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Prevalence of Violence against Women among Different Ethnic Groups in Peru

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With the collaboration of the Wilson Center

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ABSTRACT*

About half of Peruvian women between the ages of 15 and 49 have experienced some form of violence from their partners. Through a quantitative analysis, this report explores how violence rates against women vary by ethnic group and over time. Based on a nationally representative sample of more than 75,000 women surveyed between 2003 and 2012 and a review of the literature on ethnic classification in Peru, a typology is applied to measure ethnicity, based on women's linguistic backgrounds, allowing for a consistent ethnic characterization throughout the period of analysis. In this typology, the first group is made up of women who speak an indigenous language at home and do not speak Spanish. A second group, called "historic" Spanish speakers, is composed of women who learned Spanish during childhood and still use it today, while the third group, called "recent" Spanish speakers, includes women who grew up speaking an indigenous language but now speak Spanish. The highest rate of all types of violence is found in this last group, with a much greater difference in sexual and severe physical violence. This is consistent with the predictions of the theoretical model developed in this study in which violence depends on the type of couple. The model finds that women who speak "recent" Spanish—and who have what is termed a lower "outside option" than their "historic" Spanish-speaking male partners—experience greater violence. The study found that the gap in rates of violence against women among these three language groupings has remained constant over time despite an overall reduction in violence. This shows that current policies to provide care for victims and prevent violence against women are insufficient because the policies do not necessarily target groups with a greater risk of violence. This is unlike other areas of public health, where interventions are directly targeted at the most vulnerable populations.

JEL Codes: H76, J16, K14, K42
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INTRODUCTION

The World Health Organization lists violence against women as one of the greatest public health problems worldwide (WHO, 2011). Londoño and Guerrero (2000) and Heinemann and Verner (2006) show that this violence is one of the most dominant types in Latin America. This has caused a number of international organizations—such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and, more recently, Andean Development Corporation—to make it a central priority to understand and propose effective policies to reduce violence against woman.

While these and other efforts have been made in recent years to study and to reduce violence against women in Latin America, one dimension has received insufficient emphasis: how this violence relates to ethnic diversity in the region. The purpose of this study is to start closing this information gap by using a quantitative analysis of the Peruvian case; Peru is a country where nearly half of women of childbearing age have experienced violence at the hands of their partners. This study seeks to answer the following three research questions:

1. What is the state of the research on measuring violence against women in Latin America and on categorizing ethnic groups in multiethnic countries such as Peru?
2. What are the recent patterns of violence against women within and among different ethnic groups in Peru?
3. What are the risk factors and the evolution of this violence in recent years in Peru?

To answer these questions, this study uses household surveys from 2003 through 2012 that comprise information on more than 75,000 women of childbearing age distributed throughout Peru. Based on these data, described in detail in the third section, and a review of the literature on the possibilities of ethnic classification in Peru using the available surveys, a typology for this classification was determined. In the first group, women who currently speak an indigenous language at home (and who do not speak Spanish) are evident: for example, Quechua, Aymara, or some other language.[1] A second group which, following the literature, is referred to as "historic" Spanish speakers (*castellano antiguo*), is made up of women who grew up speaking Spanish and continue to do so in their current household. The third group, referred to as "recent" Spanish speakers (*castellano reciente*), consists of those who grew up in an indigenous-speaking household but now speak Spanish.

As a guide for the statistical analysis, a theoretical framework is introduced based on the intrahousehold allocation models described in the second section. These models are used in the study of economics to establish the determinants and risk factors of violence against women. Thus, bargaining power depends on the opportunities that couples have outside of marriage: a lesser "outside option" (the opportunities each partner would have if they were not married or cohabitating) for the woman results in a higher probability of violence. What emerges from this model is that the difference in explaining this violence relates to the "outside option" of the partners (not between couples). Applied to the available data, this model predicts that recent Spanish-speaking women have a higher probability of experiencing violence than historic Spanish-speaking women (and women who speak indigenous languages). As described in the second section, this is explained by the fact that recent Spanish-speak-

[1] Unfortunately, samples inside each of these languages are too small to perform a disaggregated analysis.

ing women are more likely to have a partner who did not grow up speaking an indigenous language at home, making clear why these women switch languages and, therefore, tend to have a lower "outside option" than that of their partner. In particular, it is found that recent Spanish-speaking women have fewer years of education than their partner does. There is no such difference for historic Spanish-speaking women.

A multivariate descriptive and regression analysis validates this hypothesis. Recent Spanish-speaking women experience the highest rates of violence in all indicators and this difference is much greater when it relates to severe physical violence and sexual violence. For example, 14 percent of recent Spanish-speaking women report sexual violence versus 11 percent among women who speak indigenous languages at home and 9 percent among historic Spanish speakers. In addition, while overall rates of various types of violence have declined with respect to the base year (2003/2004), the gaps between these three groups have remained constant.

This study finds that current policies that seek to provide support for victims and reduce incidences of violence through prevention programs are insufficient. The results show that women at the highest risk are not those who speak indigenous languages, but they are recent Spanish speakers. In that sense, current efforts that have a territorial orientation (e.g., a rural approach) or that ignore groups in transition will not reach the most vulnerable women when it comes to their linguistic background. This lack of focus on the most vulnerable groups diverges from the design of most public health policies.

The first section reviews relevant literature in terms of ethnic measurement and violence against women. The second develops a model to guide the data analysis presented in the third section. The fourth section discusses how the study's results can aid in understanding the effectiveness of current policies to reduce violence against women. The final section provides conclusions.

1. ETHNICITY AND VIOLENCE: DEFINITIONS AND PREVIOUS METHODOLOGIES

Defining "ethnicity" (and race) in Peru—and in Latin America in general—is a complex issue (Wade, 2010) and is even more so from the quantitative approach used in this report. The lack of social and political organizations in Peru that can claim indigenous identity makes it difficult to analyze the role of ethnicity in the country (Degregori, 1993; Montoya, 1993); this is unlike neighboring countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia. As described by Valdivia (2011), population censuses in Peru through 1940 asked about an individual's "race." In 1961, the question changed to ethnic "markers," such as the use of ponchos, walking barefoot, and so forth. From that census until 2000, there is evidence of what Valdivia refers to as "statistical silence" on ethnic/racial problems in Peru. Questions about ethnicity were limited to asking about an individual's native language, but with a focus more on measuring illiteracy and access to formal education than on identifying indicators of the respondent's indigenous origin (Valdivia, 2011: 97).

Since 2000, the National Household Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Hogares, ENAHO) has included a question on ethnic self-description ("Based on your ancestors and according to your customs, do you consider yourself ... Quechua; Aymara; a native or indigenous person from the Amazon; black/mulatto/of mixed race/Afro-Peruvian; white; mestizo; other?"), which continues to date. A similar question was included, for the first time, in the population census carried out in 2017. However, neither ENAHO nor the censuses contain information on violence against women for this analysis.

Questions about ethnicity in the Demographic and Family Health Survey (Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar, ENDES), used in this study and described in the third section, do not refer to ethnic self-description but rather focus on the language most used at home (e.g., Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, etc.). However, this variable has been successfully used in recent studies on intrafamily violence (e.g., Alcázar and Ocampo, 2016; Benavides, León, and Ponce de León, 2015). In particular, the ENDES has made an additional distinction since 2007 between native language (during childhood) and the language currently used at home.[2] This enables a better differentiation of the *linguistic background* of the person. Following the work of Valdivia (2011) and Mora (2013), it is possible to identify ethnic groups according to their cultural roots.

The first group consists of those whose native and current language is Spanish (historic Spanish speakers). The second group is defined as that in linguistic transition and is referred to as recent Spanish speakers; it includes people who report speaking Spanish in their home, but list Quechua or Aymara as their native language. The third group consists of those who use an indigenous language (and no Spanish).

There are at least two advantages to using this typology to classify ethnicities in Peru. First, to study the evolution of violence against women over time, this characterization allows for a consistent typology during the period of analysis. Second, this classification enables the exploration of groups in *transition* (e.g., recent Spanish speakers). As shown in the third section, this is the group most affected by violence. Ignoring this group

[2] On one occasion only, in 2007–08, did the ENDES expand its questions to include other ethnic markers (e.g., the link to home community and self-identification).

would jeopardize the diagnosis and identification of the populations most vulnerable to violence.

One issue that has received less attention is the quality of measurements of violence against women. Unlike other types of violence, violence against women tends to occur in the private sphere and is perpetrated by those who are close: her current or past partner. Administrative data—which, in other areas of public health, are valuable—are extremely poor in the case of violence against women. For example, Palermo, Bleck, and Peterman (2014) show that only 7 percent of women who experienced violence reported it to some authority for documentation (e.g., a hospital, police officer, or judiciary branch). Therefore, a better source for data is the household survey such as the ENDES.

A recent study, however, shows that these household surveys may have issues of measurement and underreporting. Agüero and Frisancho (2017) conducted an experiment on about 1,400 women who were members of a microfinance bank in one of Lima's poorest districts. The randomly selected control group answered questions about violence against women identical to those of the ENDES. The group also had to respond to a series of lists with statements irrelevant to the issue of violence (e.g., Did you read the newspaper this morning? Do you need glasses to see? Did you have coffee for breakfast?). Each list contained four of these innocuous sentences and the members had to answer *how* many of the sentences were true without specifying *which* ones. For the treatment group, the lists included a fifth sentence on episodes of violence against women following the topics of the ENDES: having been insulted, slapped, threatened with a knife, forced to have sex, among others. In this way, women in the treatment group never revealed to the interviewer their experience of violence since, at the individual level, it is impossible to know which sentences are correct. However, at the aggregate level, it is possible to compare the results obtained through the ENDES-type questions and the list questions. Agüero and Frisancho (2017) find that, on average, there are no differences between the two methods of questioning. However, for the most educated women, the list method reveals much higher rates of violence than those reported in the ENDES-type questions. The change is such that it reverses the relationship between violence and education from negative (more education, less violence) to positive: the more education, the more violence! Using the native language indicator, the authors did not find differences by ethnicity; the estimates described in the fourth section should not present further bias.

This is not the case with other studies. For example, results from Agüero and Frisancho (2017) suggest that research to identify the effects of violence against women on their children's education (e.g., Alcázar and Ocampo, 2016) and health (e.g., León et al., 2016) or on the intergenerational transmission of violence (e.g., Mora, 2013) could report biased effects. These studies may overestimate the effects found, since the error in the report is not random, but depends at least on educational level.

In addition to the problem of measurement, these studies experience a second challenge. Their use of nonexperimental data makes it impossible to isolate the effect of violence from that of associated variables. For example, Agüero (2017b) shows that studies that assess the impact of growing up in a violent household on children's health are subject to a bias that overestimates results, since variables such as income and preferences explain the low levels of children's health as well as the violence between parents.

Finally, the few studies that apply an experimental design to understand the factors associated with violence against women in the region have not emphasized the role of ethnicity on violence. For example, the effect of monetary transfers (whether conditional or not) on violence was evaluated in studies relating to Ecuador (Hidrobo and Ferland, 2013; Hid-

robo, Peterman, and Heise, 2016) and Mexico (Angelucci, 2008; Bobonis, González-Brenes, and Castro, 2013).[3] However, ethnicity variables, when included, serve to control other factors and do not act as the principal objective.[4]

This helps show the advantages and limitations of the analysis made in this report. In particular, despite the fact that the identification of different ethnic groups is limited to linguistics, the ENDES makes it possible to study various aspects of the linguistic background of speakers of indigenous languages by comparing their current language with that used during their childhood and consistently over time. Although the self-reporting of violence in the ENDES is subject to measurement errors, there is no evidence that these challenges differ by ethnic group (measured by native language). In a worst-case scenario, to the extent that possible errors exist but are consistent over time, using several years of surveys may control for their possible effects. The next section briefly presents a theoretical framework that makes it possible to analyze the results discussed in the third section.

