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Department of Political Sciences

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Supervisor: Anders Uhlin

# The Role of Gender Norms in Preventing Violence against Women

A case study from Lima, Peru

Anna Luise Krumm

# Abstract

The third UN Millennium Development Goal promotes “achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women” (UNDP 2013). It reflects the fact that violence against women (VAW) is a problem of global proportions which hinders the achievement of gender equality and at the same time has negative effects on countries’ social and economical well-being. In Peru, numerous efforts by the government, national and international organizations have been made to fight VAW during the last years; nonetheless high levels remain and the situation seems far from improving. According to the ecological model of violence, societal factors, such as gender-equal social and legal norms can contribute to prevention; which is why this thesis is focusing on the role of gender norms within Peruvian prevention measures against VAW. Furthermore, norm theories claim that the diffusion and alteration of norms depends on an interaction between local and international norms. Consequently, also the influence of national and international gender norms will be examined. Following a qualitative research strategy through conducting 14 semi-structured interviews with representatives of different types of VAW preventing organizations, this thesis finds that most organization rather focus on treating the consequences of VAW than on prevention. Still, including and addressing gender norms in order to prevent VAW seems to be an approach which gains further influence in the Peruvian context.

Keywords: Peru, Preventing Violence against Women, Norm theory, Gender Norms

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# Abbreviations, Figures and Maps

## Abbreviations

CDC	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (Part of the American Department of Health and Human Services)
CIDH	Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos/ Inter American Commission of Human Rights
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development (UN agency)
INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática/ (Peruvian) National Institute of Statistics and Informatics
MIMP	Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables/ (Peruvian) Ministry for Women and Minorities
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
INGO	International non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PAHO	Pan American Health Organisation (WHO Regional Office of for the Americas)
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	UN Populations Fund
VAW	Violence against Women
WHO	World Health Organization

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# 1. Introduction

*“Violence against women and girls is a problem of pandemic proportions.”*  
(UN Women 2014)

The third UN Millennium Development Goal aims at “achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women” (UNDP 2013). It reflects the fact that violence against women (VAW) is a major problem which hinders the achievement of gender equality. VAW not only “impoverishes women, their families, communities and nations, it also lowers economic production, drains resources from public services and employers, and reduces human capital formation” (UN Secretary General Study, 2006, p.2). VAW is a form of discrimination and a violation of human rights. Whereas the former approaches by development actors focused mostly on providing assistance to victims and dealing with the consequences of violence, during the last years prevention measures have been moved to the center of attention. Notions such as empowerment, women’s agency and rights based approaches became popular and demonstrate the changing attitude of development actors towards the issue of VAW (Desai and Potter, 2008, chap.7).

## 1.1 Problem Identification

Overall, the scope and extent of violence against women all over the world has been increasing. Throughout the last years and multilateral organizations such as WHO or UN Women even talked about a problem of pandemic nature. According to a WHO study from 2013, physical and sexual violence against women is currently affecting more than one-third of all women globally (WHO Report 2013; UN Women 2013).

A 12-country study conducted by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) in 2012 claims that especially in Latin American countries VAW has been an ongoing problem. In spite of economic gains, in many countries of this continent, VAW still persists and the percentage of women having experienced intimate partner or sexual violence at least once in their life ranges between 17% and 53% (Bott et al. , 2012, pp.20-23). Particular thereby is, that studies aiming to measure national levels of VAW often place the Andean Countries among their top range (ibid.). Belonging to this group, it is not surprising that the level of VAW in Peru is very alarming. According to the Peruvian Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, about 40% of the entire female population has experienced intimate partner violence once in their life (MIMP, 2009). Further, PAHO ranks Peru as one of the developing countries with the highest level of

VAW (Bott et al, 2012, p.20). Astonishingly, these statistics stand in contrast to the advanced Peruvian legal framework of women rights and equality measures. On an international and national level several conventions and laws against the discrimination of women were ratified (e.g. CEDAW, Convention of Belem do Para, Ley N.26260) and even a national plan to foster women's rights was launched in 2009 (OHCHR 2013, CIDH 2013, MIMP 2009). Moreover, by implementing different projects, programs or campaigns to prevent VAW, INGOs, foreign and local NGOs, and government agencies are tackling this issue. Nevertheless, levels of VAW remain high (Rousseau, 2009, pp. 67-95).

The reasons why prevention measures fail and VAW still remains high are disputed by experts. However, what seems to be accepted by most scholars is the "ecological model of violence" which claims that there is no single factor causing violence but that it is the interplay of several ones which increase the risk to become a perpetrator or/and a victim of violence (e.g. CDC 2013; Heise 2011, p.7; OECD 2013). According to this model, societal norms related to violence can have a huge impact on the probability to become either a victim or perpetrator. In fact, the ecological model even indicates that societal norms have an influence on other risk factors which are likely to lead to acts of violence (Heise, 2011, pp.6-8)

Studies on the prevention of VAW demonstrate that strong inequalities in female and male gender roles are likely to create risks of acts of violence between men and women (WHO, 2010, pp. 81, 82). Gender roles in turn are framed by gender norms which define expected female and male behavior within a specific society and are one type of societal norms (Heise, 2011, p. 7, Seguino, 2007, p.1). Going back to the ecological model, these gender norms can hence constitute and increase risk factors of VAW. In fact, in many developing countries gender norms are considered to be obstacles to gender equity and process of fighting VAW. Especially, countries where societies show patriarchic characteristics, such as Peru, are often claimed to possess gender norms favoring gender inequality and VAW (Boesten, 2012; Odimegwu and Okemgbo, 2003).

Strong evidence not only in the field of violence prevention, but also in areas such as behavioral economics, or sociology of law shows that in order to change behavior also norms need to be changed (Cialdini and Trost,1998, p.152; Baier, 2013, p.1, Elster, 1989, p. 99). In the context of VAW this suggests that in order to fight violent behavior against women, gender norms need to be changed (WHO 2010, pp.80-82). How this process can take place and what difficulties can appear will be discussed further in the section on norm theories of this thesis.

## **1.2. Purpose of the Study**

This thesis aims at contributing to the debate on the role which gender norms of a specific society play in the prevention measures designed to fight VAW. As mentioned before, VAW is a universal problem that occurs worldwide. However,



since statistics indicate very high levels in Peru that did not noticeably drop although prevention measures by several international, national and local actors have been realized throughout the last years (Boesten, 2012; p.360), this study will focus on Peru, more specifically on the Lima area.

Extensive research on gender norms in various contexts has been conducted so far; however, the role of gender norms in VAW prevention measures, in developing countries seems to be a quite recent topic (e.g. WHO 2010; Seguino 2007, Odimegwu and Okemgbo, 2003). From my point of view, especially due to the fact that there are so many different prevention measures and projects destined at fighting VAW currently active in Lima, there is a need for further research on the role of gender norms in this context. A special interest for me is thereby the interplay of international, bilateral, national and local organizations and the respective gender norms they employ in prevention measures destined to fight VAW.

### **1.3 Research Question & Design**

In order to adhere to the purpose statements made before, this thesis will focus on the following research question:

*What role do international and local gender norms play in programs aimed at preventing violence against women in Peru?*

Taking into account the limited scope of this thesis, the research will thereby concentrate on a selection of prevention programs in the urban area of Lima, Peru. This study will rely mainly on qualitative data from interviews with representatives of development organizations and other qualitative studies on the topic of gender norms and prevention of VAW. Quantitative sources such as statistics on violence against women etc. will be used to complement this data. However, since there seems to exist a lack of quantitative data on prevention of VAW in Peru and due to the limited scope of this thesis, a primarily qualitative approach will be employed.

In order to answer the overall research question the following sub questions will be addressed.

- 1. On what basis are gender norms selected and how are they integrated in the respective prevention measures?*
- 2. In how far is there a difference between international gender norms and national gender norms? How do they interact?*
- 3. How are gender norms included in prevention measures of the selected national development organizations?*
- 4. How are gender norms included in prevention measures of the selected international development organizations?*

## **1.4 Relevance to Political Sciences & Development Studies**

As stated before VAW is a pandemic problem which affects various countries all over the world. Many governments, multilateral organisations, NGOs, citizen groups etc. are concerned with this problem due to its harmful effects on society. VAW is a violation of Human Rights, has negative effects on health, economics and social well-being (UN Secretary General Study, 2006). As political sciences focuses on the study of the state and related topics VAW is hence a very relevant topic for political sciences. This relevancy is further demonstrated by several already existing national policies, multilateral conventions and non-governmental initiatives, all dedicated to fight VAW.

In development studies, scholars' and practitioners' concern with women in developing countries goes back until the early 1970s. It started with the "Women in Development" (WID) discourse, evolved into the "Women and Development" (WAD) discourse in the late 1970s and finally changed into the "Gender and Development" (GAD) debate in the 1980s. The debate on VAW has been present throughout all those phases and is still a current topic for many development actors. One reason for this is the fact that many developing countries are still disproportionately affected by it (Nyamu, 2000; WHO, 2010; UN Secretary General Study, 2006).

Having established that VAW is a current problem relevant to political sciences and development studies, it goes without saying that prevention strategies should be relevant to both fields. Especially, since they seem to have advanced slowly or sometimes even failed in several countries during the past years, a need for the discussion of different prevention approaches is given (Johnson, 2007, pp.70-84). The norms approach focused on changing gender roles discussed in this thesis, is one of those approaches. From my point of view, it is a very viable approach for the case of Peru where there seems to exist a huge discrepancy between comparatively well advanced legal norms that promotes gender equality and ending VAW on the one hand, and the current situation of still high levels of VAW on the other hand (Boesten, 2012). Consequently, I argue that due to its focus on the role of gender norms in programs that prevent VAW in Peru, this thesis is relevant to the fields of political science and development studies.

## **1.5 Disposition of the Thesis**

This thesis will be structured as follows: in the first part the main concepts that guide this study will be defined and a theoretical framework on the topic of norms and prevention of VAW will be provided. In the second part, relevant background information on Peru and Lima will be given. The third part will elaborate the

methodology of this study, including a justification for the chosen research design and strategy, and data analysis methods. In the last part, a comprehensive presentation of the results will be presented, followed by a discussion of findings and a conclusion.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, first the different concepts of around the terminology of norms in general and gender norms in particular will be defined. After that, theories on norm emergence and diffusion will be discussed. Until finally this thesis' understanding of VAW will be elaborated and theoretically linked to the issue of gender norms.

### 2.1 Defining Norms

What are norms?- According to the Stanford Encyclopedia norms are “ the customary rules that govern behavior in groups and societies” (Stanford Encyclopedia 2013) – a definition which is framed equally or very similarly by many popular encyclopedias (e.g. Encyclopedia Britannica 2013, Oxford Dictionaries 2014, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences 2014 ). These popular definitions also explain the general interest in norms and the motivation to study them, namely their influence on human behavior and their supposed key function in altering it (Hechter and Opp, 2001, p.xi.; Baier,2013)

In the academic context, the concept of norms is widely spread across disciplines as diverse as economics, medicine, sociology, psychology, political sciences or law and its definition has been cause for many controversies and scholarly debates (Horne in Hechter and Opp, 2001). However, following Svensson (2013), there seems to exist a basic academic consensus on three core characteristics of norms: they indicate expected individual behavior, they define on an individual level what ought or not ought to be done, they are socially constructed and they are based on personal perceptions of what other surrounding groups will think about the individual behavior (Svensson, in Baier, 2013, chpt 3, pp.47, 48).

However, despite these universal characteristics, distinguishing different types of norms is still needed in order to thoroughly analyze them. Adhering to its research question this thesis will focus mainly on a specific type of norms: *gender norms* (WHO, 2010). To further specify the notion of gender norms, two general distinctions that seem to be common in the context of social sciences, namely, the difference between *social* and *legal norms* and the difference between *international* and *local norms* will be included, as well (Baier, 2013, Grugel, J. & Peruzzotti (2010), Hechter and Opp, 2001; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998 ).

### 2.1.1 Gender Norms

*Gender norms* “specify acceptable behavioral boundaries for women and men congruent with gender division<sup>1</sup>”(Seguino, 2007, p.1). They define expected female or male behavior within a framework of “socially constructed gender roles (...) that a given society considers appropriate for men and women” (WHO 2014). Those roles and norms are of a dynamic nature and can differ e.g. across cultures, groups of people and period of times. Although gender norms are mostly rooted in social norms they can also be reflected in legal norms such as policies or conventions on the rights of women. Further, gender norms can be manifested as national and international norms. They can be very diverse and range from issues such as childhood education and labor division, to fashion and dating customs. They depend on the cultural context of a society and therefore differ very much across the world (Seguino, 2007)

Various theories, including feminist theory, norm theory and power theory suggest that it is in part, gender norms which create structures that grant men the right to control female behavior and limit women’s power in public and private places (Heise, 2011, chap 2, Lenton,1995, pp.308-312). These dynamics in turn are proven to be risk factors of VAW and according to WHO reports not only “make women and girls vulnerable to physical, emotional and sexual violence (..) but “also hinder the ability of those affected to remove themselves from abusive situations or seek support “(WHO, 2010, p.81) . However, due to their culture specificity and due to the fact that gender norms constitute only one possible risk factor it is not easy to determine which gender norms have an effect on VAW.

