‘NI UNA MENOS’: A WOMEN’S SOCIAL MOVEMENT CONTESTING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN AREQUIPA, PERU.

Nadia Yris Infantes Abril

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Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial Facebook web page

In dedication to:

Three important women in my life, my grandmothers Ruderica Lozada, Iris Abril and my mother Berlinda Abril. You were not only my inspiration but also examples of strength, hard work and love during this journey.

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Abstract

Ni Una Menos (NUM) is a social movement that since 2015 has spread through Latin America as a response to continuing problems of femicides and gender-based violence. NUM challenges gender power relations embedded in the machista culture, which top-down approaches within mainstream gender and development approaches (GAD) have overlooked. To date, most studies of NUM have focused on the movement in Argentina, and its major public actions. Few studies have sought a holistic understanding of how the movement contests Gender Based Violence (GBV) on a day-to-day basis.

This research involved a case study of the NUM movement in Arequipa, Peru. I undertook a mixed methods approach, placing this in context of GAD and social movement theories. I worked with NUM Arequipa activists to understand the movement and its strategies in the local context; and with students to explore their knowledge about, and response to, NUM Arequipa's strategies.

NUM Arequipa practised two forms of activism. The first - 'traditional' activism', raised awareness and challenged machista sociocultural structures through media, public campaigns and education. These strategies complemented international GAD practice by challenging unequal gender relationships and incorporating male participation. The second - 'quiet' or 'everyday' activism - focused on providing support and advocacy for victims of GBV, and a commitment to empathy, care and justice. For both types of strategies, social media and connections to local organisations were important. However, NUM Arequipa, with its non-feminist public identity and quiet activism, found challenges distinguishing itself from other 'loud' feminist NUM groups. This confusion meant that students had limited awareness of NUM Arequipa's specific activities and achievements.

The thesis concludes that grassroots movements like NUM Arequipa, alongside more explicitly feminist and confrontational forms of social movements, are essential to eradicating GBV because they can work through relationships to make short-term change in people's lives while also challenging patriarchal and machista structures in ways that are sensitive to the sociocultural context.

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1. Introduction to the study

NI UNA MENOS:

Tocan a una tocan a todas

Nos han quitado tanto que, ya nos quitaron hasta el miedo[1]

These two phrases became very popular in Latin America in 2015 and 2016, representing the fight of thousands of women against a series of injustices and femicides in Latin America. Historically women in the Latin American region have been exposed to gender-based violence (GBV) and the struggle to combat it has gone on for many years. Recently, across the region the Ni Una Menos movement (NUM, in English, 'not one woman less') has managed to bring together people from different backgrounds and perspectives who share the aim of eradicating GBV.

My research focuses on NUM in Peru through a case study of the movement in the city of Arequipa. The Peruvian NUM movement started in Lima in 2016, organising a march against injustices in high profile cases and the high rates of GBV throughout the country. The march involved 200,000 to 500,000 people, making it the biggest in Peru's history (*La Republica,* 2016). The movement quickly expanded to different regions, including Arequipa, where the second biggest march took place. NUM is now probably the biggest grassroots movement in Peru. Social media had an important role in promoting the marches and as a space to connect women with the shared aim of contesting GBV.

The rise of this type of social movement is a response to the slow progress made to address gender inequalities and GBV in Latin America. GBV has long been a concern for Latin American feminist and women's' social movements. Statistics indicate that 14 of the 25 countries with the highest rates of gender-motivated murder and violence are from Latin America (UN Women, accessed November 2018). In a 2011

[1] Not one woman less! If they touch one of us, they touch all of us. They've taken away so much from us, they've even taken away our fear.

survey, physical violence was rated as the most important problem facing Peruvian women (Dador Tozzini, 2011). In 2016, 32 percent of women in Peru reported having suffered physical violence from a partner (INEI, 2017a) and on average 10 women are victims of femicide every month.

A key factor that contributes to the perpetuation of GBV in Latin America and Peru is the culture of machismo, which is a legacy of colonialism (Fuller, 2012; Hernandez, 2003). The machista culture places men in a higher social position than women and assigns strict gender roles. This imbalance in power relationships has not only reinforced gender inequalities but also beliefs and attitudes, shared by both men and women, which normalise and even excuse GBV (Dador Tozzini, 2011; Hernandez, 2003).

During the last 30 years a number of global initiatives have promoted gender equality as part of human rights frameworks and the gender and development (GAD) approach. In Peru, the World Conference on Women in 1995 influenced the government to establish a gender focus in public policies (Townsend-Diez Canseco, 2007). However, despite the progress made in establishing policies for gender equality, implementation and enforcement of these policies has been deficient. Since 2010, the Ministry of Women has established a national system to prevent, sanction and eradicate violence against women and family members. However, progress remains slow, and national policies face obstacles including lack of resources for preventive approaches, corruption and neglect in the justice system, and the continuing culture of machismo at all levels of society (Dador Tozzini, 2011; Diaz & Miranda, 2010).

For this reason, bottom-up approaches have emerged to directly address the issue. Latin American and Peruvian women from different sectors of the society have long played important roles in different aspects of social change. Feminist movements have contested political structures to achieve women's rights such as full citizenship, access to education and political participation (Barrientos-Silva & Muñoz-Cabrejo, 2014). On the other hand, women from popular sectors have worked to fight poverty and obtain or defend access to resources, become political actors through involvement in community programmes (Couso, 2012), and resist human rights

abuses. This tradition of women's social movements in Latin America and Peru forms the context for the emergence of the NUM movement.

The purpose of this research is to understand how the NUM movement in Arequipa is contesting GBV. This will help address gaps in current research on the movement. Although NUM has spread widely through Latin America, studies have mainly taken place in Argentina and often refer specifically to the Argentinian context (Christie, 2015; Santomaso, 2017). Academic work to date has focused on the major marches, aspects of the movement's use of social media and its visual imagery (Félix de Sousa, 2019; Martinez, 2019; Rovetto, 2015; Terzian, 2017). To date, there are no academic studies published about the development of the NUM movement in Peru, while media coverage has largely focused on the capital city of Lima, the annual street marches, and major protests.

By contrast, this research is a place-based study that explores how a group of women in a regional area of Peru have been inspired by and connected to the NUM movement and how they are working to combat GBV on an ongoing basis through a range of strategies. It aims to explore these approaches from the perspective of activists' motivations and identities and by understanding the social and cultural context where they operate. Likewise, my research explores the understandings of GBV of activists and in the local population in Arequipa. To achieve this, I also interviewed and surveyed students at the public university of Arequipa, which allowed me to compare and contrast perspectives on GBV between activists and young people.

During fieldwork for this research I became part of the group NUM Arequipa and participated in its activities, and I have remained a 'virtual' member since returning to New Zealand. Therefore, this thesis offers an in-depth perspective on how one group has interpreted and implemented the NUM movement, its achievements, and the challenges it has faced.

1.1 Research questions

For the research, I have established one main question which breaks down into three sub-questions.

Main question: *How is the NUM movement in Arequipa contesting GBV?*

This question reflects my aim of gaining a holistic understanding of how NUM is contesting GBV in a particular place. It connects theories about social movements and activism with debates about how to combat GBV, placing both of these in the social and cultural context of Arequipa. This fits with the postcolonial feminist perspective that informs the thesis.

Sub-question 1: *Why did NUM Arequipa form and what actions does it undertake to combat GBV?*

The first question aims to identify and analyse the strategies that the NUM Arequipa undertakes to address GBV in Arequipa in the context of theories about social movements and activism.

Sub-question 2: *How does the NUM Arequipa movement interpret and engage with the community about the issue of GBV?*

This question seeks to explore how activists understand GBV and how this effects their efforts to raise awareness and influence cultural change.

Sub-question 3: What have been the achievements of the NUM Arequipa movement and what challenges has it faced?

This question focuses on understanding the progress made by NUM Arequipa and the obstacles it faces, rather than trying to evaluate the efficacy of its actions/strategies.

1.2 Activist and researcher: Taking a dual role

As a Peruvian and *arequipeña* woman I have faced personal challenges relating to gender inequalities and GBV. For this reason, I decided not only to develop this topic as a researcher but also to participate actively with a movement that challenges gender inequalities and GBV. In other words, one of my purposes for this thesis was to combine my roles as researcher and activist, by mixing theory and practice. This decision was inspired by the feminist approach:

> *Feminist theory is a limited resource if it lacks the subtlety not only to diagnose the specificity of this production, but the ability to animate social change.*

> *Theorising within the concrete in the good company of those who have committed their daily life to social change returns some of this vitality* (Pratt, 2004, p.9).

Prior to fieldwork I found and contacted two different NUM movements in Arequipa on Facebook. One of them responded almost immediately and showed interest in my research, while the other one did not respond. When I attended the first meeting of the group that had responded, I was introduced as a researcher and a new member of the movement. At the time of my arrival, activists were busy organising the annual march and I decided to help with this. In doing so, I took the decision that an ethnographic approach was suitable for my research and for ethical reasons I decided to get involved only with one of the two NUM Arequipa (see further details in Chapter 4). I collaborated with the movement in different activities while I also interviewed activists. After the end of my research I have kept in contact with activists and have been able to observe changes and new dynamics, which have given me insights into the movement's evolution. I have summarised this new information in an epilogue at the end of this thesis.

Reflecting on my positionality has been important to understand the power dynamics in the production of knowledge and the ethical issues that arose because of this dual role, which I discuss further in Chapter 4. It also informed my social constructivist epistemology informed by post-colonial feminism. I followed feminist values, such as working with and for women, acknowledging power relations and reflexivity, while also considering the cultural characteristics of the local context (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Merriam et al., 2001).

While my orientation was feminist, I did not consider Participatory Action Research (PAR) as an epistemology and/or methodology, because I was aware that PAR needs a decent amount of time to develop successfully. Activists of NUM Arequipa already had an agenda and commitments in which I did not want to interfere. Likewise, at the time I approached activists, it seemed that what they needed the most was practical help. That said, working from a post-colonial feminist epistemology meant that I practised aspects also common in PAR such as constant reflexivity and paying

attention to existing power relationships between researcher and participants (Kindon et al., 2007).

1.3 Research Methods

To undertake this research, I used a mixed methods approach, which was consistent with the case study methodology and the aim to have a holistic understanding of NUM Arequipa and its interaction with the community. I used semi-structured interviews, participant observation, social media analysis and a survey. These methods helped to answer the research questions as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Research questions and methods

Main research question *How is the Ni Una Menos (NUM) movement in Arequipa contesting GBV?*	
Sub-questions	**Methods**
Why did NUM Arequipa form and what actions does it undertake to combat GBV?	Participant observation Interviews with activists Social media analysis
How does the NUM Arequipa movement interpret and engage with the community about the issue of GBV?	Participant observation Interviews with activists Interviews with young students Survey of young students
What have been the achievements of the NUM Arequipa movement and what challenges has it faced?	Participant observation Interviews with activists Interviews with young students Survey of young students

1.4 Thesis structure

Following this chapter, Chapter 2 presents relevant theories for my research from different sources and philosophies. In this chapter, I first discuss theories of gender and gender inequalities and provide a definition of GBV in its different forms. I then explore concepts related to social movements and activism, including feminism as a social movement. I also consider recent literature on the role of social media in social movements.

In Chapter 3 I focus on presenting the Latin American context, how feminist and women's movements have addressed gender inequalities, their achievements and the challenges they have faced. After this, I provide an overview of Latin American

social movements against GBV and their characteristics, including the emergence of the Ni Una Menos movement in Latin America.

Chapter 4 explains the research design of my thesis. I explain how my interests in forming knowledge through different perspectives and constant reflexivity align with social constructivist and post-colonial feminist epistemologies. I present the case study approach and mixed methods and discuss the process I undertook to analyse qualitative and quantitative data. Later I raise some ethical considerations related to my positionality and the research process.

In Chapter 5 I present the local context of my research. This helps to understand the current issues of GBV in Peru and the challenges that women's social movements face. I discuss topics and current events connected with my research, such as the actions of previous women's movements, efforts to address gender inequalities in Peru, controversies about the gender equality focus in education policies, and background to the NUM movement in Peru.

In Chapter 6 I present the NUM Arequipa movement using data from interviews, social media analysis and participant observation. I first look at how the movement formed and explore the activists' motivations and personal and collective identities. I then discuss the strategies the movement pursues to address GBV. This shows that the highest priority is providing support to victims of GBV, while a secondary priority is to raise awareness though diverse strategies, including working with men.

In Chapter 7 I analyse the understandings of GBV in Arequipa, comparing and contrasting the perspectives of activists and young students. I use an integrated ecological framework (Heise, 1998) to explore the interactions that activists and students perceive between personal, family, community and societal-level causes of GBV. I also look at young students' perceptions of NUM, finding that they struggle to differentiate between the national and local movements.

In Chapter 8 I discuss the achievements and challenges of the movement, based on activist perspectives and participant observation. The achievements relate to the internal and external relationships the movement has formed to allow it to take flexible approaches to supporting victims and raising awareness of GBV. The main

challenges are overcoming indifference and achieving acceptance from the community. A challenge is managing the movement's representation, while a significant threat is from the appearance of conservative social movements that challenge the movement's objectives.

In Chapter 9, I provide an overview of how the thesis responds to the research questions. I explore the research findings in two ways. First, in relation to social movement theories and models of activism; and second, in relation to debates about how to address GBV, particularly through a critical assessment of the gender and development (GAD) approach. This discussion emphasises the importance of understanding the local social and cultural context particularly in a post-colonial society. Finally, I provide suggestions for themes that could be developed through further research.

2. Theoretical background: Gender inequalities, gender-based violence and social movements

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided in three sections. The first section discusses some general concepts and theoretical background that are important for my research, including feminism as a response to gender inequalities. The second section defines gender-based violence (GBV) and discusses how it has become part of international human rights and development agendas. Finally, I provide a broad summary of social movements, focusing particularly on collective identity theory, types of activism and the use of social media.

2.2 Gender and gender inequalities

The concept of gender has evolved beyond assumptions about 'sex difference'. Some authors define gender as a concept constructed within a determined culture that assigns particular roles to females and males (Hawkesworth, 2012; Nicholson, 1994; Felipe- Russo & Pirlot, 2006; Stillman, 2006). From the 1960s, feminists made efforts to differentiate sex and gender, arguing against 'biological determinism' which claims that sex defines male and female destiny, resulting in rigid gender roles. They argued that the characteristics and behaviours expected of men and women are socially imposed and can therefore be changed (Mikkola, 2017).

Since the 1990s, queer theory has problematised binary concepts of sex and gender. Drawing on postructuralist and postmodernist theories, it argues that sex, gender and sexuality are inter-related and are all constructed as part of the same social and cultural processes (Butler, 1990; Callis, 2009). However, in the context of international development and current issues in Latin America, dominant understandings continue. In this context, debates about gender primarily relate to the socially constructed roles of men and women and the relationships between them.

2.2.1 Feminism as a response to gender inequalities.

Feminism is a worldwide movement with different cultural and social aspects that emerged historically to contest gender inequalities. It is based on the principle that women can achieve change through collective actions to challenge unequal power relationships and oppression (Humm, 1992). Discussions of feminist history often divide it into 'waves', with definitions and descriptions mainly based on experiences in the Global North.

The first wave of feminism dates from the 19th and early 20th centuries. It focused on achieving the right to suffrage and other political, economic and educational rights for women. The second wave developed during the 1960s to 1980s. It differed from the first mainly in its identification of patriarchy as the primary system creating inequalities between men and women. Patriarchy is defined by Walby (1989) as a "system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (p. 214). Both first and second wave feminists saw male control over women's sexuality as a key source of oppression. However, second-wave feminists sought to challenge traditional politics to address issues related to sexual and social violence and gender difference. The main achievements involved improved reproductive rights for women and greater recognition of the sexual objectification of women as a cause of oppression.

The third wave dates from the 1990s and its defining features are diversity and inclusion. Third-wave feminism pays attention to intersections of gender, race and class discrimination and oppression at different levels. Snyder (2008) argues that the distinguishing features of third-wave feminism are that it moves past debates about the universal category of 'women' to "foreground personal narratives that illustrate an intersectional and multi-perspectival version of feminism" (2008, p.175). She argues that third-wave feminists also prioritised action over theoretical justification and took an inclusive, non-judgmental approach to what counted as feminist. Recently, some have identified a fourth wave of feminism linked to cyberactivism and contesting sexual discrimination in everyday life. The #MeToo movement is emblematic of fourth-wave feminism, involving women sharing their stories and seeking justice for sexual assault and sexual harassment by powerful men.

In many places, the term 'feminist' has been assigned negative connotations by social groups who resist or deliberately misunderstand the cause of gender equality. Therefore, not all people, or even all women, who support this cause identify as feminist (Hoskin et al., 2017; Zucker et al., 2010). In addition, post-colonial feminism has criticised 'gender and cultural essentialisms' of the Global south by Western feminists. These essentialisms have resulted in the invisibility of women of the South and the overlooking of its issues based on their identities and experiences. (Mohanty, 1998). This reluctance to identify with feminism, as both a 'radical' and a 'Western' concept, is relevant to the NUM Arequipa movement, discussed further in Chapters 6 and 8.

2.2.2 Gender inequalities and development

Feminism not only aims to theoretically explain underlying causes of women's oppression but also to inform and influence other actors, such as governments, international organisations and civil society. Since the second half of the 20th century, the global feminist movement has advocated for gender issues to have a higher profile within development, resulting in a series of approaches to include gender issues in development practice. (Razavi & Miller, 1995).

Until the 1970s, gender and women's issues did not have an important presence in development theories, which assumed that the benefits of economic growth would reach all members of a society equally (Momsen, 2010; Zwart, 1992). However, following criticisms that women were being left out of the development process, agencies realised that actively involving them could support economic growth and help reduce poverty (Parpat 2002; Sen & Muckherjee, 2014).

In 1975, the United Nations established the Women in Development approach (WID). This assumed that increasing women's participation in the formal economy would solve their marginalisation and address gender inequalities (Momsen, 2010; Razavi & Miller, 1995; Zwart, 1992). However, this approach failed to account for the unequal employment opportunities and conditions women experienced, including racial discrimination, employer abuse, lack of health services and low paid jobs (Beazley & Desai, 2014). Criticisms of this approach reflected on how capitalism has contributed to (or reinforced) gender inequalities.

The Women and Development (WAD) approach, which represented a variation on WID, tried to address criticisms that involving women in the economic system increased their workload. However, the WAD approach did not manage to overcome this issue because it also valued productive over reproductive labour (Zwart, 1992). Like WID, this approach ''was ineffective because it ignored the underlying social problem of unequal gender relations'' (Debusscher, 2012, p.182). Moreover, both WID and WAD were criticised for neglecting women's differences due to race, class and ethnicity (Moser, 1993; Subrahmaniam, 2007).