[3] It should be noted that these studies also would be affected by measurement challenges when using such self-reporting questions as in the ENDES. See Agüero and Frisancho (2017) for more details.

[4] See Benavides et al. (2015) for a case study on the rural sector.

2. ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN RATES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section introduces a theoretical framework to clarify the relationship between ethnicity and violence against women.[5] Economic models tend to view the problem of violence as part of an intrahousehold allocation model. In such a model, couples benefit from living together (e.g., gaining access to public goods such as in the case of children), and being together is more advantageous than living separately. The option of not having a partner is referred to in the literature as an "outside option." People with a lower "outside option" will have less bargaining power inside the household and are more likely to experience violence from their partners.[6] For this reason, when two people in a household have similar characteristics (e.g., low or high "outside options"), violence should not necessarily increase, given that they have the same bargaining power. With other conditions remaining the same, the greater the difference between both partners' "outside option," the higher the level of violence.

This implies that the marriage market is relevant for understanding possible differences in violence against women by ethnicity. If couples are formed by people from groups of the same ethnicity or from very similar groups, generally, there should be no major differences between a woman and her partner's "outside options." However, if couples are ethnically mixed, violence levels should be higher. For example, if a woman who grew up in a Quechua-speaking household marries a historic Spanish-speaking man, following the typology of the first section, she will have a lower "outside option" than her partner. The model predicts that this woman will experience more violence than if she had married someone who was also born in a Quechua-speaking household.

The ENDES does not collect enough information to either categorically confirm the hypothesis that recent Spanish-speaking women have less of an "outside option" than do their partners or that this difference between partners is less significant than for those who are historic Spanish speakers. However, two pieces of data are consistent with this assumption. First, as shown in Table 1, recent Spanish-speaking women are more likely to be migrants (78 percent) compared to historic Spanish-speaking women (56 percent). This makes them more likely to have partners with characteristics different from their own and implies a difference between their "outside option" and that of their partners. This difference is less likely to exist for historic Spanish-speaking women, due to their lower migration rate. Second, the only information available in the ENDES that measures potential differences in the "outside option" of a woman respondent's partner is the level of education. The sample shows that historic Spanish-speaking women demonstrate no significant difference between their years of education and those of their partner. In fact, these women tend to have 0.1 *more* years of education than do their partners, although this advantage is not statistically different from

[5] In general, the study of variances in labor markets and the levels of wellbeing of indigenous groups in the region take into consideration a model in which there is discrimination by ethnicity (e.g., MacIsaac and Patrinos, 1995). This discrimination is not only observed in lower income levels or in the type of employment of indigenous groups; it also is exists in the accumulation of human capital. Thus, even when labor markets operate without discrimination and with full information, restrictions on access to education of indigenous people would imply lower income and greater underemployment.

[6] See, for example, the models developed by Aizer (2010), Bloch and Rao (2002), Farmer and Tiefenthaler (1996), Tauchen and Witte (1995), and Tauchen, Witte, and Long (1991).

zero. However, recent Spanish-speaking women have 1.6 *fewer* years of education than do their partners. These data suggest that a recent Spanish-speaking woman—not a historic Spanish speaker—has a lower "outside option" than her partner. As such, the hypothesis that recent Spanish-speaking women are more likely to experience violence than historic Spanish-speaking women is verifiable.

However, the predictions of comparing rates of violence experienced by women who speak an indigenous language at home and by those who speak historic Spanish at home are ambiguous. On the one hand, although indigenous women have a lower "outside option" than do historic Spanish speakers, it is assumed that the relevant relationship of the indigenous women is the one in which partners are ethnically closer and tend to have a similar option. In this case, the model predicts that there are no major differences between these groups with respect to the rate of violence against women. On the other hand, Mora (2013) and the ENDES annual reports consistently show that rates of violence are *lower* among rural populations than among urban ones. In any case, the prediction of the model and recent evidence suggest that women who speak indigenous languages should experience rates of violence no greater than those of their historic Spanish-speaking peers.

The following section presents the databases that allow for the study of the relationship between violence against women and ethnicity, as well as for the evaluation of the theoretical model presented.

3. NEW EVIDENCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND ETHNIC GROUPS

3.1. Demographic and Family Health Surveys

The databases used to analyze the patterns of violence against women and their ethnicity are those relating to the ENDES. This survey of Peruvian households includes national and regional data developed by the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, INEI). Peruvian women of childbearing age (15 to 49 years) in a household respond to a detailed questionnaire on fertility, reproductive and children's health, and other issues. In Peru, the ENDES for a time followed a pattern similar to that of the international one, whereby a survey is carried out approximately every five years; the ENDES was carried out in Peru in 1985−86, 1992, 1996, and 2000. However, since the 2003/2004 survey, the ENDES takes place annually.

In addition, since the ENDES 2003/2004, the set of questions extends to include domestic violence issues (Agüero, 2013b).[7] These questions apply to not only women who are married or are in a cohabiting partnership at the time of the survey, but also to those who are separated, divorced, or widowed. The ENDES makes it possible to measure three types of violence against women, following the INEI classification. The first is *emotional* violence; that is, when a woman reports that her partner has humiliated her, threatened to hit her, insulted her, or made her feel bad. The second classification is *sexual* violence, she has been physically pressured to have nonconsensual sexual intercourse, or she has been forced to participate in sexual acts she refused. The third type of violence is *physical*, divided into two groups. *Moderate* violence relates to whether the partner pushed her, threw something at her, slapped her, or twisted her arm. *Severe* physical violence implies that the partner has struck her with a fist or something that might have injured her; kicked or dragged her; attempted to strangle or burn her; or attacked/assaulted or threatened her with a knife, gun, or other type of weapon. Based on this classification, this study considers five variables that measure violence against women: emotional, sexual, moderate physical violence, severe physical violence, and any other type of violence. It should be noted that these types of violence relate only to partner violence and exclude those from friends, other family members, or strangers.

As mentioned in the first section, since 2003, the ENDES questionnaire included questions to identify the ethnic group of respondents based on the language used in their household. Since 2007, there is an additional question relating to childhood language. Thus, from the two variables, three categories are evident: indigenous language speakers, recent Spanish speakers, and historic Spanish speakers. The database outcome reflects 75,899 women surveyed from the end of 2003 to 2012. The results from these data are included in the next section.

3.2. Risk Factors and Trends

Table 1 shows the main characteristics of the sample analyzed in terms of demographic, socioeconomic, and violence variables. The average woman in the sample (Column 1) is 34 years old and almost a quarter of the women have grown up in a regional capital

[7] The 2000 ENDES included certain questions relating to domestic violence, although they were limited. Only beginning with the 2003/2004 survey has there been a module dedicated exclusively to the topic.

city. They have given birth to an average of 2.9 children, of which 0.75 of them are under five years old at the time of the survey. However, 4.1 percent of the women's children have died. More than half of the women have migrated away from their birthplace, and 88 percent are married. The average number of years of education is 8.5, which implies that many have not completed middle and high school education.[8]

Table 1. Characteristics of the Sample according to Ethnicity

			SPANISH	
	TOTAL	INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE SPEAKER	RECENT SPEAKER	HISTORIC SPEAKER
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE SPEAKERS	0.132			
RECENT SPANISH SPEAKERS	0.127			
HISTORIC SPANISH SPEAKERS	0.741			
DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS				
AGE	33.9	34.5	34.5	33.6
BORN IN CITY [A]	0.236	0.018	0.092	0.300
NUMBER OF CHILDREN [B]	2.862	4.100	3.109	2.599
CHILDREN <5 YEARS OF AGE	0.750	0.909	0.718	0.727
MORTALITY RATE [C]	0.041	0.075	0.048	0.033
EDUCATION (YEARS)	8.456	4.278	7.085	9.432
HEIGHT (CENTIMETERS)	151.4	149.5	150.3	151.9
MARRIED (=1)	0.876	0.914	0.889	0.867
WORKS (=1)	0.725	0.872	0.747	0.695
HAS NOT MIGRATED (=1)	0.434	0.583	0.221	0.444
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (=1)				
EMOTIONAL	0.329	0.311	0.400	0.320
MODERATE PHYSICAL	0.387	0.371	0.458	0.379
SEVERE PHYSICAL	0.183	0.259	0.264	0.156
SEXUAL	0.097	0.111	0.136	0.088
ANY TYPE	0.475	0.459	0.552	0.465
PARTICIPANTS SURVEYED	75,899	10,005	9,608	56,232

Notes:

[A] Includes being born in a regional capital city.

[B] Refers to children born alive.

[C] Refers to the percentage of deceased children, regardless of age.

The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES 2003/2004–2012 who, at the time of the survey, reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity, according to linguistic background.

[8] Peru has elementary schooling (six grades) and secondary schooling (five grades), the latter of which is composed of a middle school and a high school/vocational school.

Almost three-quarters of women fall under the category of historic Spanish speakers, 13 percent of recent Spanish speakers, and 13 percent or so as indigenous speakers according to the language spoken in their current household. Nearly 48 percent of women have suffered some form of violence in their life and one-third of women have experienced emotional violence. In terms of physical violence, 39 percent reported cases of moderate violence and 18 percent of severe violence, and one in 10 reported having suffered sexual violence.