Nevertheless, some tendencies in gender roles and norms that increase the risk of VAW can be found (Heise, 2011, Johnson, 2007; WHO, 2010, chap 6). Generally, it is argued that gender norms related to gender inequality<sup>2</sup> and gender hierarchical structures support the emergence of VAW. (WHO 2010, Heise, 2011, Seguino, 2007). Heise further names gender norms that demonstrate male dominance within a society as risk factors. She mentions amongst others, son bias, social acceptance of a male right to discipline female behavior, stigma for divorced women, acceptance of wife beating and norms linking male honor to female purity as manifestation of this male dominance (Heise, 2011, p. 7). Developing countries are disproportionately affected by VAW and gender inequality is often mirrored in rigid gender hierarchical structures and norms that define power relations in favor of men. Moreover, the general acceptance of men exerting control over women is often very high (Nyamu, 2000, p.381-383,

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<sup>1</sup> *Gender* “refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women”, (WHO, 2014)

<sup>2</sup> *Gender inequality* describes the lack of gender equality. *Gender equality* in turn is defined as “equal treatment of women and men in laws and policies, and equal access to social well-being (WHO,2014) resources and services within families, communities and society at large” (WHO, 2006, p.81)

Secretary General Study, 2006, pp. 28-33; pp.61-64).

As mentioned before, gender norms are very much defined by their societal context. Therefore, the third chapter will provide a brief overview on specific gender roles and norms within Peruvian society.

### **2.1.2 Social and Legal Norms**

A clear cut distinction between legal and social norms is difficult to accomplish. Due to the fact that both categories are extremely intertwined social norms can exert influence on legal norms and the other way round (Baier, 2013, chap.4). Nevertheless, peculiar characteristics of both categories can be found.

Originally, *social norms* were related to functionalist theories in the fields of psychology and sociology during the 1950s. More recently, social scientists from various disciplines are focusing on social norms due to tendencies such as rational choice theory or game theory (Hechter and Opp, 2001, p.xiii.). In the 1990s “ the new norm scholars” such as Lisa Bernstein, Robaert Cooter, Dan Kahan, Lawrence Lessig and others defined social norms as “(...) rule(s) governing an individual’s behavior that is diffusely enforced by third parties other than state agents by the means of social sanctions”(Ellickson, 2001 p.35). With third parties even the individual himself/herself can be meant, in the case of a violation of an internalized norm the type of social sanction can for instance be the feeling of guilt or regret (ibid.). Social norms can be very subtle and emerge over time or very quickly within a society. They are adaptive and can for instance be influenced by certain events, single personalities or groups of people. In general it is difficult to trace their emergence or alteration. However, they are shown in the convictions and actions of the society where they exist. (Hechter and Opp, 2001, pp. xi-xix)

In contrast to social norms, *legal norms* are always formalized and based on “acts of legal will”(Kelsen in Svensson, 2013, p.45). According to Hechter and Opp legal norms differ from social norms insofar as they “ are created by design (and) (...) precisely specified in written text, linked to particular sanctions and enforced by a specialized bureaucracy” (Hechter and Opp, 2001, p.xi). Moreover, Kelsen claims that law generally is “(...) a system of legal norms”, norms being the “ought” statements describing certain modes of conduct (...)” (Kelsen in Svensson, 2013, p.45). There are different types and levels of legal norms. According to Finnemore and Sikkink not only domestic law is based on legal norms but also customary international law (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p.916). Generally, it can be said that legal norms are more easily grasped than social norms; they are designed intentionally, often written down and belong to a specific legal framework.

### **2.1.3 Local and International Norms**

As their names indicate, *international norms* are “shared expectations or standards of appropriate behavior” expected by the international community which according to Khagram et al. comprises for instance intergovernmental organizations and several states. *Local norms* instead, describe the same expected behavior defined by local actors, such as nation-states, communities, national non-governmental organizations, groups of citizens etc. (Khagram et al., 2002, p.14)

However, international and local norms are still “intertwined”. According to Gest, “international norms may be used as leverage at the domestic level to bring about domestic change and (...) some international norms may actually originate from (local) domestic norms that have been successfully elevated to the global level by domestic-level actors” (Gest et al., 2013, p.154)

Further, applying the categorization of legal and social norms it can be said that both, international and local norms can have characteristics of legal or social norms.

## **2.2 Theories on Emergence & Diffusion of Norms**

Based on the assumption that norms influence behavior, several disciplines have researched their emergence and diffusion with the purpose of altering existing or creating new norms. This section will discuss theories on the processes of norm emergence and diffusion.

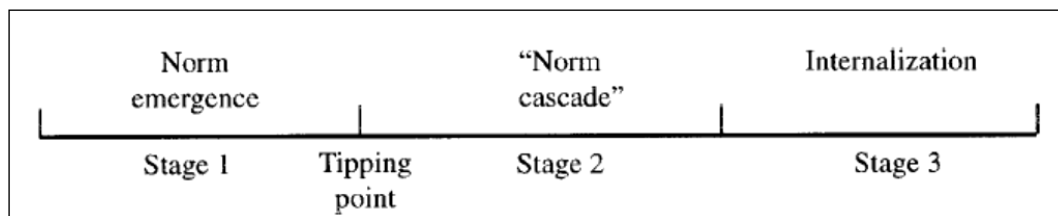
### **2.2.1 International and Local Arenas**

Within international relations literature exists a vivid academic debate on norm emergence and diffusion. Constructivist scholars in particular are especially concerned with processes of transnational norms being transferred from the international arena to the domestic level. Initially, concentrated on top-down processes of “good”, universal norms transforming “bad” local norms, the focus now has shifted to concepts such as “localization” or “vernacularization” which attribute more significance to the role of domestic contexts and local agents (Acharya, 2004, Levitt and Merry, 2009).

A widely employed model on norm emergence is Finnemore and Sikkink’s “*norm life cycle*” (see figure 1). Following this model an international norm has to pass through four stages before it becomes fully accepted and internalized within a society, namely: *norm emergence*, *the tipping point*, *norm cascade* and *norm internalization*. In the first stage norm entrepreneurs make use of international platforms such as INGOs or states to gather information and access to specific audiences. It is at exactly this stage, when the content of the norm is formed, that new norms emerge or even complement and change prior norms. If the norm entrepreneurs then reach an agreement with a specific amount of states on their

norm, this agreement can turn into the stage of norm acceptance which they call “norm cascade”. The critical moment between norm emergence and norm cascade is called “tipping point”. After the “tipping point”, in the stage of “norm cascade”, the norms become diffused more widely within the international arena. States begin to adopt the norms and other states follow, international conventions and other types of rules and laws are created to back up the norm. In order to comply with the international norm, states pursue efforts to transform domestic norms. The last stage “internalization” is reached when the norm is no longer an issue for discussion and debates anymore because it is taken for granted. According to Finnemore and Sikkink some norms do not complete the full circle but stop at one of the earlier stages (Finnemore and Sikkink,1998).

Figure 1: The Norm Life Cycle



Source: Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 896

Although Finnemore & Sikkink’s norm cycle refers mainly to international norms which become manifested on the political level in the form of law, hence legal norms, they claim that international and local norms are intertwined. So norm entrepreneurs, for instance, play a key role in their life cycle when they transfer international norms to the domestic arena and translate them into the local context. Moreover, Finnemore & Sikkink are convinced that “making successful law requires an understanding of the pervasive influence of social norms and behavior” within the domestic setting (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.893;894). Further, they suggest that the analogy of the norm life cycle can also be transferred to normative processes at the domestic or local level (ibid.).

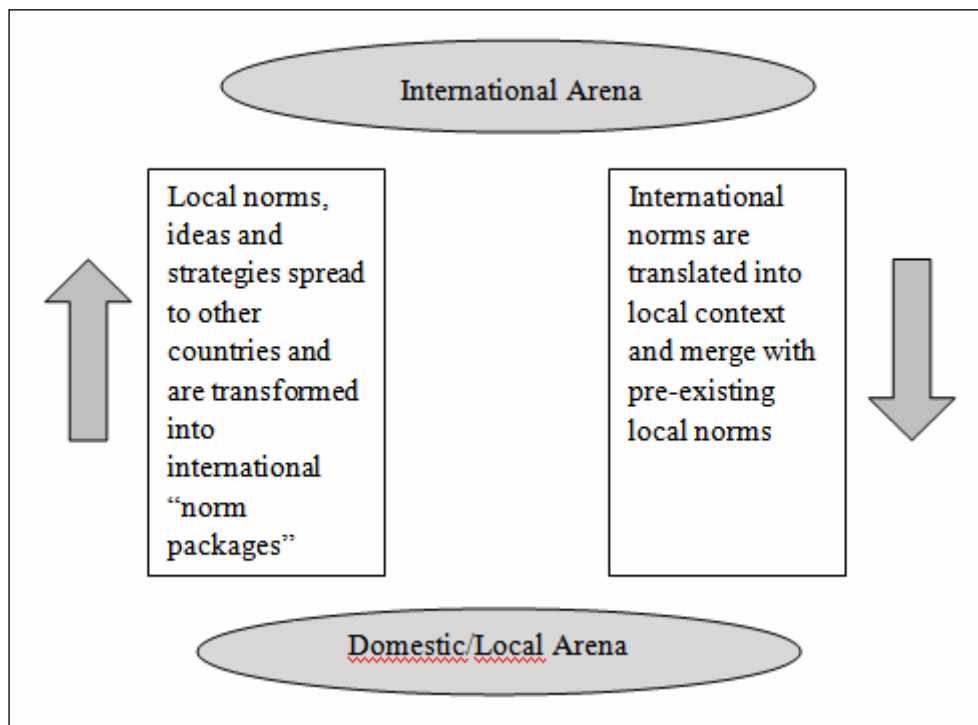
Acharya, Grugel & Peruzzotti and Levitt & Merry reason in a similar line of thought but stress explicitly that the local context and the local resonance of norms is very important in order to reach their internalization. Only when local agents translate international norms into local cultures and contexts, they can be accepted and successfully implemented at a domestic level. Moreover, they argue that international norms do not reach a norm-vacuum at the local level but they start to interact with the existing local norms of a society. In this way they form a local version of the international norm (Acharya, 2004, pp. 241-244; Grugel & Perizzotti, 2010, pp.33-35, Levitt & Merry, 2009, pp. 443-447).

Further, Levitt & Merry characterize two distinct methods of norm diffusion (see Figure 2): on the one hand “ideas and strategies developed in the specific locales by earlier and contemporary social movements migrate to other places and countries” and might transform into transnational “norm-value



packages” such as has been the case with several Human Rights issues (Levitt & Merry, 2009, p.442); on the other hand, “vernacularization”, a process in which global value packages emerge first at the international arena and later merge with “local attributes” when they are implemented domestically. Levitt & Merry claim that global norms can increase acceptance of local norms because they “are inherently powerful and (...) imbued with the appeal, power and legitimacy of the international” (ibid., 2009, p.447).

Figure 2: Two methods of Norm Diffusion



Source: created on basis of Levitt & Merry, 2009

According to Finnemore & Sikkink changing the content of norms by creating new norms or complementing existing ones, takes place between the stage of “norm emergence” and “norm cascade” when norm entrepreneurs promote norms rooted in local or global ideas, strategies and values (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 895). This however, is contested by Krook & True who criticize the “static depiction of norm content” which is used in Finnemore & Sikkink’s norm life cycle and several other theoretical approaches to norm emergence (Krook & True, 2010 p.104) Following Krook & True’s reasoning, norms are dynamic processes themselves which in the international arena are often very vague and therefore “enabling their content to be filled in many ways” (ibid.). Explaining why norms can have distinct effects in different countries, they further claim that norms are prone to dynamics of change at any time of the norm life cycle. They step away from the purely constructivist perspective and state that besides being mirrored in conventions norms are also reflected in discourse (ibid. pp.108,109).

Transferring the mentioned theories on norm emergence, diffusion and

change on the processes related to gender norms favorable to preventing VAW in the Peruvian context, it could be argued that in order for international norms to be successfully internalized in the Peruvian society they have to be integrated and translated into local Peruvian structures, norms and culture, which according to Finnemore & Sikkink should also involve taking into account local social norms and behavior (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Through this process existing local gender norms directed at VAW prevention can gain more power by strengthening their legitimacy through the authority of international norms - whereas, at the same time local Peruvian norm entrepreneurs can also exert influence on international norms. Referring to Levitt and Merry, Peruvian norm entrepreneurs could be involved in the creation of international gender norms by spreading their ideas and strategies on VAW prevention to other countries and the international arena as a whole (Levitt & Merry, 2009, pp.442). Furthermore, referring to Krook & True norms are dynamic processes and can change at any point of the norm life cycle (Krook & True, 2010, pp.103-105). Which in turn means that in order to create or complement gender norms, in favor of preventing VAW, prevention measures can also address them at any stage of their emergence, diffusion or internalization, in the international arena as in the local one.

Adhering to its research question on the role of international and local gender norms within Peruvian prevention programs directed at VAW, this thesis will apply the before mentioned concepts to determine whether Peruvian prevention programs rather address and include gender norms originated at the international or the local arena - or if they include norms created by a mix of both; the international and the local arena.

## **2.3 Defining Violence against Women (VAW)**

Gender based violence, domestic violence or intimate partner violence - all of these terms are connected closely to the notion of violence against women (VAW). However, their often confusing and sometimes even interchangeable use, next to their multifaceted nature, have made defining VAW a difficult process. VAW has been researched for several decades and involves many different dimensions such as human rights, public health, criminal-, economic- or social justice (Johnson et al, 2008, p.1).

