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# **Policy on domestic violence in Bolivia**

## **An intersectional study on visibility and inclusion**

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate visibility and inclusion in policy on domestic violence in Bolivia by answering the specific questions: *1) How are the axis of difference related to gender, class and ethnicity made visible in the national policy documents on domestic violence? and 2) How are the intersections of gender class and ethnicity understood by service providers in public institutions assisting victims of domestic violence and how do they relate them to their work and broader societal structures?* This thesis employed a qualitative case study, conducting a qualitative content analysis of policy documents between 2008 and 2018, and semi-structured interviews with nine service providers in three municipalities of Cochabamba in order to answer these questions and fulfill the purpose. Findings showed that domestic violence is not an elaborated policy field in Bolivia, as its forms and implications as a typology in relation to intersecting inequalities is not fully formulated and politicized. However findings demonstrate that there is recognition that rural indigenous and/or low-income women were particularly vulnerable victims of domestic violence as they lacked access to justice and social services; and this thesis ultimately presses for further research and policy development on domestic violence.

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This thesis is dedicated to all women who are victims or have been victims of domestic violence.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BOB	Bolivian Boliviano
CEDAW	Convención sobre la Eliminación de Todas las Formas de Discriminación contra la Mujer (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women)
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina (The Economic Commission for Latin America)
CDH	Comunidad de Derechos Humanos
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (National Institute of Statistics)
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
MAS-IPSP	Movimiento al Socialismo - Instrumento Político de Soberanía del Pueblo (Movement towards Socialism – Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the People)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ONU	Organización de las Naciones Unidas (United Nations)
ONU MUJERES	Organización de las Naciones Unidas Mujeres (United Nations Women)
PAHO	Pan-American Health Organization
PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Programme)
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SLIM	Servicios Legales Integrales Municipales (Legal Integral Municipal Services)
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
US	United States
USD	United States Dollar
VAW	Violence against Women
WHO	World Health Organization

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

Violence against women (VAW) continues to be a global security problem as it has severe consequences on women's physical, mental and reproductive health, and thus on society as a whole (WHO 2013; UN Women 2017). Domestic violence, or intimate partner violence (IPV) is one of the most common forms of VAW (WHO, 2012) as global numbers show that 1 in 3 women has endured IPV and/or sexual violence by a non-intimate partner in their lifetime (WHO 2013). Significant changes have been made in regards to national policies on violence against women in Latin America and the Caribbean, and even though Bolivia is no exception, there is still a high prevalence of domestic violence in the country. Between 2013 and March 2017, 333 women died in the hands of an intimate partner in Bolivia (INE, 2017); an alarming figure that needs to be urgently addressed.

Meanwhile, Bolivia also has a long history of class- and ethnic-based struggles (Postero 2010a) and great heterogeneity, as there are 36 recognized indigenous peoples and Afro-Bolivians in the country (Kaijser 2014). The current government Movement towards Socialism – Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples<sup>1</sup> (MAS-IPSP) has been in power since 2006 and their election marked an historical overturn for indigenous peoples in Bolivia after years of social mobilization (Postero 2010a). In 2009, autonomy and legal status to indigenous nations and the recognition of indigenous cultures, languages and customs were incorporated into the country's Constitution, accompanied by extensive welfare programs for low income children, families and seniors (Postero 2010b). However, scholars and activists in the country have also emphasized that gender equality is not given enough attention in the discourse of indigenous rights, pointing to the fact that colonial and gender oppression are not separate processes (Chavez et.al 2011; Cardenas Aguilar et.al, 2011). Similarly, Intersectionality is a developing strand within the feminist research camp that challenges the notion that VAW affects all women equally, highlighting marginalized subject position at the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity. Institutional intersectionality ultimately raises questions of inclusion and visibility of intersecting

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<sup>1</sup> In Spanish: Movimiento al Socialismo – Instrumento Político para la Soberanía de los Pueblos

inequalities in the different processes of policy, from design and implementation to evaluation. Therefore, Bolivia's socio-political context coupled with the SDG Goal 5 of 'Achieving gender equality and empowering women and girls' and target 5.2 of 'Eliminating all forms of violence against women and girls in the public and private sphere including trafficking and sexual and other forms of exploitation' (UN 2015) motivated this study of analyzing and understanding policy on domestic violence in Bolivia through the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity. This thesis assumes the transformative power of the State in expanding the boundaries of democratization by including all women in policy development.

The purpose of this thesis is thus to investigate the *visibility and inclusion* of intersections of gender, class and ethnicity in policy on domestic violence. Two aspects of policy will be investigated; final policy text and the implementers of policy; i.e. service providers working with victims of domestic violence in public institutions (women shelter and social services). In final policy text, three main themes as an analytical framework elaborated by Strid et.al (2013) will be investigated; i) the naming of inequalities ii) intersecting inequalities, and they work structurally through intersecting fields and intersecting policy domains, and iii) whether the voices of marginalized women's organization have been included in the policy outcomes. Secondly, the understandings of these intersections by nine service providers and how they relate them to their work and broader societal structures will be explored.

Some quantitative and qualitative studies on the institutional failures in combating VAW have already been done in Bolivia, and these will be complementary to the findings of the investigation, giving this case study a more complex and holistic image. Furthermore, my study complements existing empirical research in Bolivia in that it investigates domestic violence as a policy field, and specifically through the categories of gender, class and ethnicity, contributing to greater and clearer knowledge of the topic.

This thesis thus addresses two research questions:

*How are the axis of difference related to gender, class and ethnicity made visible in the national policy documents on domestic violence?*

*How are the intersections of gender class and ethnicity understood by service providers in public institutions assisting victims of domestic violence and how do they relate them to their work and broader societal structures?*

To achieve the purpose and answer the research questions, I have conducted a case study, by carrying out a qualitative content analysis of five national policy documents, and nine interviews with service providers in three municipalities of the department of Cochabamba, Bolivia.

## **1.2 Delimitations**

Domestic violence in this thesis is understood as IPV (See Appendix A for more details) and does not include violence between family members, also called intra-family violence (such as between siblings and other relatives). This thesis, because of its time and space limitation, only discusses the categories of gender, class and ethnicity (See Appendix A for definitions) in policy documents; it does not focus on other categories such as sexuality or religion, or on intra-categorical differences such as between different ethnic groups. Moreover, the research questions concerns policy from the providing end, not the receiving – i.e. victims of domestic violence have not been interviewed. Finally, the sample of service providers in the department of Cochabamba is not significant enough to make generalizations on the whole department.

## **1.3 Thesis Outline**

The outline of this thesis is the following: Chapter 2 begins with a background on the Bolivian political and institutional context; as well as previous research from the field, moving from the broader, domestic violence on a global, regional and national scale, to the more specific of policies on domestic violence in the Bolivian context. In Chapter 3 the theoretical framework that initiated and guided the research is presented; framing the main premises of intersectionality, how it's been applied in the past in relation to policy and the operationalization of the same. Chapter 4 exposes the methodological framework used in this thesis. Chapter 5 presents the findings and analysis from content analysis and interviews and their convergence, complemented with secondary information. Finally, Chapter 6 recapitulates the findings and formulates conclusions, finishing with a section on policy implications and further research.

## 2. SETTING THE SCENE

### 2.1 The institutionalization of ethnicity and class

Bolivia is a highly heterogeneous country: The latest census of 2012 showed that the country had a bit more than 10 million inhabitants and 36 recognized indigenous groups and Afro-Bolivians, whereby 41% self-identified as belonging to one of these groups (Kaijser 2014). The terms ethnic and indigenous groups<sup>2</sup> are often used interchangeably and both terms have been given various meanings across history, but are intimately intertwined with the rural (Zuazo & Bonifaz 2009; Kaijser 2014). MAS-IPSP came into power in 2006 with head of state, Evo Morales and that year was the result of long processes of indigenous and class struggle of which some were reflected in fundamental changes in the New Political Constitution of the State, approved in 2009 (CEPAL 2015). Autonomy and legal status to indigenous nations and the recognition of indigenous cultures, languages and customs were incorporated in the constitution, accompanied by an extensive program of agrarian reform (Postero 2010b). Indigenous communities were also institutionally given the right to resolve conflicts according to their own regulations and procedures and this is referred to native indigenous farmer justice<sup>3</sup> or community justice - however it must be exercised within the framework of what is legally permitted by the ordinary justice system (Programa Nina 2015). Simultaneously the country's name was changed from the Republic of Bolivia to Plurinational State of Bolivia, reflecting the fundamental state changes. The government also proposed a new state model of nationalization of hydrocarbons which would entail revenues that would be given back to the people through welfare programs. These have included a national literacy program and a program to diminish malnutrition among children, benefits for senior citizens and subsidies for schoolchildren and their families among others (Postero 2010b), which have all led to a decline in extreme poverty rates and improved literacy (Kaijser 2014). Over the past years discontent with the government has grown and unequal resources distribution and ethnic discrimination are still prevalent in the country - however the importance of indigenous participation in decision-making bodies as a result of social movement struggles should not be undervalued (ibid 2014).

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<sup>2</sup>Indigenous here is used to denote Amerindian groups but it is not only an ethnicity – instead it must be understood as mutually constructed and intersecting with socio-economic factors and geographic location (Kaijser, 2014)

<sup>3</sup> In Spanish: *justicia indigena originaria campesina*, own translation (See Appendix A for more details)

### 2.1.1 The institutionalization of violence against women

The legal framework regarding policies on women's human rights in the Latin American and Caribbean region was first approved by the "*Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*" (CEDAW 1979) – however it did not include an article on violence due to lack of votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) to acknowledge that domestic violence existed (UN 2011). Subsequently in 1994, and with more specific criteria, the "*Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women*" became ratified by Bolivia and most other countries in the region. This meant that these countries all enacted national laws and policies on domestic and/or intra-familial violence; and a dozen countries have passed a second generation of laws with an integral approach of the first (PAHO n.d; Essayag 2017). Bolivia has not fallen behind, passing Law N° 348 'Integral Law to Guarantee Women a Life Free of Violence' in 2013, which identifies 16 forms of VAW<sup>4</sup> and aimed at adopting a holistic approach of institutional response to VAW (CDH & UNFPA 2015). However, there have been ongoing public debates in social organizations and the government, on how and whether it is possible to make public policies fairer and aligned with indigenous cultures from within the State (CEPAL 2015; Chavez et.al 2011; Cardenas Aguilar et.al 2011). The discussions have emphasized that colonial and gender oppression exists side by side and should not be considered separate processes, and that the gender equality perspective in the discourse on colonialism and race is not paid enough attention (Chavez et.al. 2011). Some argue that the State is colonial and patriarchal in itself (Chavez et.al 2011; Cardenas Aguilar et.al 2011), because historically, capital has surged from the maintenance and reproduction of certain patterns of dominations, such as inequalities related to class, race and gender. Questions that have arisen are whether it is viable to expect a revolutionary change from that space, and if the focus should be on institutional change from within the State (Chavez et.al 2011). The other end of the spectrum however argues that the State should create reparatory public policies for women that have been historically marginalized

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<sup>4</sup> These are physical; feminicidal; psychological; violence through media; symbolic and/or covert violence; violence against the dignity, honor and the name, sexual, violence against reproductive rights, violence by health services; patrimonial or economic violence; labor violence; violence in the education system; violence in the political exercise and leadership of women; institutional violence; family violence (including IPV); violence against the sexual rights and liberty.

(Cardenas Aguilar et.al. 2011). Ultimately, the focus of this thesis is the transformative power of the State and that including ethnicity and class within the analysis of policies on domestic violence is an expression of democratization.