In the 1980s a new approach emerged as a response to WID and WAD, called gender and development (GAD). This sought to address the causes of inequality by also including men in the process and looking at the cultural determination of gender roles and power relationships (White, 2006; Zwart, 1992). Women's empowerment became a strategy for mainstream development programs to address power relationships between women and men (Smyth, 2007). In other words, the GAD approach aimed to break down patriarchal structures and inequalities between genders (Parpat, 2014).

In 1995, the UN Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing began the widespread use of the term 'gender mainstreaming'. The 180 countries present agreed that equality between men and women was a fundamental matter of human rights. After this, gender started to be included in most mainstream development projects (Debusscher, 2012) and in some countries it was incorporated in public policies. Unfortunately, the GAD approach struggled to address gender inequalities and has also faced criticism. White (2006) argues that in GAD there was a tendency to assume that what was from the "West is best" (p.59), overlooking issues of race, colonialism and local context. Also, Debusscher (2012) argues that many so-called GAD projects did not really address gender power relations and were close to a WID or WAD approach.

Gender equality was established as one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed by the United Nations (UN) in 2000 (MDG 3 – promote gender equality and empower women). Its supporting targets and indicators related to achieving equality in education, employment and political participation. Gender was

also embedded as a 'cross-cutting' issue in other goals. While these were worthy goals, some authors argued that the targets narrowed the focus of gender equality (Kabeer, 2005; Morrow, 2018). The MDGs also made no reference to GBV.

In part reflecting criticisms of the MDGS and the "constant, coordinated and high-profile work by civil society," (Morrow, 2018, p.152), the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), agreed in 2015, established a broader concept of gender equality under SDG 5 (achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls). For the first time GBV was explicitly acknowledged as a global development target.[2] The cross-cutting approach was retained, with women and/or gender mentioned in targets for more than half the 17 goals. Morrow (2018) argues that the targets-based approach of both the MDGs and SDGs is disconnected from a human rights approach to gender. Quantifiable targets can help influence change but are "likely to have limited impact in feeding the necessary qualitative culture change that is required to address the underlying causes of societal ills such as gender inequality" (2018, p.159).

Development approaches to achieve gender inequalities have evolved over time However, postdevelopment and post-colonial theories have criticised these approaches because of their dependence on Western-centred theories that do not fully understand or acknowledge the values and ideas of different cultures (Escobar, 2007; McEwan, 2001; White, 2006). Likewise, there has been a trend to homogenise and stereotype women of the South, which has resulted in ineffective approaches (Lugones 2008; Mohanty, 1998).

2.3 Concepts and theories of gender-based violence

Despite efforts to address gender inequalities, GBV remains an unsolved problem that affects women over the world, causing physical and emotional damage (Heise et al., 2002; Yodanis, 2004). GBV has been conceptualized as a type of discrimination against women, involving mistreating behaviours and attitudes towards women of all ages because of their sex. GBV results from the unequal power relationships between genders, and at the same time, acts as a way to control women and

[2] Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.

perpetuate male dominance (Felipe-Russo & Pirlott, 2006; Felix-de-Souza, 2019; Pain & Staeheli, 2014; Wilson, 2014; Yodanis, 2004).

Felipe-Russo & Pirlot (2006) suggest that the term gender-based is used because the violence is supported by gender roles developed and reinforced through societal beliefs, norms, and culture. Thus, some authors refer to GBV by itself rather than specifying the recipients of violence, which most of the time are women. The term violence against women (VAW) is also used interchangeably with GBV (Terry, 2007; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). The use of these terms does not dismiss violence in the opposite direction, by women against men. However, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women used the term VAW as a type of GBV. As the declaration says:

> *For the purposes of this Declaration, the term "violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life*
> (United Nations General Assembly, 1993).

GBV is studied by different disciplines, including psychology, sociology, anthropology, politics, geography, and public health. All conclude that GBV continues within and across all societies, although there are some differences in how it evolves and the degree of harm resulting from it. Some feminist activists claim that the main and only cause of GBV is patriarchy (Heise, 1998; Terry, 2007). However, others argue that a range of factors are influential.

To study why GBV happens in different ways and degrees, some researchers have used an 'ecological framework' to explain how GBV "results from the interaction of factors at different levels of the social environment" (Heise et al., 2002, p. S7; see also Flake, 2005; Heise, 1998). This framework includes four levels of interaction: personal history, which relates to individual experiences; microsystem, focusing on family and other close relationships; exosystem, looking at social relationships at a community level; and macrosystem, which relates to sociocultural norms. The

interaction between levels helps explain why GBV does not happen with the same intensity in every place. For example, this model has found that GBV is more likely to happen with more intensity in societies in which gender roles are strictly established. GBV is also related to hegemonic masculinities, which encourage and condone men to exercise violence and power as evidence of their superiority (Fuller, 2012).

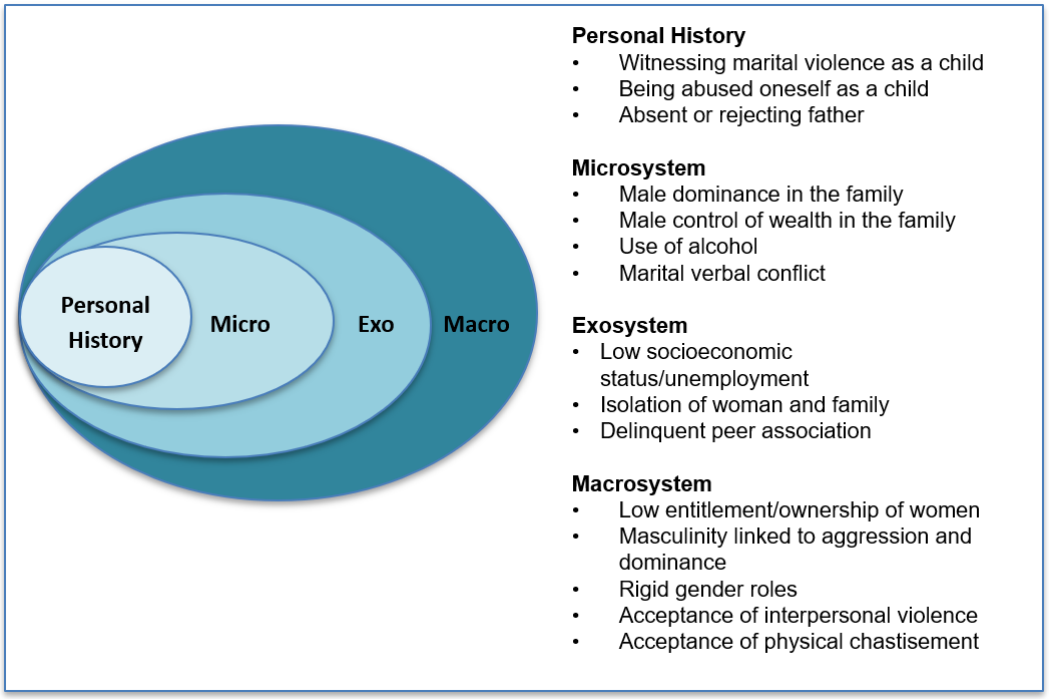

Figure 2.1: The ecological framework of gender-based violence. Source: Heise (1998).

2.3.1 Types of GBV

There are diverse types of GBV and these can be classified in different ways. I use the following four categories: domestic or intimate partner violence, sexual coercion, sexual harassment, and femicide.

Intimate partner violence / domestic violence. This type of violence is perpetrated by an intimate partner or ex-partner (Heise et al., 2002; WHO, 2017). It can cause physical, sexual, emotional and financial damage and also has inter-generational effects. Pain defines domestic violence as an "attempt to exert political control" (2014a, p.531) by using fear as a tool to control and influence women's behaviour. Some studies find a connection between intimate partner violence and controlling behaviours, such as jealousy, accusations of unfaithfulness, restricting connection with family and friends and distrust about money and household management

(Felipe-Russo & Pirlot, 2006). Worldwide, 30% of women who have been in a relationship report having experienced some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner in their lifetime (WHO, 2017). Women who have suffered physical violence are usually exposed to experiencing this situation multiple times.

Sexual coercion. Sexual coercion happens when women or girls are forced to practice any sexual activity. This can include physical and psychological abuse, blackmail and/or threats (Heise et al., 2002; WHO, 2012). In many cases this sort of GBV is perpetrated by known individuals, such as intimate partners, family relatives, or acquaintances, and it is linked to domestic violence. This form of abuse affects all social classes, ages and ethnic groups and is a common issue for both the Global North and the South (Heise et al., 2002; WHO, 2012). In Latin America and the Caribbean, 460 cases of sexual abuse are reported daily (OECD, Development, 2017).

Because of the sensitivity of this topic, it is difficult to collect accurate data (Heise et al., 2002; WHO, 2012). The WHO reports that in Latin America only 5 per cent of adult victims complained to authorities. It argues that women still do not report this type of violence because of shame, fear, risk of not being believed and inadequate support systems. Men and boys are also exposed to sexual coercion, but in most cases the perpetrators are also men.

***Sexual harassment*.** Sexual harassment is "any unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favour, verbal or physical conduct or gesture of a sexual nature, or any other behaviour of a sexual nature that might reasonably be expected or be perceived to cause offence or humiliation to another" (United Nations Secretariat, 2008). This type of GBV is also one of the most difficult to prove and to regulate.

Femicide. Femicide is an extreme example of GBV, defined as ''the assassination of women for reasons associated with their gender'' (Wilson, 2014, p.8; see also Alvarez et al., 2015; Gherardi, 2016, Prieto-Carrion et al., 2007). According to UN Women, 14 of the 25 countries with the highest rates of gender-motivated murder and violence are from Latin America. In 2014, 1,906 women were killed under the category of femicide and in 2013 38% of cases were due to domestic violence (Essayag, 2017). Munévar (2012) highlights the value of feminist movements not only in denouncing

femicides and reframing laws, but also in conceptualising the term and making it visible as a problem that kills women just because they are women. This has allowed greater visibility of GBV as an issue and stimulated efforts to address it.

2.3.2 International actions to address GBV

Over past decades, international efforts to address GBV have mainly been undertaken within a human rights framework. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) held in 1979 by the United Nations (UN) addresses gender inequalities through the commitment of member countries to establish polices to support women's human rights. In Latin America, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence, or Belem do Para convention, is the first and only convention about GBV, established in 1994. This conference brought together 34 countries of the Organisation of American States (OAS) to discuss alternatives to address GBV, mainly involving legal and education reforms (Gherardi, 2016).

In 2014, the Committee of CEDAW reported that 25 per cent of all countries in Latin America had established integrated legislation for the different types of GBV. Most of these policies focused on domestic violence, neglecting the other types of GBV listed above, such as in public spaces and work spheres (Gherardi, 2016). These policies have resulted in some improvement in access to justice through increased provision of support to victims of GBV and increased criminal sanctions for perpetrators of GBV (Morrison et al., 2007). However, they have been of limited effectiveness because of ongoing corruption and bias within the police and justice systems (Calderón, 2019; Flake, 2005).

International organisations also have paid attention to the impacts that education might have on GBV, leading to a rise in the efforts made by women's organisations, NGOs and governments in this area (Fergus & Rood, 2013). In Latin America, Equal Opportunities Plans have been crucial for the development of GBV policies (Gelambi-Torrel, 2015), which aim to empower women through education and to create cultural change (Gherardi, 2016). Policy reforms within the education sector include creation of, or changes to, national plans to contest GBV; educating teachers and school staff about how to address cases of GBV; creation of policies to address sexual

harassment in schools; and strengthening of counselling offices in schools (Morrison et al., 2007). However, there is little evidence about the effect these policies and initiatives are having.

2.4 Social movements

As discussed in Chapter 1, Ni Una Menos can be described as a social movement and I therefore place my case study in the context of social movement theory. A basic definition of social movements is groups of people that act collectively to challenge (or defend) the status quo and thereby change (or maintain) power relationships (Bhattacharjya et al 2015; Benford & Snow, 2000; Escobar & Alvarez, 1992; McKenna, 2013; Obregon &Tufte, 2017; Taylor, 1999). While Ni Una Menos seeks to make change, the role of conservative social movements in resisting social change also becomes a theme to discuss in Chapters 7 and 8.

Several different theoretical perspectives have sought to explain how and why social movements develop.[3] Some have focused on the strategies and tactics and others on the identities of social movements (Escobar & Alvarez, 1992; Jaster & Young, 2019). For this research I draw on collective identity theory in relation to 'new' social movements. Study of new social movements focuses on new forms of collective action and protest, in which common characteristics are the 'search for identity' and the aim to address issues that impact the everyday life of individuals (McKenna, 2013). These characteristics are the main aspects that differentiate 'new' social movements from traditional movements, which focused on economic issues and class was the main form of identity (McKenna, 2013). Philosophies, values, participant characteristics and strategies are other characteristics that divide traditional and new social movements. Moreover, new social movements have paid more attention to aligning their political goals with the cultural context (Polleta & Jasper, 2001).

Collective identity theory is a useful way to explore the strong identity-centred approach of new social movements. This theory has studied what drives activists to

[3] Other social movement theories include collective behaviour theory, relative deprivation theory, mass society theory, resource mobilisation as political process theories and collective action frames (McKenna, 2013).

participate and support specific causes, particularly in Europe and Latin America. It aims to explain why some social movements exist and how they connect with their context. Collective identity is defined as a set of shared definitions and values of a group that derives from members' common interests, experiences, and solidarity, producing a collective connection with a broader cause (Polleta & Jasper, 2001; Rup &Taylor, 1999; Taylor & Whittier, 1999).[4] It has been used to explain the development of social movements such as feminist, LGBT and ethnicity-based movements.

Feminism has been identified as a collective identity within social movements, "encompassing those who see gender as a major category of analysis, who critique female disadvantage, and who work to improve women's situations" (Rup &Taylor, 1999, p.364). The feminist identity has helped movements to articulate strategies and negotiate politics and it evolves with time according to the political and cultural environment. However, the diversity of women has challenged the concept of collective feminist identity because of differences in philosophies and personal identities, which impact on movements' identities, priorities and choice of strategies (Coe & Sandberg, 2019; Rup &Taylor, 1999). Therefore, the study of social movements from a gender perspective requires taking into account the intersection of class, race, ethnicity and place (Escobar &Alvarez, 1992; Fairhurst et al, 2004; Taylor, 1990).

Taylor (1999) identifies three factors that scholars have developed to study social movements. First, the context, which is fundamental for the creation, development and/or disappearance of the social movements, paying particular attention to the culture and politics of the place (see also, Fairhurst et al, 2004; Pain, 2014; Taylor & Whittier, 1999). Second, the structures and strategies that social movements develop to protest. Third, the meanings of protest that individuals recognise as a shared

[4] Collective identity as an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity.

value. I use this as framework for looking at NUM Arequipa in Chapters 6 and 9, arguing that these factors are all interlinked.

2.4.1 Social movements and models of activism

Activism is linked to new social movements, and most authors do not give separate definitions but refer to activists and activism as part of their discussion of social movements. The concept of activism has most often been discussed in relation to 'dramatic' or 'radical' actions linked to protests, which are based on philosophical ideas and directly demand political change (Horton & Kraftl, 2009; Jenkins, 2017). Likewise, there is a tendency to assume that activism must be explicitly connected to the broader causes of social movements (Horton & Kraftl, 2009) and that 'doing' activism requires identifying as an activist (Bobel, 2007).

However, some authors have proposed different understandings of activism. These alternative perspectives have been referred to as 'quiet', 'implicit', or 'everyday' activism (Hackney, 2015; Horton & Kraftl, 2009; Martin et al., 2007; Pottinger, 2017). These re-conceptualizations consider that 'resistance to power' does not necessarily provide a holistic understanding of activism, nor is it the only approach to create change. Thus, they focus on everyday actions that have a low profile or are not usually considered as activism. These include "small, everyday, embodied acts, often of making and creating, that can be either implicitly or explicitly political in nature" (Pottinger, 2017, p.215).

Quiet activism pays particular attention to relationships, emphasising place-based networks at individual and group level, which help to balance power relations at different scales (Martin et al., 2007; Pottinger, 2017). It focuses on the "personal, affective bonds which lead people to *care*...[and] can ultimately constitute political activism and commitment" (Horton & Kraftl, 2009, p.14). I return to this concept of quiet or everyday activism when exploring the actions of NUM Arequipa in Chapter 6.

2.4.2 Social movements and social media

As noted in Chapter 1, a key factor in the formation of the Ni Una Menos movement was the role of social media, both in raising awareness of GBV and in bringing people together. New information and communication technologies have recently

transformed social movements and activism, and the relationship between social movements and social media has become a growing area of study and debate (Casero-Ripollés, 2015; Keller, 2014; Kidd & Mclntosh, 2016; Fairhurst et al., 2004; Nunez Puente, 2011; Trere Cargnelutti, 2014; Obregon &Tufte, 2017; Piñero-Otero & Martínez-Rolan 2016).

Critics suggest that unequal access to technologies may reinforce power relationships, because only those with access to technology can mobilise resources to share information. Likewise, social media can create a false or superficial sense of participation, which is not enough to encourage people to go out to the streets. 'Pluralists' suggest that technology may help reduce power inequalities by helping democratise political participation for people without any previous experience. They argue that technology can create new forms of communication and interaction between activists and the public, providing information and placing issues on the public agenda (Fairhust et al., 2004; Trere Cargnelutti, 2014). This can be achieved by taking advantage of opportunities in the political environment, and media opportunities arising from the tendency for mainstream media to follow social media content (Casero-Ripollés, 2015).

Piñero-Otero & Martínez-Rolan (2016) suggest that the use of social media has transformed social movements, because with the support of these technologies, they can become a global phenomenon. This has created a new term, 'cyberactivism', a practice used in non-mainstream political action to challenge traditional political structures. Social media can connect different actors in collective networks which help build social movements by shaping identities, negotiating resistance to discrimination and creating proposals and projects (Nuñez-Puente, 2011). However, social media can also be used as a tool by powerful actors to serve their own interests and consolidate power. Recent debates have critiqued the dominance of social media by a few platforms and the ability for these to be manipulated in ways that undermine democracy (Hall et al., 2018)

Feminist movements have also used social media as an approach to reach communities and challenge patriarchal structures (Schulte, 2011). For example,

Nuñez-Puente (2011) considers that the Internet is a socially constructed space in which women's issues are visualized. On the other hand, critics have argued that cyber/electronic spaces are also male-dominated, and women can face exclusion and intimidation (Rodríguez-Dariasa & Aguilera-Ávila, 2018). The role of social media is a theme I explore throughout the case study of NUM Arequipa.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented key concepts, theories and debates that relate to this thesis, covering the topics of gender inequalities, gender-based violence, and social movements. It has also discussed feminism as a theoretical and political response to gender inequalities and the incorporation of gender into development, which has been influenced by feminist thought. As Smyth (2007) notes, both feminism and development have evolved over time and both are highly contested, making their interaction complex. Overall, both have been dominated by a Western perspective, which can overlook the cultural factors that affect gender inequalities in specific places, particularly postcolonial societies.