This thesis will rely on the definition employed by the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) which describes VAW as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (art. 1, resolution 48/104). In contrast to other narrower definitions based on for instance health or criminal justice perspectives the latter definition is built on a human rights approach and includes all three forms of violence against

women, namely physical, sexual and psychological violence (Löbmann et al, 2003, pp.310, 311).

VAW is one form of gender-based violence and is based on gender inequality. It is not only reinforced by present gender inequality within a society but also leads to the creation of new gender unequal structures (Watts and Zimmerman, 2002, p.1232). A common critique of VAW is its sole focus on women and at the same time the neglect of violence against men. However, the concept of VAW does not deny the existence of violence directed towards male victims, but just draws on the fact that VAW as form of gender-based violence deserves special consideration. The main argument for this special focus on VAW is rooted in the fact that in the vast majority of cases it is women who are affected by gender-based violence whereas men seem to be more vulnerable to other types of violence. Domestic violence and intimate partner violence are two of the most common forms of VAW and gender-based violence (ibid.).

### **2.3.1 Consequences and Prevalence of VAW**

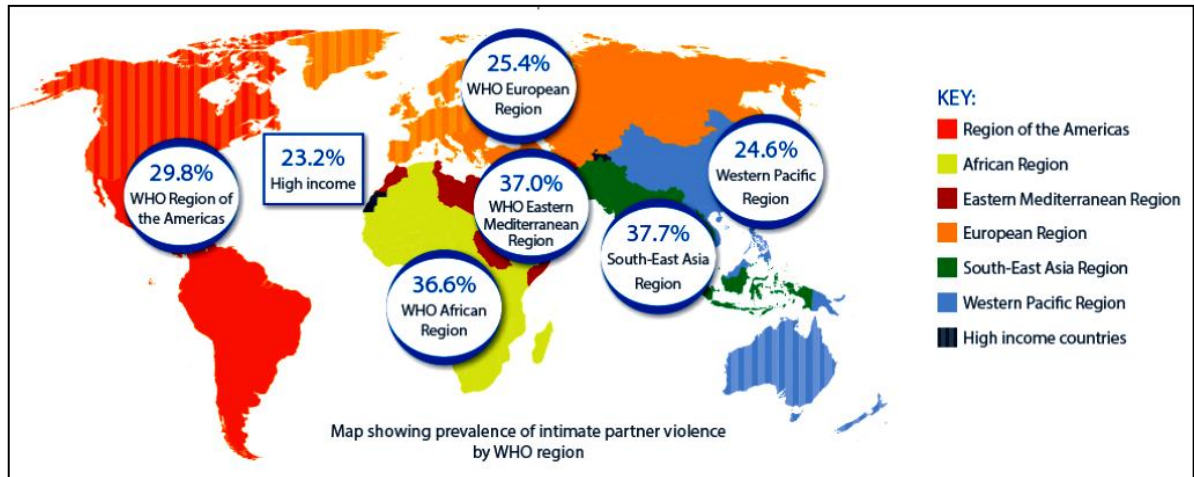
The consequences of VAW are manifold. VAW not only harms women, impacts their health, violates their human rights and deprives them from life opportunities but also harms society as a whole. The economic losses caused by VAW, manifested e.g. in work absence, deaths, health care for victims or not used female work potential are only one example (Johnson et al, 2008, p.1-3) VAW creates conflicts and harms not only the victim herself but is likely to have negative effects on family members. So are for instance children who are exposed to VAW in their childhood very likely to become perpetrators or victims themselves when they are adults (Heise, 2011, p.viii). For all those reasons several UN institutions identified VAW as an obstacle to “development, equality and peace” (Johnson et al, 2008, p.1).

VAW is often characterized as a pandemic or global problem. However, that does not mean that it is homogenous. In fact, VAW is highly context specific and differs across cultures and societies (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011, chap 8). According to Johnson the manifestation of VAW depends on national or local “Attitudes and practices that support violence ( and then) are institutionalized in custom and law at all levels of society—marriage and the family, home, community and state” (Johnson et al,2008, p.3.).

Overall, the global prevalence of VAW is difficult to determine since most studies focus on only one specific type of VAW. Recent WHO studies claim for instance that “35% of women worldwide have experienced either intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence at least once in their lifetime”. Further research indicates that “on average, 30% of (all) women (world-wide) who have been in a relationship report they have experienced some form of physical or sexual violence by their partner” (WHO 2014). Map 1 shows the results of a study on the global prevalence of intimate partner violence, published in 2013. Nevertheless, actual global levels of VAW are even estimated to be significantly

higher, since many cases are not reported or registered by national authorities, multilateral institutions or other research institutions (ibid.).

Map 1: Global Prevalence of Partner Violence



Source: WHO Report 2013,

[http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/violence/VAW\\_infographic.pdf](http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/violence/VAW_infographic.pdf)

### 2.3.2 Gender norms as causes of VAW

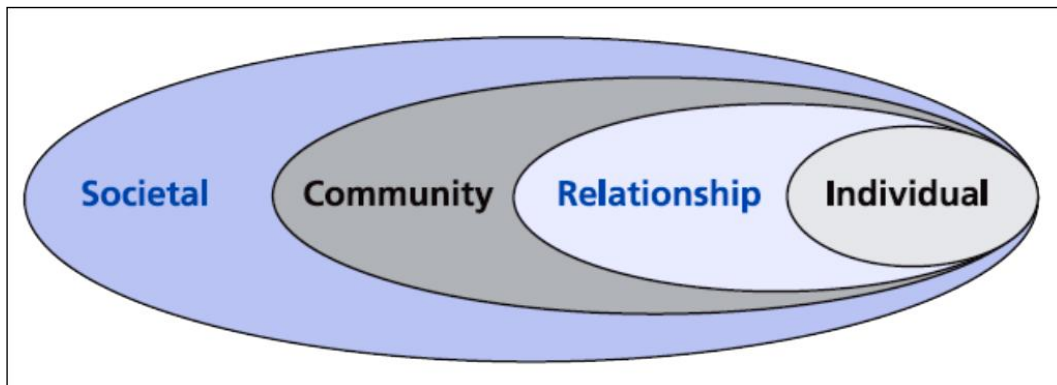
It is impossible to determine general causes of VAW. One reason for this is context specificity, another the fact that VAW is almost never caused by one single factor but by a complex interplay of several. From the late 1970s most disciplines researching violence began to reject single-cause theories and acknowledged violence as result of multiple causes. Nowadays, most studies on preventing VAW focus on risk factors rather than on causes. Risk factors or risk markers are used to predict the probability of a person of either becoming a victim or a perpetrator of VAW (Löbmann, 2014, pp.316-319, Heise, 2011, pp. xii-xiv). Common risk factors that are claimed to have an impact on the probability of VAW are e.g.: childhood exposure to violence, social acceptance of violence as a means of conflict resolution or inequitable gender norms. (Heise,2011; WHO 2010). Adhering to its research question this thesis will focus on inequitable gender norms as risk factors to VAW and determine their role within prevention measures. Thereby, it will rely on the ecological model to place gender norms among other risk factors to VAW (Heise, 2011; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005).

#### 2.3.2.1 The Ecological Model

The ecological model (see figure 3) was developed in the 1970s and initially designed to analyze the causes of child abuse. Its basic assumption claims that as a multi-dimensional problem, violence cannot be caused by one single factor but has to be rooted in an interaction of personal, situational and socio-cultural risk

factors. Thereby, the model groups risk factors to violence into different social levels. Whereas the individual level at the core comprises personal factors such as age or education, the relationship-, the community- and society-level, grouped around the core, include broader characteristics such as social settings, relationships and norms. The outward layers thereby influence the ones that are closer to the centre (Krug et al., 2002, p.12)

Figure 3 : Ecological Model of Risk Factors for Violence



Source: Krug et al, 2002, p.12

By the mid-1990s the ecological model finally became linked to several forms of gender-based violence (Heise, 2011, pp. 5,6; Krug et al., 2002 ). According to Lori Heise, a well-known researcher on VAW and women`s health, gender norms are an important part of the mentioned social ecology of risk factors to VAW. She stresses that gender norms and roles are part of the societal risk factors of VAW (Heise. 1998, pp. 277-282). Following the logic of the ecological model, this implies that gender norms, as part of the society-layer which is the most outward layer, are likely to have an impact on all other layers (see figure 1).

## 2.4. Gender Norms and Prevention of VAW

Having established the significance of gender norms and their influence on VAW, this section will outline their role within preventive approaches. According to Heise a greater focus on prevention of VAW is urgently needed “if donors, advocates and governments are to realize their shared goal of reducing violence against women and girls” (Heise, 2011, p.4). Although, service measures and programs designed to assist victims can help to reduce violence as well, they mostly only do so on an individual scale. Prevention measures however can address whole groups and communities (ibid.).

There exists a wide range of prevention measures directed at fighting VAW. The approaches that specifically address gender norms however are limited. Generally, approaches involving gender norms focus on changing cultural and social norms and challenging gender inequality. Following the literature on the practice of VAW prevention, the most common approaches appear to be:

*education or school-based measures* focused on children and adolescents, *community interventions* which concentrate at the local community as a whole as well as on specific groups within it, *media interventions* which target the public sphere and *legal measures* that are often used to promote gender equality and discriminate VAW at a broader national or even international level (WHO 2010, chap., 5, 6, Heise, 2011; Johnson, 2007).

*Education- or school-based prevention measures* “address gender norms and attitudes before they become deeply engrained in children and youth” (WHO, 2010, p.83). They focus amongst others on topics such as gender roles, dating violence or sexual harassment or abuse among teenagers (ibid.). School-based measures involve very different methodologies such as workshops, awareness raising campaigns and “edutainment efforts”<sup>3</sup>. However, they all serve the same purpose, namely, to make adolescents and children critically reflect on present gender roles within their community, challenge gender unequal norms and being aware of and rejecting violent behavior. Within school-based prevention measures, a former focus on young women and girls has shifted to further include men and boys, as well.

*Community interventions* “aim to change not just the way individuals think and behave, but also to mobilize entire villages or districts in efforts to eradicate violence against women” (WHO, 2010, p.85) . They address gender norms and attitudes for instance through, e.g. workshops focused on the empowerment of women or discussion rounds on the promotion of violent-free masculinities within male peer groups. “Community ownership”, which can for instance be reached via participative approaches that involve community representatives in the planning and execution phase of these prevention measures, appears to have a positive impact on the effectiveness of these interventions. In the ideal case community interventions are maintained over a longer period of time by becoming part of and being owned by the community (ibid, p.80, Heise, 2011, p.16).

*Media interventions* such as public awareness campaigns, or “edutainment” projects promote gender equality and women’s rights in the public sphere. They can act as prevention measures through drawing attention to the problem of VAW. By placing it on individual and community agendas as well as making it an issue at the political level, they can even initiate other types of prevention measures.

Within the context of media interventions the “social norms approach” is very popular. The approach is based on the assumption that people have mistaken perceptions of the attitudes and behaviors of others. Violent behavior is normally overestimated, whereas violent-rejecting or peaceful behavior is usually underestimated. This over-estimation of “negative” behavior in turn often justifies new “negative” behavior, such as in our case violent behavior or the acceptance of

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<sup>3</sup> Edutainment is a popular approach to changing norms and behaviors with help of “ the creative use of media and/or entertainment culture together with strategies to encourage dialogue and reinforce social change messages at a community level”. Examples for edutainment are for instance television or radio spots. (Heise, 2011, p.24)

violence. The “social norms” approach aims at correcting these misperceptions of behavior in order to reduce actual “negative” behavior. Media interventions can play a crucial role in the process of unveiling misperceptions in order to prevent “negative” behavior. The origins of the social norms approach are within health sciences, where it was used successfully in areas such as drug-prevention (WHO, 2010, p.100). However, recently it also has been applied successfully in the context of violence prevention (Caballero, 2004).

*Legal measures* can discriminate VAW and promote gender equality in the form of legal frameworks which for instance, can contain laws that sanction VAW or guarantee equal rights for women and men. Legislation can change behavior and perceptions of VAW e.g. by officially turning it into an offence and thereby decreasing social acceptance. Also on an international level legal measures such as the “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” or the third Millennium Development Goal on gender equality and empowerment of women, contribute to rejecting VAW and promoting gender equality (WHO, 2010, pp.82,103). Legal measures address in contrast to all the other mentioned preventive interventions, mostly legal and not social gender norms. Due to the fact that legal norms are more easily grasped than social norms, it is easier for organizations that work for a change in legal gender norms to prove the success or failure of their attempts. However, at the same time the acceptance of legal norms often depends on the acceptance of the government which, especially in developing countries, often seems to be low (WHO 2010).

Overall, it can be said that prevention measures which specify certain target audiences and at the same time engage with them tend to be the most successful ones. Another factor of success is not solely focusing on women and female gender norms, but involving men and male gender norms as well (WHO, 2010, p. 80). Due to the context specificity of VAW some prevention measures may be very successful in some countries but totally fail in others.

Having demonstrated the wide array of prevention measures of VAW that can involve gender norms, the next section will elaborate more specifically of the role of VAW and gender norms within the Peruvian context.