## **2.2 Review of existing research**

The following section briefly touches upon empirical work concerning domestic violence on a global, regional and national level, followed by the specific current problems related to policy on domestic violence in Bolivia.

### **2.2.1 Domestic violence: Global, regional and national scale**

VAW and particularly domestic violence is considered a major violation of human rights and has significant negative consequences on women's physical, mental and reproductive health (WHO 2013; UN Women 2017). One of the most common forms of VAW is domestic violence and globally, women make out the majority of the victims. Women can be also exercise violence in relationships with men, often in self-defense, and same-sex relations can also be violent – however male intimate or ex-partners are the most common aggressors of VAW (WHO & PAHO 2012). Globally, 1 in 3 (35%) of women have in their lifetime been subjected to either physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner, or sexual violence by a male that was not a partner. Also, up to 38% of all homicides of women are committed by an intimate partner (WHO, 2013). In the Latin America and the Caribbean region, the prevalence of physical and/or sexual IPV is next highest in the world<sup>5</sup> whereby 30% of women had been exposed during the course of a relationship (ibid 2013). A study by Bott et.al (2012) in the region showed that Bolivian women have been exposed to the next highest rates of sexual violence by an intimatepartner (15.2%) after Haitian women<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, a recent study by the Ministry of Justice and INE (2017) demonstrated that 75 of every 100 women over the age of 15, that were married, co-habited or in an informal union reported having suffered some type of violence by

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<sup>5</sup>The prevalence was highest in the WHO African, Eastern Mediterranean and South-East Asia Regions, where approximately 37% of women had been victims.

<sup>6</sup> 12 countries in the Latin American and Caribbean region were analyzed: Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Peru, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Paraguay.

their partner during the course of their relationship (Ministerio de Justicia & INE 2016). Between 2013 and October 2016, 333 women were killed by an intimate partner in Bolivia (INE, 2017). These data show the importance of addressing domestic violence in a developmental context and must be considered a national security problem.

### 2.2.2 Violence against the indigenous and poor women in Bolivia

In Bolivia, there is not a plethora of empirical studies that show data on domestic violence differentiated by class and ethnicity; as studies that quantitatively highlight the issue often does not disaggregate the data. However, a national survey on discrimination and social exclusion (Coordinadora de la Mujer et.al. 2014) exposed the classed and racialized dimensions of VAW in Bolivia.

**Table 1. Indigenous and non-indigenous women that were victims of violence**



Source: The Situation of Women in Bolivia – National survey on discrimination and social exclusion<sup>7</sup> (Coordinadora de la Mujer et.al 2014:107)

The figure above shows that there are more indigenous women who were victims of psychological, physical and sexual violence than non-indigenous women. Women belonging to

<sup>7</sup>In Spanish: La Situación de las Mujeres en Bolivia – Encuesta nacional de discriminación y exclusión social

indigenous peoples were exposed to greater psychological violence with 53.9% and non-indigenous women with 38.6%. Women that were indigenous suffered more physical violence with 45.1%, compared to non-indigenous with 31%; and of those that suffered sexual violence, 19.8% were indigenous and 12.8% non-indigenous. The study further demonstrated the classed dimension; more than half of the women who had been victims of domestic violence were self-employed (informal) workers, and next in order were domestic workers and unpaid family workers.

Another study (Ministerio de Justicia 2009) showed similar patterns by disaggregating data by education and occupation during 2007-08 in Bolivia, showing that of all domestic violence reports, 48.08% belonged to women that were economically inactive – and within that group, are the women who dedicate themselves exclusively to house work with 90,69. Moreover, 40.16% of the reports on domestic violence were made by women that only had primary education.

### **2.2.3 Policies on domestic violence in Bolivia: Institutional weaknesses**

Much of the empirical work concerning policies on domestic violence in Bolivia has focused on the institutional weaknesses that permeate the Bolivian judicial and public assistance system. Some of these have been carried out by NGOs and inter-institutional agencies, and others by the Bolivian State itself and which are also parts of the policy documents in the content analysis in Chapter 5.

#### **2.2.3.1 Access to services**

There is lack of access to institutionalized services to women (Coordinadora et.al, 2014), especially in rural areas as there are delays of the establishment of social services also called Legal Integral Municipal Services (SLIM)<sup>8</sup> and police force in these areas (Ministerio de Justicia 2008; Defensoría del Pueblo 2012; Ministerio de Justicia & ONU Mujeres 2015). These services were found to be a non-immediate option for victims of violence; instead family members were found to be the first option for help. This was analyzed as being directly caused by the lack of

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<sup>8</sup> In Spanish: Servicio Legal Integral Municipal

services and lack of information about them, but also to social and cultural factors that conditioned women to not report violence. Moreover, when women had reached for assistance, they reported low quality and delay in the attention of the services. (Coordinadora de la Mujer et.al 2014) It has also been found that there is insufficient support to the victims of the violence in the form of counseling services and shelters in Bolivia (Ministerio de Justicia & ONU Mujeres 2015) and especially in rural areas (Ministerio de Justicia 2008). The UN (2011) further pressed on a lack of investigations of VAW and migratory processes.

### **2.2.3.2 Judicial barriers**

The report ‘Femicides in Bolivia’ (Defensoría del Pueblo 2012) revealed national level data of femicides<sup>9</sup> of women, both in urban areas and rural areas, identifying weaknesses in both judicial systems - the ordinary and the indigenous justice system. In the ordinary justice system impunity and lack of sanction towards aggressors prevails at high rates, which Ministerio de Justicia & ONU Mujeres 2015 (2015) and Alianza por Solidaridad (2015) also focused on the alarming on the low number of prosecutions and convictions in cases of VAW. In the indigenous justice system in rural areas, there has been found to be a lack of coordination between indigenous authorities and the ordinary justice system as the former often don’t report the cases; and in general lack knowledge of what domestic violence constitutes of (Ministerio de Justicia 2008; Defensoría del Pueblo 2012). Montaña (2016) further pointed to the fact as Bolivia is an intercultural system where the Bolivian Constitution recognizes many communities – however it cannot ignore the different forms of discrimination that occur within them.

### **2.2.3.3 Policy on domestic violence and the indigenous woman**

Several indigenous women’s’ organizations wrote a report (CNAMIB et.al 2015) calling on the attention of the Bolivian State, articulating that even though the rights of women have been incorporated into the national legislation through advances in political representation and gender violence, there is a lack of culturally competent public policies directed at indigenous women.

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<sup>9</sup> Femicides is defined as female homicides by men, for reasons associated with their gender. It is understood as an extreme form of violence against women.

When it comes to violence, they stressed that indigenous women lacked easy and adequate protection mechanisms due to long distances, the complications of complaint procedures and legal gaps. As budget allocation from the State towards policies aimed at indigenous women were lacking, the results have been a strong sense of discrimination. In continuation, they recommended that the State elaborate disaggregated data on domestic and intra-family violence in indigenous communities, because the few data that exists have been gathered by NGOs. The lack of disaggregated and updated information on the number of reports on VAW was also highlighted by Ministerio de Justicia & ONU Mujeres (2015).

### **3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Intersectionality is the theory that will be the base of the theoretical framework in this thesis. As recommended by Creswell (2014), this section will deal with the main propositions of intersectionality, how it has been applied in the past, and a section on how theory will be operationalized in the case of my proposed study of policy on domestic violence,

#### **3.1 Central Propositions of Intersectionality**

As the term intersectionality started to become a buzzword within mainly feminist research and gender studies in the early 2000's and slowly becoming institutionalized in the academic world (Collins 2015), scholars have been divided as to what intersectionality classifies as; a theory, a concept, a methodology (Lutz 2015) or as critical praxis for organizations and activists (Collins 2015). There are also unsettled theoretical disagreements concerning whether intersectionality is a general theory on identity, as some theorists believe that intersectionality can be applied to all people, as everyone's social position is to some extent marked by the interplay of categories such as gender, class, race etc. Other theorists however, including the standpoint of myself as a researcher, is that intersectionality is reserved for people in marginalized positions (Hillsburg 2015), as the interplay of power relations is a central notion in the understanding of intersections. The main propositions offered by scholars that apply intersectionality in social research is that social categories of analysis such as gender, class and ethnicity must be understood as relational and mutually constructed rather than separate from each other. As these categories are understood as the foundation of and actively shaping systems of power such as patriarchy and racism (Collins 2016), intersectionality moves away from an additive model of analysis that sees oppressions as separate fields of inequalities (Hillsburg 2015). Intersecting systems of power thus organize social arrangements through unequal resource distribution, resulting in different social realities for the groups that are situated within them. These arrangements are historically contingent, as material realities also vary across time and space, i.e. they are not static (Hillsburg 2015; Collins 2016). Thus, as intersectionality hereby will be understood as an analytical framework to understand the realities of women in marginalized positions in relation to policies on domestic violence, gender will be seen as a main category of analysis, albeit mutually

constructed with class and ethnicity. These categories were chosen after careful investigation of the Bolivian context (See Appendix A for more details). Moreover, the stance of this thesis is that the inequalities that are produced are inherently unjust and that they form knowledge-production and political programs, such as policies, that can maintain or challenge the present state of affairs (Collins 2016).

### **3.2 Conceptualizing VAW**

Feminist scholars and activists all around the world have been part of conceptualizing the notion that VAW is violence that is aimed at women and girls. To form policy field around these premises acknowledges that violence towards a person is shaped by their position in a gendered system; and subordinate economic, racial, cultural and political status (Strid et al. 2013). VAW maintains gender inequality is best understood as socially constructed and accepted culturally (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). Feminist researchers have thus altered the definition and operationalization of male violence as a form of power and control (Strid et al 2013), whose ultimate purpose is to maintain and reproduce dominance over women (Monk 2015) – as opposed to previous approaches and explanations that did not focus on the structural aspects of VAW and instead concentrated on individual victims, the pathological issues of individual aggressors and broken problematic families (Strid et al. 2013). Domestic violence in particular has come to be conceptualized as “a systematic abuse of power and control manifested through patterns of violence and coercion “(Monk 2015:35).

Traditional feminist approaches have also urged the production of a feminist movement against VAW, by highlighting that victims of domestic violence have a common experience around which to make political claims. Without underestimating that struggle, intersectionality scholars have pointed to the homogenizing view that domestic violence affects all people equally regardless of ethnicity and class; even describing it as careless research and theory-building because it undermines the ways we analyze the prevalence rates and effects of violence against victims that are at the intersections of other inequalities (Crenshaw 1991; Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). The prevalence of risk has also been questioned as low-income women of color in the US are more likely to be in dangerous intimate relationships, because of other structural constraints such as racism in the police force (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005) Even though the US and Bolivia are

two very different countries, Bolivia is still marked by postcolonial orders of racial and ethnic discrimination and unequal material realities (Kaijser 2014), something that is also prevalent in the US.

This further highlights the importance of a structural approach to the intersectional analysis which requires a critical stance – otherwise understanding diversity becomes somehow superficial and to have greater access to resources such as public services is seen to only be a privilege. The structural constraints in form of institutions also becomes apparent when the analysis is expanded to understand intersecting systems of power, which can unveil how violence by a single perpetrator is not the only form of violence that marginalized women are exposed to. Lack of satisfactory institutional support in the form of social services and support can be seen as types of violence which can also be arranged as beneficial for some groups over others (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005).