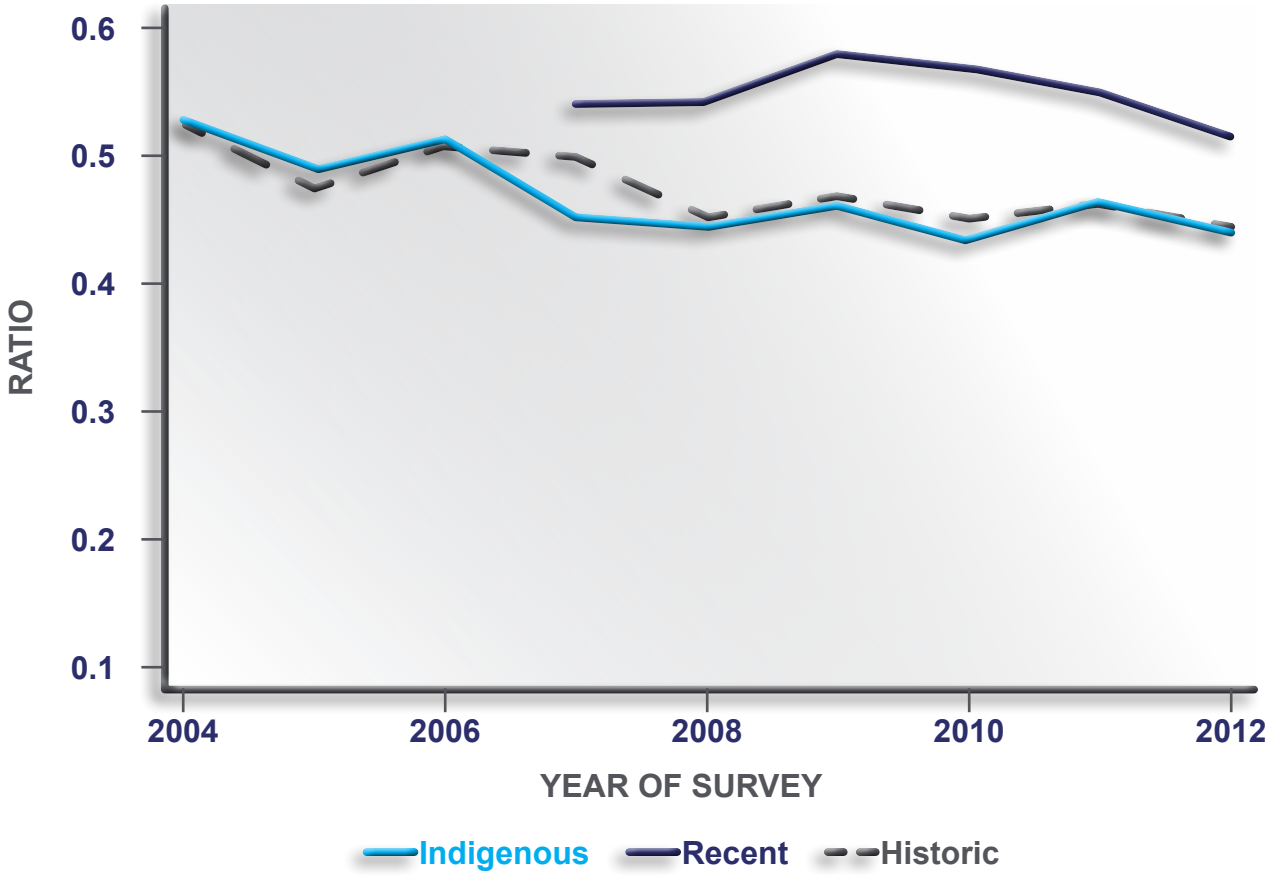
These averages vary according to ethnic classification. Thus, the indigenous language speakers (Table 1, Column 2) have more children, a higher mortality rate, lower levels of education, and were born in more rural areas compared to their recent (Column 3) and historic (Column 4) Spanish-speaking peers. By comparing the last two groups, recent Spanish-speaking women have lower socioeconomic levels than those of historic Spanish-speaking women. It is worth noting two variables whose patterns do not follow this trend. The first variable is employment. Indigenous women have the highest employment rates. This is consistent with the international literature (e.g., Mammen and Paxson, 2000), which shows that women's labor participation follows a U-inverted pattern with respect to levels of development. Labor participation is highest among those with fewest resources, is low in middle-income countries, and rises again in more advanced countries. The second variable is women's height. Recent Spanish-speaking women are shorter than their historic Spanish-speaking counterparts, although they are taller than indigenous language-speaking women.

Table 1 also presents preliminary information validating the hypothesis derived in the second section. The levels of violence against women are *higher* in the population of recent Spanish speakers compared with that of historic Spanish speakers. This is evident in all indicators. In addition, indigenous women are exposed to levels of violence that, in several cases, *do not differ* from those of their peers who speak historic Spanish.

The results are shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2. They demonstrate the evolution of violence rates, in general, and per type of violence, respectively. In all indicators of violence, except for severe physical violence, recent Spanish-speaking women experience higher levels of violence in all the years for which data on this variable exist.[9] Furthermore, there is no significant difference between the levels of violence reported by historic Spanish-speaking women and those reported by women who speak an indigenous language at home.

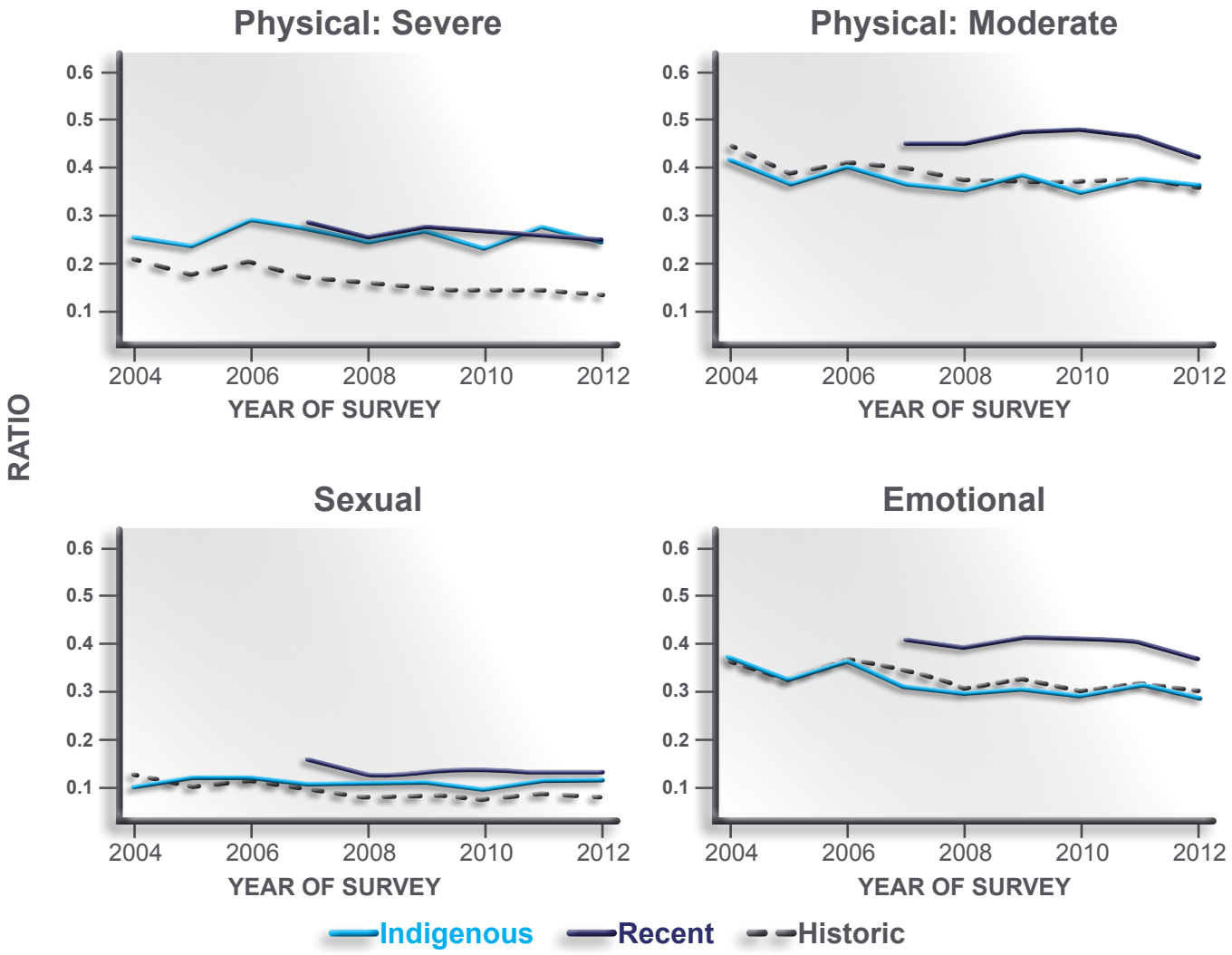
[9] See Appendix A for a formal test using the regression model described in the next section.

Figure 1. Ethnicity and Violence against Women, 2004−12



Note: Each line represents the average value of the indicator. The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES of 2003/2004−2012 who, at the time of the survey, reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background.

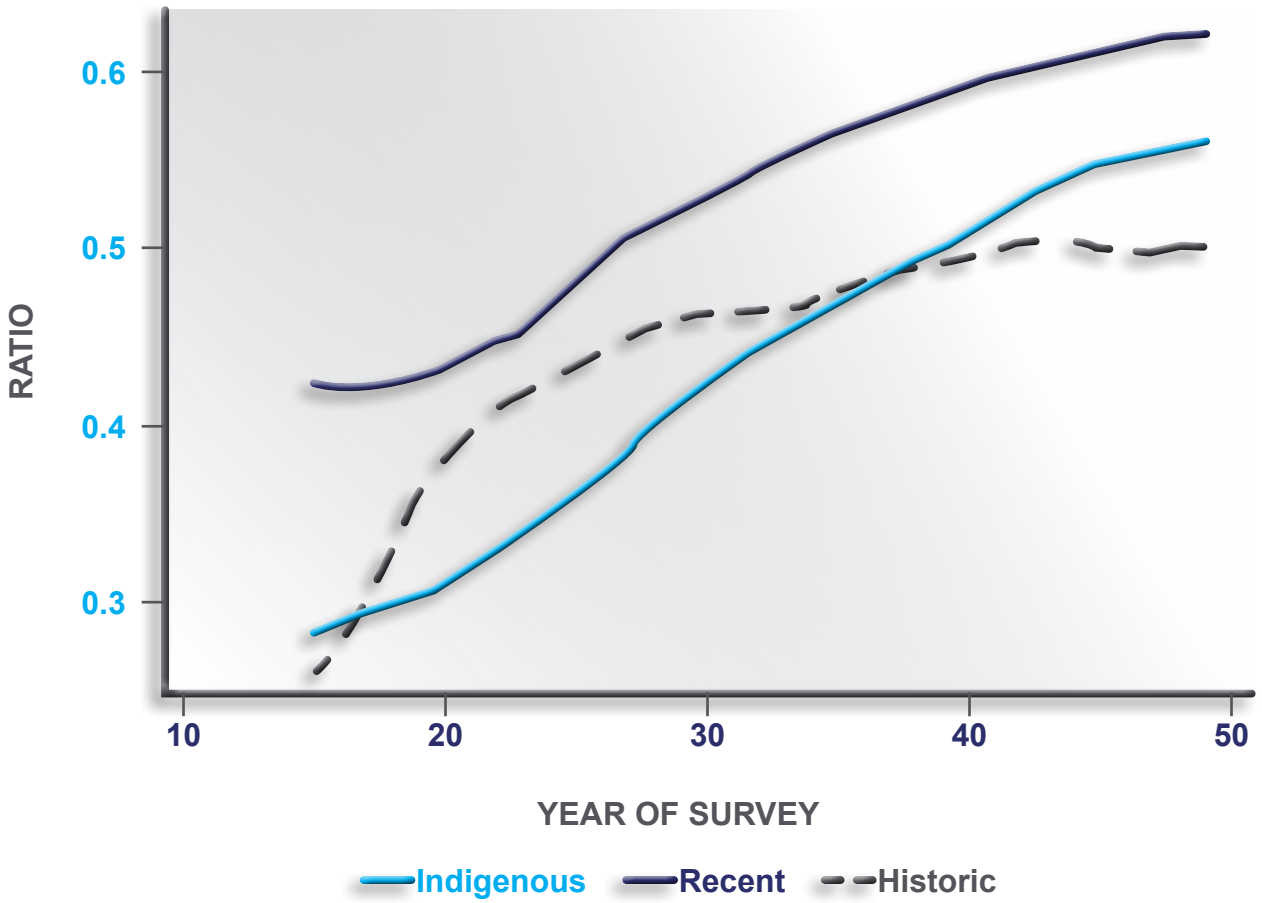
Figure 2. Ethnicity and Type of Violence against Women, 2004−12



Note: Each line represents the average value of the indicator. The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES of 2003/2004–2012 who, at the time of the survey, reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background.

