students. Moreover, “lack of access to education is one reason why women face discrimination” (Farfán 2016, 64). Despite women’s access to education is high in Peru the percentage of female illiteracy is high as well, affecting 9.6 percent of women from 15 years old and over, whereas only 3.1 percent of men are affected (ibid., 65). Indigenous women with a native mother tongue, such as Quechua or Aymara, suffer further from illiteracy, affecting 22.4 percent (ibid.). This indicates that indigenuos women are more susceptible to endure the consequences of gender inequality. Moreover, there is quite an imbalance between urban and rural access to education, which means that women in rural areas are arguably affected differently. Furthermore, socioeconomic indicators such as poverty limit the ability to acquire an education, despite having access to one. In most cases girls are more frequently affected by this as they can be forced to stay at home to help care for younger siblings, help with housework etc. rather than boys (ibid., 66). As Fáfán puts it, “47.2% of young women between the ages of 14 and 24 are working instead of studying, and the work they do is generally domestic work, without a time schedule, vacations or fair wages, and when they study, they are highly absent due to the obligations that these tasks imply”<sup>7</sup> (Farfán 2016, 66). This is evidence of the effect that unequal gender roles have on the economic opportunities for women in the future. This implies that although women have access to education, due to traditional gender norms and obligations women, in comparison to men, are more likely to abandon education. Nevertheless, both men and women in impoverished conditions have less access to higher education.

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<sup>7</sup> Own translation from: “El 47,2 % de mujeres jóvenes de entre 14 y 24 años está trabajando en lugar de estudiar, y la labor que desempeñan es por lo general el trabajo doméstico, sin horarios, vacaciones ni salarios justos y, cuando estudian, presentan una alta inasistencia por las obligaciones que esas labores implican.”

Furthermore, education is an essential tool when confronted with the fight against gender-based violence, since it consists of learned stereotypes in relation to gender norms (Jaime 2019). In order to combat stereotypes and eradicate violence against women it is important that a gender approach is applied in regard to education. If teachings of gender inequality is a priority in the national curriculum, it can educate girls and boys to show respect and empathy (ibid.). Teaching about consequences of the disadvantages of the traditional gender roles can help prevent discriminatory practices, for instance, some rural schools provide exclusive workshops for men, regarding mechanics, electricity and carpentry and other workshops for women such as cooking, cosmetology and weaving (Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán 2013, 34). Nonetheless, one can observe advancement in relation to the education system and its discriminatory practices. In 2016 a new national curriculum was introduced where attention is aimed towards interculturality, diversity, and gender equality (Ministerio de Educación 2016). The gender approach to education is an analytical tool that helps to identify the spaces and roles assigned to gender and can result in allowing equal opportunities for all (Jaime 2019). The extent to which the said gender approach is being implemented in the educational system across Peru and whether it promotes gender equality will not be analyzed as it is a recent advancement and the existence of published sources is scarce. However, research states that a positive outcome is to be expected. On the contrary and further complicating matters is that even these first attempts at integrating a gendered component in public education have generated an incredible amount of backlash. This backlash arose with the movement called *Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas*<sup>8</sup>, where it rejects the inclusion of a gendered perspective within education and calls for an elimination of this. Here, it further demonstrates the complicated relationship between gender and Peru. A mere inclusion of gender in discourse is also a positive development, nevertheless the gendered perspective to the national curriculum is still enforced at present day.

#### 4.1.2.3 Criminalization

The legal response of the State to perpetrators of gender-based violence has a great impact on the actions of society. Poor criminalization practices indicate hardly any to no consequences to the perpetrator's actions, which can lead to second time offences and

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<sup>8</sup> In English: "Do not mess with my children" (Meneses 2019).