### **3.3 Intersectionality and Policy**

#### **3.3.1 Past Uses and Applications**

Intersectionality as a framework to analyze policy discourse and application is underdeveloped and as a method of incorporating intersectionality into the process of different stages of policies are in their beginning phases (Hankivksy & Cormier 2011). However scholars have identified that the main purposes of policy analysis through intersectionality is to explore and address the way specific acts and policies address the multiple and intersecting inequalities experienced by various social groups; and to center attention on the responsiveness to the different needs of these groups (Hankivsky & Cormier 2011; Lombardo & Augustin 2011). The studies that have applied an intersectional framework have focused on evaluation of policy impacts on health equity and social determinants (McPherson & McGibbon 2012; Palència et.al.2014; Hankivsky et.al. 2014), how intersectionality has reformed EU politics on antidiscrimination policy (Alonso, 2012); how to institutionalize intersectionality in EU-policy-making (Lombardo & Bustelo 2012; D'Agostino 2015); and studies on culturally competent evaluations of policy programs (Chouinard & Cousins, 2007). What policy analysis through intersectionality can reveal are the limitations and exclusions in traditional methods of policy formation, by acknowledging that to

address inequalities, a one-size fits all approach is defective in addressing multiple social categories and their intersecting inequalities (Hankivsky & Cormier 2011). As noticed, most previous studies focus on the institutional context in Europe, which is different from the Bolivian – however, because of Bolivia’s diversity, and the incorporation of ethnic rights into the Constitution and state-led welfare programs – makes for an interesting case study.

### **3.3.2 Intersectionality and policy on domestic violence**

The relationship between domestic violence, ethnicity and poverty is not fully explored, as there is a need for studies that determine larger patterns of causality, especially in Latin American countries. However, the increased vulnerability to domestic violence of indigenous women in late capitalist societies is likely related to structural factors such as poverty and income, education, language obstacles and cultural isolation (Nixon & Humphreys 2010). As mentioned previously, even though there is a gendered nature of domestic violence women who experience it are situated differently – and to ignore this leads to exclusion of marginalized women from access to support services (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). Thus policy interventions on domestic violence cannot solely be read through the category of gender without taking into account other intersecting factors, such as class and ethnicity that shape the realities of women victims – and center attention to their specific needs and patterns of seeking help (Hankivsky & Cormier 2011). Incorporating intersectionality into policy on domestic violence is then tied to the broader developmental project of decreasing violence for all women; as it is an inclusionary approach intended to address specific issues of intersectional stigma or invisibility (Hancock 2016). Even though the relationships between the categories are not completely clear or undisputed, and are context-bound, the dominant patterns which emerge from such a research can lead to greater knowledge on its clarification (Nixon & Humphreys 2010).

### **3.4 Operationalization of the analytical framework**

As this thesis is set to answer two central questions about the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity in two levels of policy on domestic violence - the final policy text and service providers

implementing these policies – the following section will focus on the operationalization of these two questions. Intersectionality will be analyzed at multi-levels (Lutz 2015); firstly macro-level by studying national policies; and secondly the understandings of service providers in municipal public institutions, which are representative of the meso- or intermediate-level (regional-level institutions and policies). Analyzing the multi-level dimension of intersectionality in policy requires approaching the processes of intersecting inequalities and differentiations across levels of structure, social categories and representation (Hankivsky 2014). Moreover, inequalities are intertwined, but can concurrently be named separately (Strid et.al 2015).

Due to the lack of literature on the methodology of intersectionality, researchers often must learn how to carry out intersectional research through trial and error (Hillsburg 2015). Therefore I have chosen to use an already elaborated framework (to further strengthen my construct validity) and apply it on the content analysis of policy documents on domestic violence in Bolivia. Strid et.al (2013) elaborated an analytical framework on British policy on violence against women which focused on particularly inclusion and visibility of marginalized women in the final policy text. They used intersectionality in its broadest sense including all possible intersections – but this thesis will only use the analytical categories of gender, class and ethnicity. The visibility of multiple inequalities and intersectionality related to these three categories in final policy texts will be analyzed through three different levels of continuum:

- (i) The naming of inequalities; (ii) the intersections in practice between inequalities and how they work structurally through intersecting fields of violence and relevant policy domains, and; (iii) the inclusion of the voices of minoritized<sup>10</sup> women in defining the structural intersections in policy outcomes. (Strid et.al.2015:559)

These three levels must be seen as methods to reach an end objective, which would be that governmental resources are assigned to that particular vulnerability and ultimately lead to equality. The naming/listing of separate or multiple inequalities in policy can be seen as the weakest form of visibility and inclusion and should not be understood as the end goal. The moderately strong second level relates to how inequalities are articulated as mutually intersecting in practice, as this gives an idea on how policy has formulated the problem of women who are

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<sup>10</sup> I will use the word marginalized hereon after, as minoritized is referred to minority groups in the British context.

situated at different social positions; and how these intersections work structurally through intersecting fields and intersecting policy domains.

Each type of violence mentioned is considered a field of violence which will be identified through by analyzing the existing policy and legislation in the Bolivian context. Also, if the domestic violence policy field intersects with other policy domains, it shows that problems in the violence domain have consequences in other domains such as employment programs, childcare, housing for low income-women etc. (ibid 2013)

The inclusion of the voices of marginalized women will be considered as the most substantial form of visibility and inclusion in final policy text. “The inclusion of the voices of women’s organizations is achieved through a developed state/civil society interface, in the organization of civil society, and in the policy outcome” (Strid et.al 2013:560) The way to analyze the inclusion of marginalized women’s organization will be whether they are mentioned in the actual policy; and specifically whether they have been consulted through formal meetings in the policy-making process. Moreover, in the project of combating gender violence with the State, ethnicity or class might be the central category of which an organization is based, but gender might take the lead temporarily in order to form coalitions with other organizations(ibid 2013). As Bolivia has a history of political movement and organization vis-à-vis the State, this seems like an appropriate operationalization.

The second research question has a broader and more open structure, aiming at investigating the visibility and inclusion of ethnicity, gender and class through the eyes of service providers, how they understand these intersections; and how they relate them to the work that they do in public institutions. Focus will also lay on how they see these categories in relation to broader structures, such as state social services and support (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005).

## **4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **4.1 Research design**

This study is neither fully deductive nor inductive, as it has employed both reasoning to a certain extent, and intersectionality is not considered a fully elaborated theory - instead it can be seen as an analytical framework in which to filter the world and its patterns through the categories that I chose, using a qualitative research design. The philosophical foundation of this study thus adheres to constructivist ontology and a constructivist and interpretative epistemology. Constructivist ontology considers the world to exist but different people actively organize different meanings of it and these are ever-changing. Knowledge about the world is then the product of human knowledge-bearers, which varies across groups and is context-bound (Walliman 2006; Drisko & Maschi 2015). I as a researcher formulated the social categories of ethnicity, class and gender that are socially constructed, but also exposed how meaning is prescribed to these same categories by putting them in a context. From this epistemological stance, content in a policy documents does not simply contain meaning in a vacuum, but instead it is given meaning by the perspective and understanding of me as an investigator for specific purposes in this thesis (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). On a similar note, the interpretations of the social categories through the eyes of the service providers also show their subjective meanings of them (Leavy 2017).

### **4.2 Research Strategy**

The investigation has been carried out through a case-study taking place between January 2018 and March 2018, which allowed me to identify the holistic and meaningful attributes of phenomena (Kohlbacher 2011), and is beneficial in order to study policy and public administration (Yin 1994). A case study research as employed in this thesis is a qualitative study whereby the I as a researcher investigated a bounded system through in-depth data collection involving several sources of information such as policy documents, reports and interviews

(Creswell 2007) on various levels of analysis such as individuals, organizations and policies (Kohlbacher 2006).

### **4.3 Data generation**

Data was generated through document review, qualitative content analysis and semi-structured interviews; which mirrors the qualitative research based on a constructivist-interpretivist epistemology.

#### **4.3.1 Sampling Strategy**

The sample for the content analysis include a national plan: National Equal Opportunity Plan “Women Building the New Bolivia in the interest of Living Well” 2008-2020 (Ministerio de Justicia 2008); two reports: “Constructing a Bolivia Free of Gender Violence” (Ministerio de Justicia 2009) and “Femicides in Bolivia” (Defensoría del Pueblo 2014); a legislation “Law 348 Integral Law to Guarantee Women a Life Free of Violence” (Gaceta oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2013) and a strategy: “Public Policies – Lives with Dignity, Women Free of Violence” (Ministerio de Justicia 2013) (Own translations of policy documents, full names in Spanish in Appendix C)<sup>11</sup>. The sample for the interviews includes 9 interviews with service providers in public institutions - three instances of SLIM and one women shelter - in three different municipalities of Cochabamba. The participants had worked for at least 2 years as service providers in either a SLIM and/or the women shelter (See Appendix D for more details).

The sampling strategy of the policy documents and interviewees was that of *purposeful sampling* based on 1) *selection criteria* as *all* the policy documents that touched the subject of domestic violence between 2008 and 2018 issued by the State were chosen to be part of the content analysis and 2) *specialist knowledge* as the service providers worked with domestic violence victims on a daily basis (Walliman 2006). The research findings will then be an immediate result of the sample chosen (Leavy 2017). Moreover, the location of the interview samples, the three

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<sup>11</sup> To facilitate for the reader, the names of the policy documents will be written in English, but the references in the text will be kept in Spanish, as this facilitates finding the references in the List of References.

municipalities of Cochabamba, also embodied some of the aspects I was searching for, namely the rural-urban divide (PNUD, 2015) and could thus give me insights on the difference between the two in relation to ethnicity. I also volunteered part-time at one of the shelters which helped me to restructure my interview questions and ultimately my research question – as I gained further understanding of the macro – meso and micro institutional levels of the problem through informal discussions. The sampling size was limited to 9 interviews as there were resource limitations of time and cost (Walliman 2006); the interviews had to be permitted through the municipal and departmental mayor’s office which took approximately 2 weeks to be approved in each case – and each interview was transcribed by transcribers that were paid by me.

#### 4.3.2 Document review, Content analysis and Interviews

To use multiple sources is advantageous in a case study (Creswell 2007) and the choices of methods used in this thesis are summarized below in Table 1.

**Table 2. List of Methods**

Method	Participant/Document	Quantity
<b>Document Review</b>	Documents related to violence against women and policies in (Bolivia, Latin America and Global)	20+ documents (academic literature, reports, articles, biographies, and the web)
<b>Content analysis</b>	All national policy documents related to domestic violence in Bolivia 2008-2018	5 policy documents
<b>Semi-structured in-depth interviews</b>	SLIM and women shelter service providers in three municipalities of Cochabamba	9 interviewees

The document review made has consisted of a wide range of in-depth desk-research on secondary and primary literature in the form of academic literature, biographies, articles, reports and the web regarding domestic violence. It quickly dawned on me that there was no policy

document on solely domestic violence in Bolivia – and this is taken up in the final analysis – but the five policy documents finally chosen for the qualitative content analysis nevertheless touch on the subject of domestic violence. As a method, qualitative content analysis is appropriate to analyze organizational processes and outcomes, putting emphasis on the qualities of units and their meanings (Kohlbacher 2011). It also focuses on the role of the investigator in the how I constructed meaning of the texts under scrutiny (Bryman 2004; Kohlbacher, 2011) Related to this is that the policy documents and a significant amount of literature were in Spanish, which required translation on my behalf to English. Even though I am fluent in both languages some aspects could have been lost so when using direct citations, friends that are fluent in English and Spanish were consulted.

Nine semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted in Spanish and took place at the participants' workplace. This interview structure was chosen because it permitted a degree of interpretative freedom for the interviewee to use the language that they wanted, and respond long and detailed in any direction that they chose, within the parameters of the question posed (Leavy 2017). In the Bolivian office culture it is not common to close doors to office rooms – they are always open for anyone to come in and out regardless of event/meeting going on. In a few cases this caused too much noise in the recordings, but nevertheless they were still able to be transcribed without problem. Two of the social providers were directors of their unit, and thus these interviews had a different structure and dynamic to them which were taking into consideration in 'Limitations and Potential Biases'

#### **4.4 Data Analysis**

In order to summarize conclusions on the policies on domestic violence in the Bolivian context and thus answer the research questions, data was generated through highlighting meanings and patterns in the data (Creswell 2007) using the analytical framework as guidance. This was a circular process, as analysis led to interpretation, leading to analysis etc. (Leavy 2017).