# 3. Background – VAW and Gender Norms in Peru

## 3.1. Country Context Peru

Peru is a coastal country located at the north west of South America bordering with Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile. The country counts with a population of slightly more than 30 million, whereby about 45% of inhabitants are under the age of 25, ca.49% are in the age group of 25 to 55 and only about 6% are older. The majority of inhabitants is of Christian belief (Roman Catholic 81.3%, Evangelical 12.5%). Due to its history of colonization and migration, Peru is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country. 45%, of the population are Amerindian (indigenous), 37% mestizo, 15% white, 3 % black, Japanese, Chinese, and other nationalities. The most widely spoken language is Spanish with 84.1%. However, also the indigenous languages Quechua, spoken by 13% of the population, and Aymara, spoken by 1.7%, enjoy the status of official state languages. Besides that exists a variety of other native languages, a large number of them originating from the Amazonian region. Peru has become a highly urbanized country where 77% of the population lives in urban regions. The largest urban centre - which is still rapidly growing- is the capital Lima with about 9 million inhabitants (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013; INEI, 2014).

Map 2: Peru



Source: CIA Factbook 2014

Peru is an “upper middle income” country with one of the best performing economies in Latin America. Average growth has been at 6.4% per year since



2002, exchange rates are stable, inflation is low and GDP per capita has been estimated at \$11,100 in 2013. Being rich in minerals, rare metals and fishing grounds, next to a growing service sector, Peru's main industries are mining, mineral extraction and fishery (World Bank, 2014).

Peruvian society is very heterogeneous. Ethnic groups such as: indigenous Amerindians, with their heritage of ancient civilizations such as the Inkas, mestizos, the descendants of Spanish colonizers and European settlers, Afro-Peruvians, the descendants of African slaves brought to Peru during Spanish colonialism and several migrant groups such as Chinese or Japanese which came to Peru as contract workers from early 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, all contributed to the melting-pot of Peruvian culture (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

Installed through colonialism and reinforced by military regimes and a long period of internal conflicts, racism based on ethnicity, mostly between the indigenous part and the rest of the population, is still influencing the Peru of today. One example for this is the country's persisting, economic, social and political inequality (Boesten, 2012).

Income inequality is high (Gini coefficient: 48.1) and mirrored in an extreme urban-rural divide; whereby it is Amerindians who constitute the main population in rural areas. About 25% of the population currently lives below the national poverty line. Still, national poverty rate is over 50 % in rural regions. In total about 8 million people are classified as poor, the majority of indigenous origin (World Bank, 2014; IFAD, 2014). Generally, literacy rates and coverage of formal education is high in Peru, however, it is again the rural indigenous and Afro-Peruvian groups which are disproportionately affected by low education levels and analphabetism (Cotlear, 2006, p.4) Political marginalization and lower levels of political representation and is another problem mainly experienced by vulnerable ethnic groups such as people with indigenous roots (Figueroa & Barron, 2005, chap.3)

Peru is a constitutional republic with separate executive, legislative and judicial branches. Although the country has been a relatively stable democracy from the 1980s onwards and experienced an economic boom since the 1990s, crime rates and specifically corruption have increased during the last years. Perceived insecurity and a lack of confidence in public institutions have accelerated even more. One key factor of this "lack of confidence" is Peruvian history of struggling governments and internal conflicts (Carrion, 2009).

After independence from colonial Spain in 1821, Peru was ruled by oligarchic elites which monopolized the country's economic and political power. Several periods of military rule passed by until the country returned to democratic leadership in 1980. Nevertheless, Peru still suffered from poor economy and internal conflicts. From 1980 to 2000, violent conflicts between the state and leftist guerilla groups, most notably the Shining Path Movement and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement prevailed. It is estimated that about 70.000 people died in the course of those internal conflicts. During the presidency of Alberto Fujimori (1990 -2000) the country finally started to recover, however,

accusations of corruption and human rights violations related to fighting the guerilla groups, led to the president's imprisonment in 2005. The next governments led by president Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), Alan Garcia (2006-2011) and the current president Ollanta Humala all contributed to the recovery of national economy by carrying out liberal, market-oriented economic policies (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). Currently, Peru's political situation is relatively stable – however unrests connected to land distribution and the extracting industries still continue to threaten the political equilibrium (BBC, 2014).

### 3.2 VAW in Peru

*“(In Peru) most men do not beat their wives or partners. However, most of the perpetrators of violence against women, and men, are men, and this has a significant impact on the lives of the women (...)”*

*Christina Alcalde (2010)*

VAW as form of gender based violence affects millions of Peruvian women. Exact overall figures on VAW in Peru, however are difficult to come by: one reason is missing statistical coverage; another reason is the focus on specific types of gender-based violence rather than on VAW in general (Boesten, 2012, pp. 361-363). Especially, overlapping or imprecise definitions of e.g. family, domestic, partner violence complicate to determine actual prevalence of VAW in Peru. Besides that, a major problem is non-reporting of cases of VAW. The women's rights NGO Flora Tristán estimated that about 80% of all cases of VAW in Peru were not reported and hence also neglected by statistics in 2003 (Flora Tristán, 2003, pp.15-20). Further, “the national family health and demography survey”<sup>4</sup>, conducted by the Peruvian institute for statistics, INEI, found out that only 27% of all victims of VAW being part of their sample group searched for institutional help which led to a definite registration of cases; whereas about 41% addressed family members or friends for help, and about 30% did not even report their case. According to the mentioned survey, reasons mentioned by the interviewed women who did not report their incidents of VAW were amongst others “not feeling the necessity” (38%) , “feeling too ashamed”(17%) , “not knowing where to go for help” (13%), “being afraid that their partner would attack them or their children” (10%), “being afraid to harm the perpetrator by reporting the case” (8%) or “feeling responsible for the attack” (6%) (INEI, 2012).

Despite this high number of hidden VAW, the Peruvian Ministry for Women and Minorities states that the number of reported cases of domestic and sexual violence ranges between approx. 4000-4500 per month in 2014. The share of female victims was about 90% compared to 10% of male victims, whereby the

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<sup>4</sup> Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar (ENDES)

most common type of reported violence was psychological violence (about 50%), followed by physical (35-40%) and sexual violence (10-15%) (MIMP, 2014). The on qualitative and quantitative interviewing based “national family health and demography survey”, conducted in 2012, indicates further that about 60% of all participating women, aged between 15 and 49, who have ever been in a relationship with a male partner, have at least once been subject to verbal violence, namely; threats, humiliations or control exercised by their current or ex partner<sup>5</sup> and about 37% have been subject to physical and/or sexual violence. Common examples are being pushed or hit, suffering attacks with a knife, pistol or other weapons, forced intercourse and being coerced to other sexual acts (INEI, 2012).<sup>6</sup> With on average 13 women being killed due to gender-based violence each month, Peru suffers from one of the highest number of *femicides* in Latin America (Mitchell, 2013, p.99; MIMP 2013). *Femicides* are defined as “intentional murder of women, because they are women” (WHO, 2012).

In Peru VAW is a problem which transcends all layers of society, regardless of education, age and socio-economic conditions (UNFPA, 2014). Of course conditions matter and e.g. the type of violence is influenced by the age group of the victims, women with lower education levels are more likely to suffer from physical violence, and VAW levels are slightly higher in rural regions among Amerindian ethnic groups (INEI, 2012) – however, overall differences are minor; which is why VAW can definitely be characterized as a major national problem in Peru.

Looking at the development of VAW in Peru, the situation seems not have changed significantly over the last ten years and VAW has rather increased than declined (UNFPA, 2014). Of course it is difficult to analyze the development of VAW in Peru, due to the before mentioned lack of data. However, the persistence of relatively stable levels of VAW are indicated in annual reports from the national women’s emergency centers (CEM) which state that from 2002 to 2014 the number of reported cases of VAW has remained stable. (MIMP, 2014). Moreover, also most of the representatives of organizations working in the field, who have been interviewed for this thesis confirmed stable if not even increasing levels of VAW during the last decade (e.g. Interviews 1,7,8, 13; see appendices)

### 3.3 Peruvian Gender Norms

In chapter 2 of this thesis, legal and social norms have been defined as two common types of gender norms. In order facilitate analyzing gender norms within the selected Peruvian VAW prevention measures, this section will apply the before mentioned classifications to the Peruvian context.

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<sup>5</sup> Own translation of categories of verbal violence, ENDES Report 2012, p.324

<sup>6</sup> Own translation of categories of physical and sexual violence, Endes Report, 2012, p.331

### 3.3.1 Social Gender Norms in Peru

According to Fuller „gender identity” and hence also social gender norms, are “(...) constituted within a multiplicity of differences of age, class, ethnicity and other factors” (Fuller, 2001 p.318). Generally, gender roles and norms are highly contextual. Within most societies their creation and development is influenced by the interplay of several socio-cultural factors. As those socio-cultural factors however, are not universal and their influence differs depending on e.g. ethnic communities or age groups. Several femininities and masculinities tend to exist next to each other. This assumption especially applies to the highly heterogeneous Peruvian society (Alcalde, 2010, chap 1; Fuller, 2001).

The OECD’s “Social Institutions and Gender Index” (SIGI) analyses and ranks causes of gender inequality such as, discriminatory social institutions, formal and informal laws, and social norms and practices. According to SIGI, gender inequality in Peru is relatively low, in comparison to other developing countries in Asia and Africa. However, the values measured for sub indices that include social gender norms, such as “physical integrity of women” and “family code” are reasonably higher than the overall SIGI country value for Peru. Sub-indicators of physical integrity demonstrate for instance a high prevalence and acceptance of VAW, particularly verbal and psychological violence such as harassment. Moreover, the “family code” sub-index shows a strong prevalence of male heads of households and indicates a power bias favorable to males within family structures (SIGI, 2009).

Taking into account the complexity and variety of social gender roles present in Peru, this section will draw on a feminist intersectionality perspective<sup>7</sup> in order to analyze social gender norms within the country. Intersectionality theory originates from black feminism and claims that different kinds of “societal inequalities” are produced by the interplay between different socio-cultural categorizations such as gender, ethnicity and class (Lykke, 2010, chap. 4). The approach claims that this interplay of categorizations strongly influences a person’s place in society and self identity which implies that it also has an impact on individual gender identities and norms. Drawing on intersectionality theory, several feminist researchers have linked forms of gender-based discrimination such as VAW to the categories of ethnicity, race and class (Alcalde, 2010, p. 16, Boesten, 2012, p. 366.; Shields, 2008, pp. 301-304). In order to analyze social gender norms in the Peruvian context, this section will therefore include the categories of race, ethnicity and class to determine Peruvian social gender norms. However, considering the influence of Peru’s colonial past on all those categories (Alcalde, 2010), this analysis will begin with evaluating the impact of the country’s historical background on the issue of gender norms.

In the Peruvian context, history has had and still has a significant impact on legal and social gender norms currently present in the country (Wilson, 1994). Early, indigenous high cultures often promoted a duality of female and male

gender roles which sometimes also was manifested in matriarchic structures (Dover et al, 1992). However, three centuries of Spanish colonial rule served to enforce very different gender norms and identities. The Spanish invaders introduced a patriarchic society strongly influenced by conservative, Christian beliefs which established a rigid hierarchy in terms of gender, race and class. The gender norms during that time classified men as superior to women, as heads of the household, breadwinners of the family and their representatives in the public sphere, whereas women were considered as subordinate, often limited to their role as mothers and were linked to the private sphere, being for instance in charge of domestic chores and child care. The power structure within colonial Peru determined the male gender role clearly as the ruling and superior gender identity (Boesten, 2012). In Peru, as in most other Latin American countries, the frequently quoted stereotypes of *machismo* and *marianismo* are claimed to originate from colonial times. Although they portray extremist gender stereotypes which are often used in biased ideological discourses, they still have an influence on the current public discourse and gender identities within the country (Alcalde, 2010).

Especially, the concept of *machismo* which is more widely known than its counterpart *marianismo*, is repetitively mentioned in daily media, discussed by Peruvian scholars and practitioners, and has also been named in most of the interviews conducted for this study (Alcalde, 2010, Beattie, 2002, Valdés & Olavarría, 1997, Interviews 1-11). Naturally, there exists a variety of definitions of *machismo* and *marianismo* (Beattie, 2002, Stevens, 1976). One of the earliest and most well-known definitions is the one established by Evelyn Stevens in 1976.

Stevens defined “machismo” as male gender identity based on strong notion of male “pride” and dominance demonstrated through intransigence and a type of manly reputation which has to be upheld and does not allow for any compromises or discussion of standpoints with women. Following machist ideology, men are heads of the household, superior to women and supposed to show callousness towards them. They possess the major economic power in their family and are hence responsible for providing for the latter. Stevens further mentions a “male hyper sexuality” as part of machismo which links honor and manhood with sexuality, in a way that only men demonstrating a vital sexuality by fathering children and succeeding in numerous amorous (also extramarital) conquests can be considered “real men” (Stevens, 1976, p.61). The notion of jealousy and maintaining control over submissive wives and lovers also forms part of it. Generally, machismo portrays the male role as dominant in any social dimension but at the same time puts men in a vulnerable position since their “manhood” depends on maintaining the image of a “macho” (ibid.).