subsequently lead to an increase of violence. The way the State reacts to femicide depends on their understanding of it, which is mentioned above under the section regarding the police. Over the years Peru shows a comprehension of femicide, the motives behind it and the consequences thereof. The first mention of femicide in criminal law in Peru was the year 2011, where it became an “autonomous offence” in the Penal Code (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2018). Furthermore, the Law to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women was approved in 2015 (Campuzano 2018). Additionally, the Decree of 2016-2021 National Plan Against Gender-Based Violence was released with the purpose of providing further protections of victims (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2018). Nonetheless, it can be depicted that femicide rates have increased after the introduction of laws and decrees with the purpose of reducing violence. The penalties of perpetrating femicide in Peru is no less than 15 years in prison and in aggravating circumstances the perpetrator will receive no less than 24 years (Deus & Gonzales 2018, 50). For the case of Peru, penalization of perpetrators of femicide has evolved from somewhat tolerating violence against women to recognition of this issue and specific criminalization of femicide. In this sense, it does not concur with the risk factor in table 2. However, the legal standard may be in place, but putting it into practice has not been straightforward. An example of this, is the case of Arlette Contreras whose assault and attempted rape and femicide were caught on tape, nevertheless her case in 2019, was grossly mishandled, which prompted one of the biggest demonstrations in Peruvian history. Here, it shows that even in highly mediatic cases where there is proof of the assault, obtaining fair sentences is anything but straightforward, despite what the law says. This therefore, concurs with the risk factor of poor criminalization of perpetrators may lead to an increase in violence. It sets up the contradictory image of regardless of the existence of strict laws against gender-based violence, the violence is still increasing.

#### 4.1.3 Sub-conclusion

From examining the risk factors above, it is clear that these factors of the macrosystem layer and the exosystem layer are very dependent on the specific country and can therefore not be risk factors in which all countries should consider. In regard to the first mentioned risk factor of gender inequality, the percentage of women in politics is far from equal in Peru, and worldwide

for that matter. However, Peru is aiming to improve the gender disparities in regard to female political participation and political representation. Notwithstanding, there is a vast problem in underrepresentation of women of all social classes, races, ethnicities, sexual orientation and gender identities, which also serves as an obstacle to achieve gender equality and is therefore a barrier to prevent gender-based violence. Additionally, it is observed that Peru is increasing the percentage of the national budget that is distributed to social policies, which should decrease violence against women, although this seemingly is not the case. Nevertheless, the social spending from previous years was lower, which arguably is a reason for the current increase in violence against women. The exosystem layer presented a limited number of police officers and a lack of a gendered perspective to their training, lack of efficiency in the education system and poor criminalization of perpetrators to be enabling factors to gender-based violence. The education system greatly affects societal norms and can dictate future interactions based on gender norms. Furthermore, a good education can provide independence and economic opportunities, for this reason it is essential that all girls have access to an education. As previously mentioned, many girls have equal access to an education, however, an impediment thereof are the traditional gender roles in combination of low socioeconomic status that prevent young girls to attend school. A positive development is the new national curriculum as it includes a new gender approach, addressing diversity, multiculturalism and gender equality despite the difficulties in implementing it and the vast backlash it is still confronted with. Hence, the education system is a prominent factor to gender-based violence in Peru and can explain the trend of violence against women. Moreover, in the past years Peru has introduced decrees and laws with the purpose of combating violence against women. Regardless of these attempts, violence against women has increased, due to the poor practice of the laws. Lastly, the police should be considered as an immensely influential factor in understanding gender-based violence in Peru, but not just based on the number of police officers as the model suggests. Indeed, it may be more important to consider the number of competent police officers. Law enforcement in Peru proves to have a history with poor treatment of victims of gender-based violence, which unfortunately impacts the amount of women reporting cases of violence and this consequently leaves incidents to go unreported and the occurrence of violence against women to rise. This can ultimately lead to a further increase of femicide.

With that in mind, it is essential to recognize that in order to understand society in the present day, the past should be taken into account. History allows us to understand the past, which in turn allows us to understand the present.

## 4.2 Historical Memory

In this section of the analysis, the historical event that is identified as having a lasting effect on the society of Peru is the internal war between the Shining Path insurgent group and the State. This historical event will be assessed with the aim of determining the role of historical memory in current Peruvian society, first by addressing the level of historical consciousness in Peruvian society. Subsequently, political usage of historical memory will be analyzed upon, using Keiko Fujimori as an example. The levels of reconciliation of past conflicts will be investigated in light of the specific issue of gender-based violence as it becomes evident that sexual violence was a key feature of the conflict. The fourth dimension regarding diversity of opinion will be examined in relation to specific historical events. Lastly, a sub-conclusion will be introduced, which further prompts a section related to the discussion of findings from this analysis

### 4.2.1 Historical Consciousness

The historical event referenced in this thesis is the internal conflict that lasted from 1980 until 2000, when the extreme left Shining Path group terrorized the nation. During this time, Peru experienced brutal episodes of violence that resulted in between 600,000 to 1,000,000 being displaced (Hernandez & Church 2003; Klarén 2017, 102). This section refers to the first dimension presented by Wang, and relates it to the level of historical context mentioned in Figure 2.