The *content analysis* was made through careful qualitative research, which can be carried out through inductive and deductive approaches to coding (Drisko & Maschi 2015). Firstly, the documents were thoroughly read and coded using the three themes developed in the theoretical framework, also searching for latent content and not frequencies of data (ibid 2015). They were

then entered into an Excel database for analysis (See Appendix E). Each document was also browsed again for key concepts that weren't know in the initial reading, such as 'native indigenous farmer', considering them in the coding system. The results were then presented in a summarized and descriptive form.

The *interviews* were audio-recorded with the interviewees' consent before initiating the questions. Even though only one asked for anonymity, all interviews were assigned a letter between A to I. Notes on overall impressions were also taken by me during the interviews, as the transcribers could have left out important catchphrases, hesitations, sighs etc. Then, I created files in Nvivo with the digital transcripts, which were then used to create nodes - a process of analysis that allowed for the classification of the generated data, by ascribing phrases to parts of the interviews (See Appendix G) (Leavy 2017). The findings were complemented with secondary information found during the document review.

Finally, the findings from the context analysis and interviews responses were summarized in the Conclusion, as some of the findings coincided – but also new information could be added from the interviews. These were presented in a visual diagram, to facilitate the reader's interpretation of the findings, and to highlight overlaps between the findings (ibid 2017).

#### **4.5 Quality Criteria**

The validity and credibility of the findings have been assured through different measures. As Strid et.al (2013) conducted a content analysis of policy documents on domestic violence with the same overall analytical framework, this demonstrated the *construct validity* of the data, as it is built on previous successes. Another strategy ensuring validity was attempted through the contextual appropriateness of the category definitions which ultimately are elaborated on in the theoretical framework and Appendix A (Kohlbacher 2011). The problem of reliability, i.e. the trustworthiness of coding could have been ensured through an inter-coder reliability - to show to what extent different coders agree on the codes of the policy documents; however this was not possible. Field engagements with the participants in the women shelter, learning about their work was also a strategy of validation of interviews. In order to secure internal validity and reliability, several secondary sources were complemented and compared to the primary data; and data

triangulation, which meant using multiple secondary sources and methods, highlighting the investigated themes and strengthening evidence (Creswell, 2007).

#### **4.6 Limitations and Potential Biases**

There are several limitations to this study. Foremost, the interviews are not a representative sample of all service providers in the department of Cochabamba. Even though some of the service workers are the only social workers assigned to work on the theme of domestic violence in the SLIM of their whole municipality, the sample is not statistically representative to draw generalized conclusion on the SLIMs of these municipalities. A limitation and inherent bias is the fact that I only chose to interview service providers and not victims; and they had restrictions on putting their institution in a negative lighting, such as openly admit discriminatory behaviors. Nevertheless, gender biases were easier to explore, which is further discussed in the analysis. Moreover, some of the service providers in the SLIMs were also directors of their unit, which meant that there was a hierarchical dynamic to take into consideration, as they were acting as representatives of their institution and thus even less keen on disclosing information that could be put in negative lighting. These limitations were complemented with the data from the content analysis as well as secondary information that focused on quantitative studies on the institutional weaknesses, to make my data more reliable. Lastly, there are imitations related to the categories chosen for the analysis. The categories are used in a rather static way, and understood as marginalized positions – however real life can more complex and intra-categorical differences, such as hierarchical order between ethnic groups were not explored further. Other intersections of inequalities such as sexuality and religion in relation to domestic violence would have been appropriate to bring into the analysis, but the limitations of this thesis did not allow me to explore these further. However, the contributions of the results of this thesis can serve as a base for further exploration on intra-categorical differences and other intersections.

#### **4.7 Ethical considerations and Reflexivity**

The subject of marginalized women through the categories of gender, class and ethnicity must be treated with foremost reflexivity of my own position; as well as through ethical considerations –

as research can affect women who are already disadvantaged in a negative way. It was of uttermost importance for me as a researcher to consider how my work could be misused to create policies that further disempower women who are victims of domestic violence. Also, I thought about how findings about domestic violence in marginalized communities shouldn't be presented in a way to reinforce negative stereotypes about the victims. One way to avoid this was to put the findings in their structural contextual framework (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). Reflexivity thus meant reflecting over my own values, biases and decisions for the knowledge of the social world that I would generate through my study (Bryman 2012). As Kapoor (2004) points out, we are situated in geopolitical institutions, such as Western academia, that condition how we see and filter the world, and therefore it was important to investigate how the political public debates in Bolivia have articulated the problems of institutionalization and State role when it comes to public policies. Furthermore, I chose not to interview victims of domestic violence as I felt this was ethically questionable – most of them had just arrived to the shelter and were in a vulnerable and distressed situation. In relation to policy impact, investigating the experiences and prerogative of receivers of services is very important, but in this thesis I decided to view service providers as knowledge-bearers that having worked several years with victims of domestic violence have a holistic understanding of the social categories and conditions of the women that they work with on a daily basis (Funder 2005)

## **5. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

In this chapter I analyze my empirical data and it is presented in two sections, ‘Content Analysis’ and ‘Interviews’, referring to each research question respectively.

### **5.1 Content Analysis**

#### **5.1.1 Content Analysis: General Observations**

Domestic violence is not a developed policy field in the Bolivian context. There is no policy document that is aimed at combating explicitly domestic violence – instead domestic violence is mentioned in all policy documents that touch the subject of violence against women and are seen as part of the different forms of violence such as psychological, physical, economic and sexual. Little is written about the specific forms of domestic violence as a typology and as some of the documents point out, this is partly due to institutional failures and constraints. There are two fundamental problems here; one has to do with the problems of data collection: as it gathered by the police force and prosecutors in the Public Ministry – and there are several institutional problems related to this process, including lack of human resources (judges, prosecutors and police); lack of technical resources to carry out investigations; no organized and efficient way of organizing data; lack of inter-institutional coherence as both police and prosecutors sometimes record the same crime and there is no system to bring together overlapping information; and finally, even loss of information (Ministerio de Justicia 2008; Defensoría del Pueblo 2012). However, the second major problem related to domestic violence is the operationalization of the actual data that there is, as it has not been used to politicize domestic violence on a national level which is further discussed in Policy implications and Further Research.

The five policy documents have been studied in their totality on violence against women in order to find out how the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity are made visible in relation to domestic violence. The visibility of the intersections varies depending on the type of document that has been scrutinized. Legislations and reports have by nature different normative

standpoints: legislation strongly express *how things ought to be*; and a report can critically explain *how things are*, and this effects *how* the intersections are problematized.

### **5.1.2 Naming of inequalities**

Naming of inequalities include class, women in the rural areas, urban origin, indigenous women, afro-Bolivians and age, marital status, native indigenous farmers<sup>12</sup>, sexual orientation, belief or religion and political opinion.

### **5.1.3 Intersecting inequalities**

Multiple inequalities and their intersections are mentioned and elaborated on. In the report “Constructing a Bolivia Free of Violence” (Ministerio de Justicia, 2009) a small study from 2007-2008 with collected differentiated data on domestic violence and intra/family violence, showed the *class and gender intersection* in statistics; as the group of women that is a majority in domestic violence reports (48.08%) were economically inactive – and within that group, are the women who dedicate themselves exclusively to house work with 90.69% of the reports. Also, 40.16% of the police reports on domestic violence are from women that only have primary education. A small sample study made with 60 cases of women that had been killed by an intimate partner further emphasizing the gender/class intersection (the sample of available information on the 60 cases was reduced to 17, so no generalizations can be made). However, it showed that 7 women had only primary education (41%), 5 had secondary education (29.5%) and the other 5 superior degrees (29.5%). Similarly, their economic condition was exposed, as of the 17 cases of women, 11 had a precarious condition (65%) and the other 6 an average condition (35%). Regarding the existing data on occupation, 35% of the women victims were students (9 of 26), 19% were housewives (5) and 15% were merchants, most of them informal (4). The National Equal Opportunity Plan “Women building the new Bolivia in the interest of Living Well” (Ministerio de Justicia 2008) further emphasized that the abuse against women is greater

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix A for more details

the lower the socioeconomic status of the women - and women tend to endure acts of violence because of the economic dependency that they suffer. The plan also mentions that physical and psychological aggression towards female manual workers is greater than towards women of other occupations, however they do not show data on this.

*The intersections of gender, class and ethnicity* are particularly visible in the report “Femicides in Bolivia” (Defensoría del Pueblo 2012) where they mention that indigenous women have gone through several historical discriminations for being women, indigenous and poor. Because of this, they have faced particular barriers in accessing justice, and this is connected to exclusion, poverty and ethnic discrimination. The report also articulates the relationship between the rural and the ethnic/indigenous by using the term ‘indigenous native farmer’ (own translation, See appendix A) and highlight indigenous women’s situation in rural areas. They go on to say that the main economic activity in the rural areas is agriculture and therefore land tenure is a source of power. As men are usually the owners of land, this is a source of the unequal power relationship between men and women; and how they are valued differently by families and society in general. Moreover, their study found that in various parts of the country the women in rural indigenous communities have much less power in the decision-making concerning health, material resources and even about the life of the women in question; these decisions are mainly taken by the men (husbands, fathers and sons). Many cases of domestic violence and intra-family violence are handled in the indigenous justice system, even when the cases are criminal acts against the personal integrity of the woman, leading up to severe damages that by law should be remitted to the ordinary justice system. It was also found that a common practice in some rural communities were fast burials without formalities, which many times conceals domestic violence cases that culminated in femicides. The report also found that in some rural areas of Cochabamba, the indigenous justice system doesn’t even consider femicides a crime, and even less so sanction the perpetrator. In general, in rural zones where femicides are not reported, there is a high prevalence of violence against women with minor and severe injuries as a result of domestic violence, but the majority of these have been solved by re-conciliation.

Other problems related to the ordinary and indigenous justice system in rural areas brought up by Ministerio de Justicia (2008) was the lack of refuges for women that are victims of violence, lack of coordination between community authorities and social services (SLIM) and police in the

cases of violence whereby patterns of patriarchal structures prevail amongst community leaders which prevents women from acquiring assistance. As mentioned previously, there are institutional failures on a national level; as these weaknesses are also seen in the urban zones, the situation in the rural zones is even worse the more distant the community gets, as this makes them inaccessible due to lack of roads and also fuel transportation for people to move around to more urbanized areas. When people do travel to the city in order to for example get a hold of a forensic doctor (as this service is absent in rural areas) or police (which is of limited presence in rural areas), it takes several days for them to be attended as there is a high demand and a lack of personnel. When there is an ordinary justice system in rural areas - shortage of personnel, unsatisfactory equipment, lack of logistics and training and even mistreatment by service providers has been recorded (Defensoría del Pueblo 2012).

Ministerio de Justicia (2008) also pointed to the lack of presence of SLIMs in area rural or remote communities; and victims witnessed that there were discrimination against them when they would go into urban service centers. SLIMs in urban areas had not met their objectives of providing victims with legal support due to its preventive nature and their avoiding of impunity for the perpetrator.