Stevens and other scholars complement the stereotype of machismo with *marianismo* or *marianism* (Beattie, 2002; Stevens & Soler, 1974; Stevens, 1976; Torres et al., 2002). The name of this stereotypical female gender identity derives from Virgin Mary because it attributes women characteristics that are similar to those used to describe the saint god-mother. *Marianismo* idealizes women as

“semi-divine”, “morally superior” and “spiritually stronger” than men. Female gender identity according to *marianismo* is based on self-sacrificing for the sake of the family in general and husbands and male children in particular. Women are portrayed as “*mater dolorosa*” who endure transgressions and power abuse by their male partners. They are on the one hand portrayed as vulnerable, child-like, over emotional, inferior to men, in need of protection and constant supervision and on the other hand characterized as strong and saint-like beings who especially as mothers deserve the admiration and worshipping of their family and society. Female sexuality is considered as private issue which should be limited to marital relationships. Steven characterizes *marianismo* and *machismo* as symbiotic gender stereotypes that enhance each other. Machismo establishes a male power bias whereas *marianismo* accepts the latter and even reinforces the female inferior position (Stevens, 1976).

Both concepts, *marianismo* and *machismo*, have been widely contested and criticized for displaying a distorted, one-sided and ideologically biased picture of gender roles in Latin America (Torres et al, 2002, Beattie, 2002). The most common critique thereby is that they only represent stereotypes that do not represent the diversity of gender roles within heterogeneous Latin American societies and ignore decisive factors such as ethnicity or social class (Beattie, 2002). Nevertheless, they still have an impact on current Peruvian public discourse and are according to several scholars and gender experts to a certain degree still present in Peruvian society (Alcalde, 2010, Flora Tristán, 2014; Beattie, 2002). According to Christina Alcalde who researched VAW in Peru, “*machismo*” is in fact often used to excuse and explain the occurrence of VAW. Further, she claims that this dynamic entails the great risk of framing gender-based violence as an inherent part of Peruvian culture (Alcalde, 2010, pp.19-25). Obviously, *machismo* and *marianismo* are not manifested in the same way as they might have been in colonial Peru. As in most countries, industrialization and modernization contributed to blur rigid gender roles in the country. Public awareness of gender inequality is more present within Peruvian society and numerous women’s groups, and initiatives of the government and other organizations are fighting gender-based discrimination since decades (Alcalde, 2010, Flake 2005).

Nevertheless, a hegemonic construction of masculinity which facilitates dominance and discrimination of women still prevails within Peru. Especially the gender norms which determine the family sphere as private sphere where interference of other actors is generally rejected facilitate and cover acts of VAW (Alcalde, 2010, Flake, 2005, Fuller, 2001). According to Cristina Alcalde this hegemonic masculinity further implies that men who do not comply with their expected gender role as bread-winners, dominant partners and active (hetero) sexuality still face discrimination in many occasions. (Alcalde, 2010).

Besides historic developments, other socio-cultural factors which have a

major impact on Peruvian social gender norms are “race and ethnicity”<sup>8</sup> (Boesten, 2006). As mentioned in chapter 3.1 Peru is a very heterogeneous, multiethnic and multiracial country where about 45%, of the population are of indigenous origin, 37% mestizo, 15% white, 3 % black and other nationalities (CIA, 2013). During colonial time a firm racial hierarchy which favored white or mestizo Spanish invaders and harshly discriminated native Amerindians and the black slave population was in place. As mentioned before women were considered inferior then men which consequently, placed native Amerindian or black women at the bottom of the pyramid (Boesten, 2012). Following Boesten, the two decades of internal conflict (1980 -2000) further strengthened the racist hierarchical structure that originated from colonial times. During this period of insecurity and conflicts, VAW occurred that frequently that it became normalized. As part of the as “inferior” considered Amerindian population, women of indigenous origin and also Afro-Peruvian women, suffered disproportionately from acts of gender-based violence such as rape or harassment. Referring to the years of internal conflict, Boesten even speaks of a “rapability” of women which justified rape if the victims were Amerindian women (Boesten, 2012). Due to this repetitive affirmation of racial hierarchy ethnicities were segregated more firmly than in other countries. Internal racism discriminating indigenous and black population made Amerindian and Afro-Peruvian women especially vulnerable to VAW (ibid.).

From colonial times until now, conditions for indigenous and black women have obviously improved. Many legal and social measures were taken to abolish inequality between and discrimination of all Peruvian ethnicities and racial groups. Nevertheless, ethnic racism is still very present in Peru and ethnic stereotypes are still ingrained in society (Boesten, 2006; Flake, 2005). The image of Amerindian women is for instance often connected to being, lowly educated, backward and poor. The national media displays mostly white Peruvians although they constitute a racial minority. Studies further show that compared to the white or mestizo population, both Afro-Peruvians and Amerindians are highly disadvantaged in the labor market (Alcalde, 2010; Barrón, 2008; Golash-Boza, 2010).

Drawing on the intersectionality approach, feminist scholars have argued that intersections between forms of gender-based discrimination such as VAW, are also reinforced by discrimination due to social status and class (Lykke, 2010, chap. 4). The concept of social class itself however, is highly contested and definitions differ, depending on the discipline (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2014). Following an economic perspective, based on income distribution per household, data from World Bank and OECD indicate that currently about 25% of Peruvians live below the national poverty line (Worldbank, 2012) about 50% belong to the Peruvian middle class and about 25% can be considered as affluent households

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<sup>8</sup> *Race* refers to biological factors, such as appearance, *ethnicity* is related to sociological aspects such as cultural identity, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014

(OECD 2011)<sup>9</sup>. The national living standard survey ENDES from 2012 includes besides income distribution, also indicators measuring the access to water, electricity/gas, sanitation, transport, quality of accommodation and possession of goods in order to measure socio-economic status of households. It grouped Peruvian households into five quintiles each ranging between 18-20% of the total number of households. So called Peruvian middle class was found to consist of three quintiles in which living conditions were differing substantially. ENDES 2012 demonstrates clearly the rural urban divide of Peru by stating that in rural areas about 60% of all households can be considered as poor<sup>10</sup> whereas only 3% of households are poor in urban settings (INEI, 2012). Of course income distribution as such, does not allow making assumptions about gender norms; however, in the Peruvian case it is part of the national inequality based on ethnicity, race, class and gender. Whereas the majority of white or mestizo population belongs to the affluent part of population and lives in urban areas, it is mostly “poor” Amerindians who live in rural areas (Ñopo et al., 2004) Furthermore, the National Living Standards Measurement Survey (LMS) from 2000 indicates that the citizens whose native languages are of indigenous origin, e.g. Aymara or Quechua are three times more likely to be considered as poor according to World Bank standards than the Peruvian citizens who grew up with Spanish as their native language (ibid, p.2). Also in terms of education levels, the rural Amerindian population lacks behind the urban white and mestizo one (Barrón, 2008). Although the mentioned aspects are rather of a structural nature than of normative one, they still have an influence of gender norms connected to ethnicity and race, since they facilitate the image of the backward Amerindian or Afro-Peruvian woman. These stereotypes aggravate rural women’s vulnerability to different forms discrimination such as VAW (Alcalde, 2010).

This section rather states circumstances and influences on the formation of social gender norms than providing a concrete list of specific norms. As explained before, due to the heterogeneity of the country’s society, it is difficult, if not impossible to summarize and determine all social gender norms that are present in Peru. However, according to several scholars, and most of the for this thesis interviewed participants, the mentioned circumstances decisively influence the formation of unequal and for women discriminatory social gender norms (e.g. Alcalde 2010; Boesten, 2012, Flake, 2002; see interview list in appendices). Following Lori Heise, the type of social gender norms which grants men control over women, facilitates the occurrence of VAW. (Heise, 2011). Alcalde further states that racism, sexist behavior and class bias influence women’s gender identities and the gender norms they are confronted with (Alcalde, 2010). She claims for instance that “ (...) women struggle with and negotiate different

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<sup>9</sup> Definitions are based on an median of monthly per capita income of 292 USD, see more information on [http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oced/development/latin-american-economic-outlook-2011/peru\\_leo-2011-18-en#page4](http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oced/development/latin-american-economic-outlook-2011/peru_leo-2011-18-en#page4)

<sup>10</sup> Poor according tot he national scale of poverty used by ENDES, more information on indicators on <http://proyectos.inei.gob.pe/endes/2012/>



identities and roles before, during, and after leaving abusive relationships.” ( *ibid.*, p.217). Arguing in line with Alcalde, and drawing on the intersectionality perspective, it can hence be said, that racism, sexism, and class bias, are a part of the gender identities and therefore also the gender norms women often have internalized and are confronted with in Peru. Adhering to its research question this study will analyze if the selected sample of prevention measures addresses unequal social gender norms which are based on racism, class bias, sexism and a hegemonic image of masculinity.

### **3.3.2 Legal Gender Norms in Peru**

Legal norms are formalized and based on “acts of legal will”, they “ are created by design (...), precisely specified in written text, (...) and enforced by a specialized bureaucracy” (Hechter and Opp, 2001, p.xi, Kelsen in Svensson, 2013, p.45).

According to Boesten, Peru was one of the first Latin American countries which addressed the issue of VAW with legal instruments and currently, exist numerous legal norms directed at establishing gender equality and fighting VAW within the country (Boesten, 2006). This section will elaborate on selection of the most crucial ones.

In 1981 Peru ratified as one of the first countries, the „International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women”, (CEDAW, 1979). Only a few years later in 1995 the government joined the “Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Sanction and Eradication of Violence against Women” (Convención Belém do Pará, 1994). At the same time, several domestic laws were established to fight and prevent VAW within the country. One example is the Ley 26260, a law against family violence which has been enacted in 1993. It established the Peruvian state’s stance against all forms of family violence and introduced measures to protect the victims (MIMP, 2014). In 1996, the “Ministry for Women and Social Development”, currently named “Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations”, (MIMP) was founded with the aim to facilitate access to social services for its target groups, to ensure the conditions for gender equality and to fight family-, sexual and gender –based violence (MIMP, 2014). In 2002 the Peruvian government and the MIMP introduced the “National Plan against Violence against Women” (PNCVHM). Implemented through an equally named national Program, the “National Program against Family and Sexual Violence”, (PNCVFS), the plan focuses on research, prevention and support to victims, in order to fight family and sexual violence. Currently, the program is in its second phase (2009-2015) and includes many project, initiatives and services for example; a free of charge help line for victims of violence and women support centers. The PNCVHM has been replicated at regional levels throughout the country. Furthermore, in 2011, a significant change in the national penal code was made, when the Peruvian state officially defined “femicides”, as criminal offense which implies murder of women for gender-based

reasons (MIMP, 2013)

Although legislation to fight VAW exists for over 20 years in Peru, its implementation is still widely criticized (Boesten, 2006; Flora Tristán, 2014). The conviction rate of perpetrators of VAW is very low and victims encounter various problems and obstacles when they are in the process of accessing social services, for legal matters, personal support or protection (Boesten, 2006, Flake, 2002). One explanation for the discrepancy between existing high standard of legal norms and their missing success during the stage of implementation is given by Jelke Boesten who claims that the implementation of legal norms fails due to present social norms which are still reflecting intersecting inequalities in race, gender and social class. According to Boesten these social norm are reproduced in government institutions and lead to an unsuccessful implementation of legal norms (Boesten, 2012, pp. 364,365).

### **3.3.3 International Gender Norms in the Peruvian Context**

As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, international norms are likely to have an influence on local, national norms and vice versa (see chap 2). Having analyzed legal and social Peruvian gender norms in the prior part, this section will now refer to international legal and social international gender norms.

International norms are “shared expectations or standards of appropriate behavior” expected by the international community which according to Khagram et al consists of parties such as intergovernmental organizations or groups of nation states (Khagram et al., 2002, p.14).

However, since the international community is very heterogeneous it is difficult to determine universal social norms on an international level. Social norms normally depend on various socio-cultural factors and are therefore context specific (see sub-section 2.1.2). Nevertheless, a recent World Bank study on the change of social, international gender norms in 20 countries indicates that social gender norms seems to be relatively consistent on a global scale. According to this study, women’s global gender roles are still linked to the domestic sphere, child care and household chores; whereas global male identities still include a provider and head of household role. Social gender norms on the appropriate behavior of boys and girls mirror this division. Whereas boys are generally enjoying more liberties in the public sphere, girls are supposed to assume major responsibilities in the domestic sphere and have restricted access to public spaces. The report claims that although gender roles and global, social gender norms have become less rigid and it is accepted that women enjoy more liberties than in the past, power relations are still significantly favoring men (World Bank, 2012). The report further indicates that “urban communities are ahead of rural communities in norm relaxation and negotiation” ( *ibid.*, pp.37, 38)

International legal, gender norms can be determined more clearly than global social norms. They are often based in human rights claims and for instance

reflected in international conventions or policies of intergovernmental organizations and supranational entities. The before mentioned conventions: CEDAW and Convención Belém do Pará are such examples. They were ratified by numerous states, condemn discrimination based on gender, reject violence against women and promote gender equality (CEDAW, 1979, Convención Belém do Pará, 1994). Besides that, also the third of the UN Millennium Development Goals on gender equality which has been agreed upon by all UN member states can be considered an international, legal gender norm (UNDP, 2013).

Since social gender norms are rather concerned with individual behavior and are difficult to grasp at an international level, their interaction with local, Peruvian gender norms is difficult to determine. International legal norms however can be used to justify measures directed at establishing gender equality (Acharya, 2004) and therefore, definitely have an influence on legal Peruvian gender norms as well as on local, social gender norms. Examples are for instance when the Peruvian government ratifies an international convention and translates it into national law or when Peruvian women's organization base their efforts to promote gender equality on the third Millennium Development Goal (MIMP, 2014, Florá Tristán, 2014).