To examine this dimension, Wang suggests a few indicators in order to identify whether Peru has a high level or low level of historical context. Firstly, memorial sites can reflect how and to what extent a country remembers the past. In this case it is essential to mention The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, or CVR for its Spanish acronyms), which was established in 2001 by President Alejandro Toledo (Klarén 2017, 102). The purpose of the CVR was to investigate the reasons for the emergence of the Shining Path, the events that occurred during, and the repercussions of the conflict. The duration of the

elaboration of the report was 2 years and it concluded that up to 70.000 people died and / or disappeared. The CVR revealed that 52 percent of the violent deaths were on the account of the Shining Path and 32 percent were at the hands of military forces or police representing the government<sup>9</sup>. During this time, the leadership of the country went through several hands, namely the following Presidents: Fernando Belaúnde Terry<sup>10</sup>, Alan García Pérez<sup>11</sup>, while the majority of the deaths occurred during the government of Alberto Fujimori<sup>12</sup> (ibid.). The CVR report was received positively by the Peruvian population, but on the other hand was highly criticized as well by some segments of society for mentioning the military forces' misconduct (ibid.).

In inspiration of the CVR, a monument called *El Ojo que LLora* (The Eye that Cries) was enacted in a district of Lima in 2005, representing an attempt to acknowledge the victims of the Shining Path as well as the victims of the military forces. The monument contains some of the names of the victims of violence, including the names of people who had been killed due to being unfairly profiled as terrorists by the government (Drinot 2009, 16). There was such a polemic debate that in 2007, the monument endured various attacks and was showered in a bright orange paint, symbolizing allegiance to former President Fujimori, who at that time was standing trial for a number of charges, many of which were linked to his actions during the armed conflict. These included human rights abuses alongside corruption and a number of other charges (ibid., 15). In 2009, former President Alan García<sup>13</sup> had dismissed a donation from the German government with the purpose of building a museum of memory, indicating a desire to silence the misconduct committed by the State during the internal conflict (ibid.).

Furthermore, in 2015, to remember the internal war, the Ministry of Culture inaugurated a memorial site, called The Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion (Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social, or LUM for its spanish acronyms), that aims to keep the memories of that time, and reconcile the victims of violence (EFE 2015). During the inauguration, former President Ollanta Humala asserted that the State was a fundamental actor in the conflict and recognized that they had made mistakes and should aim to correct them, however, the discourse was in relation to the lack of presence in the remote areas where the

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<sup>9</sup> The other 16 percent is not mentioned due to inconclusive evidence.

<sup>10</sup> Fernando Belaúnde Terry was President from 1980 to 1985 (Klarén 2017, 62)

<sup>11</sup> Alan García Pérez was President from 1985 to 1990 (Klarén 2017, 19)

<sup>12</sup> Alberto Fujimori was President from 1990 to 2000 (Klarén 2017, 163)

<sup>13</sup> President from 1985-1990 and then again from 2006-2011 (Congreso de la República n.d.)

terrorist group attacked rather than any violations of human rights (ibid.). Indeed, the former President did not mention the victims of the military forces. One might hypothesize this being due in part to the fact that he acted as an officer for the Peruvian army during the internal war (ibid.). In later years, he faced “criminal investigations for his alleged role in atrocities and cover-up of egregious human rights violations committed at the Madre Mía military base, in the Alto Huallaga region, during Peru’s armed conflict” (Human Rights Watch 2020). Recently, an anti-Fujimori exhibition held at the LUM sparked debates on whether the institution was somehow pardoning the terrorism that had occurred (Castro 2018). The monument and LUM, along with other memorial sites and annual ceremonies in memory of victims who lost their lives during the brutally violent years demonstrate a high level of historical consciousness (LUM 2020), although not one that is universally shared.