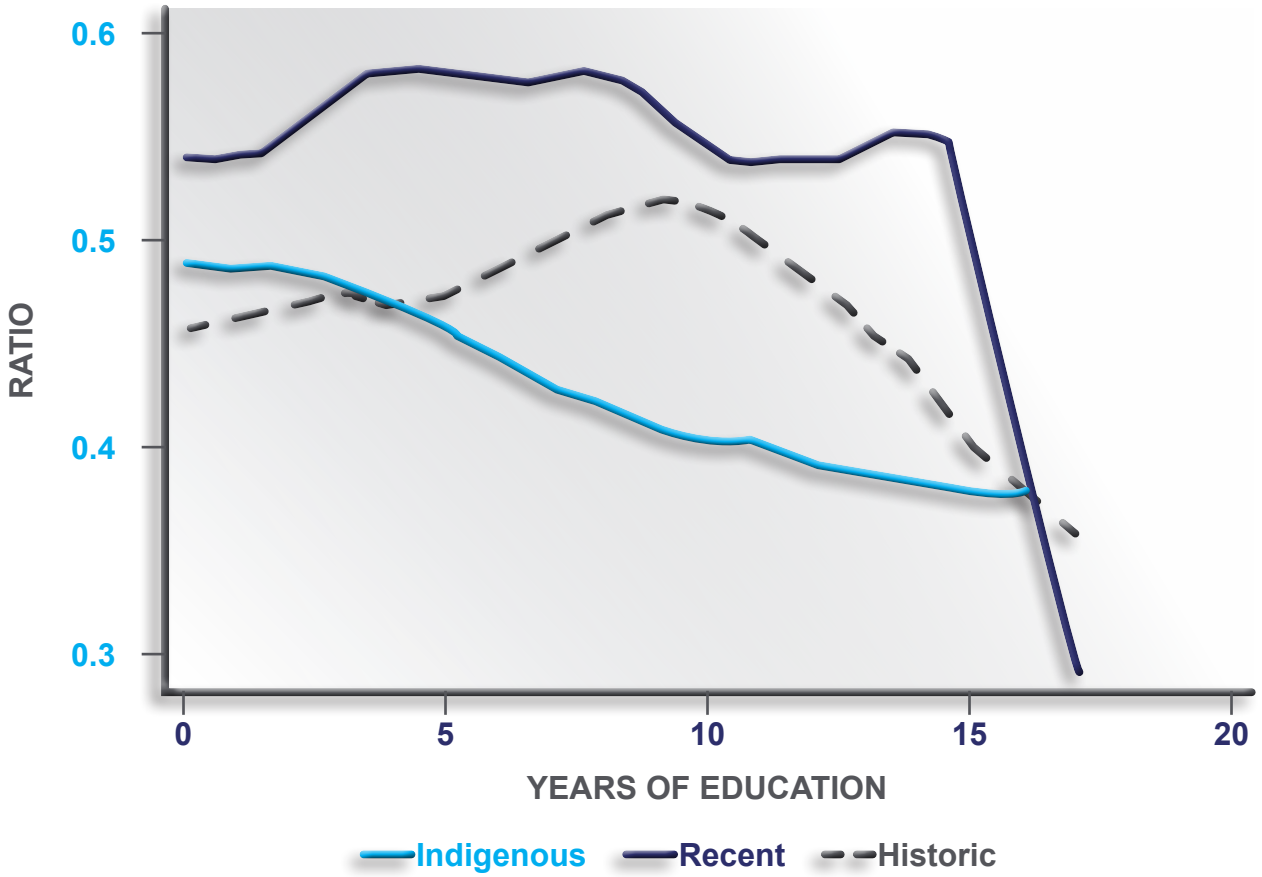
These results are not final, since these groups also differ in their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. As shown in Figure 3 and Figure 4 (violence in general), as well as Figure 5 and Figure 6 (by type of violence), the age of women and their educational levels are some of the risk factors that affect the levels of violence against women. In addition, these variables correlate with the various ethnic groups (Table 1); thus, it is necessary to be able to control them by their direct impact. For example, levels of violence increase with the age of the women (Figure 3 and Figure 5) and tend to be lower among those who are more educated (Figure 4 and Figure 6). The following section presents a methodology that enables the isolation of these variables in order to deepen the evaluation of the relationship between ethnicity and violence against women.

Figure 3. Ethnicity, Violence by the Age of a Woman



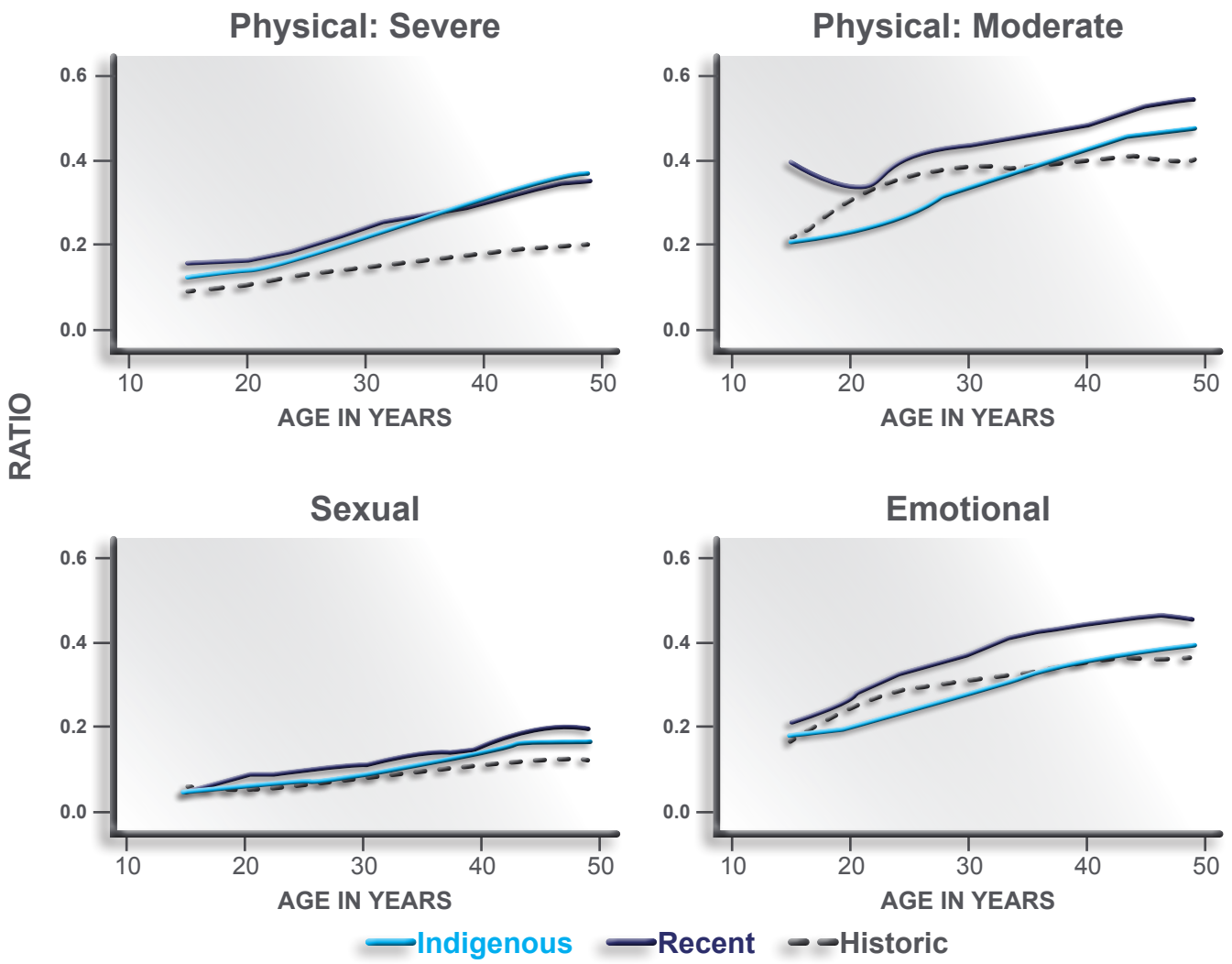
Note: Each line represents the average value of the indicator. The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES of 2003/2004−2012 who, at the time of the survey, reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background.

Figure 4. Ethnicity and Violence per Years of Education



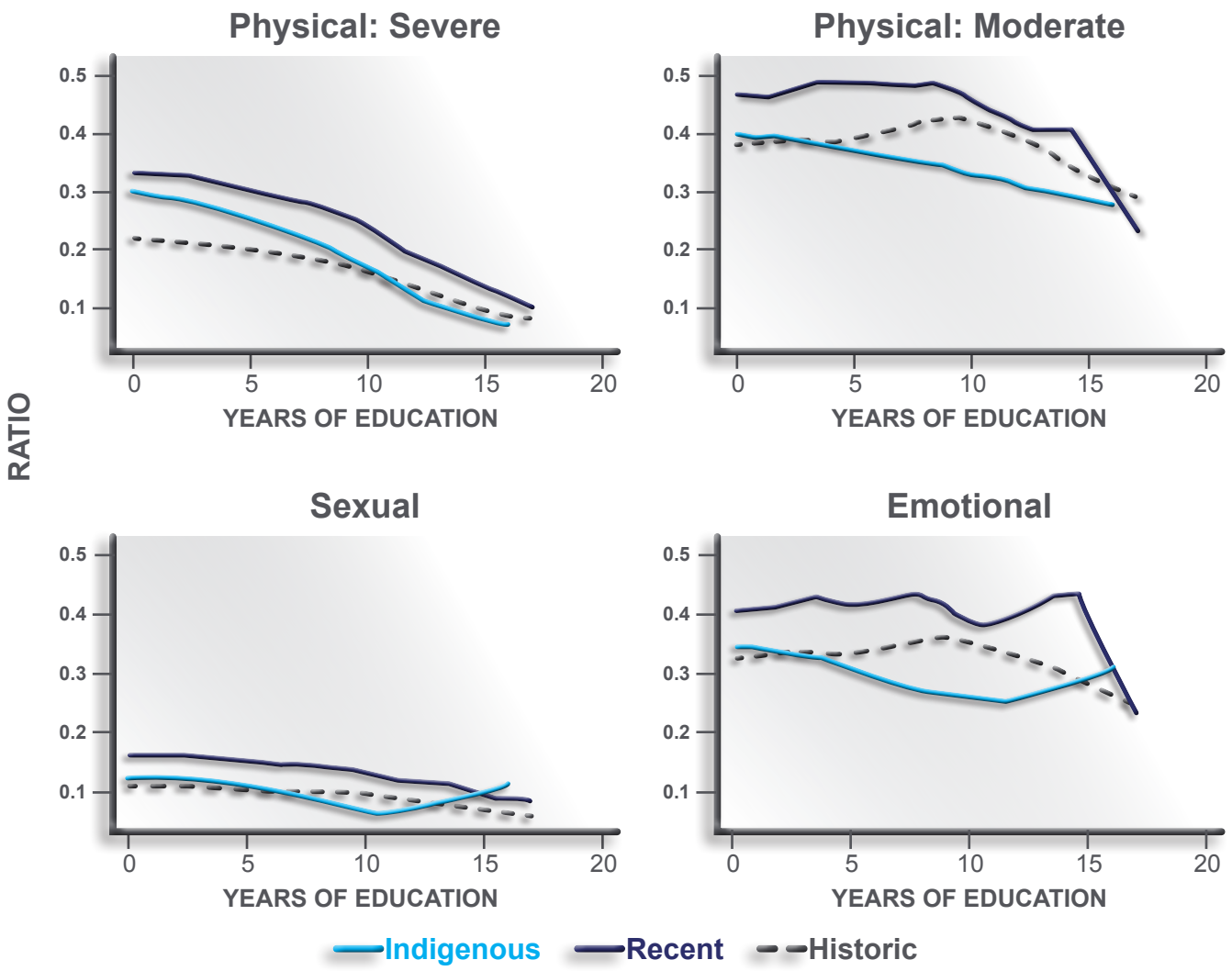
Note: Each line represents a local polynomial that relates to the age of a woman. The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES 2003/2004–2012 who at the time of the survey reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background.