### **3.4. Preventing VAW in Peru**

According to Rousseau it was the second wave feminist movement in the 1970s which directly “address(ed) the causes and consequences of gender inequality” such as VAW, for the first time within Peru (Rousseau, 2009, p.68). Influenced by feminist discourses present in Europe, North America and also in other Latin American countries at that time, several feminist groups emerged. Working together with women's initiatives from the popular sector, Peruvian feminist movements “(...) show(ed) an increasing interest in influencing policy-making at the core of political institutions and the bureaucracy” (ibid. p.67). Moreover, receiving substantial support from international donors, during the late 1970s and early 1980s several, “relatively powerful”, feminist NGOs developed out of those groups (ibid.).

Currently, numerous national and international actors work in areas such as women's rights, promoting gender equality and fighting VAW within the country (MIMP, 2014). Most of these organizations do not focus solely on prevention of VAW but cover several connected topics within their initiatives, projects and programs. In order to provide an overview on prevention measures directed at VAW in Peru, this section will list the different types of organizations together with their most common preventive approaches.

Generally, five types of different actors can be identified: *governmental organizations and services, national NGOs and women's groups, international NGOs, bilateral development agencies and multilateral institutions.*

The Peruvian government's work on prevention of VAW is organized

around the “Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations”, MIMP. In line with its “National Program against Family and Sexual Violence”, the ministry provides besides several services for victims of VAW also preventive measures. Examples are education or school based measures focused on children and teenagers or media interventions to raise awareness of VAW. Further, “women help centers” (CEMs) which exist in every regional capital, not only provide assistance to victims, but also organize community interventions such as workshops on gender roles. Generally, it can be said that MIMP focuses rather on assistance to victims than on prevention. Thereby, most of its prevention measures are short term awareness raising campaigns. Although the number of programs to fight VAW seems to have increased during the last years, most services are based and focused on Lima (MIMP, 2014). Efforts have been made to further include rural regions, by establishing CEMs at each provincial capital and recruiting women’s representatives. However, the ministry still is criticized for not reaching out sufficiently to Peru’s provinces. In rural areas, there often exists neither access to justice and support for victims of VAW, nor are any type of prevention measures present (Interviews 6, 10).

Besides its governmental agencies, Peru also counts with a high number of local women’s groups and national NGOs concerned with women’s affairs. Women’s groups mostly exist at a community level and are often encouraged by the government (MIMP, 2014). They might receive awareness raising workshops, concerned with preventing VAW. However, they are often more concerned with the economic well-being of their families and women’s claim to political rights within the community. Many of them include different types of economic support structures such as cooperatives. National NGOs were mostly founded during second wave feminism in the 1970s and 1980s. The majority follows a rights based approach, researches violations of women’s rights and concentrates on lobbying and influencing the political sphere (Rousseau, 2004). They engage in prevention of VAW by researching, trying to initiate preventive legal norms and executing awareness raising campaigns (Interviews 7,8,9). Most of the national NGOs are rather small, however, some benefited from international funding became relatively powerful. Recently, there is a trend that leads to the legal transformation of international NGOs (INGOs) into national ones (Interviews 9-11). Since, the reasons for this, however, seem to be mainly in rooted in tax benefits and the opportunity to compete for national funding; this paper will still consider them as INGOs.

INGOs in Peru that combat VAW are very few in Peru. If they are present in the country, they tend to rather focus on environmental or political issues than on social ones such as VAW. Moreover, since Peru is according to World Bank is a middle upper income country; many shifted their attention to other developing countries. The few that are present and work on the topic of VAW often concentrate on research and cooperate with national, local NGOs which then implement the actual projects and programs (interviews 10-12).

Many bilateral development agencies have offices in Peru. However,

although most of them have gender-mainstreaming components within their programs, only a few of them focus directly on gender issues such as VAW. Out of this group, the majority pursues a rights based approach and cooperates strongly with local counterparts such as national NGOs, the Peruvian government and also the private sector in order to implement prevention measures. The type of activities ranges from awareness raising campaigns to community workshops and research. Most are rather focused on prevention than on assistance to victims of VAW.

Multilateral institutions focusing on VAW are also present in Peru. Only few organizations focus explicitly on VAW, but due to their wider organizational structure, they are still able to engage in a variety of prevention measures such as research, international awareness raising campaigns or informative events. The implementation of projects and initiatives is mostly conducted in cooperation with national and international counterparts. All multilateral organizations base their activities on a human rights approach.

## 4. Research Methodology

This thesis aims at contributing to the debate on the role of gender norms in prevention measures designed to fight VAW. More specifically, it intends to answer the following research question: *What roles do international and local gender norms play in programs or projects that prevent violence against women in Peru?* In order to do so, a qualitative research strategy combined with a descriptive case study design and a data collection method of semi-structured interviews has been employed. To explain this choice of research methodology, first the general philosophical considerations behind this study will be elaborated. Then, the selected research strategy and design will be introduced. After that, in the third part of this chapter, the selection of research area will be justified. In the fourth section, the employed method of data collection will be discussed. In the fifth part the method of data interpretation and analysis follows and finally, in the last sub-section trustworthiness and limitations of this research will be clarified.

### 4.1. Philosophical Considerations

Considering the descriptive nature of this study, which aims at exploring the role of gender norms within specific prevention measures rather than confirming or contesting a specific hypothesis, this research follows a rather inductivist than deductivist theoretical approach. Moreover, viewing norms as social constructs which vary across different contexts, groups and cultures (Svensson, in Baier, 2013, chap. 3); this study is based on a framework of constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological assumptions.

Since constructivism “implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision” (Bryman, 2008, p.19), it can be argued that the whole concept of norms is based on a constructivist, ontological understanding. Consequently, also the before mentioned theories by Finnemore & Sikkink and Levitt & Merry (see chapter 2) on the emergence, alteration and diffusion of norms, argue in line with constructivism. In fact, following Finnemore & Sikkink’s and Levitt & Merry’s reasoning, norms are constantly revised and influenced by social interaction. Besides that, also the idea of different social realities which in this thesis is reflected in the contextual nature of gender norms and their sensitivity to socio-cultural factors is a key assumption of constructivism (Seguino, 2007; Bryman, 2008, chap. 16).

The epistemological foundation of this thesis is rather interpretivist than positivist. Interpretivism claims that an epistemological strategy is needed which “respects the differences between people and the objects of natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social

action” (Bryman, 2008, p.16). In contrast to positivism, interpretivism denies the conduct of value-free, objective science, includes normative statements and draws particularly attention to human interaction and differing social worlds (Bryman, 2008, pp.15-17.). Since, gender norms are “normative statements” which are difficult to grasp and evaluate in a purely positivist way, they analysis requires a more on social sciences oriented approach which is rather based on the “understanding” of human behavior than on its “ explanation”. By analyzing different perspectives on gender norms and their inclusion in prevention measures against VAW, this study clearly follows an interpretivist epistemology.

## **4.2 Research Strategy and Design**

In order to adhere to its research question, data on the role of international and local gender norms within prevention measures aimed at fighting VAW in Peru needs to be collected. In line with its qualitative research strategy, semi-structured interviews have been conducted with representatives from 14 Lima-based organizations, working in the field of preventing VAW (See Appendix 1). Thereby, carefully a purposive sample of national, international, bilateral and multilateral organizations has been selected.

Based on an interpretivist epistemology, qualitative research places an emphasis on the different ways of understanding the social world (Bryman, 2008). As mentioned before, gender norms are socially constructed and their formation and alteration depends on different gender identities which are connected to different social worlds and ways of understanding (see sub-section 2.1.1). Consequently, a qualitative approach provides a strategy which acknowledges the highly contextual nature of gender-norms and at the same time allows a focus on their constant process of emergence and alteration. In line with its overall, qualitative research strategy, a case study design has been chosen to explore the role of gender norms within Peruvian prevention programs of VAW. The case of Peru is peculiar due to the existing discrepancy between international/national legal and social gender norms within the country. Although gender norms are claimed to exert a significant influence on levels of VAW, until now, only little research has been conducted on this topic in the context of preventing VAW in Peru. In conclusion, the purpose of this case study is on the one hand, to contribute to the emerging discourse on social norms within Peruvian prevention measures and on the other hand, to shed light on the discrepancy between gender equal legal norms and gender discriminatory social norms within the country.

## **4.3 Research Area Selection**

Peru has been selected as research area because of its persisting high levels of VAW. Being a human rights violation and causing severe social and economic

harm, it goes without saying that the problem of VAW has to be taken seriously. The case of Peru is particularly interesting, due to the fact that, although economic and structural conditions have generally improved within the country, and one of the most advanced legal frameworks in terms of gender equality and women's rights, has been introduced, VAW still remains high. Very little research has been conducted to explain this discrepancy. Consequently, there is a need for further studies. One possible reason discussed as cause for failing to reduce VAW in Peru are gender norms that promote gender inequality. Therefore, this study focuses on the role of gender norms within the Peruvian context.

Due to the limited scope and time frame of this thesis, the research focus has been narrowed down to the role of gender norms within prevention measures executed by organizations based in the Lima. 14 semi-structures interviews have been conducted with representatives of relevant organizations. Since most of the respective organizations work nation-wide and it is a common practice to establish the main office within the capital, the research area still comprises the entire country of Peru.

Map 3: Lima Area



Source: Lima, Peru, Google Maps 2014

## 4.4 Research Method: Qualitative semi-structured Interviews

This section provides a general overview on the employed research method of semi-structured interviews. First, population and sampling method will be elaborated, second, the instrumentation and data collection will be discussed, third, the data analysis and interpretation will be explained and finally the issue of trustworthiness will be addressed.



#### **4.4.1 Population and Sampling**

In order to reflect the variety of organizations working in the field of preventing VAW in Peru, representatives from governmental agencies, national NGOs and women's groups, INGOs, bilateral development agencies and multilateral institutions were approached for interviews. Thus, a purposive sampling approach has been applied. 14 out of 30 contacted organizations agreed to interviews. The final sample includes participants from, 5 bilateral development agencies, 4 national NGOs, 2 INGOs, 2 multilateral organizations and one government agency. All interviews took place in the wider Lima area - mostly in the organizations' office space. The representatives which finally participated in the interviews, were selected based on their availability, hence by convenience sampling. All participants was offered the possibility to remain anonymous. Since the majority preferred this options no specific names of interview participants will be mentioned in this thesis. About the interviewees position within their organisation it can be said, that most of them have responsibilities at a managing level. 11 out of 14 participants were women.

#### **4.4.2 Instrumentation and Data Collection**

For this research project, open-ended, semi-structured interviews have been chosen as data collection method. Based on this thesis' research question, an interview guide (see Appendix 2) was drafted which structures the interviews in five sections. Each interview begins with brief introductory remarks to clarify the overall topic of the thesis. The introduction has been purposely kept short in order to avoid biasing the interview partners. Then, general questions follow to confirm the identity of the participant, his or her professional position and also the working field of the concerned organizations. The third part outlines the understanding of gender norms by the interviewee and the concerned organization. In the fourth part, more specific questions about the role of gender norms within the organization's projects/programs are asked. Finally, in the last part the perceived differences of international and national gender norms are explored.

The mentioned interview structure seems quite rigid. However, this is not the case. In fact, semi-structured interviews have the advantage of being very flexible. The conducted interviews were only loosely based on the mentioned interview guide. They allowed adapting to the interviewee, by changing the order of questions, altering them or adding new ones. Since this thesis is based on an interpretivist epistemology and focuses on different realities of gender norms within prevention measures (see section 4.1), this flexibility is of major importance. Thus, in line with this study's overall qualitative research strategy, semi-structured interviews constitute an excellent way to gain in-depth knowledge on the role of gender-norms within Peruvian prevention measures against VAW.

All interviews were conducted in the course of a two month field visit to Lima, Peru. The meetings have mostly been set up with one and occasionally two representatives from the same organization. Eleven interviews have been conducted in Spanish, two have been held in English and one in German language. All of the interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Their duration ranges between 40 to 60 minutes.

#### **4.4.3 Data Interpretation and Analysis.**

Since the nature of this study is rather descriptive, a thematic analysis based on research question and theoretical framework has been applied. After a familiarization with the transcripts of all conducted interviews (see overview in Appendix 1), main themes clustered around the prevalence of gender norms within the selected prevention measures, the divide between international and national gender norms and the general impact of gender norms on preventing VAW in the Peruvian context have been identified. In order to answer this study's research question they will be discussed further in chapter 5 of this thesis.

#### **4.4.4 Evaluating qualitative Data: Trustworthiness**

According to Guba and Lincoln's trustworthiness approach to evaluate qualitative research, there exists more than one social reality. Both scholars argue that for exactly this reason, on quantitative methods oriented criteria such as measurement validity, cannot be applied while evaluating qualitative research. Instead they suggest four criteria to assess trustworthiness: *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability* (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, in Bryman, 2008, p.377).

Credibility can be achieved by an academic "good practice" and "respondent validation" (Bryman, 2008, p.377). Having thoroughly documented and analyzed each step of this research process, it can be argued that this master thesis has been conducted in "good practice". Moreover, respondent validation has been applied while performing the interviews.