The monument *The Eye that Cries* and LUM are two examples of various memorial sites, that are highly discussed in current society, which is an indicator of a high level of historical consciousness as well. Other examples are theatre plays such as *La Cautiva* or literature such as *La Hora Azul* or *Memorias de un Soldado Desconocido*, which is a book regarding a young boy having experienced being a soldier for the Shining Path and for the Peruvian army (Boesten 2019, 165-172). All of these examples have sparked controversy in the media and across the population. It proves that Peru is still in a post-conflict era dealing with the traumas and the hardship that the internal war left behind. Furthermore, Wang mentions that a collectivist culture reflects a culture of a higher level of historical consciousness. The cultural pattern that Peru seems to adopt is the collectivist culture in that individual’s identities are associated with group identities, such as individuals claiming themselves to be *fujimoristas* in support of former President Alberto Fujimori (Gratius 2007, 3). This, in addition, proves there to be a high level of historical consciousness in Peru. *Fujimorismo* will be further discussed in the following section.

#### 4.2.2 Political Usage of Historical Memory

In this dimension, the political usage of historical memory is seen as an indicator of the importance of historical memory to society. To determine whether political usage of historical memory is indeed employed in a given society, Wang states that it is crucial to examine political leaders who utilize historical events, and likewise manipulate the facts from these events, with



the purpose of evoking emotions and gaining support. Furthermore, the existence of a master narrative suggests political usage as well.

In the case of Peru, Keiko Fujimori, the daughter of former President Alberto Fujimori, provides a clear example of the political usage of historical memory in her political campaign for the 2016 election. She was a frontrunner in this election, along with the President-elect at that time Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (Horler 2016). Keiko, in her election campaign, acknowledged her connection with her father Alberto Fujimori and exploited what she hailed as the achievements of his government (ibid.). These achievements relate to the fact that a considerable part of Peru has associated the Fujimori presidency with the stabilization of the economy and to the end of terrorism, forgetting the dictatorship, the intrusive policies and the human rights abuses the former President is still currently incarcerated for (ibid). However, it was the Special Intelligence Group of the Police, and not Fujimori nor his government, who managed to arrest the Shining Path leader Abimael Guzman (Salazar 2018). In addition, a Peruvian journalist César Hildebrandt explained current-day *Fujimorismo* as a consequence and enabler of “Peruvian Alzheimers”, allowing Keiko Fujimori to gain a lot of support (Horler 2016). According to a poll by GFK (Growth from Knowledge), 55 percent of the questioned Peruvians agreed with the statement that Fujimori was a ruler with an iron fist, who ended terrorism and decreased social conflicts, whereas 37 percent agreed with the statement of Fujimori being a ruler with an iron fist, who committed crimes against the population and implanted a dictatorship (Salazar 2018). Furthermore, with the intention of celebrating the legacy of Alberto Fujimori, his daughter Keiko would counter the criticism by excusing her father’s “mistakes” (Salazar 2018). If this cannot be categorized as manipulating the facts, at the very least it is bending the truth about her father’s actions during the internal war and playing them up to her own advantage.

In relation to a master narrative, and as mentioned above, the previous governments have intended to leave out the military’s crimes and human rights abuses during the conflict, as mentioned above (Castro 2018; Human Rights Watch 2020). Contrary to this existence of a master narrative, the LUM has allowed the testimonies of victims of violence to become public, illustrating not only the atrocities committed by the terrorist group, but also the military’s violent treatment of civilians in remote areas. Nonetheless, LUM has received criticism over this very fact by Keiko Fujimori’s political party *Fuerza Popular* (Castro 2018). This indicates that Fujimoristas, along with other conservative forces, support the “master” narrative given by

previous governments, however, other segments of the Peruvian population, with assistance from civil society organizations, are still fighting for the recognition of the victims of violence at the hands of military agents. This has fuelled the debate and created an “us vs. them” narrative leading to less probability of reconciliation between the two opposite parties. In relation to the current administration of President Vizcarra, there is no evidence of political usage of historical memory. Vizcarra has merely been observed giving discourses in support of the Armed Forces’ current fight against terrorism and drug trafficking (MINDEF 2018). Nevertheless, as a consequence of dissolving the Peruvian congress in September 2019, legislators with association to Fujimorismo have claimed that the Vizcarra presidency shares similarities to a dictatorship and has ties to the Shining Path, indicating complete manipulation of facts (BBC News Mundo 2019; EFE 2019).