Approaches to gender inequalities in development have mainly focused on women's education, employment and political participation. In general, GBV has not been a focus in development programmes and only recently was included in the SDGs. Because of the slow progress in addressing GBV, women's social movements have appeared to raise awareness and take direct action. The chapter has provided a brief overview of social movements and identified collective identity as a useful theoretical approach for exploring women's and feminist movements. It also introduces debates on the role of social media for social movements. An important feature of social movements is how they respond to the local context. The following chapter gives background to feminism and women's social movements in Latin America and looks at how they have challenged inequalities including GBV.

3. GBV and women's social movements in Latin America

3.1 Introduction

Given the importance my research places on place and context, this chapter discusses the specific nature of gender inequalities and GBV in Latin America, including the legacy of colonialism, the culture of machismo and the history of State violence. I also provide some historical background about the development of feminism and women's movements in the region, and their achievements and challenges. Finally, I discuss the characteristics of new social movements that have appeared in Latin America to contest GBV, including background about the recent emergence of the Ni Una Menos movement.

3.2 Gender and gender inequalities in Latin America

In Latin America there are three important features that help to understand the issues that feminist and women's social movements face. The first is the legacy of colonialism. Following the Spanish Conquest in the 16th century, colonialism made Latin America into a Catholic continent, established dependency on external economies and created a hierarchical and patriarchal social system. The Spanish empire categorised people according to class and race, and the racism inherited from colonialism continues to play a role in gender inequalities. Gargallo (2007) suggests that the sexual appropriation of indigenous women by the Spanish established a basis for GBV in Latin America.

Even though Latin America was declared in liberty in the nineteenth century, its societies remained structured by colonial ideas and roles. In the process of decolonisation women were completely overlooked, perpetuating their invisibility (Gargallo, 2007; Schutte, 2011). Racism and discrimination are common denominators in all social structures, not only between women and men but also between women (Fuller, 2012; Gargallo, 2007; Hernandez, 2003). Therefore, indigenous, Afro-descendant and poor women face not only gender inequalities but

also class and ethnic inequalities, (Gargallo, 2007; Horton, 2015; Quiñones-Mayo & Resnik, 1996; Paredes, 2015).

The culture of machismo also has its origins with Spanish colonialism, but it has developed particular characteristics in Latin America (Fuller, 2012; Hernandez, 2003). Machismo is defined as an exaggerated schema of masculine characteristics such as arrogance and aggressiveness, including dominance over women, which is reflected in men's attitudes, behaviour and beliefs (Alvarez et al., 2015; Derks & Heessels, 2011; Duffy et al., 2012; Flake, 2005; Fuller, 2012; Hernandez, 2003; Peña-Talamantes, 2013). It is related to the concept and practice of hegemonic masculinity which imposes strict roles about what women and men must or must not do, always in comparison with the other gender. Hegemonic masculinity gives a position of power and prestige to men; however, it also forces men to prove their virility, which can be confusing and can suggest that violent behaviour is a characteristic of virility (Connell, 2001; Fuller 2012; Peña-Talamantes, 2013).

Machismo affects everyone in their everyday life, and it reinforces gender inequalities. Women also internalise some *machista* practices and attitudes, thereby contributing to their perpetuation (Fuller, 2012). Machismo also involves strongly heteronormative views of sexuality, leading to gay, lesbian and other people falling outside these norms also facing violence and discrimination (Fuller, 2012; Muñoz-Laboy et al., 2012; Peña-Talamantes,2013).

A third distinctive feature is State violence from the authoritarian regimes, wars and terrorism that have affected Latin American countries, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s. In these periods of war and oppression, women suffered violence at all levels but also took an important role advocating for human rights, not just for women but for the whole family (Bhattacharjya et al., 2015; Franceshet, 2003; Horton, 2015; Shayne, 2007). These protesters were considered "apolitical, self-sacrificing, of superior morality, and subject to male protection" (Horton, 2015 p. 80). Stereotypes such as these are linked to the concept of *marianismo*. While machismo places men in a socially superior position, *marianismo* depicts women as superior at a spiritual level, because they are considered strong enough to sacrifice themselves

for their families.[5] This has its roots in Catholicism, which considers males as providers and protectors, while women are passive actors, emulating the behaviour of the Virgin Mary (Duffy et al., 2012; Derks & Heessels, 2011; Flake, 2005; Quiñones-Mayo & Resnik, 1996). It is probable that because of beliefs related to marianismo, women activists were still considered as a group in need of protection, therefore, conventional gender standards were maintained.

These traditional gender roles also meant that some women's movements demobilised during the transition to democracy as the primary reason for their activism – the family survival – was no longer threatened. However, as discussed further in Section 3.4, these actions gave women leadership experience and some continued as part of political parties or NGOs (Franceschet, 2003; Horton, 2015).

3.1. Progress against gender inequalities in Latin America

Over the past 30 years there have been some significant improvements for Latin American women in the areas of politics, education, and employment. This has been linked to the inclusion of gender in development programmes, and in particular the discourse of gender and development (Parpat, 2014). Gender parity in education has been achieved (or is close) in many Latin American countries. In Peru, gender parity was achieved at all education levels in 2012 (United Nations Development Programme, 2013). Despite this apparent progress, some issues still continue, such as the discriminatory stereotypes that affect women. For example, in Peru, despite numerical parity in tertiary education, women's participation in professions considered 'feminine' is stronger than professions considered 'masculine' (Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros, 2013), which shows that the stereotyping issue persists.

Latin American women have increased their participation in the paid workforce, with women holding 45 out of every 100 wage-earning jobs in the non-agricultural sector

[5] The model of *machismo-marianismo* is related to Catholic beliefs and is therefore considered to have its origins in Spanish colonialism. In this model sexuality is also a very restricted topic for women.

in 2015, the highest among all developing regions (MDG Report, 2015, p.2).[6] Many countries have implemented gender quotas in political representation (Horton, 2015). These laws are limited because they do not control the order that political parties place women in their lists, but they have nevertheless had some positive effects. The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015 reported that Latin America had the highest representation of women at parliamentary level among all developing regions, even higher than the average share in developed regions (27 per cent in 2015). In Peru, a law was passed in 1997 that 30 per cent of the parliamentary list must be women, and the same principle applies for regional and local elections (Jones et al., 2012).

Laws have also been passed against domestic violence and femicide in many countries.[7] In 2007 the first country to establish a femicide law was Costa Rica, and similar laws were later promulgated in almost all Latin American countries, with some local differences in how femicide was interpreted and defined (Copello, 2012, Wilson, 2014). Women activists, jurists, politicians and academics had an important role in this achievement. Social movements helped pressure governments to establish this law (Munévar, 2012). However, as discussed further in Chapter 5, this has not done much to solve the problem.

3.1 Feminism and women's movements in Latin America

Feminist movements in Latin America were established as a response to women's oppression, influenced by modernisation and Western ideas and knowledge. Women in Latin America followed the ideas and objectives of the first and second waves of the global feminist movement to seek political, economic and sexual rights. However, in Latin America struggles related to the first wave lasted until the 1960s, when finally, women gained the right to vote in all countries (Shayne, 2007).

[6] Peru has not been as successful as in other countries in Latin America. The inclusion of women in paid jobs increased in Peru only from 33% in 2001 to 38.7% in 2012 (Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros, 2013).

[7] The term femicide was used for first time by Diana Russel in 1967, who defined it as ' the murder of women by men because they are women' or as a later definition 'the misogynist murder of women by men' However, there are different definitions according to cultural contexts (Copello, 2012)

This adoption of a Western perspective has been criticised because of the lack of representation of the poor or acknowledgment of the heterogeneity within groups and societies (Escobar, 2007; Gargallo, 2007; Schutte 2011; Vargas, 1992). However, Shayne (2007) argues that feminism "is not a Western import into the region, but rather, an ideology that has emerged over the last century" (p. 1685). The first 'modern feminist' movements in Latin America were formed during the 1970s. The activists that led these movements were mainly white middle-class women, who shared left political ideas (Alvarez, 2000; Vargas, 1992).

These early feminist movements in the region identified patriarchy and gender roles as the underlying causes of women's oppression. This discourse of gender inequality based on patriarchy caused difficulties within the movement because differences between women were not recognised, overlooking the needs and rights of some groups, such as indigenous, Afro-descendants and lesbians (Gargallo, 2007; Vargas, 1997). In particular, it did not account for an incomplete modernisation process which increased difference and discrimination based on ethnicity, race, and economic status as well as gender (Vargas, 1997).

In the 1980s, women from different countries started to gather in Latin American and Caribbean encounters (Alvarez, 2000; Horton, 2016; Landa, 2016; Shayne, 2007; Vargas, 1997), although it was only in the fifth encounter that there was a true diversity of participants, including lesbians, Afro-descendants and Christians (Alvarez 2000; Gargallo, 2007; Vargas, 1992). This allowed debates on new topics but was insufficient to address the interests of diverse groups of women. Therefore, new groups emerged, such as Network of Latin American and Caribbean Lesbian Feminists, and Network Continental Coordination of Indigenous Women (Landa, 2016; Horton, 2015). Gargallo (2007) argues that this is part of the decolonisation of knowledge because it supports the crossover of different elements at discourse and political levels.

Women who participate in social and political organisations are usually seen as feminist activists, but in Latin America this is not necessarily how it worked. In some cases, women's organisations were created for specific causes, notably the human

rights protestors and progressive political movements that resisted authoritarian governments during the 1970s and 1980s, such as Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina and Mothers of the Disappeared in El Salvador (Di Marco, 2010; Horton, 2015; Franceschet, 2003; Shayne 2007). Although these movements did not necessarily focus on gender, women's involvement gave them experience in organising and political action and helped change their roles and expectations. Also, they managed to keep unity across race, ethnic and class divides.

Following the democratic transition from authoritarian regimes, some women's movements involved in these struggles became integrated into political parties. In places such as Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Nicaragua, women successfully reached the opposition and presented their reforms, hoping to translate feminist theories into policies, while also retaining women's empowerment values.

Other groups became NGOs and received funding from development agencies for projects including gender-related initiatives (Alvarez, 2000; Di Marco, 2010; Franceschet, 2003). Following transitions to democracy, development agencies preferred to channel their funding through the State, leaving NGOs dependent on government for their survival. Rather than movement organisations facilitating citizen involvement, NGOs were turned into 'experts' in gender policies (Alvarez, 1999). Because of their active participation in the implementation of gender policies, NGOs came to be considered as policy deliverers rather than activists, creating debate about the extent that these organisations were co-opted by the State (Alvarez, 1999; Franceschet, 2003).

The limitations of both political parties and NGOs are relevant to my case study of Ni Una Menos Arequipa, which was not an NGO and also explicitly rejected being linked with political parties. This gave it certain advantages in terms of flexibility and independence but also presented challenges, discussed in Chapter 8.

In Latin America feminist social movements face several ongoing challenges. First, the *machista* culture, which remains embedded in all structures. Activist women battle against *machista* everyday attitudes which seem them strongly criticized and stereotyped as promiscuous, bad mothers, lesbians, foreign and/or radical (Horton,

2016). Second, internal conflicts and the struggle to accommodate diversity. Despite common goals of gender equality, the differing experiences and priorities of Latin American women have not been fully represented. For example, indigenous women have prioritised claiming land and cultural rights and demanding constitutional reforms, but their priorities are still not fully represented by feminist movements in some regions (Gargallo, 2007; Horton, 2015).

Another challenge is that the differing perspectives that different social movements have on certain issues. For example, abortion is a very controversial topic in Latin America. Some feminist movements believe abortion is a women's right, while others believe it is against their principle of nonviolence and social justice (Landa, 2016). Another difference is that while some seek employment equality within a market capitalist economy, other movement such as indigenous and anti-mining groups resist neoliberal globalisation (Gargallo 2007; Jenkins, 2017; Paredes 2015). These differences in beliefs and priorities risk weakening feminist social movements in Latin America. However, Landa (2016) suggests that "for feminism to succeed, feminists do not need to comply with every single value, but to work towards understanding the needs of women as a whole coming from different backgrounds and with different views" (2016, p.11).

3.4.1 New social movements against GBV in Latin America

GBV has long been a concern for Latin American feminist and women's' social movements. In the fifth Latin American and Caribbean Encounter in 1990, GBV was debated, leading to the creation of the Latin American and Caribbean Network against Domestic Violence (Roggeband, 2016; Prieto-Carrón et al., 2007). This helped promote the various laws against domestic violence that were passed in different Latin American countries.

In the 2000s, feminist social movements began to take a stronger, more specific focus on confronting GBV in Latin America due to the increasing number and brutality of violent crimes against women, especially in Mexico and Central America. This was linked to gang violence and narcotrafficking in these countries. Segato (2008) argues that this connection is due to the sense of dominance of a territory which must be reinforced from time to time. Killing women is a way to show the power exercised

over this territory and reinforce hegemonic masculinity. These crimes are committed with impunity, which allows them to continue happening.

Apart from this link with gang violence and narcotrafficking, studies also show a close link between femicide and domestic violence. For example, in Mexico 60 per cent of victims of femicide reported domestic violence to the authorities before they were murdered (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2007). Another concerning factor is the realisation that women's gains in education, employment and politics do not necessarily reduce their vulnerability to violence. For example, in Peru, studies have shown that women from all social groups experience GBV, and in fact women with a higher level of education and/or income than their partner are more at risk of violence (Diaz & Miranda, 2010; Flake, 2005). Therefore, the expectations of male dominance promoted by *machismo* can produce violent reaction to women's empowerment (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2007).

Feminist movements in Mexico and Central America have organised themselves to confront GBV with different approaches: putting the issue on the public agenda through campaigns and marches, organising workshops for young men to help them to explore their non-violent masculinity, providing psychological and legal help to women that suffered GBV and promoting the rights of women (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2007).

In 2001, the Latin American and Caribbean Network against Domestic Violence began a campaign in Mexico due to the increasing number of femicides in this country, and it gathered women in different marches against GBV throughout Latin America (Prieto-Carron et al., 2007). Femicides were also the starting point for feminist campaigns such as *Nuestras hijas de regreso a casa* in Mexico (Ortiz, no date), *Cuidado! El machismo mata* in Chile, (Alvarez et al., 2015; Wilson, 2014) and recently *Ni Una Menos* in Argentina, Mexico, Chile and Peru. These movements are seeking not only to eradicate GBV but to promote a feminist discourse to society and to confront machismo as the underlying cause.

The movement *Nuestras hijas de regreso a casa* (Bring our daughters home) was established in Mexico in 2001 to protest constant crimes against young women, most

of them unpunished. This movement was formed mainly by family members of the victims and has grown over the past ten years. They managed to raise awareness at local, national and international levels and have been able to connect with other organisations that share its cause, such as the International Court of Human Rights and international NGOs. The movement has focused on calling for law changes and government commitment to take action against GBV (Ravelo-Blancas, 2004). It also provides help to family victims and informs the local and international community about femicides and violence against women in Ciudad Juarez (Ortiz, no date).

The recent movements that specifically aim to combat GBV in Latin America have some interesting characteristics compared to traditional feminist movements. In many cases, victims' families (in the case of femicide) or victims themselves (in the case of domestic and sexual violence) have become activists and played an important part in the movements. Without any political experience they have managed to put the issue in the public agenda.

Movements have sometimes been started by outrage relating to specific cases of violence, rather than general arguments about gender inequalities. Most of these movements have had specific high-profile cases of GBV, which have called the attention of society and particularly other women. These movements have also expanded their scope to cover different topics, such as gender roles, machismo and feminism. Although these movements have argued for changes to laws and policies, they also aim to change the culture and discourses that structure the way that GBV is viewed and understood.

In the most recent movements, there has been an important role for social media (especially Facebook) in publicising the movements' concerns, forming broad coalitions of sympathisers, and organising actions. Some authors have studied the development of these campaigns on the internet, which in many cases used hashtags as a starting point. Traditional media (such as TV, radio and newspaper) has also helped raise the profile of specific incidents of violence, while the availability of digital media (cell phone cameras, security camera footage) has also been important in this respect.

3.4.2 The Ni Una Menos Movement

The Ni Una Menos movement started in Argentina in June 2015, in response to the misogynist crimes there (Terzian, 2017). The femicide of Chiara Perez, a young woman of 14 years who was killed by her partner, called massive attention from the general public, media and social media, leading to the development of Ni Una Menos (Felix-de-Souza, 2019). Only a few months after the creation of NUM Argentina, the movement appeared in Perú, Chile, Bolivia, Mexico, Paraguay and Uruguay (*La Republica,* 2016; *The Guardian* 2016).[8]

Terzian (2017) found that a main purpose of the movement was to put on the public agenda cases of GBV which were ignored or minimised by the media. However, she also suggests that the first march of Ni Una Menos showed how traditional and social media combined to raise awareness about GBV and particularly about the meaning of femicides. Previously, the media's engagement was limited and even unfair with some cases. However, when NUM started, the media supported the movement, particularly a newspaper, *La Nación*, which included voices of victims and played an important role in validating the movement within Argentinian society. *La Nación* also challenged government policies and provided coverage to different perspectives about the topic.

To date, studies of NUM have mainly paid attention to the movement in Argentina, focusing on very specific details, such as its relationships with social media and mainstream media and the analysis of the content shared on social media. For example, Rovetto (2015) analyses the use of *siluetazos* (body outlines such as used at crime scenes) in the NUM Argentina iconography. These not only represent unpunished femicides but also are linked to the *desaparecidos* and *desaparecidas* during Argentina's dictatorship**.** Few studies have attempted to provide a holistic understanding of the movement outside the major marches or explored how the activists' thoughts and actions are reflected in the approaches to contest GBV.

[8] The movement takes its name from the Mexican poet and women's rights activist Susana Chávez Castillo's phrase *Ni una muerta más* (not one more woman dead) in relation to femicides in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico.

3.2 Conclusion

An overview of the historical background of gender inequalities in Latin America helps understand how history has influenced the region and women's role in current societies. The legacy of colonialism is important, particularly on the culture of machismo, which links gender discrimination to racism and class inequalities.

The chapter shows that women's movements in Latin America were influenced by Western feminism but also grew from spontaneous struggles to defend human rights. The conversion of feminist movements into NGOs and policy makers in the 1990s allowed them to contribute to projects that benefited women but changed the actions they undertook. Instead of promoting popular mobilisation, they became 'gender policy experts' involved in service delivery (Alvarez, 2000; Franceschet, 2003).

Influenced by Western feminists and Women and Development (WAD) approaches, gender mainstreaming in development projects focused on prioritising education, employment and political representation. This often overlooked the perspectives of local Latin American movements (Debusscher, 2012) and left out GBV as a priority problem, with the Sustainable Development Goals recently recognising it as central to gender equity.

The growth of new social movements against GBV was due to the interaction between mainstream media and social media. The latter provided a new space for women to gather together to debate their ideas and express indignation about GBV. Ni Una Menos is an example of the development of a social movement against GBV through social media.