Figure 5. Ethnicity and Type of Violence by the Age of a Woman



Note: Each line represents a local polynomial that relates to the age of a woman. The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES of 2003/2004−2012 who, at the time of the survey, reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background..

Figure 6. Ethnicity and Type of Violence per Years of Education



Note: Each line represents a local polynomial that relates to the age of a woman. The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES of 2003/2004−2012 who, at the time of the survey, reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background.

3.3. Methodology

In order to isolate the effect that demographic and socioeconomic variables have on ethnicity and violence against women, the following multivariate regression model is used:

$$V_{it} = \beta_1 \text{ Indigenous}_{it} + \beta_2 \text{ Recent Spanish}_{it} + \theta_t + \delta D_{it} + \lambda SES_{it} + e_{it} \qquad (1)$$

where V_{it} represents the variables of violence against women (emotional; moderate or severe physical; sexual; or of any other type) for the woman *i* interviewed in the survey of year *t*. These variables are binary and equal to one when reporting violence and zero otherwise. The parameters of interest are given by β_1 and β_2. According to the model in the second section, it is expected that $\beta_2>0$ and $\beta_1\leq 0$. That is, violence against recent Spanish-speaking women may be higher than that against historic Spanish-speaking women (the omitted category), while indigenous women experience rates of violence that do not exceed those of historic Spanish-speaking women.

The equations are controlled by the survey year through fixed effects (θ_t), so that questionnaire modifications can be taken into account over time. Estimates are made by Ordinary Least Squares (OLS)[10] in which standard errors are robust to any type of heteroscedasticity and will take into account the possibility of correlations between observations at the primary sampling unit level (more than 1,200 conglomerates).

The equation considers two groups of variables that incorporate the effect of demographic variables (D_{it}) and socioeconomic variables (SES_{it}). This allows the estimation of three models. In the first model, the assumption is that the variables do not have much relevance. That is to say, the work is done under the same assumption as in the tables and figures of the previous section. A second model tempers this assumption and considers that only demographic variables (age, region of residence, marital status, area where lived as a child, number of children born alive, number of children under five years of age, and percentage of children who have died) have an important role. The third model includes these variables and socioeconomic variables (education, employment, height, and migration) and constitutes the preferred model. Through the sequential inclusion of these variables, it is possible to evaluate to what extent the initial results presented in the previous section are biased. The analysis to estimate equation (1) is shown in the next section for the five indicators of violence against women and their relationship to ethnicity.

3.4. Results

Tables 2−6 show the results of the estimates. These tables confirm the main hypothesis of this study: recent Spanish-speaking women experience higher levels of violence than those of historic Spanish-speaking women. This is evident in all indicators of violence and in the three econometric models described previously. Thus, recent Spanish-speaking women are 9.4 percentage points more likely to experience any type of violence than will their historic Spanish-speaking counterparts (Table 2, Column 1). This difference is significant at 1 percent. However, as expected, when controlled by demographic and socioeconomic variables, this variance drops to 1.7 percentage points, although it remains statistically different from zero to 5 percent.

[10] The results do not change if models for *logit* or *probit* binary dependent variables are used. But following Angrist and Pischke (2008), these models do not offer greater gains when it comes to looking for correlations that go beyond predictions as it is the case in this report in which OLS is clearly preferable.

Table 2. Correlation between Ethnicity and Violence against Women

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: ANY TYPE OF VIOLENCE		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE SPEAKER	-0.007	-0.084***	-0.089***
	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.008]
RECENT SPANISH SPEAKER	0.094***	0.029***	0.017**
	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.007]
COHABITANT		0.063***	0.059***
		[0.004]	[0.004]
WIDOW		0.038*	0.032
		[0.020]	[0.020]
DIVORCEE		0.344***	0.341***
		[0.030]	[0.030]
DOES NOT LIVE WITH PARTNER		0.329***	0.320***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN A CITY		-0.009	-0.017***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN A VILLAGE		-0.015***	-0.034***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN THE COUNTRYSIDE		-0.033***	-0.059***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP OUTSIDE PERU		-0.158***	-0.173***
		[0.051]	[0.051]
CHILDREN <5 YEARS OF AGE		-0.027***	-0.024***
		[0.003]	[0.003]
NUMBER OF CHILDREN		0.031***	0.029***
		[0.001]	[0.001]
MORTALITY RATE		0.041**	0.037**
		[0.016]	[0.016]
EDUCATION (YEARS)			-0.003***
			[0.001]
WORKS (=1)			0.042***
			[0.004]
HEIGHT (CENTIMETERS)			-0.001*
			[0.000]
HAS NOT MIGRATED			-0.041***
			[0.004]
N	75,899	75,899	75,899
R^2 **ADJUSTED**	0.005	0.075	0.078
AVERAGE	0.475	0.475	0.475

Notes: Standard robust and cluster errors according to sampling area in square brackets [ ]. Regressions include fixed effects per survey year. Fixed effects per age of woman (simple ages) and region were included in Column 2 and Column 3. Controls were included in Column 3 due to the lack of data on height and employment from participants. Base or omitted categories: historic Spanish speaker, married, grew up in regional capital city. See Table 1 for sample definition and variables. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$*.

Table 3. Correlation between Ethnicity and Emotional Violence

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE SPEAKER	-0.010	-0.078***	-0.083***
	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.008]
RECENT SPANISH SPEAKER	0.087***	0.030***	0.018***
	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]
COHABITANT		0.055***	0.050***
		[0.004]	[0.004]
WIDOW		0.018	0.013
		[0.019]	[0.019]
DIVORCEE		0.405***	0.403***
		[0.032]	[0.032]
DOES NOT LIVE WITH PARTNER		0.365***	0.357***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN A CITY		-0.009	-0.018***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN A VILLAGE		-0.020***	-0.039***
		[0.005]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN THE COUNTRYSIDE		-0.023***	-0.049***
		[0.005]	[0.006]
GREW UP OUTSIDE PERU		-0.081*	-0.099**
		[0.046]	[0.046]
CHILDREN <5 YEARS OF AGE		-0.015***	-0.012***
		[0.003]	[0.003]
NUMBER OF CHILDREN		0.023***	0.021***
		[0.001]	[0.001]
MORTALITY RATE		0.039**	0.036**
		[0.015]	[0.015]
EDUCATION (YEARS)			-0.003***
			[0.001]
WORKS (=1)			0.037***
			[0.004]
HEIGHT (CENTIMETERS)			-0.001*
			[0.000]
HAS NOT MIGRATED			-0.043***
			[0.004]
N	75,899	75,899	75,899
R^2 ADJUSTED	0.005	0.083	0.087
AVERAGE	0.329	0.329	0.329

Notes: Standard robust and cluster errors according to sampling area in square brackets [ ]. Regressions include fixed effects per survey year. Fixed effects per age of the woman (simple ages) and region were included in Column 2 and Column 3. Controls were included in Column 3 due to the lack of data on height and employment from participants. Base or omitted categories: historic Spanish speaker, married, grew up in regional capital city. See Table 1 for sample definition and variables. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 4. Correlation between Ethnicity and Emotional Violence

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: MODERATE PHYSICAL VIOLENCE		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE SPEAKER	-0.009	-0.086***	-0.094***
	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.008]
RECENT SPANISH SPEAKER	0.085***	0.023***	0.012*
	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.007]
COHABITANT		0.055***	0.051***
		[0.004]	[0.004]
WIDOW		0.051***	0.044**
		[0.019]	[0.019]
DIVORCEE		0.276***	0.274***
		[0.032]	[0.032]
DOES NOT LIVE WITH PARTNER		0.267***	0.258***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN A CITY		-0.008	-0.015**
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN A VILLAGE		-0.010*	-0.027***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN THE COUNTRYSIDE		-0.033***	-0.055***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP OUTSIDE PERU		-0.118**	-0.128***
		[0.047]	[0.047]
CHILDREN <5 YEARS OF AGE		-0.037***	-0.034***
		[0.003]	[0.003]
NUMBER OF CHILDREN		0.035***	0.033***
		[0.001]	[0.001]
MORTALITY RATE		0.024	0.021
		[0.016]	[0.016]
EDUCATION (YEARS)			-0.003***
			[0.001]
WORKS (=1)			0.041***
			[0.004]
HEIGHT (CENTIMETERS)			-0.001*
			[0.000]
HAS NOT MIGRATED			-0.031***
			[0.004]
N	75,899	75,899	75,899
R^2 ADJUSTED	0.004	0.061	0.064
AVERAGE	0.387	0.387	0.387

Notes: Standard robust and cluster errors according to sampling area in square brackets [ ]. Regressions include fixed effects per survey year. Fixed effects per age of the woman (simple ages) and region were included in Column 2 and Column 3. Controls were included in Column 3 due to the lack of data on height and employment from participants. Base or omitted categories: historic Spanish speaker, married, grew up in regional capital city. See Table 1 for sample definition and variables. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 5. Correlation between Ethnicity and Severe Physical Violence

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: SEVERE PHYSICAL VIOLENCE		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE SPEAKER	0.102***	0.013*	-0.012*
	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.007]
RECENT SPANISH SPEAKER	0.115***	0.056***	0.039***
	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.006]
COHABITANT		0.031***	0.024***
		[0.003]	[0.003]
WIDOW		0.073***	0.065***
		[0.017]	[0.017]
DIVORCEE		0.189***	0.197***
		[0.030]	[0.029]
DOES NOT LIVE WITH PARTNER		0.228***	0.219***
		[0.006]	[0.006]
GREW UP IN A CITY		0.002	-0.003
		[0.005]	[0.005]
GREW UP IN A VILLAGE		0.009**	-0.011**
		[0.004]	[0.004]
GREW UP IN THE COUNTRYSIDE		0.008*	-0.023***
		[0.004]	[0.005]
GREW UP OUTSIDE PERU		-0.028	-0.033
		[0.031]	[0.030]
CHILDREN <5 YEARS OF AGE		-0.028***	-0.025***
		[0.002]	[0.002]
NUMBER OF CHILDREN		0.031***	0.024***
		[0.001]	[0.001]
MORTALITY RATE		0.052***	0.046***
		[0.014]	[0.014]
EDUCATION (YEARS)			-0.008***
			[0.000]
WORKS (=1)			0.023***
			[0.003]
HEIGHT (CENTIMETERS)			-0.001***
			[0.000]
HAS NOT MIGRATED			-0.015***
			[0.003]
N	75,899	75,899	75,899
R^2 ADJUSTED	0.016	0.082	0.087
AVERAGE	0.183	0.183	0.183