When looking at all of this, it quickly becomes apparent that, in Peru, there are high levels of political usage of historical memory by political leaders, demonstrating historical memory’s great impact on Peruvian society.

#### 4.2.3 Reconciliation of Past Conflicts

In this dimension, Wang refers to post-conflict reconciliation regarding the two parties or more. When a historical event has been extremely violent and there is a low level of reconciliation, this henceforth becomes a catalyst for an escalation or continuation of the given conflict. In this case, the parties involved are state agents and the victims of sexual and gender-based violence on the account of police and military officers. This is done, first, because the involved terrorist group no longer exists, and second, because analyzing this particular relationship could reveal the most about the current day issue of escalating violence against women. Indeed, given some of the contradictions uncovered when analyzing risk and protective factors in Peru, analyzing the reconciliation between the State and the victims of sexual violence during the conflict could provide further insight on a complex historical relationship that seems to only have become more complex with time.

First of all, it is essential to lay out that the police officers and the military forces should be recognized acting on behalf of the State. As Amnesty International discloses: “When a

policeman or a soldier rapes a woman in his custody, that rape is no longer an act of private violence, but an act of torture or ill-treatment for which the state bears responsibility” (Amnesty International 1991 cited in Kirk & Thomas 1992, 8). The victims of sexual violence during the Peruvian armed conflict were mainly Quechua speakers and peasants, illustrating that the victims who suffered some type of sexual violence were part of vulnerable areas (CVR 2003, 279). Further, the report by CVR showed that 83 % of the 538 women and girls who were raped during the armed conflict were by state agents such as members of the army, of the navy and of the police forces (ibid., 278). This percentage is very high even when recognizing that many victims did not come forward due to shame and fear, and in addition, that this number does not include the women who had been killed, assuming that some of them had been victims to various types of violence prior to losing their lives. According to the Unique Register of Victims, the number of victims of sexual violence from the armed conflict as of 2019 increased to a total of 6210, 5174 of which were raped, and of these rape victims 2177 were minors (DEMUS 2020b). The investigation by CVR led to the implications of over 150 state agents for these crimes (Klarén 2017, 102). This number is far from enough and does not come close to reconciliation. It should be noted that the Ministry of Justice has publicly apologized in 2016 for not having celebrated the release of the CVR report for 13 years (Andina 2016). Nonetheless, there was no mention of victims on the account of state agents in the discourse (ibid.).

Under President Alejandro Toledo, the Reparations Law was passed, however, the reparations were mainly provided to families who had lost family members in the conflict. Although this law did hold a provision concerned with reparations in terms of health and education to all victims of the armed conflict, including those of gender-based violence, the overwhelming consensus amongst civil society actors is nonetheless that these reparations were only adopted in a very reticent way by the State in an attempt to wash its hands, and should not be considered as a true recognition nor reparation of harms done (Carrasco 2019). Another example of the lack of reconciliation is that, up to date, the Peruvian judiciary has not emitted a single sentence for sexual violence crimes committed during the conflict. The case of Manta y Vilca represents particularly well the enduring difficulties faced by these victims of sexual violence, committed by state agents, upon seeking justice and recognition of what they had to endure as young adolescents. Two communities situated in the Peruvian highlands, Manta and Vilca became the sites of two military bases in the years of the conflict, during which sexual

violence against the villages' girls and women became a daily and generalized occurrence (Diakonia 2017). Today, in 2020, and after years of investigation and a first annulled trial<sup>14</sup>, 9 women are still struggling in their demand for justice, fighting through a second trial within a highly patriarchal judicial system in which sexual violence is still stigmatized (ibid.).