Recent studies of NUM have taken place mostly in Argentina, focusing on its major protest actions and use of social media. To date, few studies – and none outside of Argentina – have attempted to gain a holistic understanding of the movement, including how its strategies relate to activists' motivations and interaction with the society they are immersed in, and how they continue the struggle against GBV on a day-to-day basis. This is what I aim to do with my case study of NUM Arequipa. In the following chapter I describe how my methodological approach to doing this.

4. Methodological design

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes my research methodology in six sections. First, I present the epistemologies I follow. My overall approach to the research is feminist. I also incorporate post-colonial epistemology, as a guide to acknowledging power relations, diversity and non-Western ideas, focusing on the Latin American and Peruvian context as a post-colonial society, while social constructivism helps me to frame meanings and discourses of GBV and the model of activism that the NUM movement is developing.

My research uses a case study and involves mixed methods. These lead to a holistic understanding of the movement and its interactions with young men and women, via data generated through qualitative methods (participant observation, interviews, and social media analysis) and a quantitative method (survey) during fieldwork.

I also describe the approach used to draw together data from my field work with theoretical literature to answer the research questions. Finally, I reflect on my positionality and ethical considerations in the process of planning, fieldwork and analysis of this thesis, highlighting the feminist ethical values, which place importance on relationships and emotions.

4.2 Epistemology

My research incorporates feminist, post-colonial feminist and social constructivist epistemologies. The overall approach is feminist because my research topic shows a clear example of women's struggle, considers the power relationships between men and women, and looks at men's and women's individual and collective responses to GBV. The research is based on feminist principles and values, which are: research by, for and with women; a concern with power relations including in the construction of knowledge; and a commitment to ethical and reflective practice (Hesse-Biber, 2007, Taylor, 1998).

My epistemology is also informed by postcolonialism because it is concerned with the specific forms of gender hierarchies in a post-colonial society. Peru has a long

history of colonialism and post-colonialism, which not only had an impact on the current social structures, behaviours, and attitudes, but also on women's everyday lives and experiences of racism and classism (Gargallo, 2007). Preissle & Han (2014), argue that "feminism as it developed in the western world was grounded in the moral and ethical theories of the European enlightenment" (p. 6). Approaching gender inequalities from a postcolonial feminist perspective involves recognising the diversity of races and class as one of the key aspects for a better understanding of gender issues in countries that are not part of the 'Western side' (Mohanty 1988). My research aims to understand the meanings and causes of GBV in Peru and how the NUM movement is contesting this issue in a specific context, Arequipa. These meanings and the dynamic of NUM are closely related to these historical and cultural contexts, as well as to wider ideas about feminism and human rights.

Finally, I work within social constructivism because my research aims to understand social and historical constructions of a problem, in this case GBV, and look at how perspectives on the problem are influenced by cultural meanings and values. Social constructivism pays attention not only to the social construction of knowledge but also to the assumptions made in this process. A critical approach to knowledge, attention to cultural aspects and the links between knowledge and social processes are the three aspects typical of a constructivist approach (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). My research pays attention to these three aspects to understand how NUM Arequipa is contesting GBV.

4.3 Case study methodology

The case study approach fits with my research aim of obtaining an in-depth understanding of the NUM Arequipa movement while participating in actions to help to eradicate GBV in my home country. There are different definitions of case study. Some of them define it as a method (O'Leary, 2005; Yin 2006), and others as a design frame which includes the use of diverse methods (Thomas, 2011; Simons 2012). What these different definitions have in common is the "commitment to studying the complexity that is involved in real situations" (Thomas, 2011, p. 512). A case study is a methodology that helps to get an in-depth understanding of a specific case or

cases (Baxter, 2010). Likewise, the case study design can involve immersion, which crosses over with ethnographic approaches.

My research design also involved the use of Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods, QUAL → Quan approach, a sequential form of data collection (Creswell,2014). This approach combines both methods; however, my thesis prioritises the qualitative approach. The quantitative results can complement or contrast with the qualitative findings. In this case both qualitative methods (participant observation and interviews) and the quantitative method (a survey), were used to explore understandings of GBV and perspectives towards the NUM movement from the NUM Arequipa activists and young students. Results from my survey of young people strengthened and clarified the findings from my interviews with activists and young people.

4.3.1 Case study selection

To undertake my research, I aimed to work with the NUM movement in Arequipa, Peru from August to October 2018. I decided to work in Arequipa because it was an accessible location for fieldwork, given that it is my hometown. Also, it fit with my objective of studying how the NUM movement has developed in different contexts, given that coverage of the movement has focused on main centres.

Arequipa City

Arequipa is the second largest most city in Peru, after Lima, the capital, with a population of approximately one million (see Fig 4.1). Arequipa is also the city with the second highest number of cases of GBV (MIMP, 2018). Arequipa was founded as a city by the Spanish in 1540 and was for a long time dominated by people of Spanish descent. In the second half of the twentieth century, Arequipa has seen significant migration from the sierra and nearby regions, which has created social and cultural change. In Peru, Arequipa is known for two aspects. First, it has a strong religious (Catholic) culture and is sometimes referred to as the 'Rome of Peru' for its large number of churches. Second, it is known for a tradition of an independent culture and political opposition to the capital of Lima. Several political rebellions and movements protests have started in Arequipa.

Fig 4.1: The Arequipa region in Peru. Source: drawn in ArcGIS

NUM Arequipa

Prior to my fieldwork I found two NUM Arequipa Facebook webpages. I contacted both, and only one responded. I kept in touch with the coordinator of the group that responded, Shirley Oporto and arranged to meet with the activists when I arrived in Arequipa. In the first meeting, which was organised to discuss the development of the annual march in August, I was introduced as a researcher and new member of NUM Arequipa.

During meetings and talks to organise the march I heard the story of the division of the two NUM movements in Arequipa. I was also interested to know the experiences and perspectives of the other movement, but I realised this might risk the relationships of trust I was building with the first group. I discussed my interests in the second group with the co-ordinator of the group was working with and with whom I had established a relationship. Although the co-ordinator's preferences were

not completely clear, after a period of reflection, I opted to only work with the first group, which called itself Ni Una Menos Oficial.

This decision was made for three main reasons: First, the level of trust I got from members of the group, which I felt implied a certain level of loyalty towards the group and individuals as a gesture of reciprocity. Second, my intentions of undertaking activism while doing research. This meant committing to being part of a group, not only as a researcher but also as an individual. This was not possible with two groups, particularly when they had recently divided. Finally, I recognised that participant observation method would give me an in-depth understanding of the movement I was working with but was time consuming and not possible to do with more than one group.

4.3.2 Research participants and recruitment

I engaged with three groups of research participants: the activists of NUM Arequipa, students at the San Agustin public university, and local organisations involved in actions to combat GBV.

NUM Arequipa activists

For this research I only worked with activists of the Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial movement.[9] The first contact was with the coordinator of the movement through Facebook, who later introduced me to other activists. In total I interviewed eight activists out of twelve. In every group, there is a dynamic of interaction between members. Likewise, individuals have different degrees of participation and expertise they contribute to a group (Evans, 2012). Through my participant observation I could perceive this dynamic and levels of participation and I prioritised interviewing the members who were most active at the time of my research. I tried to interview every member but because of their busy agendas I could not do this during the time available. However, during activities and meetings I interacted with all members. All the activists were women, and all were tertiary educated, but they were of different

[9] From this point on, I use NUM Arequipa or NUM to refer to the group I worked with, referring to the national movement as Ni Una Menos and distinguishing from the other group in Arequipa where relevant.

ages and professions and came from diverse socio-economic backgrounds (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Age and occupations of Ni Una Menos Arequipa activists interviewed

Age range	No. interviewed
18-30	4
31-40	3
>40	1
Profession	
Lawyer	3
Teacher	1
Tourism management	1
Electrical engineering	1
Communication	2

Students

To answer my second sub-question about the engagement of the movement with the local community, particularly young females and males, I targeted students from San Agustin University. One reasons for selecting students from this university was to fulfil purposeful sampling criteria (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010). The criteria I was looking for was diversity, including young people from urban and rural origins and different socio-economic backgrounds. As the only public university in Arequipa, San Agustin met this criterion of diversity. The second reason was ease of access. I was familiar with the official procedures of this university and I was confident I could get access, while private universities demand a lot of requirements to contact students.

To recruit participants, I advertised my research on public boards at the different university campuses. However, after two weeks I didn't get any response, so I decided to approach students at public sites of the university, informing them about my research and asking if they were interested in participating. This approach was successful. I undertook ten in-depth interviews with students (five male and five female) and a survey of 123 students (48 male and 75 female).

Government and nongovernmental organisations

A third group I aimed to interview were institutions that were either involved with one of the NUM movements in Arequipa or were working on GBV. I had a long list of institutions and organisations, but I undertook only two interviews. One was with a member of the local office of the Women's Ministry, whom I personally approached to present my research and asked for the interview. The second organisation was with a representative of the NGO *Umanos*, which is involved in providing legal and psychological support to victims of GBV. The coordinator of the NUM movement provided me the phone number of this NGO, which I called and arranged the interview. After reviewing the information, I had gathered and reflecting on the politics involved in relationships between the organisations and the two NUM groups in Arequipa, as well as time constraints for field work and data analysis, I decided not to seek further interviews with organisations.

4.4 Research methods

My research used mixed methods, which is consistent with my interests in having a holistic understanding about a complex topic such as the NUM movement's approach to contesting GBV (Harrison et al., 2017; O'Leary, 2017). I followed the emergent approach to undertake a sequential order for data collection (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The emergent approach can be used when one of the methods is not working as expected, creating a need to add the other method. I designed my research with two progressive phases, the first phase qualitative (involving interviews, participant observation and social media analysis) and the second quantitative (involving a survey).

Because I was prioritising the first phase, implementation of the second phase depended on how the first phase developed and the time available. During the first phase, I found that interviews with students were not providing a sufficient understanding of students' awareness and perceptions about GBV and the NUM Arequipa movement. I therefore concluded that having the survey results would be helpful to gain a fuller picture. Likewise, information I got from the interviews helped refine the questions of the survey.

Table 4.2: Methods and participants by research phase

	Methods	Participants /source
Qualitative phase	Participant observation	Activists NUM Arequipa
	Interviews	Activists NUM Arequipa
		Young students
		Organisations
	Social media analysis	NUM Arequipa Facebook Oficial
Quantitative phase	Survey	Young students

4.4.1 Participant observation

Participant observation is a method that permits the "production of knowledge through being and action" (Shah, 2017, p. 48). It not only looks at exploring the different world understandings of the participants, but also to 'see' the world as participants do, to be able to interpret different meanings and realities. This new way to see the world can also change acting in the world (Evans, 2012; Laurier, 2010; O'Leary, 2005; Shah, 2017). Likewise, it enables a researcher to question pre-existing assumptions and theories about the subject.

During the nine weeks of fieldwork I participated in 16 activities with the NUM Arequipa movement, including the NUM annual march, meetings, campaigns and other activities (see Table 4.3). I had a fieldwork diary in which I took notes of my observations and thoughts. This diary complements themes and data from the interviews, social media analysis and survey.

Participating in activities and meeting with the NUM movement in Arequipa enabled me to re-frame ideas about what I thought I knew about it. Interacting with activists in different spaces, formal and informal, helped me to understand the internal politics of NUM Arequipa, its characteristics, and individual activists' thoughts and ideas (Keans, 2010; Shah, 2017). However, while participant observation filled some gaps not covered by interviews, some individuals may not have freely expressed all their personal perspectives in the group context.

Participating in NUM's meetings and events also enabled me to closely observe the responses of the community to the movement. For example, I could observe and experience this interaction when I participated in events and activities, in which I was able to talk to and listen to people who were willing to discuss GBV. However, this approach also brought some challenges which I reflect on in the ethics section of this chapter.

Likewise, as part of the participant observation approach it was inevitable to have contact with victims and family of victims, as we were doing activities to raise awareness about GBV and calling political and public attention to get justice for specific cases. I do not draw on these cases in my research because it does not focus on victims per se. However, it is important to highlight that these experiences showed the level of engagement that the movement has with victims, which is an important goal and characteristic of the movement.

Table 4.3: Participant observation activities with NUM Arequipa, August-October 2018

Activity	Date	Organised by	Objective
First meeting.	2/8/18	NUM AQP	Planning the march and general discussion about NUM.
Interview with local radio station.	9/8/18	NUM AQP	Promotion of the march.
Preparation of signs.	10/8/18	NUM AQP	Preparation for march.
Emergency meeting.	10/8/08	NUM AQP	Discussion about the possibility of working with the other NUM on the organisation of the march.
March.	11/8/18	NUM AQP	Raise awareness about GBV.
Interview of Coordinator of NUM Arequipa.	7/9/18	Law students of Santa Maria Catholic University	Help students with assignment about NUM and GBV in Arequipa.
Workshop at high school in Arequipa	8/9/18	Arequipa Regional Council and NUM AQP	Provide information and raise awareness about GBV.
Meeting after march.	9/9/18	NUM AQP	Evaluation of the march and planning of future actions.
Assistance to get information in CEM.	15/9/18	NUM AQP	Get information about child abandonment and abuse.

Activity	Date	Organised by	Objective
Fair in Goyeneche Hospital.	15/9/18	Arequipa Regional Council	Raise awareness about GBV.
Vigil.	21/9/18	NUM AQP	Call for justice and raise public awareness about femicides.
GBV in Arequipa Forum	28/9/18	Arequipa Regional Council	Learning.
Meeting.	3/10/18	NUM AQP	Balance of previous actions and planning of future actions.
Campaign in Mercado San Camilo.	13/10/18	Arequipa Regional Council	Raise awareness about GBV and human trafficking in Arequipa.
Campaign in San Agustin University.	17/10/18	NUM AQP	Raise awareness about the role of men in contesting GBV.
Social meeting.	17/10/18	NUM AQP	Socializing and farewell party.
WhatsApp everyday communication.		NUM AQP	Communication and interaction between the activists.

Source: based on ethnographic diary.

4.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

In qualitative research the interview is an important tool to gather data because it allows the inclusion of participant voices and experiences, if well used (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Rabionet, 2011; Rose, 1997). I chose to use semi-structured interviews. This type of interview has a conversational and flexible style (Dun, 2010; O'Leary, 2017), which enabled me to establish a closer and more individual relationship with participants than participant observation. The interviews allowed me to select topics to keep the focus of the research, while allowing some flexibility according to interviewees' responses (Dunn, 2010; Rabionet, 2011).

I carried out three groups of semi-structured interviews, with NUM Arequipa activists, young students, and representatives of organisations. I programmed each interview for a maximum of 45 minutes. The interview was divided in six sections: opinions about the problem of GBV, involvement with the movement, objectives and strategies of NUM Arequipa, NUM interaction with the local community, the role of social media and finally evaluation of the movement. The interview with the

coordinator of NUM Arequipa lasted longer than expected, given that she provided an overview of the movement, from the beginning to the present.

The interview with students had five sections: opinions about GBV, connection with NUM, involvement with NUM Arequipa, NUM personal and community impact and suggestions for NUM Arequipa. Women's responses to my interview were very positive, while the interviews with young men were more challenging. As a woman asking men about GBV, I was worried they would think that I could be judging their thoughts and behaviour. In fact, the first reactions I had from some young men were defensive. They wanted me to know that they were not aggressors or that they disagreed with GBV.

Finally, the interview with organisations was divided in three sections, overview of the issue of GBV in Peru and Arequipa, perception of the NUM movement in Peru and Arequipa, and relationships with NUM Arequipa. These interviews informed me about the current problems of GBV in Arequipa and the relationships of these organisations with NUM Arequipa.

All interviews were audio recorded and held in Spanish, my first language and that of all participants. For the analysis and discussion of this thesis I have translated all the quotes into English, sometimes using an original Spanish word or phrase where this is relevant.

4.4.3 Social media analysis

Another source of data to analyse the movement and its interaction with the Arequipa community was social media. Because the method of collecting data from cyberspace is inspired by the ethnographic approach, it has been termed 'netnography'. This involves compiling qualitative information from internet sources in which the researcher has a passive role as a reader (Benzon, 2018; Gatson 2011). For my research I collected qualitative information from the Facebook webpage *Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial*. Reviewing information posted on the Facebook webpage helped inform and complement information from the other methods. I reviewed the NUM Arequipa Official webpage every day during July-November 2018.

To protect privacy of people who engage with the webpage I registered only the posts made by the movement.

4.4.4 Student survey

After finishing the collection of qualitative data, I did a survey with students at the San Agustin University. I was considering doing this survey online but after reflection and discussing my approach with lecturers at the university I decided that doing it face to face would allow me to better explain the research and enable participants to ask questions if necessary.

For the survey, I recruited students in public areas at two separate campuses, social sciences and engineering, which are the busiest areas of the university. The sample size was 123, giving a margin of error of 8.7% at a 95% confidence level. I tried to have a gender balance when applying the questionnaire, however, I did not stratify the sample purposely. I surveyed 48 males and 75 females.

I collected the data over three days, working around midday on all three days. Prior to fieldwork, I trained an assistant to help me to collect the data for one day. Students in general were very courteous and happy to fill out the survey. Only a few women said no, while several men did not accept. We approached students individually but also in groups, including males, females and mixed groups.

4.4 Data analysis

Data analysis is a key step when doing research, because it is the process that helps to understand and interpret people and situations, which can then connect with broader theories that address the research questions (Cope, 2010; Creswell, 2014; O'Leary, 2017). To analyse qualitative data, I transcribed interviews and coded them using the NVivo software. I used separate processes to analyse data from participant observation and social media observation. I integrated the key ideas and findings from these analyses with those from the interviews and survey.

Themes drawn from the coding followed both inductive and deductive approaches (O'Leary, 2017). I started the codes based on the structure of the interviews, which were based on key themes identified before the fieldwork. However, when coding the interviews, new themes emerged. Some of these themes became a very

important part of the research, such as the feminist or non-feminist identity of NUM Arequipa and the debates about the introduction of a gender focus in Peru's education curriculum (discussed in chapters 6 and 8). After coding the data, I developed a mind map to help me to structure findings and identify relationships between them.

To analyse the survey data, I entered the results from the paper questionnaires into SPSS. Results were reported as descriptive statistics (number and percentage of responses). For some questions there was interesting variance between male and female respondents, which are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. The questions also allowed responses to be categorised by student origin (rural or urban) and faculty of study (social sciences or engineering). However, the survey did not find any significant differences in responses related to these categories.

4.5 Positionality

Positionality has been discussed under categories such as insider/outsider, self/other, young/old; however, it is difficult to separate them because they overlap (Chacko, 2004; Merriam et al., 2001; Rose, 1997). I did my fieldwork at home. This increased the crossover between being an insider and outsider (Chacko, 2004). Therefore, it is necessary to present the complexities of my role in the fieldwork, as a researcher and an *arequipeña* women with the motivation to support a cause. The factors to consider when reflecting on my positionality are: my identity as a Peruvian woman, age, my education to a postgraduate level outside Peru, my pre-conceived ideas about Peruvian culture, my four years living in New Zealand and my motivation to be an activist.