Notes: Standard robust and cluster errors according to sampling area in square brackets [ ]. Regressions include fixed effects per survey year. Fixed effects per the age of a women (simple ages) and region were included in Column 2 and Column 3. Controls were included in Column 3 due to the lack of data on height and employment from participants. Base or omitted categories: historic Spanish speaker, married, grew up in regional capital city. See Table 1 for sample definition and variables. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

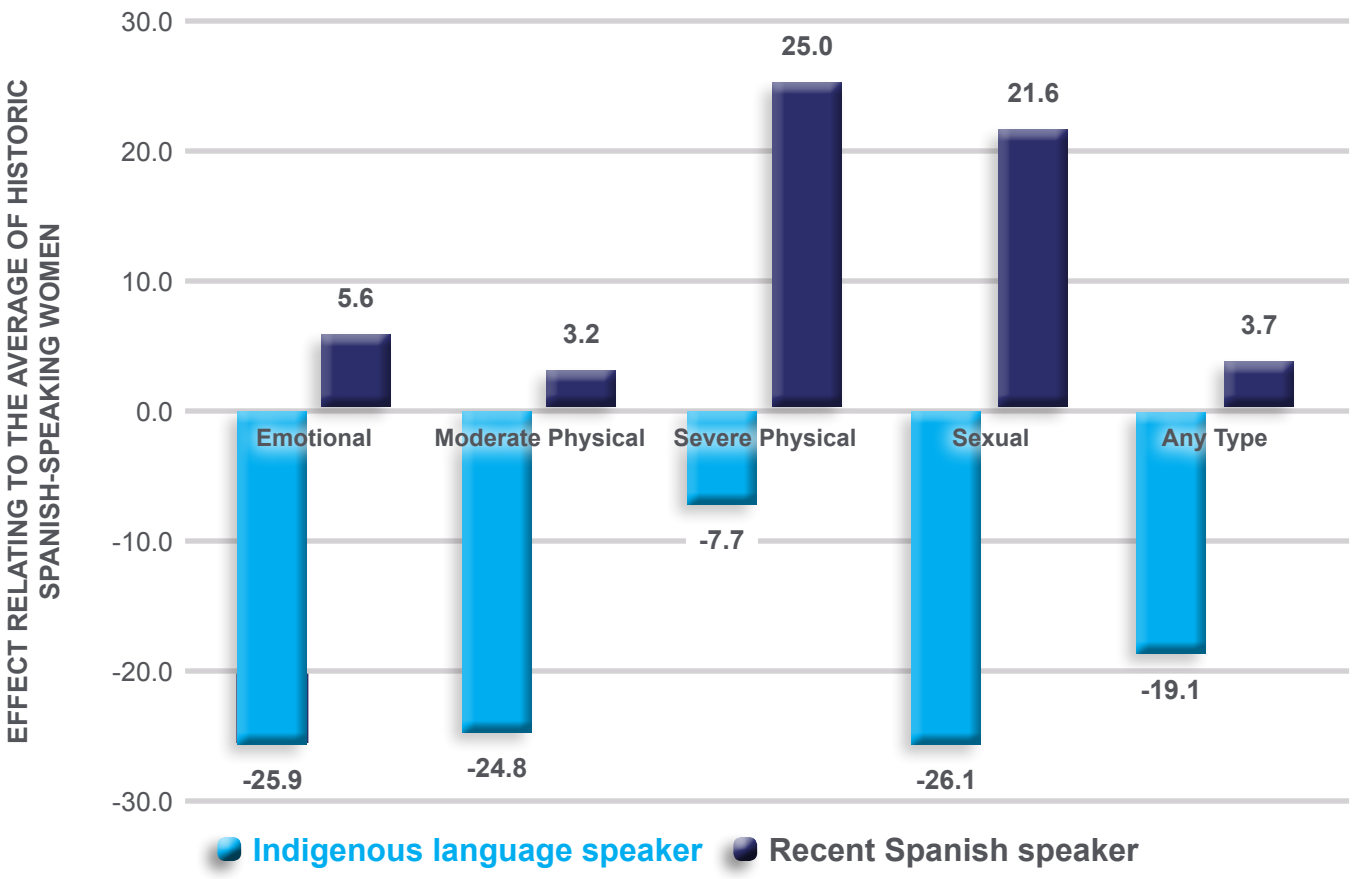
Table 6. Correlation between Ethnicity and Sexual Violence

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: SEXUAL VIOLENCE		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE SPEAKER	0.023***	-0.020***	-0.023***
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]
RECENT SPANISH SPEAKER	0.053***	0.025***	0.019***
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]
COHABITANT		0.011***	0.009***
		[0.002]	[0.002]
WIDOW		0.025*	0.023*
		[0.013]	[0.013]
DIVORCEE		0.225***	0.225***
		[0.031]	[0.031]
DOES NOT LIVE WITH PARTNER		0.176***	0.173***
		[0.005]	[0.005]
GREW UP IN A CITY		-0.001	-0.004
		[0.004]	[0.004]
GREW UP IN A VILLAGE		-0.002	-0.010***
		[0.003]	[0.003]
GREW UP IN THE COUNTRYSIDE		-0.000	-0.012***
		[0.003]	[0.003]
GREW UP OUTSIDE PERU		-0.040**	-0.046**
		[0.019]	[0.019]
CHILDREN <5 YEARS OF AGE		-0.014***	-0.013***
		[0.002]	[0.002]
NUMBER OF CHILDREN		0.016***	0.015***
		[0.001]	[0.001]
MORTALITY RATE		0.001	-0.001
		[0.010]	[0.010]
EDUCATION (YEARS)			-0.001***
			[0.000]
WORKS (=1)			0.015***
			[0.002]
HEIGHT (CENTIMETERS)			-0.001***
			[0.000]
HAS NOT MIGRATED			-0.017***
			[0.002]
N	75,899	75,899	75,899
R^2 ADJUSTED	0.005	0.057	0.059
AVERAGE	0.097	0.097	0.097

Notes: Standard robust and cluster errors according to sampling area in square brackets [ ]. Regressions include fixed effects per survey year. Fixed effects per the age of a woman (simple ages) and region were included in Column 2 and Column 3. Controls were included in Column 3 due to the lack of data on height and employment from participants. Base or omitted categories: historic Spanish speaker, married, grew up in regional capital city. See Table 1 for sample definition and variables. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Figure 7 presents the summary of these estimates in bar graph format whereby the parameter estimated in Tables 2−6 (Column 3) compares with the rate of historic Spanish-speaking women. Thus, the difference of a 1.7 percentage point described above represents an increase of 3.7 percent with respect to the rate of violence of historic Spanish-speaking women (= 0.017/0.465). This figure shows that the difference between the rates of violence is higher for cases of sexual and severe physical violence, in which the effects represent 22 percent and 25 percent of the rate of historic Spanish-speaking women.

Figure 7. Summary of the Relationship between Ethnicity and Violence against Women (in percent)



Note: Each bar represents the division of the parameter in Column 3 of Tables 2−6 relating to the violence rates involving historic Spanish-speaking women. The sample includes the women interviewed in the ENDES of 2003/2004–2012 who, at the time of the survey, reported having or having had a partner and responded to the module of domestic violence. See the main text for definitions of violence against women and ethnicity according to linguistic background.

For indigenous women, the results are exactly the opposite. If one were to consider Column 3 of each of the Tables 2−6, controlled by demographic and socioeconomic variables, one would discover that women who speak an indigenous language at home experience *lower* rates of violence than do those who are historic Spanish-speakers. This is consistent with the evidence described in Mora (2013) and the ENDES annual report. In Figure 7, the rates for women who speak an indigenous language at home are shown to be at least 19 percent lower than those of historic Spanish speakers, with the exception of severe physical violence, where the difference is -7.7 percent.

Finally, in the tables with the regression results, there are important risk factors associated with violence against women that validate previous studies. For example, it is consistently evident that married women (omitted category) have lower levels of violence than unmarried women who live with their partners. Similarly, women who grew up in the countryside, small towns, or smaller cities have lower rates of violence than do their more urban counterparts (omitted category), even when their ethnicity and other socioeconomic and demographic variables are taken into account. There is also a clear and robust positive association between the number of children and violence against women, although this relationship is negative when children are under five years old. Women with a higher education experience lower rates of violence, although the study by Agüero and Frisancho (2017) suggests being conservative in terms of this risk factor given the sensitivity of responses on violence by women with higher educational levels. Women with a better nutrition and health history, and whose height is taken into account, show lower rates of violence, while migrants (omitted category) tend to have higher rates. The latter is consistent with the evidence previously shown whereby women in transition—recent Spanish-speaking women—are those who experience the highest rates of violence. In addition, participation in the labor market is associated with higher levels of violence. This has been found in other studies (Hjort and Villanger, 2012; Agüero, 2013a; Heath, 2014) and tends to be due to many men feeling threatened by their partners' workforce participation.

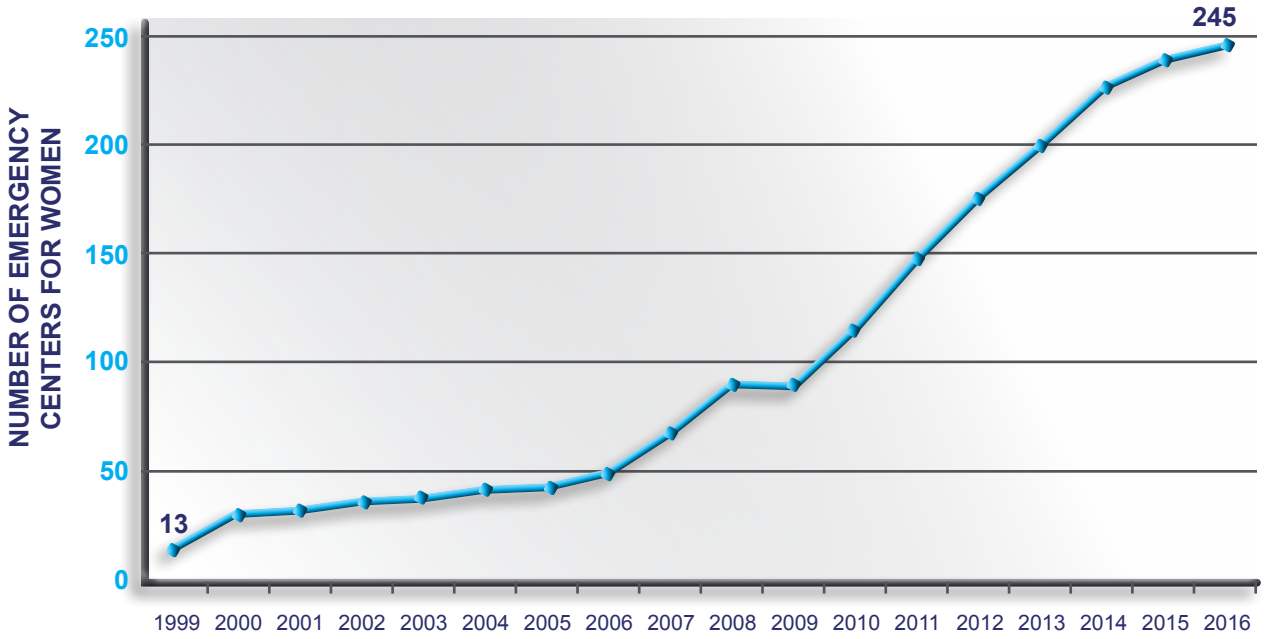
4. IMPACT ON CURRENT POLICIES ON PREVENTION AND ATTENTION TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

What are the consequences of these results with respect to the design of policies involving violence against women? In Peru, these policies are implemented through the National Program against Family and Sexual Violence (Programa Nacional Contra la Violencia Familiar y Sexual, PNCVFS) of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables, MIMP). This program began in April 2001 and aims to "address the problems of family and sexual violence, through the implementation of prevention activities and the implementation of support mechanisms for victims." For a detailed description of the mission and duties of the program, see Appendix 2.