In this context, there have been no apologies issued, which implies that there is no indication of reconciliation between the victims of sexual violence and the perpetrators in regard to military and police forces. Unfortunately, these victims have not had any further consideration in relation to the aftermath of sexual violence, since “historically, rape was seen as a ‘natural and inevitable’ aspect of armed conflict” (Shackel 2019, 187). Hence, it is essential to acknowledge that the CVR was a fundamental actor in the recognition of violence perpetrated by the government agents. Until late 1991, in Peru’s penal code, rape was considered a crime against honor rather than against women’s bodies (Kirk & Thomas 1992, 3). This is reflected in the stigmatization of sexual violence that can be observed in present day regarding the trial with the victims from the areas of Manta y Vilca. It illustrates the lack of accountability in relation to the armed conflict and these exploitations can be considered as “tried tactics of war” (ibid., 5). It further proves that: “The silence surrounding such violence is one measure of its effectiveness” (ibid.). This demonstrates the importance of the victims reclaiming justice and that this part of history should not stay “untold”. Furthermore, these criminal acts of violence are influenced by racial underlying issues. The majority of the victims, if not all, were lower-middle class to poor mestizas<sup>15</sup> and indigenous Quechua speakers (ibid., 15), and according to the report by CVR, the word *terruca* was used by soldiers to refer to their victims (CVR 2003, 329), despite 42% of them having been minors when they were raped (DEMUS 2020b). The meaning of *terruca* relates to the word terrorist and was mainly used to describe poor indigenous followers of the Shining Path. *Terruca* has many negative connotations and the application of that word is used to excuse the ill behavior of the state agents who fought against terrorism (ibid., 347). These discriminatory practices, due to race and class, have been further established in current Peruvian society since the victims of the Shining Path and the State during the internal war were left with an unfair economic disadvantage. Especially the women who were victims of sexual violence, many of which who had children as a consequence of the reiterated rapes, since they did not

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<sup>14</sup> The judges were recused on account of biased behaviour and mistreatment of the victims (DEMUS 2020b)

<sup>15</sup> Mestiza is a woman of mixed race such as white and indigenous (Kirk & Thomas 1992, 15)

receive sufficient financial reparation and saw their life project completely compromised due to the violence they experienced. Again, in this dimension, it can be argued that there is a significant low level of reconciliation, which consequently illustrates the importance of historical memory in Peru.

#### 4.2.4 Openness and Diversity of Opinion

As mentioned previously in the theory section, this dimension pertains to the level of openness and diversity of opinion within a society, which often is dependent on the type of government. In democracies there is generally full freedom of expressions, freedom of press, diversity of opinion, etc. In this case, Peru can be considered as a democratic country with democratic values and practices. Nonetheless, it becomes apparent in the sections above that Peru struggles with the equal treatment of all Peruvians regardless of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, class and so forth. Indeed, in the Democracy Index of 2019, Peru is categorized as a flawed democracy, ranking in the 6-7 section, where 0 is full authoritarianism, and 10 is complete democracy (EIU 2019). This implies that Peru is at least somewhat of an open society with diversity of opinion. IWang also asserts that an open democratic society does not necessarily correlate to having high levels of openness and diversity regarding historical events (Wang 2018, 70). This seems to be the case of Peru, since the media portrays a fair amount of freedom of expression and opinion. However, memorials or reports concerning victims of military violence is condemned by conservatives and Fujimoristas, who are still in possession of a considerable amount of the country's political power, namely in its legislative branch. Furthermore, Peru experiences a heavy use of propaganda through news outlets, which spread false information or eliminate the dissemination of correct information. Examples of this can be found in the section regarding political usage of historical memory (Calderón 2018, 5).

Lastly, during the Fujimori regime, the diversity of opinion was less accepted, if not completely condemned, which has influenced the generation of the present day. However, the further openness of opinion today will ultimately impact the future generations. In this dimension, it can be argued that there are medium levels of openness and diversity of opinion regarding historical and memory issues.

#### 4.2.5 Sub-conclusion

From this analysis it is apparent that Peru endures a memory battle concerning the internal war in regard to who are the heroes, who deserves justice, who is guilty etc.. It is evident that the internal war and the memory battle itself have left scars on the Peruvian society. Furthermore, the silence concerning the violence executed by state agents has also left a grave impact on the society and on the respective victims. In the case of Peru, there are high levels of historical context, political usage of historical memory, low levels of reconciliation and a medium level of openness and diversity of opinion, which demonstrates a somewhat increased risk of future conflict. The functions of historical memory in the Peruvian society is reflected in the influence it has on emotions, and for some it affects their sense of group identity. The feeling of group identity has been enabled by *Fujimorismo*, which took advantage of Peruvians in a vulnerable post-conflict period by constructing the idea that disapproval of Fujimori meant supporting the terrorists. It has led to an “us vs. them” mentality with fujimoristas on one side, and people in favor of recognizing the historical narrative where state agents are being held accountable and victims receive proper reparations on the opposite side. This therefore implies that the risk of future conflict does not necessarily concern the victims of sexual violence and the military aggressors, but rather the “us vs. them” division we see today. In conclusion, historical memory plays an important role in current Peruvian society.