Since this thesis is a descriptive, qualitative case study it is difficult to transfer the findings to another context. However, as discussed before, gender norms are a highly contextual topic and demand an in-depth inquiry. It is hardly possible to analyze them any other way. This study might not be transferable in the way of quantitative research, however, its "thick description", a concept used by Geertz for detailed contextual information (Geertz, 1973, in Bryman, 2008, p.378), contributes to the overall discourse on gender norms within violence prevention measures which means, at least partly can be transferred to other scenarios.

Dependability refers to the documentation of the research project. As

stated before, all steps of the writing process of this thesis have been thoroughly documented. All conducted interviews have been recorded and transcribed in great detail and all other resources can be encountered via the reference list of this study. Besides that, this chapter on research methodology is good example for the dependability of this thesis.

The last criterion, conformability, refers to the researcher's stance and the influence of personal values and experiences. Naturally, total objectivity is impossible to achieve. Nevertheless, it has been intended to conduct this research in an unbiased way e.g., by posing neutral questions during the interviews and relying on a variety of prior research.

## **4.5 Limitations**

Due to the qualitative, descriptive nature of this study, its transferability is limited. Neither the purposive sampling of interview participants, nor the relatively small number of conducted interviews, does allow a broad generalization of findings. From a positivist point of view it can further be argued that due to the method of semi-structured interviewing, it will not be possible to replicate interview results. Moreover, although it might have led to more elaborate results, a longitudinal study on gender norms has not been possible due to limited scope and time of the research project. The lack of prior research on gender norms and often scarce data on VAW in Peru further complicated the research process. Moreover, it has to be acknowledged that intercultural differences, such as language barriers or the mere fact of looking and behaving like a foreigner during data collection, might have influenced the gathered interview results.

## 5. The Role of Gender Norms

The present chapter will outline the findings of this research. In order to answer the overall research question on the role of international and local gender norms in programs directed at preventing VAW, first the in section 1.3 mentioned sub questions will be addressed. The presentation of interview results will be organized around two main themes, namely, the prevalence and integration of gender norms within the selected organizations (subquestion1) and the distinction, and interaction of international and national gender norm (sub questions 2,3,4) .

### 5.1 Gender Norms in VAW Prevention Measures

This section will summarize findings on the prevalence and integration of gender norms within the selected organizations (sub-question 1).

Beginning with the category of bilateral, development agencies, it can be said, that out of the selected group, all organizations justified their efforts to prevent VAW on grounds of a rights based approach. This means that the development agencies consider living a violence-free life as Human Right. Three of the agencies, namely USAID, ACDI and KOICA, employ different types of gender analyses to ensure gender mainstreaming throughout their policies and programs, instead of including independent strategies on gender issues and prevention of VAW. *“Our main focus is on alternative development, democracy, economic growth, environmental and health issues. We do not have a particular gender program but we promote gender equality and women’s empowerment throughout our programs, for instance by encouraging female participation in political decision making processes, or by promoting equal access to education or health services.”*(Interview No.3, USAID, 2013). The representative of KOICA further explained, *“Through our volunteer program, our volunteers give a good example on how human rights are lived in practice. This refers also to women’s rights.”* (Interview No. 5, KOICA, 2013). The mentioned development agencies, address mostly social gender norms within their programs and projects. Whether an intersectionality approach has been applied could not be sufficiently determined on grounds of the conducted interviews.

In contrast to the before mentioned organizations, the German and the Spanish development agency, GIZ and AECID, count, next to their internal gender main-streaming policies, also with independent gender strategies which are focused directly on the issues of women’s empowerment and gender equality. Several of their programs include “addressing gender norms” as particular goal. One example for this, is GIZ’ program “ComVoMujer” which actively challenges present discriminatory social gender norms, supporting women’s self-esteem and self-confidence. The activities of “ComvoMujer” include amongst others, awareness raising campaigns and workshops on the prevention of gender-based

violence at the workplace. AECID works directly with the Peruvian government and provides evaluative and monitoring services within the framework of the National Plan against Family and Sexual Violence. Besides that, it also cooperates and funds NGOs which engage in violence prevention by empowering women economically and socially through capacity building workshops. GIZ and AECID address legal and social gender norms within their prevention measures. By acknowledging Peru's inequalities in terms of race and ethnicity and rural-urban areas they also employ an intersectional approach.

All national NGOs and women's networks that have been included in this research stem from a feminist tradition. They claim that VAW occurs due to a power imbalance between present gender roles and consequently argue that in order to prevent VAW, this imbalance needs to be challenged. *"The topic lying behind the issue of violence against women is power. The values and practices of this patriarchic society need to be questioned in order to fight VAW. We need to emancipate us from this discriminatory system, by promoting a new form of citizenship based on equal rights and liberties for everyone.*(Interview 9, Movimiento Manuela Ramos, 2013). Generally, the group of national NGOs and networks concentrates on three main areas: lobbying the political sphere to achieve gender equality before the law, monitoring and evaluating the efforts of government institutions and finally capacity building of female leaders. In most cases the focus lies on changing legal norms as first step towards altering discriminatory social norms and practices. *"As in many other countries, in this (Peruvian) society women are discriminated and suffer from gender stereotypes. We need to change legal norms in order to create gender equality and alter women's social gender roles".* (Interview No. 8, Cladem, 2013)

Due to the scarcity of INGOs working in the field of preventing VAW in Peru only two interviews were held to represent this group. The INGO, Plan International, views the issue of gender-based violence in the light of children's rights and claims that in Peru *"Gender-based violence often has a higher prevalence among girls and adolescents than among adult women."* (Interview, No.11, Plan International, 2013). Plan International employs education and school-based measures, global and national awareness-raising campaigns and legal lobbyism for children's rights, in order to prevent violence against girls. Plan International's main focus is on challenging discriminatory social gender norms. An example for this, is the cooperation with schools where all learning material promoting gender stereotypes becomes replaced. Care, the second INGO, recently established its gender program. Following a rights-based approach, Care also aims at preventing VAW by challenging discriminatory gender norms. Currently, Care is developing manuals and information material which are intended to assist other organizations in order to identify and abolish discriminating social gender norms and practices. Both, Care and Plan International, recognize the intersectionalities of ethnic-racial discrimination and the problem of violence against women and girls.

The two representatives from multilateral organizations who have been

interviewed for this study, both mentioned a focus on Human Rights and the third Millennium Development Goal as basis for their measures to prevent VAW. The UN Populations Fund (UNFPA) concentrates mostly on research about the prevalence of VAW and on providing technical assistance to the MIMP. More direct measures including the discussion of social gender norms are conducted by its counterparts. In this way, UNFPA addresses legal and social gender norms. The second interviewee, claims to pursue the same rights-based approach as UNFPA and argues that his campaign “El valiente no es violento”<sup>11</sup> which is conducted in the broader framework of the UN Secretary’s global campaign to abolish VAW, intends to change discriminatory social norms internalized by boys and young men. The male participants themselves develop measures such as group workshops or art exhibition in order to challenge gender stereotypes and in the long run prevent VAW.

As mentioned before, the MIMP addresses the issue of VAW within the framework of its “National Program to eradicate Family and Sexual Violence”. Until recently, several legal gender norms in form of anti-discrimination laws and criminal laws (see part 3.3.2).have been introduced to fight VAW. Social gender norms are mainly included in national awareness-raising campaigns and capacity building workshops at an in-house and community level. In general, the focus on providing assistance to victims is much stronger than the one on VAW prevention methods.

Relating the discussion of international and local gender norms to the process of norm emergence and alteration, most interviewees claimed that actual national legal norms, such as anti-discr

## **5.2. The Role of International and National Gender Norms**

In this section the role and interaction of international and national gender norm within the selected prevention measures will be elaborated.(see section 3.1, sub-questions, 2,3,4)

First of all, it has to be stated, that the vast majority of interview participants did not recognize differences between international and local gender norms used to prevent VAW. One interviewee even stated, “*I think you cannot say, that there is a difference between international and local gender norms. All organizations that work to fight VAW here in Peru want the same thing. They want to eradicate gender-based discrimination and equal opportunities for women and men*”(Interview,11 Plan International, 2013) Following this line of thought, many participants argued that all in prevention programs and projects presented gender norms are somehow connected to the topic of gender equality

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<sup>11</sup> The campaign’s name is a word play and means literally “The brave (man) is not violent”

and empowerment of women. It was suggested that it is in fact the profile and ideological basis of an organization which determines the type of gender norms that are employed to prevent VAW.

While asking question on the comparability of gender norms employed by national and international organizations, an important issue relating to the understanding of gender norms emerged. Participants wanted to know, whether the questions referred to *ideal gender norms*, which are the norms many VAW preventing organizations wish to spread and reinforce or if the question talked about the *actual gender norms* which are currently, present in Peruvian Society. Reacting to this question, the interviewer further explained the distinction of *legal* and *social norms* and initiated a discussion on gender norms in the international and local arena.

Most participants stated that *ideal, social gender norms* were the same in the international and local sphere. As mentioned before, often the notions of gender equality and empowerment were used to characterize international and local, ideal social norms. Coming to the topic of *actual, social gender norms*, participants often assumed that due to its patriarch structure and the influence of machismo, actual social gender norms were much more unequal and discriminatory in Peru than actual, social gender norms occurring in international settings or foreign countries. In his interview a representative of the Peruvian Ministry for Women's affairs mentioned "*Violence against women is a big problem in our country. We live in a society characterized by machismo. We believe that if we could change these unequal gender structures Violence against Women would decrease.*" (Interview No.14, MIMP, 2013)

Discussing *ideal legal gender norms*, again most participants argued that they constituted the idealistic goal of liberal, gender equal legislation and that this wishful vision was not particular to national or to international settings. Talking about *actual, legal gender norms*, interviewees were divided whether Peruvian legal gender norms were more advanced than international or foreign legal gender norms.

Asking participants about the influence of international and national spheres on the emergence of gender norms, many reasoned that it was not possible to determine where an ideal gender norm came from. Some argued that international conventions such as CEDAW or the Millenium Development Goals had reinforced claims to ideal local gender norms. However, others argued that it was Peruvian feminist groups from the 70s and 80s which initiated the discourse on gender equality and empowerment in the country. In the context of legal gender, norms, most interviewees mentioned the influence of international conventions such as CEDAW .

## 6. Discussion of Findings

In order to answer its research question on the role of international and national gender norms within programs or projects destined to fight VAW in Peru, this thesis has: defined and discussed the concepts of social, legal, national and international gender norm, elaborated theories on norm emergence and alteration, clarified the notion of Violence against Women and finally related both concepts to each other. All of the mentioned definitions and discussion were conducted on a general level as well as on a country specific level. In the last stage, results gathered from 14 semi-structured interviews with experts working in the field of preventing VAW in Peru was used to complement the before mentioned research.

Finally, on basis of the above characterized information, it can be said that programs designed to fight VAW in Peru rarely address or include gender norms as explicit topic. Most programs and initiatives concerned with VAW concentrate on the consequences of the VAW, and not on its prevention. Out of the few prevention programs only some include gender norms. Of those who do, most focus on legal gender norms and only a little number works with social gender norms. However although, the prevalence of gender norms in programs or projects tackling the issue of VAW in Peru is very little, the variety of organizations is enormous. Already for the small sample of qualitative interviews conducted in the framework of this thesis, different bilateral development agencies, national and international NGOs/ networks, governmental organizations and multilateral institutions could be encountered.

Coming to the question on how the in the prevention measures promoted gender norms emerge and change, it can be said that their formation seems neither a result of pure international influence, nor of national one. In fact, taking into account the data gathered during the interviews with experts who are working in prevention programs, the formation of gender norms seems to be rooted in an interplay of international and local influences. In this way, it confirms Levitt & Merry's "two methods of norm diffusion" (see fig.2). Levitt & Merry argue that, local norms and ideas spread from the domestic arena to the international one where they become transformed into global "norm packages", whereas at the same time, international norms are translated into domestic context and merge with existing local norms (Levitt & Merry, 2009) Levitt & Merry's model could constitute an explanation for the fact that many interviewees indicated that there were not able to determine whether a gender norm was international or national. Only in the case of legal gender norms, an empowering influence from international legal norms on national legal norms was acknowledged. As examples for this dynamic often international conventions such as CEDAW or Belém do Pará were mentioned. This observation, seems to confirm Finnemore & Sikkink's assumption that international norms can be used to increase their local legitimacy (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998)

Having established that no major difference of national and international



gender norms could be found in the case of Peru, it can be argued, that for the sake of this discussion the research question on the role of international and local gender norms in programs destined to fight VAW in Peru, should simply be changed to “ What role do gender norms play within programs aimed at preventing VAW in Peru?”

To determine this role also the different methods of integrating gender norms within prevention measures should be mentioned. As elaborated in section 2.4 of this thesis it exists a variety of different types of prevention measures which allow the inclusion of gender norms. The most common ones are: education – or school-based measures, community interventions, media interventions and legal initiatives (WHO 2010, chap., 5, 6, Heise, 2011; Johnson, 2007). Within the sample of organizations interviewed for this thesis, the most common approaches to integrate gender norms were media campaigns and legal measures. Media campaigns were especially favored by INGOs, development agencies, multilateral and governmental organizations. The smaller INGOs were more focused on influencing legal gender norms by activities such as monitoring or political lobbying. Of course it can be argued that only the bigger organizations possess the financial resources for costly media campaigns, however in the selected sample of organizations this might not be entirely true since the majority of national NGOs was also based on different ideological premises than the other organizations. They are following a clearly feminist and rights based approach, which assumes that through the change of legal norms, social norms can be altered. However, considering the large gap between the advanced Peruvian legal gender norms and their actual implementation this assumption seems not very viable in the case of Peru.