The program offers various services that include emergency centers for women (Centros Emergencia Mujer, CEM); Line 100 (Línea 100); Chat 100, an urgent care service (Servicio de Atención Urgente, SAU) for victims of domestic or sexual violence; Institute of Care Center (Centro de Atención Institucional, CAI) for men convicted of domestic violence; and Temporary Emergency Shelters (Hogares de Refugio Temporal). A summary of the scope and description of these services is included in Appendix 3.

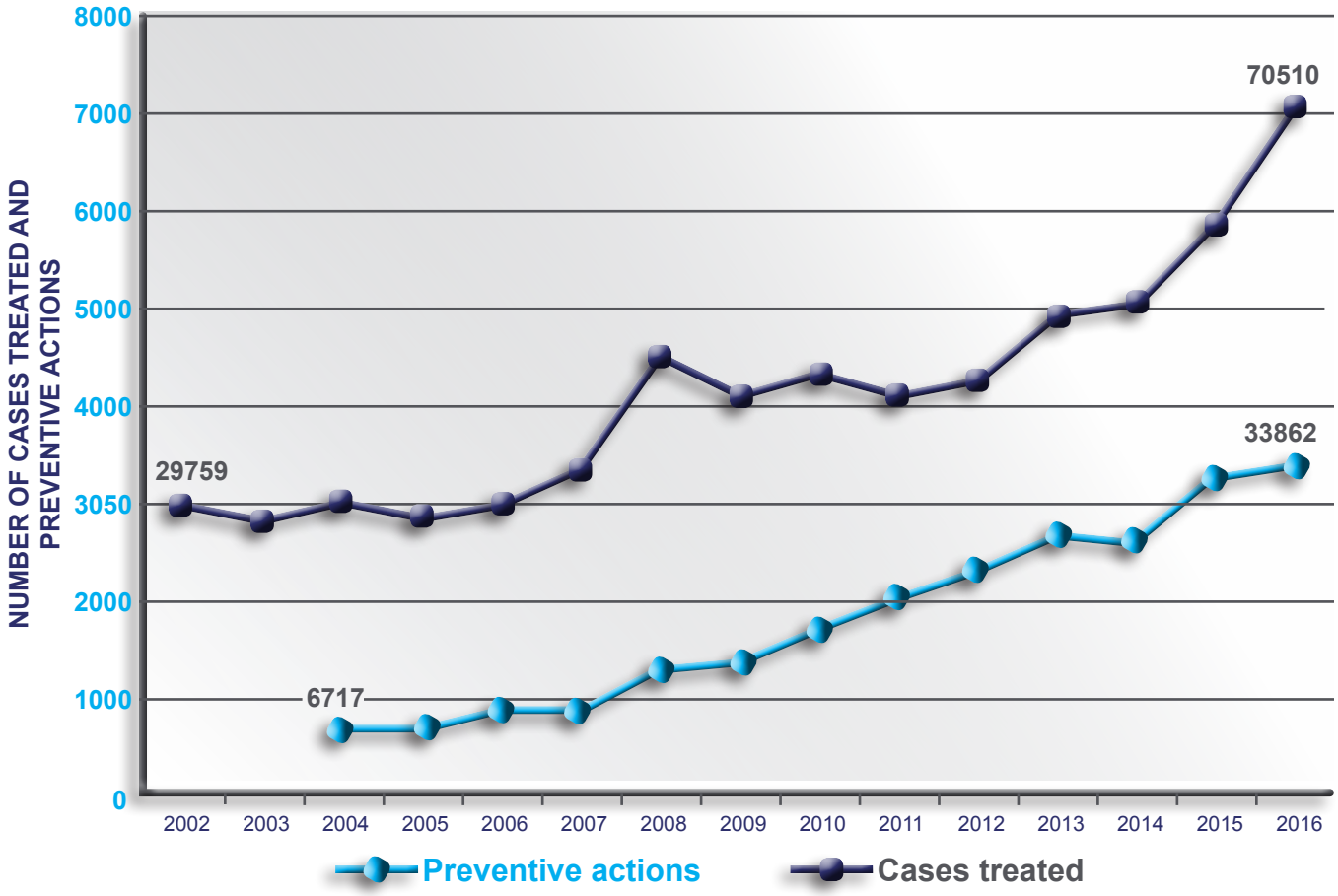
Evidence of the effectiveness of these services in reducing violence against women is insufficient. However, some studies have explored the subject. Taking advantage of the expansion in time and space, Agüero (2013a) shows that the establishment of CEMs tends to reduce the rates of severe physical violence. This is important because, as shown in Figure 8, Peru currently has 245 centers nationwide. A greater number of centers also allows for greater coverage, reflected in the increase in complaints collected by CEMs that, in 2016, exceeded 70,000 (Figure 9).

Figure 8. Number of Emergency Centers for Women, 1999–2016



Note: Author's elaboration based on MIMP (2016).

Figure 9. Number of Cases Treated at CEM and Preventive Actions, 2002–2016



Note: Author's elaboration based on MIMP (2016)

Another example is the recent work of Franco Valdivia (2016) that evaluates the strategy of prevention, care, and protection against domestic and sexual violence in rural areas. The study focuses on the analysis of three zones (San Pedro de Coris in the Department of Huancavelica, Pinto Recodo in the Department of San Martín, and Huáncano in the Department of Ica), although it does not aim to measure impacts on violence rates. This prevention strategy is located within the framework of the MIMP's Rural Strategy. Currently, the Rural Strategy covers 26 rural districts in 19 regions of Peru. However, this strategy has a territorial orientation and is therefore unlikely to reach populations in transition as described in this study.

On the other hand, CEMs already register information on the ethnicity of the person making the complaint. Table 7 shows that by 2016, 68 percent of complaints were filed by people who self-identified themselves as mestizo and only 16 percent as indigenous. Nonetheless, as shown in this report, the populations most vulnerable to violence are those in transition, such as recent Spanish-speaking women. In that sense, the classification used by the MIMP is not enough to identify ethnic groups at a higher risk of violence.

Table 7. Cases Treated per Ethnic group or Group to which the Victim Belongs, according to Type of Violence, 2016

TYPE OF VIOLENCE	TOTAL	QUECHUA	AYMARA	NATIVE OR INDIGENOUS OF THE AMAZON	AFRO-PERUVIAN POPULATION	WHITE	MESTIZO	OTHER ETHNICITY	NOT SPECIFIED
PSYCHO-LOGICAL	**35,023**	3,749	453	154	49	1,438	24,462	500	4,218
PHYSICAL	**27,999**	3,675	549	295	27	973	18,303	477	3,700
SEXUAL	**7,488**	562	63	107	15	286	5,298	97	1,060
TOTAL	**70,510**	**7,986**	**1,065**	**556**	**91**	**2,697**	**48,063**	**1,074**	**8,978**
PERCENT-AGE	**100%**	11%	2%	1%	0%	4%	68%	2%	13%

Source: Statistical Report on Promotional Preventive Actions by the Emergency Centers for Women. Available at: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/files/programas_nacionales/pncvfs/estadistica/Registro_AccionesPreventivasPromocionales2016_12.xls.

An essential part of MIMP's work is the prevention of violence. As shown in Figure 9, about 34,000 prevention activities took place in 2016, and the number has increased every year. These activities, listed in Table 8, mainly include the capacity building of women (89 percent are carried out through lectures and workshops) and prevention work with elementary and secondary school students (mainly targeted lectures and workshops). To date there are no rigorous evaluations of the effectiveness and benefits of these interventions.[11]

[11] One exception is a preliminary study by Agüero (2017a). It shows that these actions are carried out mainly on two events: International Women's Day (March 8th) and International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (November 25th). By taking advantage of these yearly events and comparing indicators of violence on these dates with the other months of the year, results suggest that these interventions do not reduce violence. On the other hand, evidence indicates that visits to health centers due to violence against women, as well as femicides, *increase* after these interventions.

Table 8.
Lines of Preventive Promotional Actions of the National Program against Family and Sexual Violence according to the Month, 2016

MONTH	TOTAL	INTERINSTITUTIONAL ARTICULATION	WORKING WITH MEN	INCIDENCE ACTIONS WITH AUTHORITIES	UNIVERSITY AND HIGHER COMMUNITY	COMMUNICATION FOR BEHAVIOR CHANGE	MASS MOBILIZATION ACTIONS
JAN.	**1,558**	162	0	36	1	367	82
FEB.	**1,770**	144	1	50	0	382	136
MAR.	**2,975**	78	1	37	1	687	555
APR.	**2,596**	87	0	29	0	430	216
MAY	**2,860**	62	4	33	1	401	242
JUN.	**3,230**	44	3	27	6	476	340
JUL.	**2,890**	46	5	17	0	446	234
AUG.	**3,217**	42	3	20	1	492	193
SEPT.	**3,658**	29	7	16	1	370	352
OCT.	**3,242**	36	3	9	0	283	234
NOV.	**3,962**	34	8	18	0	712	874
DEC.	**1,904**	24	4	9	0	285	151
TOTAL	**33,862**	**788**	**39**	301	11	5,331	3,609
% DE ACCIÓN	100%	2%	0%	1%	0%	16%	11%

Source: Statistical Report on Promotional Preventive Actions by the Emergency Centers for Women. Available at:
http://www.mimp.gob.pe/files/programas_nacionales/pncvfs/estadistica/Registro_AccionesPreventivasPromocionales2016_12.xls

PREVENTION IN THE EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY	PROMOTION OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY	ECONOMIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONAL STRENGTHENING	CAPACITY BUILDING	SKILLS DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT	PARENTING PRACTICES FOR GOOD TREATMENT
55	4	1	78	772	0	0
47	1	1	63	945	0	0
215	6	1	253	1,139	0	2
560	2	4	73	1,176	0	19
847	3	3	174	1,084	0	6
1,128	3	2	175	1,021	0	5
1,175	3	1	112	849	0	2
1,492	5	1	115	853	0	0
1,852	5	1	69	955	0	1
1,555	7	2	81	1,030	0	2
1,022	3	1	119	1,169	0	2
583	2	2	51	793	0	0
10,531	44	20	1,363	11,786	0	39
31%	0%	0%	4%	35%	0%	0%

5. CONCLUSIONS

This report is the largest effort in Peru to date to classify and understand the quantitative differences in the rates of violence against women. Using the annual surveys from 2003 to 2012 which provide a national sample of more than 75,000 women of reproductive age, it is possible to describe patterns and changes over time in the relationship between ethnicity and violence.