The system in general lacks a focus on rights, gender and interculturality, consequently it is extremely weak in terms of the regimen of guarantees. In conclusion, neither the ordinary justice system nor the native indigenous farmer system, are effective in protecting the right of Bolivian women to a life free of violence and adequately punishing the aggressors, thus preventing the situation of violence going to the extreme of becoming femicide.” (Defensoríadel Pueblo 2012: 59-60 own translation)

However, Defensoría del Pueblo (2012) emphasizes that the situation of the women in the rural areas is much more serious, considering that the generation of wealth by ownership of land property or as the family’s main provision is in the hands of the man. Their situation is further exacerbated by the institutional lack of an adequate and accessible system of justice mentioned above, and a lack of economic resources necessary for their own defense and protection (such as hiring a lawyer).

Ley 348, Integral Law to Guarantee Women a Life Free of Violence’ (Gaceta Oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2013) has been a landmark for the policies on violence against women, as it named 16 types of violence against women and presented a vision of institutional actions to

and it has a clear rights-based focus in favor of the victims of violence. However, domestic violence is in this legislation only mentioned once and then grouped under intra-family violence and not as a separate typology. A new penalty code is under way and will be issued in the coming year; however it is alarming that domestic violence is not considered on its own.

The intersection of *gender and class* is manifested in how assignation of resources towards public policies will take into account the different necessities of women and men, for greater social inclusion, reducing inequalities and disadvantageous economic situations of women.

Law 348 also implicitly mentions *the intersection of gender and ethnicity/rural* as it asserts the application of structural state actions focused on women that are going through situations of violence and that are in vulnerable conditions, prioritizing rural areas. The departmental and municipal governments, as well native indigenous farmer territories, are responsible for establishing women shelter for women that are in a violent situation. Similarly, the Law mentions that authorities of indigenous and Afro-Bolivian communities must implement procedures in favor of women in situations of violence, within the frame of their own norms and regulations but nevertheless emphasizing that all cases of violence, sexual, femicides and similar crimes, have to be directed to the ordinary jurisdiction (Gaceta Oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2013)

The latest document: Public policies “Lives with Dignity, Women Free of Violence” (Ministerio de Justicia 2013) is a strategy that expands on the premises established by Law 348 and elaborates on the intersections of *gender, class and ethnicity* by mentioning that the structural causes of violence against women can be found in the patriarchal and colonial systems. The documents assert that the exclusion and poverty of women has been exacerbated by the capitalist economic system in association with neoliberal governments and the patriarchal system, which created situations of domestic and labor exploitation of women. They urge for rapid protection for women that are at risk of experiencing violence in departmental, municipal and indigenous communities. It also advocates for intersectionality as a political strategy, since it departs from “the understanding of violence against women from its multi-causality, multidimensionality and from the effects that it has on society” (Ministry of Justice, 2013:32 own translation), and places this understanding in the framework of structural causes. Intersectionality, according to this document, requires the intervention of various factors and competence and specialized actors, as

well as the perspectives of a diverse population. It is recommended to be applied when intervention needs are being evaluated, and is appropriate when planning, implementing and evaluating policies, programs and regulatory development. In addition, it is emphasized as strategy that promotes the redistribution of resources, aimed at women's equality in relation to men, but also between women - by allowing the closing of gaps between women in urban and rural areas, and among non-indigenous and indigenous women (Ministry of Justice 2013). Finally, institutionalism is advocated:

to eradicate violence against women and deconstructing the patriarchal, neoliberal colonial systems based on beliefs, ideas, values, structures, relationships, procedures, forms of organization, control mechanisms, which naturalize, condition violence and consolidate discrimination and racism against women (Ministry of Justice 2013:34 own translation)

#### **5.1.4 Intersecting fields of violence**

Because there is no clear strategic document or plan on specifically domestic violence; or any of the other types of violence, such as sexual violence – it is difficult to consider them fields of violence, making the lines between them blurry. Two observations fall into place here; one is domestic violence is often grouped as sexual, physical, psychological and/or economic violence in the reports (Ministry of Justice 2009; Ministry of Justice 2012) – which are also the overarching general forms of violence against women, and domestic violence is not separated as a typology in itself, which thus makes it difficult to see their intersections with other fields of violence. Also, that the difference between domestic and intra-family violence is not always separated either – sometimes domestic violence is mentioned under intra-family violence (Ministry of Justice, 2008), even though they have different dynamics to them, which show the lack of elaboration of the specific problems of domestic violence as intimate partner-violence, where the perpetrator is not necessarily considered a family member – and the lack of clarity for data collection.

### **5.1.5 Intersecting policy domains**

Policy domains intersect in some of the documents; Defensoría del Pueblo (2013) mentions that it is important to build synergies to deal with violence against women, by maximizing the opportunity niches that can be found in legislation related education, autonomy and decentralization and racism and discriminations. Law 348 (Gaceta Oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2013) mentions that The Plurinational Victim's Defense Service<sup>13</sup> as a decentralized institution under the Ministry of Justice, is in charge of ensuring the support of women in a situation of violence who do not have economic resources, through free legal assistance and psychological support to guarantee that they have access to the administration of justice, maximizing the probabilities of sanctions of perpetrators. Defensoría de Pueblo (2012) also addressed the inadequate coordination between the State authorities and the native indigenous farmer system in the search for common solutions, as well the problem of indigenous authorities not referring cases to the ordinary courts, even though they are obliged to. They stress that a coordination at all levels would be beneficial, with all the governing bodies of the state to act jointly and interdisciplinary in the eradication of violence against women, focusing on indigenous areas that are the ones with the least presence of the State when there have been cases of femicides. However, these are recommendations - no specific policy action is elaborated on, explicitly targeting the intersections in relation to domestic violence.

### **5.1.6 Inclusion of organizations of marginalized women**

Finally, visibility in the form of marginalized women being part of the policy outcomes is weak, and depends on the type of document. “National Equal Opportunity Plan” (Ministerio de Justicia 2008) mentions the participation of social organizations in the formation of the document but which ones they are is not mentioned; neither are the ones who were part of elaborating the section on violence against women, and it has no strategic plan of specifically combating domestic violence. Research was made on the organizations that participated in the outcome of the plan, but no added information could be found. As this shows a weakness in my findings, it

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<sup>13</sup>In Spanish: Servicio Plurinacional de Defensa a la Víctima

can also point to fallacies of the formulation of the final document in not mentioning the specific organizations.

Only the document “Public policies Dignified Lives, Women Free of Violence” (Ministry of Justice 2013) mentions the “Legislative Agenda from the Women 2008-2011<sup>14</sup> (Comité Impulsor para la Agenda Legislativa desde las Mujeres 2008), formed part of the outcome of Law 348. The committee was made up of deputies from different political parties, and various organizations and associations<sup>15</sup>. Research on these organizations showed that most of them had different organizational objectives than specifically domestic violence but they had the common objective of forming what was to be the new Law 348. The only organization that followed a clear gender and class perspective is the National Network of Trade Union Women<sup>16</sup> that works on women’s labor rights in Bolivia. No rural indigenous organizations formed part of the committee. However, staying in focus, it is important to remember that Law 348 did not mention domestic violence once except under intra-family violence and did not further propose a plan to tackle it on a national level either, which makes the analysis of marginalized women organizations superfluous.

## 5.2 Interviews

The following section begins with a short description of the two instances where the service providers were interviewed, SLIM and a woman shelter. Next, the findings from the interviews that emerged have been complemented with secondary and previous research, as well as the findings from the content analysis.

SLIM is the instance, similar to social services under the authority of the municipal governments which provides the prevention, protection and attention of events and victims of GVB, and it aims to achieve the sanction of crimes of GVB. SLIM is thus the main actor in the fight against GVB on municipal level. When a person contacts SLIM, he/she receives assistance from a

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<sup>14</sup> In Spanish: Agenda Legislativa desde las Mujeres 2008-2011

<sup>16</sup> In Spanish: La Red Nacional de Mujeres Sindicalista

multidisciplinary team depending on their specific needs, and this includes legal, social and psychological help on civil and family matters and conflicts including domestic violence. Apart from complaints they also initiate demands for family assistance; and help with acquiring birth certificate and employment when needed (Ministry of Justice 2015; E; G; H). In cases of domestic violence, SLIMs collaborate with judicial prosecutors by responding to their requirements, such as reports on court demand. These reports consist in investigating the current situation of the victim of domestic violence, such as living conditions, if they have children etc. (F) If they are at a high-risk they are taken to a woman shelter (Ministry of Justice 2015; F) Five service providers which worked with the area of legal and social assistance in three SLIMs, located in three municipalities of the department of Cochabamba, were interviewed

The women shelter where four service providers were interviewed is under the authority of the departmental government of Cochabamba. Nonetheless, the shelter coordinated with SLIMs in different municipalities of Cochabamba for the transferring of women to the shelter. Most often they had been victims of domestic violence and were at a high risk of more and severe violence and/or had no other instance to resort to. Women could also come in independently but then only to receive psychological support. The staff of the shelter also had a composition of integral assistance, where there was a lawyer, a psychologist, a social worker, educators in charge of helping the women with their daily routines and chores, and staff in charge of administration and coordination. Here the women could stay up to a maximum of three-four months and thereafter had to manage on their own. During the stay in the shelter, the women and their children were assisted with psychological help to deal with traumas as well as school assistance for the children. Employment possibilities were also raised in the shelter, as there were courses given in bakery, dairy production, agronomy etc.; and the service providers would also accompany the women going into town to find employment (B).

### **5.2.1 Acknowledging Intersecting Social Categories**

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, this study would empirically analyze the categories separately as well as mutually constructed. Gender oppression for example was described by service providers as linked to women's low self-esteem and self-worth, which was a factor as to

why some women would stay in violent relationships. The psychological dependency was linked to a belief that they cannot live without their (violent) partner (A; D; H). This dependency is a common occurrence for women in violent relationships as it is often the result of mechanisms of power and control in violent intimate relationships (UNFPA 2015). The service providers' analysis was that psychological dependency and economic dependency often went hand in hand – gender and class – and specifically economic dependency was described as a strong factor as to why some women would stay in violent relationships, or why they'd leave the shelter and return to the violent partner (A; B: C; D; F; G; H). This can be contrasted with the information presented by Coordinadora de la Mujer et.al. (2014), which showed that self-employed female workers appear with the highest incidence of violence in all its forms in important magnitudes, more than half of the women who have been victims of violence are self-employed workers. Next in order were domestic workers and unpaid family workers. As these are categories of employments with lower wages, it indicates that women endure violence because they might not get by economically without the violent partner. Their low-self-esteem was also related to not having the courage to start working and be economically dependent (A; B). Patriarchal attitudes also converged with economic dependency as a way to control the woman (F).

You decide not to work, you stay at home with the children and are subjected to the man, to what he will give you and that is another violence, it is an economic violence, the conditioning of the income of the family saying how much he will give, or how he will do it. (Service provider C, February 2018 own translation)

The information found in the content analysis of the study from 2007-08 by the Ministry of Justice (2009); that 40.16 % of the police reports on domestic violence were from women that only have primary education must be treated with caution as not to stereotype women with lower education as “weak” or submissive”. Instead, a lack of formal education must be understood in relation to barriers to employment possibilities, which service provider F emphasized, is an impediment for women to be able to surge after the separation, because the women that do not have any education would have a harder time finding an employment. It was also mentioned that the burden to take care of children was mainly put on women after the separation, and this further hindered them from acquiring employment (A; B; F). Lack of education was also related to lack of access to information about what constitutes violence (I).

Ethnicity was described as intertwined with the indigenous and rural, and as previously mentioned, they are intimately connected. They linked ethnicity to class and gender, in terms of vulnerability, by mentioning that there are women from rural parts were sometimes illiterate and/or lacked formal education as well as specific knowledge about violence and thus didn't really understand that some of the patterns they were going through were actually violent (B; I).