In relation to the activists, gender, similar age range and the shared values to support GBV are elements which could place me as an insider. However, my time living overseas, as well as my perspective as a researcher, partially positioned me as an outsider. In interactions with young students, the age difference and my education level placed me more as an outsider, despite being Peruvian and the common characteristics that this implies. Also, gender differences had impacts on the

relationship between me, as a woman talking about GBV, with young men, who many times are identified and stereotyped as potential perpetrators (Connell, 2001).

I have highlighted my Peruvian identity throughout this section as a factor that played an important part in my roles as researcher and a member of the NUM. Personal identities can have both positive and negative impacts during fieldwork. Being a Peruvian made the process of establishing relationships easier than if I were a foreigner, mainly because I did not have to face language barriers and cultural adaptation. However, the risk of doing research at home could imply making assumptions and/or taking things for granted (Chacko, 2004). Therefore, even though I did not unlearn or put aside all my pre-conceived ideas, reflecting constantly on my positionality and the context of my research helped me navigate this conflict (Rose, 1997). Moreover, the close interaction with activists as a result of the participant observation method opened my points of views to new perspectives (Shah, 2017).

4.6 Reflections and ethical considerations

As a formal process of all thesis my research was evaluated by the Victoria University of Wellington Ethics Committee (0000026266). Planning the submission of my proposal and trying to accomplish all the ethical criteria required by the university was a process that helped me organise and think about what could happen during fieldwork.

Privacy and confidentiality are a must when researching (Creswell, 2014; Dowling, 2010). Prior to any data collection, all participants were informed verbally and given the information sheet about the project. Likewise, the participants agreed to participate and gave verbal and written consent. In this process I ensured all participants understood the purpose of my research and their rights as participants. Activists were given the choice whether they preferred to be identified with their names or by using a pseudonym. All activists chose to use their names, while students were only given the choice to use pseudonyms. I decided to give them only one option because discussing GBV could raise personal issues, and anonymity ensured the participants that their experiences and/opinions would be protected.

Feminist ethical decisions are not only based on values and principles but also on relationships, which involve the capacity of empathy, listening to others and care for others. Therefore, critical reflexivity and acting ethically require affective and cognitive skills, which I try to reflect on in my research (Dowling, 2010; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Merriam et al., 2001; Rose, 1997). I was constantly reflecting not only on how my decisions and agenda as a researcher would impact the research but also how they could potentially impact the people and the relationships I was establishing.

Participant observation can also influence some participants' behaviours within the environment (Keans, 2010). I participated 'actively' in the sense of helping the group with its activities and interacting with the activists. However, as a researcher I did not want to alter the usual dynamic of the group. This is why I consider that overall my participation was not as active as if I had been involved as an independent person. From the first meetings with the movement I was also involved in decision making, which was mainly done democratically. This brought some ethical considerations, because I was confused whether my decisions would conflict with the purpose of the group or my intentions as a researcher.

Living and studying overseas has also framed my perspectives of the world and gender issues. Therefore, I found myself navigating some contrasting ideas with the movement and students I interviewed. For example, listening to ideas about what feminism means, which in some cases involved a different understanding to my own. On several occasions, I was tempted to present my understanding to challenge the participants' perspectives. However, I let participants express themselves. After experiencing these contrasting perspectives, I put them in the Peruvian and Arequipa context to help me to understand them and suspend my judgements.

Interviewing young men was probably the most challenging part of the fieldwork, because of the nature of the topic, in which many times men are identified and stereotyped as perpetrators of GBV. However, I saw male participants as individuals of change, as they all were young. I was expecting responses that would provide hope and signs of change in their opinions. Yet, I am aware that there is a possibility that not everyone was 100% honest with their answers.

Power is a factor to consider when reflecting on researching, because it is present in all the process (Dowling, 2010; Rose, 1997). I was aware of the power I hold as researcher because of my control of the design, fieldwork, writing and analysis of this research. I hope that I was able to reflect well enough to avoid generalisations and stereotypes. Likewise, I hope I managed to present the results of this research with integrity, fairness and as accurately as possible to represent the voices of the participants of this research.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the methodological approach to the research. It outlines the postcolonial feminist framework within a social constructivist epistemology, which fits with my research goal of understanding a women's movement to combat GBV and gender inequalities in a specific place and cultural context. It also explains why a case study methodology is appropriate for this place-based and holistic approach.

The mixed methods used during field work generated a range of data which allowed me to explore the evolution, identities and tactics of the NUM Arequipa movement, its interaction with the local community, its achievements and the challenges it faced. Participant observation gave me additional insight into the motivations and identities of activists and the activities they carried out, as I was a part of debates about movement strategies and directly participated in a number of actions that group undertook. This helped me understand the way the NUM Arequipa group connects to, and differs from, the wider Ni Una Menos movement in Latin America.

In this process, ethical considerations arose from my positionality as both researcher and activist. Therefore, critical reflexivity had an important role in decision-making about establishing relationships, gathering data and negotiating power relationships with participants. This shaped my decision to commit to working with just one of the two NUM groups in Arequipa.

5. Gender inequalities and women's movements in Peru and Arequipa

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide background to the local context of the research, Peru and the city of Arequipa. The chapter looks at the ways that gender inequalities have developed in Peru, and the factors that underly GBV. This is important to understand the situation that the Ni Una Menos movement is seeking to address and the challenges they face. Although the general situation described for Latin America in Chapter 3 also applies to Peru, aspects of Peru's history, society and politics are also important.

The first section provides a brief overview of the history of Peru, including the impact of colonialism and recent internal conflict. The next sections look at the emergence of women's and feminist movements in Peru and the challenges they have faced. The discussion shows how gender and development policies increased in Peru in the 1990s in response to international development agendas, but at the same time women suffered new kinds of GBV, such as the case of forced sterilizations of indigenous women as part of Alberto Fujimori's family planning policies.

The next sections discuss some recent issues in politics, particularly the controversy about the Ministry of Education's introduction of a gender focus in the national curriculum, which was opposed by conservative social movements. The final section describes how the Ni Una Menos movement began in Peru, showing that high-profile cases of partner violence generated a public reaction in which both social media and traditional media played an important role. This leaves questions about how the strategies to contest GBV continued after this in different parts of the country.

5.2 The historical context of Peru

Following the Spanish conquest, Peru became the centre of the Spanish Empire in South America. Lima was the capital of the Empire for 300 years, and most economic

and political control was centralised there until the later 18th century. Therefore, the legacy of colonialism described for Latin America in Chapter 3 has been particularly important for Peru. As a major pre-Hispanic population centre, the oppression of indigenous populations was a major factor in Peru's history, leaving a legacy of racism and classism as well as gender inequalities.

During the twentieth century, Peru passed through various periods of authoritarian and democratic government. During the 1980s it experienced a large-scale internal conflict between the government and terrorist groups, in which an estimated 69,000 people died, mostly poor Quechua-speaking people in the rural highlands (CVR, 2003).[10] At the same time, the Latin American debt crisis led to economic contraction and hyperinflation, causing poverty to rise. In the 2000s the country stabilised, with recovery from the economic crisis and defeat of the terrorist movements. However, the impact of the violence during the internal conflict exacerbated gender inequalities (Canchari, 2016).

Since 2000, Peru has returned to democratic government and has experienced a period of economic growth related to high prices for minerals and increased investment. However, the politics have been unstable, with many accusations of corruption. In 2007, former president Fujimori was sentenced to 25 years of prison for human rights violations during the internal conflict.

5.3 Women's organisations and feminist movements in Peru

Early women's movements in Peru involved claims for rights to education and legal status. The right to vote in local elections was achieved in 1933, although this was only put into practice in 1963 (Barrientos-Silva & Muñoz-Cabrejo, 2014). In 1955, Peruvian women achieved the right to vote in national elections, one of the last Latin American countries to achieve women's suffrage. However, the right to vote was restricted to those who were literate, and full voting rights were not achieved until 1979.

[10] The groups were Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA for its initials in Spanish).

Feminist movements began to emerge in Peru, especially from popular movements and left-wing political parties (Henriquez-Ayin, 2006). In April 1973, Peruvian women marched in Lima against the Miss Universe beauty contest. This protest helped make women visible in Peruvian society and show that what is private is political and not untouchable. After this campaign the Ministry of Education banned all beauty contests in Peruvian schools; however, this regulation lasted only until 1976 (Barrientos-Silva & Muñoz-Cabrejo, 2014). In the 1970s the creation of women's organisations was another important milestone for the Peruvian feminist movement. Two of the most important were El Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan and El Grupo Manuela Ramos. Both are active today and have been closely involved in the national Ni Una Menos campaign.

The 1980s saw the 'boom' of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) due to the response of international aid to address Peru's crises. However, for feminist and women's movements this did not have an important impact, because NGOs did not necessarily respond to Peruvian women's needs but rather focused on meeting the expectations of donor countries (Barrientos-Silva & Muñoz-Cabrejo, 2014). Women's organisations also arose as part of government policies to combat poverty, such as the *Vaso de Leche* (Glass of Milk) programme, *comedores populares* (community kitchens) and *clubes de madres (*mothers clubs). Thereby, women without previous experience learned to be political (Couse, 2012). A well-known example was Maria Elena Moyano, who became a feminist and Afro-Peruvian activist in the time of terrorism (Barrig, 1993). In conflict zones, some gender roles changed as women took on leadership roles at family and community levels because of the loss of partners (Henriquez-Ayin, 2006).

In 1995, Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori attended the United Nations conference on women in Beijing and supported sexual education and women's reproductive rights. This represented a commitment from the government to negotiate with feminist movements about women's causes. In 1996, during his second government, the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Human Development (PROMUDEH, for its initials in Spanish) was created. This represented an achievement for Peruvian women. However, this institutionalisation of women's causes within the government

also challenged feminists because they had to negotiate with the government the understanding of the discourse of 'gender' which had been used in a superficial way as part of development projects.[11]

5.4 State and conflict-related violence in Peru

As discussed in Chapter 3, State violence is part of the context of GBV in Latin America. In Peru, new types of State and conflict-related violence affecting women occurred during the 1980s and 1990s, contradicting the gender equality policies that were being implemented at that time.

5.4.1 Use of women's bodies in Peru's internal conflict

As mentioned in Section 5.2, Peru suffered a very intense internal conflict during the 1980s and 1990s in which an estimated 69,000 people died. Of all those who died and disappeared during this period 20% were women. However, women were exposed to different types of violence, including sexual violence, which was a common practice used by government forces and terrorist groups to repress, threaten and control women to gain access to information (Canchari, 2016; Henriquez-Ayin,2006). Reports suggested that 527 out 538 cases of sexual violence were women, but this is likely to be an underestimate because few women made formal complaints because of fear of revenge from abusers (CVR, 2003). Likewise, the number only includes rape, leaving out cases of trafficking of women and sexual harassment.

For a long time, these cases were overlooked and were discussed only as a side effect of the war. Society and government did not identify these cases from a gender lens. These events happened in a context with deeply unequal power relations, in which the victims, women, couldn't escape from the 'side effects' of the conflict. Besides their struggle, they also faced discrimination from succeeding governments and society, because their cases did not call enough political or media attention. Until today their cases have been unsolved, and they are waiting to receive justice. This is an example of the intersectionality of gender and racism in Peruvian society.

[11] Historically, feminism in Peru has not been theoretical. Women have sought to address their issues and approached politics in a pragmatic way (Barrientos-Silva & Muñoz-Cabrejo, 2014).

5.4.2 Forced sterilizations: A massive crime against Peruvian women

During the 1990s, the Fujimori government implemented programmes of family planning and sexual education with the purpose of reducing poverty through population control, thus co-opting the discourse of gender equality (Vásquez del Aguila, 2002). These programmes focused on rural areas, resulting in a massive violent policy against thousands of women through forced sterilisations. Between 1996 and 2000, 272,000 women and 22,004 men were sterilised without consent, and 18 women died because of the process (Ballón-Gutierrez, 2014).

In the areas where these programmes were implemented, Aymara and Quechua were the main languages spoken. A study by the Latin American and Caribbean Committee for the Defence of Women's Rights Committee (CLADEM) found that only 10% of women truly provided consent to the sterilization (Ballón-Gutierrez, 2014). After the scandal was revealed different political and social groups spoke up against sterilisations. The Catholic Church rejected the policies and argued that what has done by the government was a 'genocide'.

Victims of these acts of violence gathered together to form the Association of Women Affected by Forced Sterilizations (AMAEF, for its initials in Spanish). In 2018, they asked the International Human Rights Court to persuade the Peruvian government to judge Alberto Fujimori for the forced sterilisations. Until today victims are still waiting for justice. Peruvian feminist movements have manifested their support to their cause. The Peruvian Ni Una Menos movement has organised events to support women and the use of *polleras* (traditional skirts worn by indigenous women) in all marches are representative of the support to indigenous women whose rights were violated. This was also used by one the Ni Una Menos movements in Arequipa (see Chapter 6).

5.5 Gender focus in public policies in Peru

As discussed in Chapter 3, international agreements such as the Belem do Para Convention, Organisation of American States and the Beijing Action Platform influenced Latin American governments to include gender focus in public policies. In Peru, there were 120 laws passed with a gender focus between 1980 and 2007, (Townsend-Diez Canseco, 2014). In 1997 the gender quota legislation was

implemented, requiring 30 per cent of political parties' parliamentary lists to be women and applies the same principle for regional and local elections (Jones et al., 2012; Townsend-Diez Canseco, 2014). This was a joint achievement between political parties, NGOs and social movements (Townsend-Diez Canseco, 2014). Despite this, systemic bias has meant that women's formal participation and representation in government remains low.

In 2007, the Equal Opportunities Law (28983) was passed. Townsend-Diez Canseco (2014) discusses how in draft versions of this law there was political debate about the use of the term *gender* in the text of the law. Some politicians requested to exchange the term for *equality of opportunities for women and men.* This resistance to using the term gender shows the conservative perspective of some politicians, including women.

Following this law, the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP, for its initials in Spanish) developed a National Gender Equality Plan 2012-2017 (PLANIG). Its objective is to mainstream a gender focus in public policies of the Peruvian State. One of the most important areas of gender mainstreaming is in education. In 2016 the Ministry of Education (MINEDU) developed and approved the implementation of a new curriculum for primary and secondary school, in which a gender focus is the main change (MINEDU, 2018):

> *The gender focus is an analytic and methodological tool that also has a political dimension, in that it seeks to construct equitable and fair gender relations, and it acknowledges the existence of other forms of discrimination and inequality derived from ethnic or social origin, sexual orientation and gender identity, among others.*
> (MINEDU, accessed March 2019)

However, the implementation of the curriculum has been delayed because it has been legally challenged. The gender focus in the curriculum is a controversial topic which has divided Peruvian society (Merino-Solar, 2017). Opposition has been led by sectors connected with political parties and religious groups, which have formed several 'collectives' to criticise the new curriculum. These include *Con mis hijos no*

te metas (Don't mess with my kids) and *Padres en accion* (Parents in action). The main controversy about the curriculum centres on the meaning of 'gender' as used by MINEDU:

> *Although what we consider feminine or masculine is based on biological sex difference, these are notions that we construct from day to day through our interactions.*
>
> (MINEDU, accessed April 2019)

Conservative groups claim that the gender focus in public policies and in the education system disregards biological sex differences. They argue that the government is influenced by international feminist theories which they say devalue femininity, motherhood and the role of women as caregivers (*Con mis hijos no te metas*, accessed February 2019).[12] They claim the new curriculum promotes what they call a 'gender ideology', encouraging homosexuality and threatening traditional families. This concept of 'gender ideology' has been widely used by conservative movements in different countries. It was originally articulated by the Catholic Church in the mid-1990s as gender mainstreaming was becoming established in international agreements; however, it has since been manipulated for different purposes by right-wing movements and has affected issues including an election campaign in Costa Rica and the peace process in Colombia (Kane, 2018).

In response, MINEDU argues that the gender focus seeks to achieve gender equality and eradicate all types of discrimination inside and outside schools, while sexual education aims to decrease the number of young pregnant women and reduce GBV. Social movements have supported as well as opposed the gender focus. The organisation Peruvian Campaign for the Right to Education (CPDE, for its initials in Spanish), claims that the new curriculum is a fundamental instrument to change the social structure, which will create better conditions for future generations and will protect Peruvians from GBV and discrimination (CPDE, 2019).

[12] *Con mis hijos no te metas* is now an international social movement, with bases in several other countries, including Spain and Argentina.

5.6 Gender-based violence in Peru

As Chapter 1 notes, women in Peru consider GBV a serious problem. A 2011 survey for the NGOs Promsex and Manuela Ramos asked people in four different regions about the main problems facing Peruvian women. Figure 5.1 shows that physical violence was clearly rated the most important problem, and four out of the top five problems related to GBV (physical violence, psychological violence, sexual harassment and sexual violence). These were all seen as more important than issues of employment, education and political participation, the primary areas that development programmes have focused on.

¿Cuáles son los tres principales problemas de la mujer peruana?

PROBLEMAS/CIUDADES	TOTAL	LIMA	AYACUCHO	PUCALLPA	PIURA
VIOLENCIA FÍSICA	55	52	54	60	55
VIOLENCIA PSICOLÓGICA	32	31	41	22	33
EMBARAZOS NO DESEADOS	31	35	18	40	28
ACOSO SEXUAL	28	33	13	25	36
VIOLENCIA SEXUAL	23	16	28	29	26
FALTA DE EDUCACIÓN	23	20	32	24	19
DESEMPLEO	18	12	25	16	24
SOBRECARGA POR RESPONSABILIDADES FAMILIARES	18	27	16	7	15
MANTENER EL BALANCE DE TIEMPO ENTRE EL TRABAJO Y LA CASA	17	20	15	14	17
POCA PARTICIPACIÓN POLÍTICA	10	7	17	9	10

Fuente: Ipsos Apoyo – Opinión y Mercado, para Promsex y Movimiento Manuela Ramos.
Encuesta 2011: Sexualidad, reproducción y desigualdades de género.

Figure 5.1: Perceived problems of Peruvian women. Source: Reproduced from Dador Tozzini, 2011, p.14.

GBV in Peru can be discussed under the different categories defined in Chapter 2.

Domestic violence. In Peru the statistics for domestic violence are similar to elsewhere in Latin America. According to national survey data, in 2016, 68 percent of Peruvian women who had lived with a partner had suffered a form of violence. A total of 64 percent had suffered psychological violence, 32 per cent physical violence and 6 percent sexual violence (INEI, 2017a). Of those who suffered physical violence,

44 percent sought help from another person and just 27 percent reported this to the police or another institution.

Sexual assault. In 2017, the Organisation of American States reported that Peru had the second-highest number of sexual assault complaints in Latin America (Delta, 2017). A study by the World Health Organisation, 46.7% of women aged 15-49 in rural areas and 22.5% in cities reported they had suffered sexual violence from an intimate partner (OPS, 2013). The rape of a Census taker during the 2017 Census led to a reaction of indignation, in which Twitter users circulated the hashtag #PeruPaisDeVioladores (Peru, country of rapists).