#### 5.0 Discussion of Findings

The analysis regarding historical memory depicts the vast impact historical trauma has on Peru. Likewise, it is evident that historical memory influences the violence against women and violence in general. Indeed, Peru is still very much experiencing a post-conflict era, mainly due to the lack of dealing with the trauma and the scars that the conflict left behind. One of the scars is this division of Peru, which was taken advantage of and exacerbated by proponents of *Fujimorismo*. This division was further exacerbated by the erasure of the military misconduct that emanated from the presidencies during the conflict.

The traumas from the internal war are especially apparent in the remote areas that were particularly affected by the conflict, as violence against women became a dominant trend in

society, even many years after the conflict ended (Boesten 2006, 356). During the years of “pacification”, domestic violence in Ayacucho was on the rise along with an increase of unstable mental health and alcoholism, both risk factors to gender-based violence (ibid.). Furthermore, in 2018, the number of femicides per 100.000 women was highest in the departments of Huánuco (reaching 2,8), Ayacucho (2,6), Tacna (2,3), Amazon (2,0) and Cusco (2,0), all of which comprise rural areas, who were also some of the most affected by the armed conflict (INEI 2019, 19; CVR 2003). In other words, this confirms a correlation between gender-based violence and the rural areas specifically affected by the violent episode during the internal conflict.

Likewise, according to the National Observatory of Violence against Women and Family Group Members, women living in rural areas endure higher rates of domestic physical violence in comparison to women in urban areas (Valer & Viviano 2019). This is not to suggest that the violence during the internal war has exclusively caused an increase in violence against women, given that, as was demonstrated table 2, other factors influence as well. However, by using Wang’s model alongside this table, it is supposed that a combination of the influencing factors that increase violence as well as the internal war exacerbated the situation. Boesten confirms that the ill-treatment of women during the conflict has “contributed to reproducing the sexist and racist hierarchies that are at the root of much of the violence in Peruvian society” (Boesten 2006, 357). This statement relates to the unfair treatment of women by state agents, as mentioned in the analysis above. Ultimately, these women still endure patriarchal stigmatization today as a consequence of the sexual violence experienced 20-40 years ago.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the conflict normalized violence and rape. The fact that the government has not publicly recognized the human rights abuses by state agents nor has apologized to the victims of gender-based violence has facilitated a normalization of violence. In addition, Carey Jr. & Torres (2010, 144) state that “uncovering the historical precursors to femicide reveals a pervasive tolerance of violence, which ultimately controls its population, male and female alike“. This coincides with the findings of the historical memory analysis, as it illustrates how the historical violence and the State’s complicity in it are influencing factors to the current increase of violence against women. Additionally, the violence carried out by the security agents of the government during the internal conflict influences the level of trust between police officers and victims of gender-based violence in the present day, due to the lack of justice for the victims. Many military and police forces did not face any consequences for

their actions of brutal mistreatment of women and girls in remote areas of Peru. Even the victims of the sexual crimes documented in the CRV, who are mostly teenage girls, have not gotten a fair trial, and not a single sentence has ever been emitted. This behavior is even reflected in the police culture in today's society, which can be observed in section 4.1.2.1. Furthermore, current trust levels as a result of the previous misconduct can lead to an issue of underreporting incidents of violence. Subsequently, this contributes to the current increase of violence against women. Again, this reconfirms that the violent past has facilitated to some degree a social and juridical approval of impunity and of traditional gender norms (ibid., 162). On the other hand, it is essential to note that stating the internal war as the main and only catalyst for current numbers of gender-based violence disregards the general historical widespread violence, which have existed since military dictatorships where women's rights were neglected (ibid., 144-145).