In reality, vulnerability is a big part of education, we know that people from remote communities are people who, in reality, don't know how to read and write, and so this is a situation that we also classify with high vulnerability. Why? Because these people actually ignore, in reality they continue to endure and thinking that this is normal violence they suffer, the domestic violence they suffer is normal and they accept it and that is why I say, it must be a very strong situation that has led them to break the silence in which they live in. (Service provider I, February 2018 own translation)

This is not to be generalized as to say that all indigenous women from rural parts lack education and specifically about domestic violence, but instead that there was vulnerability for the women who did lack education or were analphabets, because of the other institutional constraints that living in the rural sides entailed. The lack of formal education in parts of the rural areas also meant that women who arrived to the women shelter had a more difficult time finding employment. It was also common that women in remote communities very often were economically dependent on their husbands (B). This coincides with information found in the content analysis, considering that the generation of wealth by ownership of land property or as the family's main provider is the man, this reinforces the unequal power relationship between men and women. The situation of women in rural areas that are victims of domestic violence is further exacerbated by the institutional lack of an adequate and accessible system of justice and a lack of economic resources necessary for their defense and protection (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2012).

Women in the urban areas on the other hand, were described as more prone to knowing more about what constitutes violence and not *as* confined to staying in a violent relationship because of economic dependency, as there are more employment opportunities in the cities and women can reach other professional levels (B). Also, in the urban areas there was little or no community pressure on the women as opposed to in the rural areas; however pressure from the family to keep their family intact despite violence was seen in both women from rural and urban areas (B;

D; H). An intersection of gender, class and ethnicity which transcends the rural-urban divide was the migrant women, moving from rural to urban, who because having left her community and family was considered very vulnerable (F; H). This shows how community and family are not in all cases a negative force for the women, as they can act as social security networks where state institutions fail. Studies elsewhere have shown that migrant women are particularly vulnerable victims of domestic violence particularly because of isolation and less contact with family and community (Menjíbar & Salcido 2002). Also, if the migrant woman has scarce resources and is totally economically dependent on the partner, this means that they are subjected to a high-risk (H).

### **5.2.3 Relating Social Categories to Institutional Constraints**

The service providers, having a daily contact with women that are victims of violence, had quite a lot to say about the institutional problems in general that were a problem for *all* women, but nevertheless explicitly and implicitly mentioned how these institutional constraints affected women in different ways, depending on their social locations. Firstly, the service providers mentioned that under Law 348, couples are allowed to reconcile once given the requirements that there are no previous records of violence on behalf of the perpetrator (E; F; H). This is alarming, due to the fact that separation in combination with prior domestic violence is predicted as a strong risk factor in domestic violence homicides by a male perpetrator (Caman 2017). At times, the woman doesn't want to reconcile but she is pushed by the judicial system (prosecutor), due to lack of human resources and jail space; and convinces the woman on the premises that there will be a record of him having abused her. Other times when the man is violent again and sent to jail, she firms a contract whereby the man will not face jail time, but instead is let out on certain terms. This is consistent with other studies which have showed the impunity and lack of sanction towards aggressors is common (Ministerio de Justicia & ONU Mujeres 2015; Alianza por Solidaridad 2015). Another aspect on how the judicial system many times fails all women by having long processes which at times ends with the women reconciling with the partner by the time the case is brought to the prosecutors' attention (C). These institutional problems all result in abbreviated judicial processes which are favorable for the aggressor – and have been

mentioned in the content analysis as well (Ministerio de Justicia 2008; Defensoría del Pueblo 2012).

Nevertheless, these structural deficiencies have different consequences for women that are not able to afford an alternative lawyer for example, and thus have to simply resort to subjugate themselves to the weak judicial processes offered by the ordinary justice system. The women that have risked much to report, defying their community and the indigenous justice system, seeking help in the ordinary justice, also face more vulnerability if they are being denied fair and just processes. In relation to this, women in the rural areas were described as in a vulnerable position as they were not prone to report violence (B).

Moreover, in the indigenous justice system, the separation of a couple is rarely accepted; and instead the women have to subjugate themselves to the community will – choosing community cohesion over rupture (D). Even though the SLIMs carries training and workshops to indigenous authorities in rural areas about domestic violence, what SLIM is and what it is for, and that they are obliged to report to police and SLIM about an ongoing domestic violence instance, there is much work to do, as patriarchal attitudes among these authorities prevails (F; H).

Other factors increasing the vulnerabilities of rural women, were related to the constraints of the SLIM itself, as the SLIM was always situated in the urban area in all the three municipalities studied that this thesis covered, and none in the rural area. This meant that women in the rural zones had a harder time reaching assistance (F; G; I) and it could sometimes take them more than a day to get to a SLIM in the urban area (F). This information by the service providers on the vulnerabilities in relation to broader institutional constraints is consistent with what was found in the content analysis and previous research.

Another finding of institutional constraint seen through the intersection of *gender and class* is the family assistance that women have a right to, when there is a separation and children are involved – and this is something that service providers help the women obtain (D; F). The maximum amount that the woman could have is 300 Bolivian Boliviano (BOB) (40 USD) per child per month, but if the ex-partner earns 1500 BOB (250 USD) monthly and has three children, he will of course not have to pay 900 BOB (120 USD) each month – instead the assistance is regulated according to the man's salary (D). If the man in question does not pay the

assistance, the judicial administration system does not sanction the man for not paying (F), and this affects women who are low-income and really in need of the family assistance to get by.

#### **5.2.4 Positive institutional assistance**

Nonetheless, there are positive institutional elements that are important to mention in relation to gender, class and ethnicity in the Bolivian context. Some of these are for example the fact that service providers in public positions must know at least two of the nation's official languages in accordance with the region where they work. As I have only studied three municipalities of the department of Cochabamba where the native language Quechua predominates, this means no generalizations can be made on other places. The service providers interviewed emphasized this as positive thing for women who only speak Quechua or little Spanish, as it means they more easily could assist them (D; E; F; H).

Sometimes I have had to be the translator because some do not speak Spanish. Or accompany them to the hospital, That's where I tell you that I do the question of management, to make it easier for them to communicate, so that they are attended or not denied care or any situation that happens, to be their translator and to be able to make the words that the doctor says to her easier of that which she is not understanding. Because there are women who really speak closed Quechua. (Service provider F, February 2018 own translation).

Language is also tied to ethnicity, and further research on municipalities with a greater diversity of ethnicities and languages could show other aspects of the language barrier tied to State institutions. Moreover, another positive aspect is the fact that there are training courses in different subjects, such as bakery, agronomy, textile and sowing in the women shelter, which raises the chances for women with no formal education to find an employment after leaving the shelter.

#### **5.2.5 Attitudes of service providers**

There were attitudes among the service providers which also further cemented patriarchal norms because the service providers, even though they are not operating on a macro level, are working

in municipal public institutions representing the meso-level and assisting victims of domestic violence on a daily basis, and thus have a responsibility to uphold an anti-discriminatory doctrine. As previously mentioned, service providers acknowledged patriarchal attitudes in relation to violence against women, but there were also contradictions as to why these exist and are upheld. They sometimes linked domestic violence to dysfunctional families and upbringings and pathological behaviors of the women, not seeing it as a broader system of power. Violence from an aggressor was explained by the parents not being able to raise the child properly, with the correct morals (A; D). One service provider (C) mentioned how there has always been the belief that it is the woman that creates the patriarchal man, and so she has the responsibility to break that cycle. According to C, the woman is the one who creates the roles and therefore it is the woman's job to empower and not raise discriminatory behaviors. C also felt that the Law 348 was too drastic in the sense that it destroys families and homes, and that reconciliation should be an option and not jail time – despite the fact that reconciliation often times ends in more severe violence and a higher risk of femicides (Caman 2017). Service provider D had a similar opinion and went further:

From my point of view, for example, equality of opportunities between genders is good but it should not allow a woman who has a son to work, until she fulfills her role as a mother with her son. The State should provide the mother with a policy and say; Look, you do not work until your son is 5 years old, and while you do not work as a government we I will give what you need. (Service provider C, Feb 2018 own translation)

This point to a larger structural problem, as they are referring to these interventions in relation to domestic violence – and it ultimately puts blame on the woman for patriarchal structures, and the fact that a woman's integrity and well-being should be compromised on behalf of the upholding of the family structure.

### **5.3 Do empirical findings support the analytical framework?**

The current intersectional policy analysis is still very much a developing strand and centered in Europe and United States which have different institutional constitutions and histories than Bolivia. The findings showed that the framework has certain limitations when applied in the Bolivian context, as the state and its institutions do not have the same strengths and legitimacy as

in Britain where Strid et al. (2013) carried out their study. As there is no national strategic document on specifically domestic violence, the intersecting fields of violence and policy domains, as well as participation of women organizations was difficult to pinpoint. However, their analytical framework is still relevant in setting a benchmark on policy of different types of violence, as it shows how elaborated the fields of violence and policy domains are and their interconnectedness with inequalities – which is important in order to expand the assistance and support to women that situated in different social positions. Also civil society organizations should be part of the development of policy outcomes as this to a certain extent shows a level of democratization and the relationship between state and civil society. There certainly are organizations that focus on domestic violence from a feminist perspective, such as the organization ‘Mujeres Creando’ in Bolivia – so the problem is not their existence for future policy development.

Moreover, the categories class, gender and ethnicity in this thesis were seen to be social locations that are mutually constructed; and should be made visible and included in policy outcomes on domestic violence in the Bolivian context. These categories were chosen after careful investigation of the Bolivian context however they are used in a rather static way as marginalized positions, such as ethnicity has been theorized as connected to the indigenous and the rural-urban divide - but this does not give a holistic picture. This could particularly be seen in the second aim which was to find out how the service providers understood the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity in relation to their work. Intra-categorical differences, such as hierarchies between ethnic and class groups in different regions would have given a more complex case description, as Bolivia is such a diverse country. This analysis could also have strengthened the importance of disaggregated data in relation to policy on domestic violence, however that is best carried out with a methodology that centers on cultural differences and competences. Nevertheless, the categories chosen gave important insights into how overall institutional weaknesses and deficiencies hit rural indigenous, low-income women – and how this leads to them being excluded from access and support services when being victims of domestic violence. Lastly, thoughts were raised in relation to the ongoing Bolivian public debates mentioned previously, on whether one can expect a radical change from within the State?