Sexual harassment. In 2013 a survey found that in Peru 7 out of 10 women between 18 and 29 years old had suffered sexual harassment on the streets (Instituto de Opinión Pública de la PUCP, 2013). This shows the importance of the problem and its connection with machista behaviours, showing how men seek to dominate public as well as private spaces. In 2015 Peru formulated a law to punish sexual harassment on the streets. This law indicates that women have to neglect or reject any act of sexual harassment (except if the victim in under 18 years old), making it difficult for women, because it is difficult to register and /or prove the rejection. This could be the reason why this type of GBV is not registered and denounced legally.

Femicides. During the 2011-2015 period there were 565 cases classified as femicides. In 2015, the largest number of femicides were in Lima (28) with the second most in Arequipa (11). In nearly 90% of the cases the perpetrator was the partner or ex-partner of the victim (INEI, 2017b).

In 2013, the Peruvian Congress passed a law (30064) with the aim of preventing, punishing and eradicating violence against women. The Ministry of Women was established as the governing body of a special commission to design, co-ordinate and evaluate the law's implementation. Actions have included the creation of a national monitoring centre and a register of victims and aggressors, establishment of networks to combat GBV at regional, provincial and district level as well as training for judges, lawyers, women's emergency centres and others working in the public sector (MIMP, accessed May 2019). Also in 2013, another law (30068) modified

Peru's criminal code to define and establish minimum sentences for the crime of femicide.

Despite these legal changes, critics argue there has been a lack of commitment to implementing them, with insufficient resources dedicated to them in the police, justice and education sectors (Calderón, 2019). A symbolic example of the lack of government commitment was in April 2018 when a young woman was set alight on a public bus by her ex-partner, eventually dying from her injuries. While expressing sadness about the death, Peruvian president Martin Vizcarra commented that "these are the misfortunes of life", creating an outraged response from progressive politicians and women's groups (Machacuay, 2018).

Another important controversy relevant to the context of this thesis occurred in 2018 involving high-ranking judges who were recorded negotiating innocence or reduced sentences in return for bribes, including in one case of the rape of an under-aged girl (Paredes, 2018). These cases underline the difficulty in making addressing GBV through policies when machismo persists in powerful individuals and institutions at all levels of society.

5.7 The beginnings of Ni Una Menos Peru

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Ni Una Menos movement began in Argentina in 2015, raising the profile of the struggle against GBV. In 2016 the movement in Peru started with the spontaneous organisation of the first march against GBV on social media, spreading to different cities in Peru, including Arequipa, Cuzco, Ica, Trujillo, Puno, Tacna, and Tumbes. Media coverage of high-profile cases of domestic violence involving Arlette Contreras and Lady Guillen inspired the movement and called the attention of Peruvian society. In both cases, the assailants did not receive an appropriate sentence even though there was clear proof of the abuses they committed (*El Comercio,* 2016).

In 2012, the Lady Guillen case gained attention in the media because she was part of a popular *cumbia* group. In 2015 her aggressor, Rony Garcia, was released after serving two years of a four-year sentence. The Arlette Contreras case in 2015, was probably even more controversial because there were videos of the attack by her

aggressor, Adriano Pozo (son of a municipal counsellor). Arlette is still fighting for justice. Her determination has been acclaimed by international media and she has been awarded by different international organisations. The US State Department presented her with the International Women of Courage Award 2017 and the embassy of the United Kingdom in Peru awarded her as Human Rights Defender 2018 (Pighi Bel, 2018)

Prior to the march in August 2016, the interaction between traditional media and social media was very important. Social media brought together a collective including activists who were already involved in women's / feminist movements and others who wanted to protest against the violent abuse of women and the weak response of the justice system. However, it was the traditional media (mainly television) that legitimated and popularised the movement, increasing its scale. As discussed in Chapter 1, the march on 13 August 2016 was estimated to be the largest march in Peru's history, with estimates of between 200,000 and 500,000 people. The Ni Una Menos movement organised another massive march in November 2017 (Pighi Bel, 2018). As a phrase and a hashtag, 'Ni Una Menos' became linked in conventional and social media to individual cases of GBV and issues of gender inequalities, raising awareness of their connections.

Figure 5.2: Lady Guillen and Arlette Contreras in the Ni Una Menos march, August 2016. Source: BBC News.

5.8 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the Peruvian context to provide background to the case study of Ni Una Menos and to show how this context affects the strategies adopted to contest GBV. As discussed in Chapter 3, the diversity of women and the intersection of gender, race and class discrimination means that it is difficult for any movement to represent and include all women. Some first and second-wave feminist movements developed in Peru, seeking changes such as the right to vote and the representation of women's bodies. Other women's groups have focused on poverty and defending their access to resources, while others sought justice for crimes against women committed by the State.

In recent years there have been some advances for women in political representation, access to education and employment. Gender equality has been promoted by government and civil society, influenced by international gender and development (GAD) policies. However, this has done little to address GBV. The controversies over the gender focus in education show that there is social and cultural resistance to change and that it is difficult for a GAD approach to be effective.

The background to the creation of Ni Una Menos Peru and the first march in August 2016 shows the importance of the high-profile cases that inspired the movement. The victims and their cases had aspects that attracted public attention, and the combination of social media and traditional media magnified the reaction to these cases. This reaction demanded change in all spheres – the justice system, public policies and culture. However, there have so far been no studies of how the movement spread to different places in Peru, and how the groups that identified with the case continued the struggle against GBV on a day-today basis. Chapter 6 begins to address this gap by exploring the movement's development in Arequipa.

6. Ni Una Menos Arequipa: Strategies to contest Gender-Based Violence (GBV).

6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins the case study of Ni Una Menos (NUM) Arequipa by addressing my first sub question: *Why did NUM Arequipa form and what strategies does it use to contest gender-based violence (GBV)?* It draws on different data sources gathered during field work, including interviews with the activists, social media analysis and participant observation.

I first provide a brief story of how the movement has evolved and summarise its objectives. I then present the activists, who are the key to understanding the movement, looking at their motivations for joining the movement and for contesting GBV. This next section explores the personal and collective identity of NUM Arequipa activists and discusses its characteristics as a social movement.

The next section looks at the strategies that NUM Arequipa uses to contest GBV. Overall, the movement has two main approaches, providing individual support to victims of GBV and raising awareness about GBV by calling people to reflect on their personal behaviour and to change *machista* attitudes. Besides presenting activists' voices, I also reflect on events I participated in as part of my ethnographic fieldwork to describe how the approaches have developed. I also discuss the role of social media in supporting these approaches, and how the movement has used this instrument.

6.2 Background to the Ni Una Menos movement in Arequipa

As Chapter 5 discusses, the Peruvian Ni Una Menos movement was formed in 2016, organising a big march to support two high-profile cases of GBV. I was told the story of how the movement developed in Arequipa by one of the founders and current coordinator of the movement, Shirley Oporto. A few other activists also discussed the movement's history in their interviews. I acknowledge that I am largely relying

on one voice from all the movement's founder, and others might have different ideas and perceptions about what happened with the movement.

The movement in Arequipa began in June 2016, motivated by the national march being organised in Lima for August 2016. A group of women who were connected through Twitter, interacted and spontaneously organised themselves to create a NUM Arequipa webpage and an event webpage to organise a march on the same date as in Lima. Initially, all contact was via the Internet, but later they had meetings face-to-face. Twenty-five women participated in the first meeting, in which they formed commissions and delegated tasks. Each commission had a coordinator, who would continue with the NUM movement after the march in Arequipa.

The march in 2016 in Arequipa was a success, gathering people from a variety of age ranges, socioeconomic status and genders. The group of women who led NUM Arequipa at that time did not expect such a high number of people and the positive response of the Arequipa community. After this first march, several organisers decided to retire, leaving the movement with only five members. Later, some of these women would re-join, along with new members.

After the march, the movement continued working on different campaigns and establishing relationships with local government and non-governmental organisations that were working on GBV. After some disagreements about approaches, NUM decided to retire from some of these networks. The movement at this stage was focusing on addressing the issue of violence and its underlying causes, which activists identified as the *machista* culture and a weak education system. Their preferred approach to address these causes was by making educational presentations in schools.[13] Such disagreement is not unexpected in social movements, because even though the 'common cause' may unite, strategies can also divide. As Bhattacharjya et al. (2013) suggest, social movements can struggle to manage democratic, participatory, equitable and inclusive environments. Divisions based on perspectives and strategies are common in women's movements because

[13] I did not ask for further details about the movements that NUM left or the reasons why, but from other knowledge I think these included NGO-led campaigns focusing on sexual and reproductive rights.

of their diversity (Rupp & Taylor, 1999). Even though the activists shared the broader cause of contesting GBV and gender inequalities, their approaches did not find common ground.

In July 2017, several founding activists returned to NUM Arequipa. This was a milestone for the movement, because some of these members introduced a feminist agenda and perspective. However, after some disagreements, the group divided, resulting in the existence of two NUM movements in Arequipa today. Both share the same name and both contest GBV, although with different identities and approaches. As Claudia explained:

> *Well, at the start NUM Arequipa was just one movement…but there were some differences between the leaders, because they were [focusing on] more radical topics, [such as] abortion, LGBT communities, and that sort of led to a split and I decided to stay with the smaller group, but with the group that I identified with more and that made more sense to me. Not conservative, because I'm open minded, I've got friends from all backgrounds, but well, I stayed with Shirley's group. It was a bit of an intense break up for the group, but I feel like the person that drove everything, physically and operationally…was Shirley.*

Social media had already proven to be an important instrument for the movement; therefore, the new group decided to open a new Facebook webpage. Social media continued to be an important tool for the movement, which I explore further in Section 6.7.

6.3 Introducing the *Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial* movement: Objectives and philosophy

At the time of this research, the movement I worked with had been active more than a year and had created a new platform on Facebook, *Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial*. There were twelve activists working on different activities. In order to advance with plans and objectives the movement acknowledged one of the founders from 2016, Shirley Oporto, as its leader. However, most decisions were made democratically with all activists having the opportunity to express their ideas and concerns.

The principal objective of the movement is "to provide support to victims of GBV, through mechanisms generated by members of NUM in association with other institutions" (Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial, 2018). As secondary objectives, the movement seeks to raise awareness and provide information about the problems of GBV, gender inequalities and their impacts on the Peruvian society, including men. The order of these priorities was emphasised by Shirley, who stated that "the first [objective], is to support the victim, and the second primary objective is [to share] information".

However, activists provided different interpretations and perspectives. Some raised the point that violence is not only a problem for women but also for marginalised populations and they also work in favour of them. For example, Gretel suggested that "undoubtedly, NUM Arequipa is [about] eradicating violence, and [particularly] eradicating violence against women and vulnerable populations, but it doesn't ignore violence against children, the elderly, or against men either". Faviana and others focused more on how the movement helps women who are victims of GBV and how they raise awareness about the issue.

The movement welcomes any new interested members. The only requirement is that no member can be part of a political party or connected with one. This contrasts with the background of women's movements in Latin America and Peru discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, which often have been connected with (primarily left-wing) political parties (Alvarez, 2000; Henriquez-Ayin, 2006; Horton, 2015; Vargas, 1992). Today the NUM movement presents itself as a non-political organisation and prefers to be called part of civil society. Shirley explained why the movement prefers to exclude any political participation:

> *Because [GBV] is such a controversial topic…how can I explain…Ahh, so specific, so important, so valuable and delicate, that's the word, so delicate. We can't be involved in political groups…*

To understand Shirley's perspective, it is important to understand the political context in Peru. There is a long history of corruption, and most Peruvian citizens have lost trust in political parties. This mistrust has increased with recent cases of

corruption involving the political and justice system, discussed in Chapter 5. As Shirley further explained:

> *Why? Because later a movement like this would get political. And that couldn't be allowed to happen, so it was set as an objective. Why as an objective? Because that allowed us a lot more independence in speaking, in criticising, in [being able to] make a complaint against a political party or institution – if we had a member who was part of a political party, we wouldn't have the moral or ethical integrity to be able to judge [them].*[14]

6.3.1 Who are the activists of NUM? Motivation and personal identity

Activists are at the heart of each social movement. Each of their voices, thoughts and perspectives provides meaning to the movement (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013). At the time of my research, the activists of NUM Arequipa were all women from different backgrounds, ranging from 17 to 40 years old. As discussed in Chapter 4, all were tertiary educated or were studying.

In interviews, activists discussed the different motivations that encouraged them to join NUM. Some decided to be part of NUM because of personal experiences. Overcoming these experiences empowered them to become activists and encouraged them to seek a change in the lives of other women struggling with GBV. Their activism and political actions were motivated by their personal desire to help others, as Shirley noted:

> *So, I was one of those women that didn't understand that what was happening was violence…When Ni Una Menos started up and I saw the violence [I] had been attacked with, it made me reflect, I said, I'm going to do something. I didn't know that what I was going to do was going to end up turning me into an activist. I didn't know what an activist was, but I ended up turning into one, because I wanted lots of other women to understand that they could get out. Because I was able to get out.*

[14] I have quoted (and translated) Shirley's exact words here, but I consider that where she says 'objective' she meant to say 'criteria' or 'principle'.

Libia suggested that she was always aware of the issue of GBV but never chose to contest it until she had her baby. The local environment is a dangerous space for Peruvian women, an issue that is always present in their lives. The frequent cases of femicides and domestic violence in the media provide a sense of fear and awake the desire to be involved in actions to contest the issues of GBV:

> *Before, it was like, I saw GBV, but you say, how horribly women get treated, but you never do anything to change that. But since I had my baby, how can I explain, the fear was greater, it grew. So I said, I have to do something. For me, to join up to do that is a lot.*

This comment relates to Pain's (2014a, 2014b) discussion of fear as both a weapon of control and a motivation for action. In Libia's case, her motivation did not relate to personal experience but an empathetic response to the threat of violence shared by all women in a *machista* society. Considering Shirley's and Libia's comments together offers empathy as one possible way to understand the collective identity of the NUM Arequipa movement. As Pain suggests, "empathetic cooperation might mean bridging difference through emotional identification, and concern for others' security rather than just one's own" (Pain, 2014a, p.544)

Other activists suggested that NUM offered a space to develop their interest in becoming an activist to create social change. Most activists in NUM Arequipa were also involved with other causes, such as animal rights, human rights and anti-corruption campaigns. During the time of my research, a few spent more time on these movements than with NUM.

While the activists had different motivations, a common theme was connecting their personal identity and values with a desire to make changes. Alejandra summed this up by describing her reasons for getting involved with NUM:

> *Seeing so much news about femicides and maltreated women, I told myself something has to be done. I always thought, I'll have to volunteer and do something, right? To improve society.*

6.3.2 Ni Una Menos collective identity and representation: Is it a feminist movement?

The theme of identity was not directly addressed in the interviews; however, some activists suggested their preferences about their personal identities. The participant-observation and social media approaches also provided an understanding of how NUM Arequipa identified and represented itself.

Before starting my fieldwork, I thought NUM Arequipa would identify as a feminist movement. Content on its Facebook page was consistent with feminist values and I assumed that all women who are contesting gender inequalities would identify as feminists. NUM Facebook posts usually refer to cases of GBV and present information about everyday *machista* behaviours and attitudes. However, when analysing the Facebook page's content from August to December 2018, I did not find the words 'patriarchy', 'feminist' or 'feminism' in any post. I did find content about sisterhood and some publications shared from other pages that did identify as feminist. For example:

> *The sisterhood, in other words, is an ethical and political practice through which women acknowledge each other, we recognise ourselves as diverse, but as equals. It's [about] seeing each other as equals, to ally and transform [our] reality. It's a feeling of sisterhood, of consideration and empathy.*
> (Facebook post shared by Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial, 6 November 2018)

For Latin American feminist movements, the *machista* culture and patriarchal social structures are closely linked (Munévar, 2012; Paredes, 2015). However, the NUM Arequipa movement only refers to the *machista* culture, without making direct reference to patriarchy or other feminist concepts. From my engagement with activists, I could see that at least some of them were aware of these concepts but did not use them in their public statements.

Overall, in public the NUM Arequipa movement did not self-identify as feminist. In one interview that Shirley had with students from a local university, she suggested that feminism is a foreign and new concept in Peru, which despite some positive impacts on women is still not fully accepted and understood. In another interview

with a local radio station in Arequipa, she stated strongly that NUM Arequipa is a movement that seeks to protect human rights (observation, August 2018). Likewise, activists emphasised their interest in supporting any case that involves violence, even if these cases are against men. This topic was debated in some meetings, and there were some initiatives to address other issues that did not necessarily involve only women (observation, August 2018). This non-feminist identity is consistent with a trend in the literature, in which some women, despite their commonalities with feminism, do not consciously self-identity as feminists (Dyer & Hurd, 2018; Hoskin et al., 2017; Zucker et al., 2010). As Alejandra explained:

> *We're going through a process, I think that NUM Arequipa isn't 100% feminist yet, we're going through a process, learning basic concepts. We can't define ourselves as a feminist group. I think we're still a conservative group.*

Some activists seemed keen to avoid being seen as feminist due to their observation of feminist movements that have more radical approaches, such as showing parts of the body, painting graffiti on public streets and anti-male participation policies. These approaches are not well-received by Arequipa society and some activists did not agree with them. For example, Faviana reflected on previous experiences interacting with feminist groups in Arequipa, in which male participation was not well accepted in approaches to address GBV issues:

> *The topic of feminism, if you defend the rights of women obviously you're feminist, but here in Arequipa feminism is seen as something radical. And I've seen it in those feminist groups for example, in the first march we argued a lot because they didn't want men to march. I mean, where are we living? We live in a society with women and men. Both are human beings.*

Some activists did identify with feminism despite these connotations. Fatima noted that "As feminists, we seek gender equality…If they relate to us as feminist, great. I struggle for the rights of women, as well as those of men". However, others were reluctant to accept a feminist identity because of the way feminism has been portrayed as "extremist, anti-male, anti-heterosexuality, antifamily, etc" (Zucker et al., 2010, p.1904). Claudia expanded on these negative connotations and

stereotypes. She suggested that there are always people who think 'oh, she is a feminazi'. The word 'feminazi' is used to disparage and repress feminist movements or even women defending gender equality. As Claudia also noted, "there's still a lot [of that criticism] and we see that in the comments, not just on our page but on all those [web pages] of the same type".

This internal debate about identity is reflected in the movement's public representation. This was seen in the use of colour to transmit meaning in the 2018 annual march. In general, the national NUM movement in Peru uses the colour pink. NUM Arequipa Oficial identifies with this colour and each activist has a t-shirt and/or a vest that is used in each public event. This has emotional significance for at least some activists, as Shirley stated when making a comparison to a football uniform in the way it signified her commitment to the cause:

> *Yes, it's pride in the jersey, every time I put on the NUM t-shirt I feel like a heroine, I tell my nephew that I'm a heroine because I save lives. That a woman is totally disconsolate, totally depressed, and maybe I can change her life, that's beautiful. I don't have words for that.*

In the lead up to the 2018 annual march, the national movement decided to use the colour purple in all publicity to promote the march, and all NUM movements in different cities used the same designs.[15] However, despite using purple in the publicity, the NUM Arequipa Oficial movement still used the usual pink t-shirt to identify themselves on the day of the march.