Based on a review of the literature, a typology is created according to the linguistic background of the women. The study finds that recent Spanish-speaking women who spoke Quechua or Aymara in their childhood, but who now speak Spanish, have a higher rate of violence in all indicators, with greater emphasis on sexual and severe physical violence (22 percent and 25 percent above historic Spanish-speaking women, respectively). These results are evident, even when socioeconomic and demographic variables are included. While global rates of violence have dropped over time, the differences between these groups remain constant.

This implies that current approaches to cover populations at greater risk with a territorial approximation are challenging. Thus, in order to reach the most vulnerable women, programs should target women in "transition" (and their environment). For example, women who have migrated have a greater chance of integrating into the recent Spanish-speaking group and should be the focus of special campaigns. In addition, campaigns on women's rights may be necessary, although they would be insufficient to reduce violence if women and their partners do not work together to address this issue.

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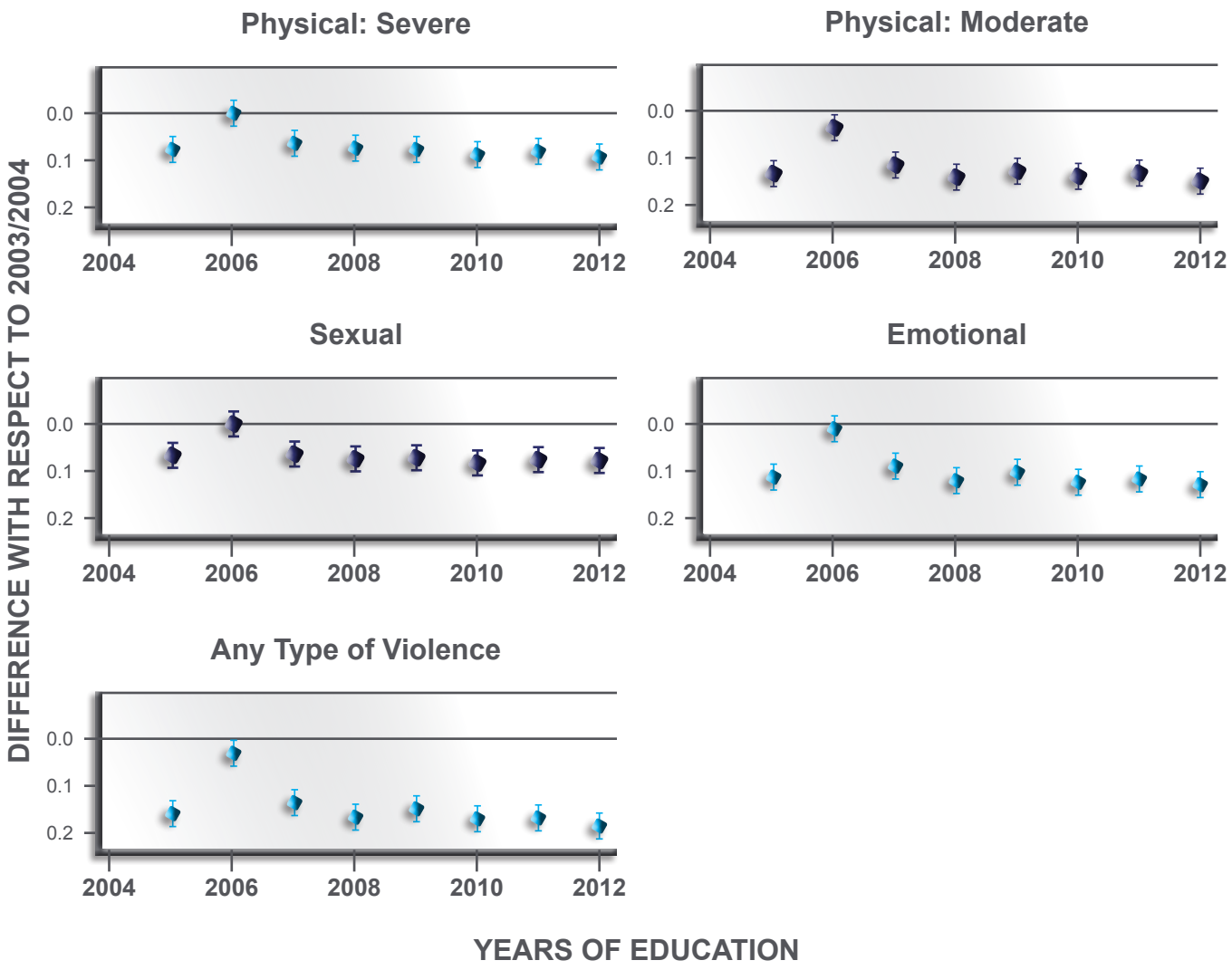
APPENDIX 1: EVIDENCE OF CHANGE IN TRENDS IN VIOLENCE RATES, 2003/2004

Figure A1.1. Changes in Trends in Violence Rates with respect to 2003/2004, according to Type of Violence



Note: Each symbol represents the coefficient that measures the difference between the rate of violence in each year compared with 2003/2004. The 95 percent confidence intervals are shown in bar format. See Column 3 in Tables 2−6 for details on regressions.

APPENDIX 2: MISSION AND DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL PROGRAM AGAINST FAMILY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE[12]

The National Program against Family and Sexual Violence (PNCVFS, for its Spanish acronym) is a unit of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, in accordance with the provisions of Law 29247; created through the Supreme Order 008-2001-PROMUDEH. The PNCVFS is headquartered in the city of Lima and carries out its activities at the national level. The Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations is an agency of the Executive Branch, the governing body on national and sectoral policies on women and vulnerable populations, and the entity responsible for the implementation of PNCVFS.

Purpose

To contribute to the reduction of the high prevalence of family violence affecting women, girls, boys, and adolescents.

Objective

Formulating, designing, promoting, and executing prevention and support plans, projects, and programs, as well as promoting protection and recovery actions against family and sexual violence; as well as generating knowledge of problems and the promotion of democratic relations between men and women.

Lines of Action

The PNCVFS carries out interventions through three main lines of action:

a. Prevention of family and sexual violence and promotion of democratic relations between men and women.

b. Specialized attention to family and sexual violence.

c. Generation of information and knowledge management.

General Duties of PNCVFS

The general duties of PNCVFS are as follows:

- To design, implement, promote, develop, supervise, monitor, and evaluate projects, programs, strategies, and activities to prevent and address family and sexual violence; to promote democratic relations between men and women within the framework of guidelines and policies established by the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP).
- To promote, coordinate, and strengthen networks and mechanisms for articulation at the intergovernmental, intersectoral, of the civil society, base social organizations and private enterprise level for the care and prevention of family and sexual violence; economic enterprises as an alternative to face situations of violence; and monitoring of policies in the areas of prevention, care, protection, and recovery of persons affected by family and sexual violence.
- To promote the strengthening of Temporary Shelter Homes and Centers of Protection against family and sexual violence.
- To execute, supervise, and evaluate training and technical assistance actions aimed at operators and/or those responsible for managing care services and prevention of family and sexual violence.

[12] The content of this appendix was taken verbatim from the MIMP website: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=68. For more information, visit: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=13

- To execute and evaluate strategies for capacity building, information, non-formal education, communication, promotion and dissemination at the national level in matters within its competence.
- To promote recovery in people affected by family and sexual violence.
- To design, formulate, and implement methodologies and procedures of the information and statistics system for monitoring and evaluation in the area of family and sexual violence.
- To systematize and manage knowledge for decision-making in relation with intervention facing family and sexual violence.
- To generate evidence of the results of PNCVFS interventions to implement corrective actions, proposals, or pilot projects for diversification of services.
- To promote, coordinate, design, and execute research on the problems of family and sexual violence (*violencia familiar y sexual*, VFS) and on PNCVFS interventions.
- To formulate proposals and coordinate the execution and supervision of actions related to the decentralization process and transfers of services to local governments and/or regional governments, in coordination with the corresponding organizational units of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations.
- To promote the execution of covenants and agreements aimed at better implementation of the program and ensuring their compliance.
- To promote, in coordination with the International Cooperation Office of the MIMP and cooperating agencies, the funding of international cooperation.
- To ensure the development of the efficient management of human resources in its charge for the achievement of its objectives and goals.
- Other duties assigned and that may correspond according to law.

APPENDIX 3: MAIN SERVICES OF THE NATIONAL PROGRAM AGAINST FAMILY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Line 100 (Línea 100)[13]

This is a free 24-hour, specialized, and national telephone service. Its purpose is to provide information, orientation, counseling, and emotional support to people affected or involved in acts of family or sexual violence and those who know about a case of abuse in their environment. Línea 100 has a multidisciplinary team of professionals specialized in dealing with issues of family and/or sexual violence and they refer cases to the Emergency Centers for Women or other institutions to address the problem.

Emergency Centers for Women[14]

The Emergency Centers for Women (Centros de Emergencia Mujer, CEM) are specialized. They offer a free public service of integral and multidisciplinary attention for victims of violence against women and members of the family group, whereby legal guidance, judicial defense, and psychological counseling is provided. It seeks to recover damages sustained, and provides social assistance. Likewise, prevention activities include training, communication campaigns, training of community agents, and mobilization of organizations.

The professional services provided by the CEM to people affected by family and sexual violence are the following:

- admission;
- psychological counseling;
- social orientation; and
- legal orientation.

Urgent Care Services[15]

A free and specialized service whose purpose is to provide immediate, effective, and timely care to the victims of family and sexual violence who call Line 100 and/or who are reported by the media, including those who require urgent attention. The objective is to ensure the protection of the physical, emotional, and sexual wellbeing of the affected person.

Institutional Care Center[16]

The Institutional Care Center (Centro de Atención Institucional, CAI) is an intervention service for adult men convicted of family violence, referred by the justice of peace and/or family court. Depending on the particular case, the intervention period is for at least one year, which can be extended according to the criteria of professionals responsible for the intervention. The technical team consists of:

- a psychologist (assessment and diagnosis);
- a social worker (evaluation and follow-up); and
- two therapists or facilitators (intervention).

Temporary Emergency Shelters[17]

Temporary Emergency Shelters are places of temporary shelter for victims of family violence. They provide protection, shelter, food, and multidisciplinary care while promoting comprehensive recovery. Emergency shelters provide women victims of violence with safe

[13] For more information, see: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=13.
[14] For more information, see: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=14
[15] For more information, see: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=15.
[16] For more information, see: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=16.
[17] For more information, see: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=17.

spaces to examine and decide on a new way of life, in peace and without violence, after having had comprehensive and multidisciplinary care (legal, psychological, and job training).

Chat 100[18]

This is a personalized online service provided via the Internet and in real time by PNCVFS professionals. They offer information and/or psychological counseling in order to identify situations of risk abuse that may arise in infatuation and/or dating relationships. It also serves people affected by family and sexual violence. Adolescents and young people who are at the infatuation and/or courtship stage and require information and/or psychological counseling, may access this service to prevent situations of physical, psychological, and/or sexual violence. It includes those affected by acts of family violence and/or sexual abuse, or who know of such cases.[19]

[18] For more information, see: http://www.mimp.gob.pe/contigo/contenidos/pncontigo-articulos.php?codigo=18.

[19] For more information, see: http://sistemas.pncvfs.gob.pe/contra-la-violencia