## 6.0 Conclusion

This research set out to investigate why Peru is seeing an increase of violence against women, and to what extent this increase is influenced by the country's historical memory. The use of the Feminist Ecological Model, complemented by findings from the WHO, facilitated an understanding of the multiplicity of factors to which the increasing violence against women in Peru can be attributed. On a societal and institutional level, the main factors that were identified as influencing this social problem were gender inequality, the composition and training of the police force, the education system, and, to some extent, the budget of social policies as well as criminalization of perpetrators. Accounting for the gender inequality factor was female political participation, which clearly can be improved upon. A rather positive but prolonged development, is the proposed law to ensure equal female political participation by 2031. However, I argue that in relation to political participation, not only gender equality will enhance the advancement of women's rights, but equality of all will improve the circumstances as these social issues concern all types of women and men who experience discrimination and exclusion in unique ways. For one, it is evident that indigenous and poor women from rural areas are more likely to endure violence. Furthermore, a highly influencing factor was found to be the police force, as it is apparent that the lack of properly trained police officers and properly equipped police stations will likely result in incidents of violence being underreported and misreported. This leads to an



increase of violence due to lack of consequences for the perpetrator, as it can further result in second time or rather multiple time offenses. Moreover, the education system proves to be a highly influential factor with respect to gender-based violence, as education shapes the understanding of surroundings and often dictates the societal norms. An important advancement here is the gender approach that has recently been incorporated in the new national curriculum. Although faced with backlash from conservative, often groups affiliated to *Fujimorismo*, it could greatly impact the very gender roles that hinder some young girls in Peru from going to school, if it is correctly implemented. In regard to the risk factor of reduction in social spending, it is observed that in recent years there has been an increase. Meanwhile, the increase with respect to gender-based violence can be accredited to the elaboration of social policies, in need of a gender perspective, and to a lack of proper implementation of the social policies. Nonetheless, the budget specifically assigned to preventive measures of gender-based violence is higher than in previous years. However, in order to see and evaluate the results from the preventive measures, it requires years to be fully implemented. Regarding the risk factor of criminalization, here it is evident that despite the laws against gender-based violence and criminal offenses of up to 15 years in relation to femicide, violence against women continues to increase. This implies that in the case of Peru, criminal offenses are not prosecuted correctly or sufficiently. However, through this analysis the increase of gender-based violence can be attributed to the level of gender inequality, the conditions of the police force, the education system that has reinforced traditional gender roles and the distribution of the social spendings. Nonetheless, we can observe positive developments in these areas, and aspects on which to further improve.

Next, employing the historical memory framework enabled to grasp the extent to which historical memory of the armed conflict continues to influence Peruvian society today, especially as it relates to the issue of gender-based violence. From the analysis, I conclude that in Peru, there are high levels of historical consciousness, high levels of political usage of historical memory, low levels of reconciliation of past conflicts and a medium level of openness and diversity of opinion. This proves that there is somewhat of an increased risk of future conflict in regard to Peruvians supporting the silence concerning the State's criminal conduct of violence during the internal war, and other Peruvians believing in justice for the victims of violence at the hands of state agents. It has created an "us vs. them" mentality, which seriously affects Peru in

the present day. The “us vs. them” narrative was exploited and intensified by the *Fujimorismo* in order to gain additional supporters. Fujimoristas have criticized attempts to bring justice to victims of state aggressors, which have prompted the current absence of justice for these women. The lack of justice for previous victims of violence affects the current social issue of violence against women. The brutal violence during the internal conflict has normalized the violence in current current society, laying out the groundwork for a general acceptance of impunity, as well as of traditional gender norms. Another illustration of how the historical trauma left its impact on Peruvian society, is the high rates of violence against women in the same areas most touched by the violence during the internal conflict. These same women have been left behind to deal with the traumas by themselves and to fight the patriarchal system, which was further reestablished under the duration of the internal war as well as during the following years of silence and erasure.

Determining the exact extent to which the current-day issue of violence against women in Peru should be seen as influenced by how the country recovered and remembers its violent past cannot be accomplished in a straightforward manner. Hence, investigating it in the way that was done enabled me to understand how ongoing divisions and the denial of state-committed atrocities has affected the development towards greater equality and liberation for all segments of Peruvian society. It is undeniable that the Peruvian state is in debt to its women, a debt that ought to be acknowledged and corrected, if any of the recent progressive actions aimed at reducing violence against women are to reach their full potential.

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