6.4 NUM Arequipa as a social movement: How and why it chooses its strategies

Although NUM Arequipa is an independent group, it works hard on establishing networks, alliances and relationships with public and non-government organisations within the local community. This focus on relationships is very important for the movement, because these relationships help the sustainability of the movement and to achieve their goals. For example, NUM is part of the provincial network established by national law to prevent, sanction and to eradicate violence against women in

[15] The purple colour has been also adopted for the Latin American feminist movement as a symbol of their struggle.

Arequipa. This network involves municipalities, law enforcement, public health services, the courts, women's emergency centres, non-governmental institutions and civil society organisations. All these organisations help develop and monitor the annual work plan to eradicate violence against women and family members. They also organise activities in association with NUM Arequipa to raise awareness about GBV and local government provides educational workshops to network participants on themes related to GBV.

NUM Arequipa is also seeking to establish independent relationships with other organisations such as private psychology services and universities. However, probably the most important relationship that the movement seeks to strengthen progressively is with the Arequipa community in general. This strategy of establishing relationships is consistent with alternative understandings of activism presented in Chapter 2, which are referred as 'quiet activism' (Pottinger, 2017) or 'implicit activisms' (Horton & Kraft, 2009).

NUM Arequipa aligns with the concept of quiet activism, because it focuses on relationships at different levels in the local community, such as supporting victims of GBV and providing workshops in schools. These strategies have a low profile compared to traditional activist strategies, such as marches, protests and other public actions. This connection with quiet activism does not exclude the traditional strategies the movement also develops, which are related to protests.

Likewise, it is worth reflecting on how the movement chooses its strategies to contest GBV. As discussed in Chapter 3, different schools debate whether social movements choose their strategies based on their tactical effectiveness or the influence of identity. Jaster & Young (2019) argue that these two main groups of reasons cannot be divided. They suggest that "protesters will collectively select tactics based on their understandings of both their selves and their situation, but as these understandings shift, they will reinterpret the meaning of actions" (p.503).

NUM Arequipa fits with this argument, given that activists choose strategies not only based on their values, beliefs and experiences, which frame their identity, but also thinking about the best strategy for the context**.** For example, the annual march has

become a symbol of the NUM movement Peru. However, in 2018 the NUM Arequipa movement chose to march in a different and less confrontational style than the march organised in Lima by NUM Peru or the other NUM in Arequipa. This shows how the personal identity of the activists influences the actions they develop.

Despite their aim of connecting with the general public through a respectful approach, activists also recognised the need to call attention to the severity of the issue of GBV. During the 2018 march, activists were determined to show indignation because of the cases of GBV in Arequipa and the corruption in the justice system. They did this by using slogans selected through votes and suggestions of some activists. Some slogans were more confrontational; however, they still had the aim to raise awareness (personal observation, August 2018). In this march, they focused mainly on raising awareness about domestic violence, sexual harassment and injustice. Examples of phrases included:

No quiero tu piropo, quiero tu respeto – I don't want your compliment, I want your respect.

Tu acoso no aumenta mi ego, peri sí achica tu cerebro – Your harassment doesn't make my ego bigger, but it makes your brain smaller.

Mi cuerpo es mío. ¡No se mira, no se toca! – My body is my own. Not for staring at or touching!

¡No eran jueces, eran delincuentes! – They weren't judges, they were criminals!

6.5 Contesting GBV through kind and small acts: Supporting victims

The first strategy that NUM uses is to support victims of GBV and their families, the latter mostly in cases of femicides. This support is very personal, and it has a very low profile. Victims contact the movement mostly by the Facebook webpage, after which all communication is by telephone and/or face to face. As mentioned previously, the NUM Arequipa movement has established relationships with public organisations; therefore, when victims ask for help, NUM connects them with these organisations, which also provide support and services. This includes the Women's Emergency Centre, which is an office of the Ministry of Women that helps victims of GBV,

providing legal and psychological support. However, during and after the help provided by other parties, NUM continues providing emotional support or any other help that is necessary. As Shirley explained:

> *Yes, we support [victims] and as well as that we go through a process, to be able to go to the police station, or to the women's emergency centre or to the public prosecution office, the courts. After completing that process, there's also support, we make calls, we see what situation she's in. If she needs emotional support…with the help of other institutions.*

Mostly cases are kept confidential, and they are made public on Facebook only when it is requested by the victim or family of victims in case of femicides. If necessary, the movement organises public actions to raise voices against the justice system, which has a lot of flaws that disfavour women, not only because of policies but also because of the lack of transparency in justice procedures. Likewise, the movement also monitors the case in the justice system. This shows how the movement acts as a channel and an intermediary between the local community and the legal system.[16]

Some victims' families see the movement as a channel to reach legal, political and media sectors, but choose not to get further involved with the movement. This differs from other movements in Latin America, in which family of victims have played important roles in leading movements against GBV. For example, in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, Ravelo-Blancas (2004) highlights the involvement of victims' family in the movement *Nuestas hijas de regreso a casa*, who led the movement and organised the strategies. However, she suggests the movement did not have the desired outcomes, because of the emotional connection, which sometimes can cause the prioritisation of public lamentation rather than focusing on structured approaches.

The public activities the movement organises to raise awareness (discussed further in Section 6.6) are also a way to connect with women who have suffered or are experiencing GBV, some of whom seek help during these events. Gretel highlighted

[16] As I mentioned in the ethics section. I am not focusing on particular cases of GBV. However, as part of my participant observation, I observed, and I could interact with victims and/or victims' families as part of the activities of NUM.

that during these public actions, women who knew of cases of GBV sometimes asked for help for friends or relatives:

> [*The woman] said to me, 'please, what you were telling me, tell her as well'. [I asked] 'who is she?' [She said] 'She's my friend who works with me' and she brought her [friend] along…she told me that her partner hit her. She had come from the jungle region and she was suffering violence.*

To illustrate this point further, I draw on my experience of participating in an event that NUM Arequipa was invited to as part of the provincial network against family violence. The purpose of this event was to provide useful information about how to seek help. During this event, I was surprised to see how easily women approached us, not only to get the information we had in the pamphlets, but also to tell us their stories. Shirley and I were there answering questions and I observed how Shirley was able to provide support. Likewise, as a member of the group, I listened carefully to every story and provided the information needed (i.e. phone numbers, institutional information). Some women did not necessarily want to have further assistance, they only wanted to tell their story. We just listened and did our best to provide advice about the issue (observation, September 2018).

Fig 6.1: Author providing information at a community fair organised by the Arequipa provincial government. Source: author.

This experience shows the need of women to find a space in which they could be heard. Listening to their stories did not solve the problem but provided relief and let

women reflect on their problems. NUM Arequipa provided that space, in which women could ask for help but also to be listened to. Possibly, talking to someone and being listened to could be the start of a process for them to change their situation.

Another event worth mentioning was the vigil supporting the case of a victim of GBV who was murdered by her ex-partner. NUM Arequipa and relatives of the victims organised a vigil with the aim to call public attention to the crime. There were more than 100 people that night (see Fig 6.2). The vigil started with some slogans to call the attention of onlookers, then there were speeches. Friends and relatives talked about the victim's life and how unfair this was. They highlighted that this shouldn't happen to any woman and they hoped the government and the community would pay more attention to the problem of GBV. Also, NUM Arequipa activists spoke about how the issue of GBV is worrying and how women face the issue every day.

At the end of this vigil, there was an open mic session in which any person could talk. A minute of silence followed and a prayer was held. It is interesting to mention that at the end a feminist movement asked for the microphone and they presented themselves and gave their condolences to the family and friends. They finished their speech with the phrase '*ni un minuto de silencio, toda una vida de lucha*' (not a minute of silence, a lifetime of struggle) (Personal observation, September 2018).

It is important to highlight that Arequipa is a very religious city, therefore, in events like this one it is common to have some sort of religious influence, an approach which NUM Arequipa activists agree with. This style differs from some feminist approaches, as shown by the phrase the other group used, which challenges the usual minute of silence used by religious groups to honour the dead. Instead, 'the not a minute of silence, a life of struggle' represented an active response from women to contest women's oppression.

NUM Arequipa provided emotional support, some advice about how to organise the event and promoted the event via Facebook. However, the vigil as a side effect also 'raised awareness' about femicides and GBV. Some authors have highlighted how movements have used grief as a strategic expression to call public attention. Brown & Pickerill (2009) suggest that "the ability to sustain such heightened emotions in the

pursuit of social movements activism is limited without creating space to reflect upon one's emotional needs" (p. 26). In this case, NUM Arequipa provided a space to reflect on GBV, however, when emotions are involved it is difficult to know if the effects of these types of events, are sustainable.

Fig 6.2: Vigil for Karina, in Arequipa's central plaza. Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial.

6.6 Raising awareness about GBV

To support its secondary objective of raising awareness about GBV and gender inequalities, NUM Arequipa has developed different strategies which I divide in three: public actions in the community, engaging with targeted groups, and the annual Ni Una Menos march.

6.6.1 Public actions

The first approach involves public actions in the community, in which activists inform others about how to prevent and identify GBV. This mainly challenges *machista* attitudes and behaviours, by showing how violence is a result of the *machista* culture. This often involves holding posters with phrases intended to provoke thoughts about the links between *machista* attitudes and violence. For example, the banner in Fig. 6.3 aims to contest sexual harassment. It says: "Love how you're shaking it, baby" followed by "If it makes you uncomfortable to read that, what's it like to listen to it?"

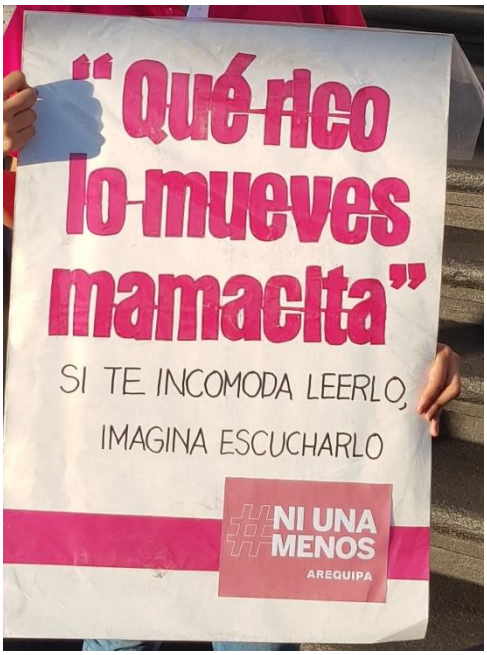

Fig 6.3: NUM Arequipa poster. Source: author.

These public actions do not target a particular group; the movement is aiming to raise awareness in all the community. However, many of these public actions have taken place in poorer areas of Arequipa and in the most popular markets of the city. In these settings, activists individually approach people to talk about how to recognise signs of GBV. Likewise, they provide information about support services and the process to ask for help.

Activists highlighted that through these actions they were better able to connect with the people, because talking one to one, it is easier to make people reflect. Faviana elaborated on people's reactions when they see NUM on the streets and the message that activists want to give to people when they are doing these activities:

To stop at a bus stop during rush hour and say, 'woman, if they insult you, that's violence'. I mean, it's incredible because with such a short phrase, suddenly you had five people asking you what you were doing, what it was about and how they could help you. And frequently when we've done public actions there have been people who have stopped to help us…I don't know if I'm explaining it right, but let's say in your daily routine you meet someone, and they tell you: "Hey, stop for a minute and think about this. This is important for your whole life, so you have a better quality of life and become a better person. Think about it!" I think those encounters are great and they've given good results.

By raising awareness about GBV on the streets and in public spaces, NUM Arequipa contributes to the "refusal of normalized fear and violence in the seemingly safe city" (Coe & Sandberg, 2019, p. 1). Through these actions it aims to 'enact claims for' a safe and equal space for women, at the same time as empowering women to resist GBV in private and public spaces.[17]

6.6.2 Targeted engagement in educational institutions

NUM also works in schools, raising awareness about GBV (see Fig 6.4). With this approach, the movement is targeting a specific audience and works in a structured way with other institutions, such as the women's emergency centres. The literature suggests that education has an important role in reducing GBV (As discussed in Chapter 2). However, changes in formal education can be slow. As Chapter 5 shows, in Peru the Ministry of Education has faced a big debate about introducing changes in the curriculum to promote gender equalities.

As I explore in Chapter 7, young students I interviewed or surveyed considered that improving education can help reduce or eradicate GBV. This perspective is shared by the movement and therefore, activists prioritise working with schools and universities to provide orientation and present the real meaning of GBV and gender inequalities. The workshops at schools aim to change behaviours and thoughts and

[17] The movement also distributes information aimed at empowering women. This kind of information is mainly posted on social media. The movement posts different inspirational phrases, poems, and videos about what means to be a woman and how to deal with issues women face.

influence the new generation to make some changes for the country. This is a long-term strategy that aims to address issues such as sexual violence, economic violence, and domestic violence.

Fig 6.4: A presentation by NUM at a school. Source: author.

6.6.3 Campaign to involve men

Another approach NUM Arequipa takes to address GBV is to involve and raise awareness with men, given that they are the ones who potentially commit actions against women, while men can also be allies in changing cultural attitudes. This approach has not been very common in previous campaigns in Latin America. For example, in Ciudad de Juarez, Mexico, a city affected by outrageous femicides, approaches to contest the issue have mainly engaged with women. Ravelo-Blancas (2004) suggests there has been little involvement and engagement with men and if so, it is mainly about how they should protect women.

NUM's campaign aimed to encourage men to reflect about gender roles and GBV. Faviana explained the importance of engaging with men:

> *Hmm, who abuses women? [Both] men and women themselves. I mean, who do you want to have as an ally? You have to have women and you have to have men. It's a question of strategy.*

The campaign involved talking to young men at the San Agustin University about GBV and how they can help the cause. Later a photograph of them with the signs prepared

by the activists was posted on the Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial webpage.

We had four different signs, based on the hashtag *#ConEllasMeComprometo* (I make a commitment to women). The commitments were to support women to achieve their goals; not to stay silent but to help women's voices be heard; to discuss differences without using violence; and to break down gender norms (see Figs 6.5-6.6).

Overall, the campaign invited men to reflect on their position on society and encourage their responsibility to help address the problem of GBV, even if this means using the power that society has provided them. NUM Arequipa believes that this power can be used in doing good for women and help achieve a more equal society (observation, October 2019).

Fig 6.5: Male students at the UNSA public university participating in the #ConEllasMeComprometo campaign. Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial.

Fig 6.6: Male students at the UNSA public university participating in the #ConEllasMeComprometo campaign. Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial.

6.6.4 Annual march

In 2018 NUM organised the movement's annual march, the third march since NUM was created; however, it was the first march since the NUM Arequipa movement divided. The main channel to promote the march was social media, which is consistent with other studies that suggest that marches supplement offline actions (Coe & Sandberg, 2019). The phrase to promote the march of this year was *Todas unidas contra un pais corrupto, machista y femicida* (Everyone [feminine pronoun] united against a corrupt, machista and woman-murdering country). This referred to the scandals involving corrupt judges mentioned in Chapter 5, including in cases of GBV where women did not receive justice.

The movement made efforts to also promote the march through mainstream media, but it was a lot less successful compared to the first march in 2016. Overall, mainstream media did not pay much attention to this march. Libia, the activist who was in charge of promoting the march through social media, said:

> *Like I say, as Arequipa is a conservative place, they didn't pay much attention. There weren't many people who shared or commented. It hasn't been very strong since I've been [with the group].*

The two NUM movements in Arequipa separately organised a march on the same day and at the same time. The graphics to promote the march were designed in Lima by the national movement and shared with all the movements in Peru (see Fig 6.7).

Fig 6.7: The NUM Peru banner for the August 2018 march. Source: NUM Arequipa Oficial.

Despite efforts to join both marches, the two NUM marched separately. This was confusing for the general public who did not understand that there were two NUM movements. Therefore, when the march started people did not know where to go, and most people joined the other group, which was bigger and had a more picturesque approach. Overall, the attendance was very small, compared to previous years.

As Fig. 6.8 shows, we presented in the march with big signs emphasising that the movement is part of the civil society, and with phrases relating to the main topic of the march, wearing the pink t-shirt, a representative item the movement uses in all public activities. The pink colour was the colour used to promote previous marches of NUM Peru, but this year the national movement used the purple colour. However, despite using the national graphics, NUM Arequipa decided to keep using the colour pink as part of its representation.

Fig. 6.9 shows the other NUM Arequipa, which had a more radical look. Several items used as part of their representation have important meaning for the feminist movement in Latin America and Peru. First, the use of the purple colour, which represents the feminist movement worldwide. Second, the green handkerchief, symbol of the abortion rights campaign in Latin America. The use of this handkerchief started in Argentina, and it is inspired by a previous women's movement, Mothers of

the Plaza de Mayo (Di Marco, 2010; Sánchez, 2018).[18] Third, the *pollera* (a traditional skirt). This garment is used to show the support to victims of the forced sterilizations described in Chapter 5 (Ballón, 2014).

This different approach to the march from the two groups helps to understand the differences between them. One group was more directly political and focused more on women's bodies, such as the support for the abortion rights campaign and the claim to find justice for victims of the forced sterilizations, while the other focused more on current issues of physical and sexual violence and injustice. Overall, the march had a confrontational approach towards the State, particularly the justice system, and to perpetrators of GBV. This was presented through the graphic designs shown in the march, with phrases such as '*carcel a los corruptos'* (prison for the corrupt) and '*yo libero violadores*' (I free rapists) (see Fig 6.9).

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Fig 6.8: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial activists on the day of the annual march. Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial

[18] The first symbol adopted by the Mothers remains one of the group's most identifiable and powerful-the diaper as headscarf. The Mothers' adoption of a white headscarf originally was designed to make themselves identifiable to one another (Foss & Domenici, 2001)

Fig 6.9: Ni una Menos Arequipa activists on the day of the march. Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa: Tocan a una tocan a todas

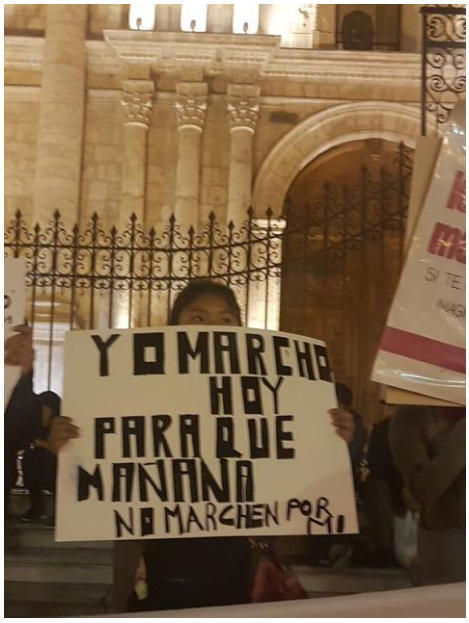


Fig 6.10: Banners used in the 2018 annual march in Arequipa. Source: author.