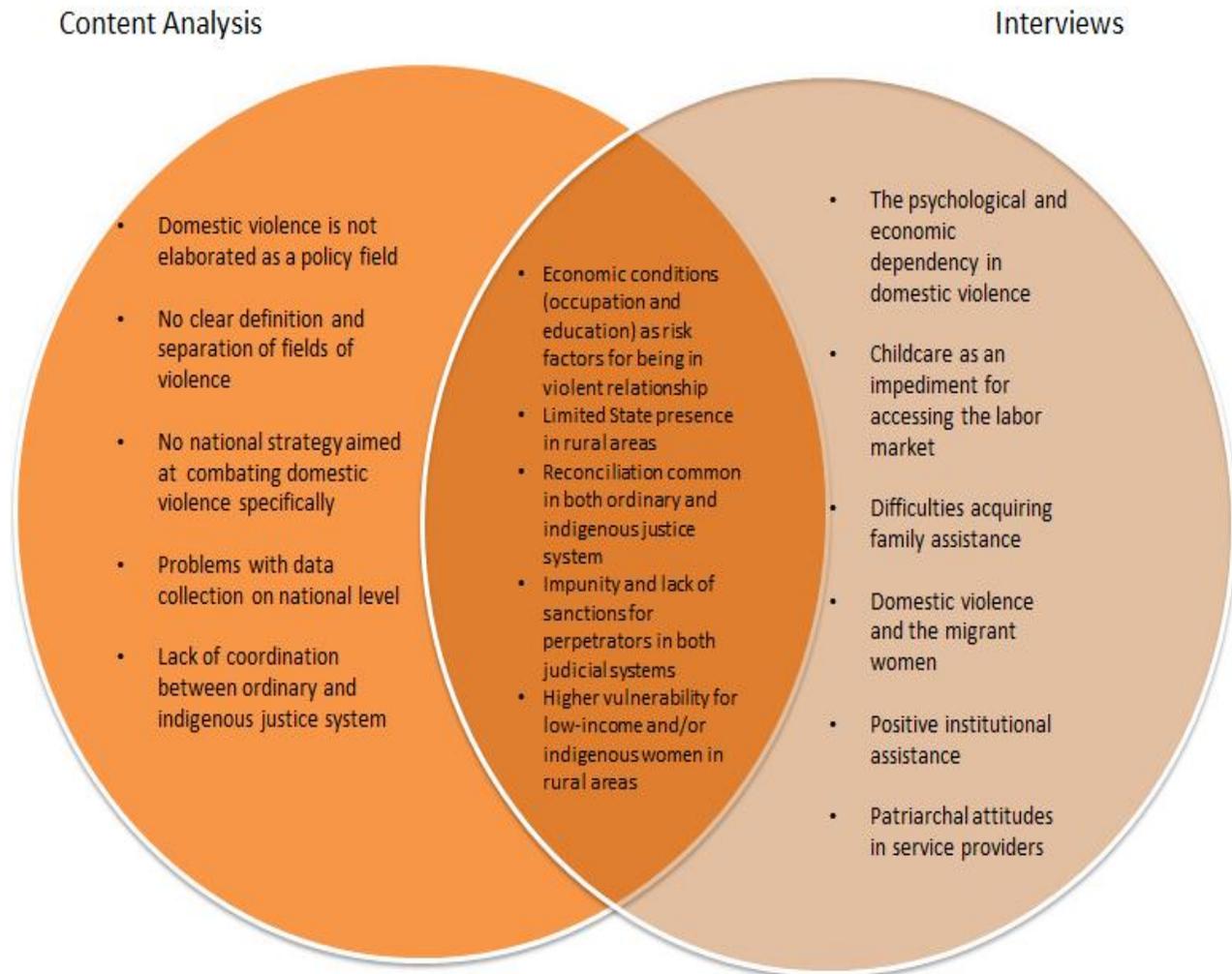
## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the inclusion and visibility of the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity in policy documents on domestic violence in Bolivia - by doing a content analysis on national policy documents and interviewing nine service providers in three municipalities in the department of Cochabamba. The two specific questions were: *How are axis of difference such as gender, class and ethnicity made visible in the national policy documents on domestic violence? And how are the intersections of gender class and ethnicity understood by service providers in public institutions assisting victims of domestic violence and how do they relate them to their work and broader societal structures?* Because the research is of a qualitative nature, and the sample of service provides is small, it is not a generalizable study. Nevertheless the research aimed to contribute to existing empirical work, providing a greater and clearer understanding of the relation between different social positions, domestic violence and policy in a diverse context.

### 6.1 Key and Emerging Findings

Firstly, the content analysis showed that the visibility of axis of difference related to gender class and ethnicity in the policy documents comes mainly in the form of naming and intersecting inequalities. Intersecting fields of violence and policy domains; and inclusion of marginalized women organizations in policy outcomes which are the strongest forms of visibility, are weak – and all forms are not always present in each document. These findings are related to the fact that domestic violence is not an elaborated policy field with a national strategy to combat it, and therefore there is no clear separation of different fields of violence; instead it is grouped as part of physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence. The problem with this is that domestic violence must be understood as a particular form of violence in intimate relationships which carries its own expressions and implications. The documents also pointed to the problems with data collection on domestic violence due to institutional weaknesses such as lack of technical and human resources.

**Figure 1. Convergence of Findings in Content Analysis and Interviews**



Source: Own elaboration

What is interesting about the findings is how intersecting inequalities related to gender, class and ethnicity are problematized and made visible, and specifically in relation to broader structural constraints such as the judicial system and public assistance towards victims of domestic violence. Seemingly this affects all women in Bolivia, however to different degrees and in different ways. The documents point to the lack of coordination between the indigenous system and ordinary justice system, which ultimately fails women who are in violent relationships. An interesting observation made is that the indigenous justice system or native indigenous farmer system is

always mentioned as a singular, when in fact there are several indigenous depending on the indigenous group and area in Bolivia. This demonstrates lack of specific knowledge on how the different indigenous justice systems carry out their processes in relation to domestic violence. However, the content analysis and interviews coincided in that they showed that lack of sanction and impunity – as well as forced reconciliation - was common in both judicial systems. They also both demonstrated that economic conditions, related to occupation and education had an impact on prevalence of violence and vulnerability. However, these factors, being low-income mutually articulated with being indigenous in the rural area, meant an even higher vulnerability because of lack of State presence and assistance in the form of police, SLIM, forensic doctors and women shelter in these areas when being victims of domestic violence, putting them at a higher risk.

Furthermore, the interviews demonstrated additional information, particularly how gender and class – psychological and economic dependency – as an explanatory factor as to why women would stay in violent relationships. This is a serious observation that should be taken into consideration when forming policy on domestic violence, and its intersection with other policy fields such as employment. Related to this, the burden to take care of children after the separation further constrained women from working, and this stresses the need for affordable childcare. An intersection of gender, class and ethnicity was also expressed in the low-income migrant woman, who was particularly vulnerable due to lack of social security in the form of community and/or family when exposed to domestic violence. Ultimately, the situation of the rural indigenous and low income women shows a lack of responsibility on behalf of the State in addressing the violence that these women are exposed to.

Positive aspects from an intersectional perspective were found in the interviews, such as the fact that public officials must know at least two of the nation's official languages in accordance with the region where they work in order to be employed. This helps women that speak little or no Spanish, from closed indigenous rural communities to be received in a language that they speak when acquiring assistance. The women shelter also offers basic training courses, which is favorable for women who have no education or training, in order to increase their chances of employment. Lastly, patriarchal attitudes were expressed by the service providers, and even though the sample is not generalizable it is alarming due to the fact that they are representatives of public institutions and it must fall in the scope of their responsibility to not reproduce these norms onto

victims of patriarchal violence, and to not further encourage women to stay in violent relationships.

## **6.2 Policy Implications and Further Research**

Bolivia has come a long way by recognizing indigenous rights and autonomies, and their right to resolve conflicts in accordance with their own norms. However, as the findings demonstrate, there are problems with this decentralization in relation to domestic violence, as there is a lack of coordination on behalf of the State with the indigenous justice systems. The task of the State to coordinate between different sets of judicial systems is not an easy one, and specifically coordinating culturally competent strategies that can combat domestic violence in rural communities. However, this lack of coordination is vulnerabilizing indigenous and low-income women in these areas, who when being victims of domestic violence are put at risk of femicides as there is no or very limited State presence. A politization of domestic violence as a typology is thus urgently needed. This politization can entail a strategic policy document that puts a clear definition in accordance with legislation on domestic violence as intimate-partner violence with its specific expressions and implications, not allowing reconciliation and identifying the vulnerabilities of certain social positions, including indigenous and/or low-income women and the migrant woman – and relate these specific problematizations to structural constraints in other policy domains. To combat domestic violence on a national level thus must entail congruence between intersecting inequalities and intersecting laws and policy fields. There are existing welfare programs in Bolivia that could be strategically combined with an elaborated field of domestic violence, aiming at diminishing the factors that further make it difficult for some women to leave violent relationships.

Suggestions for future research are investigating disaggregated data on the prevalence domestic violence in rural indigenous communities, and between communities, in order to adequately distribute resource in rural areas. Moreover, there is a need to investigate how different indigenous justice systems tackle domestic violence in their community, specifically from the victims' perspective. Concluding, not taking these findings in serious consideration on behalf of the State is a lack of responsibility and negatively affects women who are victims of violence.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix A. Central theoretical concepts**

#### **Gender**

Gender refers to the social organization of roles, behaviors and languages which are most closely related with either men or women (Monk, 2015) and biological reproduction; however it cannot be reduced to biology. It is understood to be created through social relations and its meaning is continuously negotiated (Knoblock, 2010). In order to interpret gender it is important to understand the hierarchy or systems of gender relations, and specifically how gender is mutually conditioned by other social relations often through structural forms of arrangements of inequalities (Monk, 2015). Furthermore gender relations can take place in different institutional realms, including policy and civil society – and as gender is not static and overlaps with other social relations, there is space for both structural formations and individual autonomy (Monk, 2015)

#### **Ethnicity**

Ethnicity is also a social construct, but has a more social definition (than race) and is referred to membership of a group based on geographical locations and language (MONK, 2015). To belong to an ethnicity does not only entail having an individual or collective identity – it also encompasses material origins and practices and participating in the social conditions of a group (Knoblock, 2010). Ethnicities can also be understood as ordered concepts which are situated within hierarchal regimes of inequality (Monk, 2015) such as racism, which can be expressed as exclusionary practices that categorize individuals into groups of ethnic origin as criteria for access (Knoblock, 2010). In Bolivia, the meanings of ethnicity have changed throughout history however the term indigenous is often used interchangeably with ethnicity. Indigenous here is used to denote Amerindian groups but it is not only an ethnicity – instead it must be understood as mutually constructed and intersecting with socio-economic factors and geographic location, Moreover, indigenous people can have their own subjective understandings and expressions of

being indigenous, and can simultaneously express political demands that are not confined to ethnicity (Kaijser, 2014).

### **Indigena originario campesino (native indigenous farmer)**

The term native indigenous farmer is a concept that was introduced in the new Constitution of Bolivia in 2009 and it does not refer to one singular people; instead it refers to all peoples and nations of Bolivia, who have existed before the Spanish colonization. Afro-Bolivians are also included in the concept. These peoples and nations are identified to share common grounds such as territories, culture, languages, and histories and they have their own economic and political systems, as well as legal institutions, often named *native indigenous farmer justice* in which they have their own procedures and rules that they go by in solving conflicts. These people might refer to themselves as indigenous, native or farmers, however their autonomies as groups are established constitutionally, as well as their territories (Cejis, 2012)

### **Class**

Class is category that relates to the processes of production, such as occupation, wealth and occupation, but it cannot be reduced to solely the economic sphere. Class relations must be primarily understood as economic exploitation of one group over another, and is distinguished by exclusion (to resources) and subordination to another's will and decisions (Knoblock, 2010). As class sets the material conditions for different ethnic and gender groups – and because there are hierarchies within these groups, they are not always granted equal access to economic and political resources. The role of the State here is important as it is an entity that structures exclusions (and inclusions) and unequal participation along the lines of dominant gender, class and ethnicity (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1996).