As mentioned before, one of the limitations of qualitative research in general and case studies in particular is their lack of transferability. This study is affected by this limitation in many different ways. At first, the concept of gender norms itself, is based on an interpretivist epistemology which in the context of this research implies that it is very difficult to define. As this thesis elaborates in chapter 3, especially social gender norms are subject to constant changes triggered by differing socio-cultural conditions. Applying an intersectional perspective helps to determine actual Peruvian social gender norms, however it does not in the case of ideal social gender norms. Conducting 14 semi-structured interviews and acknowledging the fact that in this case, the nature of gender norms is socially constructed, is an attempt to overcome this difficulty. Nevertheless, it is still not possible to truly generalize the findings of this study. However, taking into account its exploratory purpose, this thesis can still be considered a valuable contribution to the debate of gender norms in relation to preventing VAW.

## 7. Conclusion

In many developing countries Violence against Women is a major problem – A problem whose evolution seems to be independent from economic developments. VAW not only hinders the achievement of gender equality, but also “impoverishes women, their families, communities and nations, it lowers economic production, drains resources from public services and employers, and reduces human capital formation” (UN, 2006).

Like several other countries from the Andes region, Peru suffers from very high levels of VAW (MIMP 2013). Peculiar about the case of Peru, however is that its high levels of VAW stand in contrast to a relatively advanced legal framework of women rights and equality measures. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is offered by the “ecological model of violence” which claims that a change in gender norms can have an impact on levels of VAW. Aiming at contributing to the debate on addressing gender norms within VAW prevention measures, this thesis has analyzed the role of national and international gender norms within Peruvian VAW preventing programs .

Finding of this thesis suggest that most of the organizations concerned with the issue of VAW in Peru, focus rather on its consequences than on its prevention. Differences of the approaches of national and international prevention organizations could not be determined. However, the type of addressed gender norms seems to classify prevention measures into two groups: one which is rather addressing legal gender norms and another which concentrates on social gender norms.

The organizations which focus on legal norms are mostly small, national, feminist NGOs, who practice monitoring and political lobbying in order to achieve the implementation of relevant legislation. Although their lobbying efforts have been successful during the last decades, their approach to VAW prevention seems a little pointless in the context of Peru. The before mentioned gap between legislation and implementation prevents legal reform from impacting actual levels of VAW.

The second group of organizations, which works mostly with social gender norms, typically employed awareness raising campaigns in order to challenge discriminatory gender norms. Of course it would be ideal if these campaigns had a decisive impact on present gender norms and would lead to a decrease of VAW. However, according to Peruvian statistics and the for this thesis conducted interviews, no evidence of such an effect has been found in Peru so far.

Based on its field work and information of secondary sources on gender norms and VAW, this thesis concludes that the current role of gender norms within Peruvian VAW preventing measures is minor. Further research is needed in order to determine effective methods to challenge discriminatory gender norms, to in the long run, abolish Peru’s high levels of VAW.

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## Appendix 1: List of Interview Partners

No	Organisation	Date	Name/ type of prevention program/project
<b>DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES</b>			
1	Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)	9-10-2013	“Fight Violence against Women”- Combatir la violencia contra la Mujer” (ComVoMujer), works with all three sectors of society and initiates and implements a multiplicity of measures designed to prevent VAW e.g. informative campaigns, educational workshops or research cooperation with universities.
2	Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID)	29-10-2013	Program supporting the Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations in drafting national measures against VAW (2007-2012). Currently AECID is funding a project by the Spanish NGO “Alianza por la solidaridad” and “Florá Tristán”. The main focus of this program lies on empowering women and making them aware of their sexual and reproductive rights.
3	US Agency for international Development (USAID)	13-11-2013	No specific prevention measure. Focus on primary education. USAID provides technical assistance to implementing counterparts One goal within the education framework project is to promote gender-equal norms e.g. to include and implement a sexual health component in schools curricula.
4	Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA/ACDI)	05-11-2013	No specific program, but VAW prevention programs of local counter parts are receiving funding, specifically a program implemented by the NGO, Flora Tristán, which works with Police officers to better recognize and prevent VAW
5	Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)	21-11-2013	Korea Overseas Volunteers. The volunteers work in the educational sector and promote gender equality to prevent VAW
<b>NATIONAL NGOs , NETWORKS</b>			
6	Flora Tristán	18-10-2013	Project: “Preventing Violence Against Women and Youth in Peru”, CIDA is contributing funding. Within the project police officers receive training to better recognize and prevent VAW. Stages of assistance are elaborated and dangerous regions where VAW is likely to occur are summarized in a map to raise awareness and inform women. Flora Tristán organizes various other measures to prevent VAW.



			Main focus on awareness raising and political lobbying.
7	Red Nacional de la Promoción de la Mujer	29-10-2013	The organization itself is a network of different stakeholders with the aim of promoting gender equality. Main focus is political lobbying for better women's rights and respective institutions. Activities are drafting of observatory reports, evaluation of government services and organizing workshops for female, indigenous leaders.
8	Cladem	30-10-2013	Cladem is a feminist network for women's rights. It exchanges best practices with dependencies in several Latin American countries. Main focus is political lobbying and monitoring of government policies directed at preventing VAW. Cladem reports developments in form of shadow reports to CEDAW. On a national level, awareness raising campaigns and workshops on VAW prevention in the light of women's rights are conducted
9	Movimiento Manuela Ramos	11-11-2013	Manuela Ramos is a Peruvian; feminist organization. VAW is one of its major topics. Employees perform political lobbying and consult to the governmental organizations working on gender equality. An example is the organization's involvement in the development of the national women support centers. Manuela Ramos is currently lobbying the government to integrate more prevention measures directed at VAW. The organization performs independent research on VAW, executes awareness projects and cooperates also with several counter parts from civil society
INGOS			
10	Care	28-10-2013	Gender Equality Program, as part of a global strategy. The program is in its initial phase. The main focus is currently on research, finding counter parts for probable projects and providing technical assistance
11	Plan International	9-11-2013	Program "Reducción de violencia basada en genero contra niños, niñas y adolescentes". As international NGO, Plan International is working in the field of children's rights, The INGO focuses on violence against girls and adolescents. As part of a global campaign for girls, particularly equal access to education and prevention of gender-based violence in education and family environments is promoted. The program provides technical assistance to national child protection services and the educative sector. The INGO is e.g. lobbying the ministry of education to include a module on gender-based violence in every curriculum and

			coaching teachers of primary schools and colleges. Plan international also engages in research on preventing violence against girls and adolescents.
	<b>MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS</b>		
12	United Nations Populations Fund (UNFPA), Peru	03-12-2013	UNFPA Peru promotes a rights-based approach towards gender equality. Its main focus lies on women's reproductive rights and fighting sexual violence. In line with these topics, e.g. empowerment projects for indigenous women were developed, nation-wide awareness campaigns of VAW were launched and research on the prevalence and prevention of VAW was conducted. UNFPA cooperates with several counterparts, provides technical assistance, to the government as well as civil society organizations and coordinates its efforts with other UN institutions.
13	UN Secretary General's campaign, "Unite to end Violence against Women" in Peru	11-10-2013	Peruvian campaign "El valiente no es violento". The campaign on fighting VAW is part of the broader campaign by the UN Secretary General's Office. It focuses on young male adolescents, college and university students. Through participative approaches, activities directed at preventing VAW are developed together with the adolescents. Examples are workshops on gender roles, organization of events to raise awareness of gender-based violence, e.g. art exhibitions, concerts etc. The campaign always looks for support and funding from state and private sector as well as from civil society organizations
	<b>GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS</b>		
14	Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP)	1-11-2013	"The national program to eradicate family and sexual violence" (PNCVFS) is based on Peru's National Plan against Violence against Women", PNCVHM (2009-2015). In the framework of the PNCVFS several measures to prevent violence are implemented; examples are education or school based measures focused on children and teenagers or media interventions to raise awareness of VAW. "Women help centers" (CEMs) which exist in every regional capital, organize community interventions such as workshops on gender roles. MIMP focuses rather on assistance to victims than on prevention. The PNCVHM has been replicated at regional levels throughout the country.

# Appendix 2: Interview Guides

Below, the interview guides used for this thesis field research can be found in English and Spanish language. The Spanish version was literally translated from the English one by the researcher. The single interview which was conducted in German language was orally translated from the English interview guide.

## 2.1 Interview Guide: English

### 1) Introduction

The interviewer presents herself and provides some brief information about her research and the following interview. Permission is asked to record the interview<sup>12</sup>.

Example:

*Good Morning. My name is Luise Krumm, I am a student from Lund University in Sweden and conducting this interview as part of my master thesis. Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to meet you.*

*My research focuses on gender norms and on their role in programs, projects or campaigns that aim preventing violence against women in Peru. Gender norms are in my thesis defined as socially accepted “behavioral boundaries for women and men congruent with gender division” (Seguino,2007). I am referring to legal norms as well as to social norms. For my research I am conducting interviews with several representatives of organizations which work in the field of preventing violence against women.*

*The interview will take approximately 30 min. Do you mind me recording this interview?*

### II) General questions:

The following questions are mostly of confirmatory nature.

*II a) Could you present yourself please? What is your position within this organization?*

*II b) Could you describe your prevention program/project briefly? In what way do you work on preventing VAW in Peru?*

*II c) Who is involved in the implementation of these programs/projects? Do you work with other organizations or counter parts?*

*II d) What is your personal role within the program/project?*

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<sup>12</sup> Only the in italic written parts of this interview guide will be asked directly to the interviewee.

### **III) Defining questions:**

*III a) Based on your work experience how would you define gender norms? What do they include for you? In what way are gender norms defined in your organization?*

### **IV) About the prevention projects/programs**

*IV a) What kind of VAW prevention programs do you implement?*

*IV b) In which programs/projects do you address gender norms? How do you address gender norms within those projects? Which gender norms do you address and why?*

### **V) About international and local norms**

*V a) Would you say international and local gender norms are the same in Peru?*

*V b) If there is a difference what kind of gender norms do international/national organizations working in the area of preventing VAW address mostly?*

*V c) What kind of gender norms addresses your organization (international or national)?*

*V d) In how far do you think it is relevant for prevention programs to address global and local gender norms?*

### **VI) Concluding Remarks**

*Do you have any questions? Would you like to appear by name and organization in my thesis or do you prefer to stay anonymously?*

*Thank you very much for the interview.*

## **2.2 Interview Guide: Spanish I**

### **I) Introducción**

*Buenos Días. Me llamo Anna Luise Krumm, soy estudiante de la Universidad Lund en Suécia. En el marco de mi tesis de maestría estoy entrevistando a representantes de organizaciones que trabajan en el área de género.*

*El tema general de mi tesis es sobre normas de género y cómo ellas están integradas , abordadas en medidas de prevención contra la violencia de género. La definición de normas de género, en mi tesis, incluye todas las normas sociales y legales conectadas a roles de género; así como que el efecto que tienen en la ocurrencia de violencia de género. Esta entrevista durará aproximadamente 30 minutos. ¿Podría grabar nuestra conversación?*

### **II) Preguntas generales:**

*II a) ¿Podría decirme su nombre por favor? ¿Cuál es su posición dentro de la organización?*

*II b) ¿Podría describirme su programa/proyecto brevemente? ¿De qué manera se trabaja en la prevención de la violencia contra la mujer dentro de su organización?*

*II c) ¿Quiénes están involucrados en la ejecución de su programas / proyectos? ¿Ustedes trabajan con otras organizaciones/ otras contrapartes?*

*II d) ¿Cuál es su papel personal dentro del programa / proyecto?*

### **III) Definición de normas**

*III a) ¿Cómo definiría usted normas de género? ¿Qué tipos de normas incluiría en esta definición? ¿De qué manera se definen las normas de género dentro de su organización?*

### **IV) Medidas de prevención**

*IV a) Me puede decir brevemente de que se trata su proyecto o programa de género? ¿Qué medidas de prevención de violencia contra la mujer se implementan ?*

*IVb) ¿En qué programas o proyectos se aborda el tema de normas de género? ¿En qué manera están incluyendo normas de género en dichas medidas? ¿Qué tipo de normas de género están incluyendo? ¿Por qué?*

### **V) Nivel internacional y nacional**

*Estoy entrevistando a representantes de organizaciones muy diversas, internacionales y nacionales que trabajan en el área de prevención de la violencia de género.*

*Va) ¿Que piensa hay una diferencia entre normas internacionales de género y normas nacionales de género ? ¿O son las mismas?*

*Vb) ¿Si hay una diferencia. qué normas de género son típicas para organizaciones internacionales / nacionales que trabajan en el ámbito de la prevención de la violencia de género?*

*Vc) ¿Se abordan normas de género en sus proyectos? ¿ Cuáles? ¿Internacionales o nacionales?*

*Vd) ¿ Cuáles son las normas de género que desde su punto de vista, deberían ser abordadas en medidas de prevención de violencia contra las mujeres acá en Perú?*

### **VI) Comentarios finales**

*¿Tiene alguna pregunta? ¿Quiere que aparezca su nombre y el nombre de su organización en la tesis o prefiere permanecer anónima/o? Muchas gracias por su tiempo. Les agradezco mucho por haber participado en la entrevista.*