### **Domestic Violence**

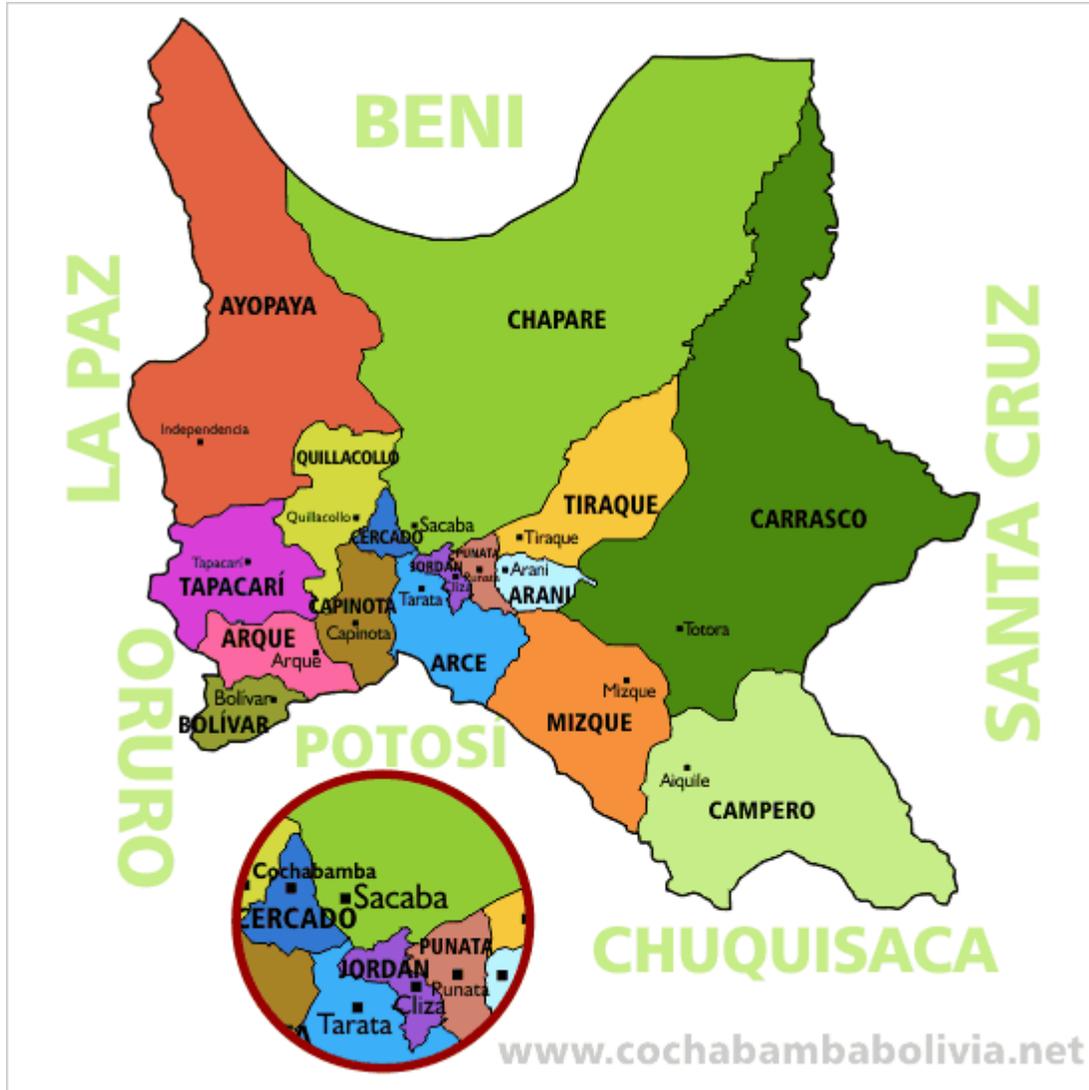
Domestic violence as used in this thesis will refer to intimate partner violence (IPV): abuse committed by a current or ex-intimate partner (WHO 2012). This definition is also in line with

the Bolivian legislative term of domestic violence (Gaceta Oficial de Bolivia 1995). Domestic violence is distinguished from other forms of violence in that the victim has a close relationship and often emotional ties to the perpetrator which makes it harder to terminate the relationship. Violence usually occurs indoors in the home, but is not restricted to just the domestic sphere as it can occur in public places. As the relationship progresses, the violence often escalates (NCK 2017).

### **Policies**

Policies in this thesis refers to different governmental decisions and actions that can include legislation, procedures, regulations, administrative operations or voluntary practices and incentives; and these actions often guide and determine resource allocation (CDC, 2015)

**Appendix B. Map of Provinces of Cochabamba and Interview Sites**



Source: <http://www.cochabambabolivia.net/provincias-de-cochabamba>

Interviews sites: One women shelter in Quillacollo (Jan and Feb 2018); one SLIM in municipality of Sacaba (Feb 2018); one SLIM in Cercado (Feb 2016) and one SLIM in municipality of Quillacollo (March 2018).

## Appendix C. List of Policy Documents on Domestic Violence

Document Name	Type Of Document	State Entity	Publication Year
Plan Nacional para la Igualdad de Oportunidades: “Mujeres Construyendo la Nueva Bolivia para Vivir Bien” 2008-2020 (National Equal Opportunity Plan “Women Building the New Bolivia in the interest of Living Well” 2008-2020)	National Plan	Ministerio de Justicia y Vice Ministerio de Genero y Asuntos Generacionales (Ministry of Justice and Vice Ministry of Gender, and Generational Affairs)	2008
Construyendo Una Bolivia Libre De Violencia De Genero (Constructing a Bolivia Free of Gender Based Violence)	Report	Ministry of Justice and Vice Ministry of Equal Opportunities (Ministerio de Justicia y Vice Ministerio de Igualdad de Oportunidades)	2009
Feminicidios en Bolivia: Informe Defensorial” (Femicides in Bolivia: An Ombudsman Office report”)	Report	Defensoría del Pueblo (Ombudsman Office)	2012
“Ley No 348: Ley Integral Para Garantizar A Las Mujeres una Vida Libre de Violencia” (Law N° 348 ‘Integral Law to Guarantee Women a Life Free of Violence’)	Legislation	Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, (Plurinational State of Bolivia)	2013
Políticas Públicas: “Vidas Dignas, Mujeres libres de Violencia”	National Strategy	Ministerio de Justicia y Ente Rector Ministry of Justice and Governing Entity	2013

## Appendix D. List of Interviews

No.	Respondent	Institution	Location	Date
1	A	Shelter	Quillacollo	Jan 2018
2	B	Shelter	Quillacollo	Feb 2016
3	C	Shelter	Quillacollo	Feb 2018
4	D	Shelter	Quillacollo	Feb 2018
5	E	SLIM	Sacaba	Feb 2018
6	F	SLIM	Sacaba	Feb 2018
7	G	SLIM	Cercado	Mar 2018
8	H	SLIM	Cercado	Mar 2018
9	I	SLIM	Quillacollo	Mar 2018

## Appendix E. Extract from Content Analysis of the Policy Documents in Excel

A	B	C	D	E
1	<b>Qualitative data base according to thematic areas of policy content analysis</b>			
2	<b>Theme/Variable</b>	<b>National Equal Opportunity Plan "Women Building the New Bolivia in the interest of Living Well" 2008-2020 (2008)</b>	<b>Building a Bolivia free of gender violence (2009)</b>	<b>Feminicides in Bolivia (2012)</b>
3	<b>A</b>	Naming inequalities associated with gender, class, ethnicity	A1) Generalmente, las mujeres soportan situaciones de violencia por la dependencia económica que sufren. P. 76 A2) Mujeres en zonas rurales/mujeres indígenas p. 81-82	A.2 Según se observa en los cuadros, la variable edad está estrechamente asociada con el nivel de violencia doméstica; se registra mayor número de
4			A-2 El mayor riesgo de ser víctima lo corren las mujeres jóvenes entre 18 y 30 años que conforman el 40%	
5	<b>B</b>	The intersections in practice between these inequalities and how they function structurally, through different fields of violence and relevant policy domains	B4) Una de las formas de violencia intrafamiliar entre la pareja es la violencia sexual que, antes de la promulgación de la Ley 2033, de Protección a las Víctimas contra la Libertad Sexual, caía dentro de lo que se conoce como delito conyugal. La violencia	B-4 Asimismo, precisa que al monitorear algunos procesos penales abiertos por dichos delitos, se observó la persistencia de jueces/zas fi
6	<b>C</b>	The inclusion of the voices of marginalized women in defining the structural intersections in policy outcomes	C) Esta estrategia ha sido construida, peldaño a peldaño, con amplia participación de diversos sectores de mujeres, y ha puesto especial acento en la necesidad de construir una sociedad desde la diversidad cultural, racial, étnica y	
7				
8				
9		Naming Economic Inequality	A-1	
10		Naming Social Inequality	A-2	
11		Naming Ethnic/Racial Inequality	A-3	
12		Socio-economic	B-1	
13		Rural and urban (rural-city)	B-2	
14		Relevant policy domains	B-3	
15		Fields of violences	B-4	
16		Naming of women organizations participating in the public policies	C-1	
17		participating in the definition of the public policies associated with domestic violence	C-2	

## **Appendix F. Interview Guide Service Providers SLIM and Women Shelter**

### **Information and Consent**

#### **Personal information**

- Workplace
- Position at work
- Name and surname

#### **Official work**

How is the process to get here as a woman in a situation of violence?

Tell me about the work you do here?

Do you work with community promoters?

Is there a guide / manual that you use? To which normative / policy is the work ascribed? On a municipal, departmental and national level?

Costs? Is the budget enough?

#### **Perception of social locations**

Tell me about the women that come here

How do you perceive the women? Appearance of: Origin, identity, social, economic, cultural condition?

What are the social, economic, political conditions that contribute to these groups being specifically vulnerable to staying in a violent relationship?

Women in more vulnerable situations: what special needs do they have?

Do some have privileges that others do not have because of their social, ethnic or economic condition?

Has the intersectional relationship changed with time? How?

#### **Risk evaluation**

How do you respond to risks? What are your priorities?

How do you assess risk or need depending on social condition or identity? Do you take into account the community to which the women belong or in which they live?

#### **Prevention of re-incidence / re-victimization**

What is your preventive work?

#### **The process of depatriarchalization and decolonization**

How do you understand those processes?

How does it relate to your work?

In what practical way do they apply it in their work?

What problems have historically been excluded on the issue of rights? Why? Why would it be important to recognize intersectional problems?

Is there a disjunction between theory and practice?

#### **Proposals for solutions**

What policies, practices, laws or conditions need to be stopped or revoked so that women do not fall into a situation of violence? From an intersectional perspective?

## Appendix G. Extract from Interviews, imported and coded with NVivo.

Nodes			
Name	Sources	References	%
Gender Low Self esteem	2	3	
Organization Women	1	3	
Shelter problems	1	3	
Gender Class Ethnicity	3	4	
Return to Partner	3	5	
Judicial problems	3	7	
Shelter Positive	5	8	
Reconciliation	4	8	
Patriarchal attitudes	4	9	
Solutions	6	13	
SLIM work	7	14	
Rural	7	16	
Family	6	17	
Gender and Class	8	20	

Drag selection here to code to a new node

Class Differences    Gender and Class x

<Internals\A> - § 3 references coded [2.71% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.99% Coverage

Eso mayormente afecta a las señoras , mayormente las señoras necesitan para recreo de sus hijitos ,para comprar alguna cosita no , aquí hay toda la cosa pero no es parece no esta conforme a las señoras para que comprar uniformes para la escuela necesitan y por ese motivo , para que vuelvan sus maridos

Reference 2 - 0.59% Coverage

Porque es más difícil, porque algunos tienen apoyo de sus esposos y algunas no, entonces no saben qué hacer y tienen que buscar un medio para poder sobrevivir con los medios ¿no?

Reference 3 - 1.13% Coverage

Algunas mujeres lo económico les hace hacer estoy cuando están enamoradas de sus maridos entonces, es lo que yo veo. El detalle de doña Amalia, no quiere volver con su marido, no quiere verlo, entonces esto ha pasado a mí me late que ha sido por que no trabajaba la señora, la señora no tiene trabajo, entonces le ha obligado a hacer eso.

<Internals\B> - § 4 references coded [4.29% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.00% Coverage

Pero también una vez que están aquí nosotros tratamos de identificar familiares para poder llevarles ahí, a que puedan también sus familias ayudarle a esa persona. Pero pocas ocasiones hay que sí las