6.7 The role of social media

Social media has become an important instrument for social movements which enables them not only to communicate but also to transform the conventional practices of doing political activism. Social media has even become a defining characteristic of the so-called 'new social movements' (Casero-Ripolles, 2015; Pineiro Otero & Martinez-Rolan, 2016).

Both mainstream and social media were part of the success of the first Ni Una Menos march in Peru. The mainstream media played an important role in presenting high-profile cases of GBV and thereby giving publicity to the movement. Mainstream media provided a new space in which GBV was discussed on TV, not only as a news item about specific cases but also encouraging people to reflect on the problem.

NUM Arequipa activists acknowledge how important the use of social media is to the movement. NUM was formed through this tool; therefore it had a defining impact on the movement. As Faviana reflected, "I think [social media] is important over the world and also in Peru". However, she thought that actions in which there is a close relationship or face-to-face interaction are also successful. She noted that the first march was promoted both through social media and activities on the streets; however, the 2018 march was only promoted through social media, and not many people attended. Yet, it is still difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of social media

in this example, as Faviana also acknowledged there are other factors in why the march was not very successful. One of these was the mainstream media, which supported the first march a lot more than the last march:

> *I think that here at least there's a lot influence held by public figures, like actors and hosts of current affairs programmes on the TV and radio. Because the first march was like that, it was a lot of things together. It wasn't just social media that got people to march at a national level, you had all the TV channels four days before talking about NUM, encouraging people to take to the streets.*

From my participation observation with the movement and the Facebook analysis, I found that use of social media by NUM Arequipa had three main functions, which I discuss using an adaption of the categories developed by Casero-Ripolles (2015). The first is *self-mediation* (creation of media to connect with people). The movement frequently posts content on its Facebook page, starting discussion on topics related to its interests. The topics are mainly related to GBV, machista attitudes, corruption, themes related to Peruvian society and motivational information to empower women (see Fig 6.11). These topics enable discussions with other members of the community and also allow NUM to construct its own narrative, not only through the choice of topics but also how they are presented. In other words, through the use of language, images, videos, the movement develops its image as a voice of respectful advocacy.

Fig 6.11: Post shared about the impact of machismo on women and men. Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial Facebook

A second function is *monitoring*, which in this case refers to GBV cases that the movement exposes on its Facebook page, particularly those involving abuse of power, corruption and the lack of transparency in the Peruvian justice system, mentioned in Chapter 5. All NUM movements in Peru spoke up against these cases of corruption, and in Arequipa the movement did the same, posting about the cases of corruption and calling attention of the government to these cases (see Fig 6.12).

Fig 6.12: Post shared against cases of corruption. Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial Facebook.

Finally, social media is used to exert influence on the public agenda. The NUM movement managed to put GBV on the public agenda in Peru and in Arequipa at the beginning of the movement, with the support of mainstream media, which helped give the issue a higher profile. However, the movement in Arequipa has had limited influence on the local public agenda, because mainstream media still has a bigger influence and social media can have impact only in very particular cases. Another reason may be because of the approach taken by NUM Arequipa, which in some cases can be very cautious in discussing topics or exposing its ideas.

For example, in the recent local elections in 2018, the movement was subtly opposed to certain candidates that faced accusations of GBV. Before the elections, the group posted a video expressing concerns about the accusations against several candidates (see Fig. 6.13). However, when one of these candidates was elected, the movement decided not to make any statement, even though it was clear that it disapproved of him. Given that one of the strategies of the movement is to work closely with the local government, showing direct opposition to the new regional governor would not

help to advance their objectives and could risk their current alliances, discussed in Section 6.2.

Fig 6.13: NUM Arequipa video rising the issue of candidates with accusations of GBV

Source: Ni Una Menos Arequipa Oficial Facebook web page.

Another function of social media for NUM is a channel of communication with victims, as this is sometimes the only w ay they can make contact. The Facebook page contains messages offering support for victims of GBV. Sometimes, women contact the group through private messages asking for help. As Shirley said:

> *Well, through social media we've attended to a lot of things – why? Because people know that the movement is focusing on certain topics, or they're seeing [on the Facebook page] certain things that are happening to them [female plural]. So, what do they do? It helps us to communicate with each other, to be able to help them [female plural].*

6.8 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been to present NUM Arequipa as a movement and a group of women activists, and to describe the strategies they use to contest GBV. The

chapter has explored how the personal experiences and perspectives of each activist influenced their motivations for being involved in the movement. This shows that empathy, wanting to make a difference in other women's lives and supporting positive social change were the main motives for activists. This discussion of activists' perspectives also shows the complexity of their and the movement's identity, and the uncertainty they had about identifying as feminist. This non-feminist identity helps understand the philosophy and approaches of the movement, particularly when there is another NUM in Arequipa, which openly identifies as feminist.

The chapter has explored the two main strategies used by NUM, which are supporting victims of GBV and raising awareness in the local community. A primary objective is to support victims of GBV. Relationships with victims and victims' family are prioritised, because this is a direct approach to contest the issue in the short term and it is closely connected to the personal motivations of some activists.

NUM is also seeking to challenge socio-cultural structures and norms, and therefore raising awareness is also a focus for the movement. As a long-term approach to change *machista* attitudes and behaviours it is developing educational workshops in schools and universities. It also undertakes activities to approach the general public, such as the annual march, which has not been very successful in the last two years. Activists are now doubting the effectiveness of this type of events and consider that other approaches involving individual, face-to face interaction with the public are more likely to be more effective. NUM Arequipa is also beginning to work with men in its campaigns.

Social media has played an important role in helping the movement to achieve its objectives, functioning as a tool of communication with the local community and providing a means for those seeking help to contact the movement. However, the most important way for NUM to pursue its strategies is through relationships at different levels. Maintaining relationships with the local government and other institutions gives NUM access to resources such as information, training, and event participation, which help to achieve both the main objectives. The relationships with victims of GBV makes NUM a trusted and independent source of help and advocacy for victims and their family. Finally, NUM seeks to maintain a respectful relationship

with the wider community, so it will be accepted and can work to overcome indifference to the problem of GBV. NUM challenges power dynamics in the local context in a subtle way, aiming to influence institutions and change behaviour, rather than acting directly at the political level.

7. Understanding Gender-based violence: Activist and community perspectives

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6 I describe the background to NUM Arequipa and explain the strategies it is developing to contest GBV. In this chapter I address my second question: *How does the NUM Arequipa movement interpret and engage with the community about the issue of GBV?*

To address this question, I draw on interviews and survey data to compare the ways that NUM activists and young students at San Agustin University understood GBV, its underlying causes and possible solutions. Analysing activist perspectives on GBV is important to understand the strategies they develop to contest it, particularly in relation to their objective of raising community awareness. The perspective of students is useful to understand because they represent a group within the community likely to be receptive to NUM's message, and which the movement has specifically targeted through its activities.

In the first two sections I look first at activists' and then at students' perspectives on GBV. Using the integrated ecological framework (Heise, 1998), I analyse their understanding of the links between gender inequalities and violence, their views on the underlying causes of GBV, and their views on how GBV can be addressed. In the final section I draw on interview and survey data to look at the students' perception of the NUM movement and whether they had engaged with or been influenced by it.

7.2 Activist perspectives on GBV

In conversation with the activists they explored different explanations for GBV, particularly focusing on how the machista culture influenced learning experiences at home and in the community. Activists' opinions can be related to the four levels of the ecological framework (Heise, 1998). This framework accommodates individual-level explanations preferred by some disciplines with the structural and political

explanations favoured by feminist theories. It therefore helps analyse the factors involved with GBV independently and in relation to each other (Flake, 2005; Heise et al., 1998).

Within the first level, *personal history*, activists suggested that witnessing domestic violence as a child was a strong variable in GBV. They saw violent attitudes and behaviours as responses to the violent homes in which men grow up, causing a cycle of violence. Faviana argued that "the cause of violent behaviours is a type of trauma. I think that, if they have hurt you as a child, you end up hurting others. I think it's about giving and receiving". As noted in Chapter 2, domestic violence has effects on victims but also on children, altering their emotional development (Heise, 1998; Pain 2014). Faviana and Gretel also argued that the lack of attention to mental health and emotional intelligence in Peru perpetuated the cycle of violence.

The second level, *microsystem,* involves attitudes towards GBV in the family environment. Activists highlighted that violent behaviours of men, passive attitudes and responses to violence from women are learned in the family unit. Likewise, gender roles are learned from what children observe in their family. Claudia suggested that the unequal treatment of children reinforces gender roles, which can ultimately result in violent behaviours:

> *If they have male and female children that's where the differentiation starts. Your brother is a boy and he doesn't have to clean up after dinner and if you're a girl you have to wash the dishes…So the man, starting in the family home, begins to think that as he's a man he only has the responsibility to do certain things and from then on he begins to mistreat, from minor to more serious things.*

Some activists argued that women contribute to perpetuating gender roles, because they are usually responsible for educating children. As Gretel suggested:

> *It's women that have educated the kids, so women definitely have a lot of influence on how the kids turn out…women have influenced their sons [to think] that…you don't cook, if you get married, your wife has to look after you, she has to have your clothes ironed and your food ready.*

Schools are also important spaces of personal development where gender power relationships are also replicated (Fergus & Rood, 2013). Both Alejandra and Marlu reflected on how gender roles are also reinforced in schools and the broader community. This showed a connection between the second level and the third level, *exosystem,* which looks at relationships and factors outside the family unit.

This level also considers socio-economic class as a factor in GBV. Some activists saw a relationship between GBV and socioeconomic status, while others didn't, arguing that GBV in families of higher socioeconomic status is more hidden. In fact, statistical data does not show a clear relationship between socioeconomic status and GBV in Peru (Diaz & Miranda, 2010; Flake, 2005). However, despite differences of opinions, some strategies of NUM Arequipa have focused on poor areas (see Chapter 6). As Gretel noted:

> *Well, we've always tried to direct our efforts to the more remote parts of the city, to the periphery, to the markets, we've been in districts where there is a higher incidence of violence.*

Finally, the fourth level, *macrosystem,* focuses on cultural values of society that inform the previous three levels (Heise, 1998). At this level is the culture of machismo, which activists highlighted as imposing strict gender roles and normalising attitudes and behaviours that justify gender inequalities and GBV (Heise et al., 2002; Felipe-Russo & Pirlot, 2006). Gretel suggested that people in Arequipa have grown up in a machista environment that perpetuates the traditional gender stereotypes of patriarchal societies, with men expected to be 'providers' for their children, while women are supposed to be 'housewives', taking care of children and the housework. As the discussion of conservative opposition in Chapter 5 shows, some political groups and sectors of society seek to retain these rigid gender roles as part of defending existing power structures.

Activists discussed how the normalisation of certain conducts and attitudes can result in GBV (Flake, 2015; Felipe-Russo & Pirlot, 2006) and reflected on how this happens in Arequipa. For example, Faviana reflected on a story showing how sexual violence can be acceptable in marriage:

> *I was deeply affected by one of the talks I attended when I started with NUM, [it was by] one of the networks to combat violence against women. [They] told us they gave the talk to people who lived in the sierra and that a man had confessed that he didn't realise he had practically raped his wife for 40 years, because they (society) had taught him that when he wanted sex he could have it, and the woman had to serve.*

Activists' understanding of machismo was consistent with definitions noted in Chapter 3, which in addition to strict gender roles, creates expectations of power and control over women as evidence of male superiority (Alvarez et al., 2015; Derks & Heessels, 2011; Duffy et al., 2012; Fuller, 2012; Hernandez, 2003). Shirley provided an example of this aspect of machismo:

> *That's what ends up being machismo, feeling that one person is superior to another, in this case the man above the woman. So when the woman rebels and says 'you know what, no more, I'm not going to tolerate your insults or to accept your blows', it makes the man feel that he no longer has power, and as much as he doesn't love her, because he definitely doesn't love her if he's maltreating her…she becomes his obsession and he tries to get her back. So that's how the cycle of violence starts.*

Shirley's perspective is consistent Flake's (2005) who discussion of the control-power dynamic within domestic violence in Peru based on analysis of national survey data. She describes a 'paradox' regarding women's status and domestic violence. The data showed that women with post-secondary education were less likely to suffer violence. However, women who had a higher level of education than their partner or were the main household decision-maker had a *higher* risk of violence. In other words, "when men are unable to maintain culturally sanctioned dominance over women, they may resort to violence to re-establish control" (Flake, 2005, p.368). This again shows the limitations of gender and development approaches that focus entirely on women's empowerment through education, employment and political participation and do not consider cultural characteristics (McEwan, 2001; White, 2006).

7.2.1 Perspectives on approaches to address GBV

Interviews also explored activists' perspectives on the changes needed to eradicate GBV. The *role of education* was raised in all the interviews, although this was interpreted in different ways. For some activists, improving education implies teaching values at home and schools. For example, Faviana argued that eradicating GBV "is a topic of education basically…it is about knowledge, education at home, family, love, care and it is about respect." Others elaborated on the need to implement gender equality policies in education, referring to the national debate on the education curriculum discussed in Chapter 5. Marlu stressed the importance of incorporating gender equality in the education system and ensuring non-interference of religious groups in public policies:

> *Well, I think that the greatest problem has arisen because in our country… there's not an understanding of gender, and what they're saying is that the State has to intervene, to apply gender policies in the education system....[But], there's controversy because people are poorly informed…there's a lot of disinformation…I think that generally in public matters the church shouldn't be intervening, we're a secular country…each State institution is completely independent… and [all this] sets us back, because in the end progress and objectives aren't achieved, and so we carry on until now, with two, three, four years in the same debate, and until now nothing has been implemented.*

Education-based approaches have been long used as a tool to prevent GBV. However, they have largely been based on gender parity and academic learning, overlooking cultural patterns (Fergus & Rood, 2013). In Peru, incorporating a gender focus in education policies also means contesting the culture of machismo, given that the changes in the curriculum seek to change patterns of thinking and contribute to gender equality (MINEDU, accessed March 2019). However, the strong opposition to the gender focus in the national education curriculum shows that some sectors of society are threatened by this change.

In group conversations with the activists there were several discussions about the role of men in eradicating GBV. All activists agreed that men could and should

contribute to addressing GBV, which is reflected in the activities NUM Arequipa has begun to undertake with men, described in Chapter 6. For Faviana, male participation should start at home, reflecting on gender roles and changing their attitudes and behaviours, thus challenging the machista culture at a personal level. Some activists argued that men could use their 'power' to do good, by talking to other men about changing behaviours. Libia reflected on the importance of positive male role models who are not machista, and who can be examples to other men:

> *I think it's a fundamental role, because they are the perfect example for those machista men, so they can see, that's not the way. There should also be men who participate in this and acknowledge respect for women.*

Shirley considered that having men's ideas and thoughts about machismo could be useful. She also thought that it would be interesting to explore violence against men. This is not often discussed seriously, possibly because within the machista culture, men are supposed to be stronger and hold the power in relationships. Some men have criticised NUM saying, "what about us, we also suffer violence", but this has not been taken seriously so far. When a man suffers violence, he is seen as weak, because he is not 'macho' enough to respond to a woman, and people can make fun of him. Shirley also drew on the impacts of the machista culture on men:

> *Because we think that men also suffer violence. Just that these institutions, such as the police and the justice system, especially the police, don't pay them any attention. Precisely because of machismo, right? When you, a macho man, turn up to make a complaint of violence, they joke or make fun of you, they're very hurtful. Because as much as you're a man, it's hurtful when they mistreat you in that way.*

These perspectives highlight the importance of understanding and renegotiating questions of masculinity in Latin America and Peru. This is a topic that has only begun to be studied recently (Hernandez, 2007; Viveros-Vigoya, 2016).

7.3 Student perspectives on GBV

This section looks at the understanding that young students at San Agustin University had of GBV, drawing on both survey and interview data. Survey results show that

students were generally aware of GBV and they thought it was an important issue. Table 7.1 shows that 86% of students agreed or strongly agreed that GBV is a high priority for the Arequipa society, while 90% agreed or strongly agreed that changing machista attitudes could help reduce GBV. However, significantly more females than males agreed or strongly agreed that GBV was a priority for Arequipa (93% vs 75%).

Table 7.1: Students' perspectives on GBV

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know / DNA
GBV is a priority for the Arequipa community	33%	53%	7%	2%	4%	1%
If attitudes to machismo change, GBV is likely to reduce	43%	47%	4%	2%	2%	2%

Source: survey conducted at the San Agustin National University of Arequipa, October 2018 (n=123)

The results also show that students saw the machista culture as the most important cause of GBV, followed by deficiencies in the education system and the mental health of abusers (see Table 7.2). This shows that students saw *macrosystem* (social and cultural) factors as most important, with personal-level factors of secondary importance. However, they did not see poverty as an important cause, even though as discussed below, in interviews some students discussed poverty as a contextual factor. This reflects findings that in Peru there is not a strong relationship between poverty and GBV (Flake, 2005; INEI, 2017a).

There were also some gender differences in survey responses. While female and male students both rated the machista culture as the most important cause, male students were significantly more likely to put deficiencies in the education system as one of the top three causes (78% vs 57%), with females more likely to put lack of a gender focus in education or the mental health of abusers.

Table 7.2: Student views on the underlying causes of GBV

	Most important cause	One of top three causes
The culture of machismo	43%	77%
Deficiencies in education [system]	28%	66%
The mental health of abusers	11%	39%
Lack of a gender focus in education	8%	34%
Deficiencies in the justice system	3%	38%
Victims' behaviours	3%	28%
Poverty	4%	17%

Source: survey conducted at the San Agustin National University of Arequipa, October 2018 (n=123)

Interviews with young students provided more in-depth perspectives which in some respects differed from activists. Sometimes they recalled personal experiences to exemplify their opinions and they also reflected on their positionality as female or male students.

When I asked about GBV, some student participants first understood that my research was focusing on the LGTBQ community because of the use of the word 'gender', which may reflect the campaign of conservative social movements to link the 'gender ideology' to homosexuality (see Chapter 5). Participants reflected on the challenges that LGBTQ people face in their everyday lives, particularly from male intolerance, an issue noted by Luna:

> *I think that rather, men have problems. Because when someone comments in the family, or that person is gay or lesbian or something like that, they start saying, why were they born. Sometimes, women accept that much more than men. Since I think our way of thinking is more open. And there's always the theme of violence, because often they say, we should throw them out of the country or get rid of them, why do they exist, they're not worth anything, and things like that.*

This could also be related to machismo exacerbating hegemonic masculinities, rejecting any behaviour that does not support the 'macho' personality based on

heteronormativity (Fuller, 2012; Muñoz-Laboy et al., 2012; Peña-Talamantes, 2013). Although these points were interesting, for the purpose of my research I changed the wording of my question to 'violence against women' to get more specific answers.

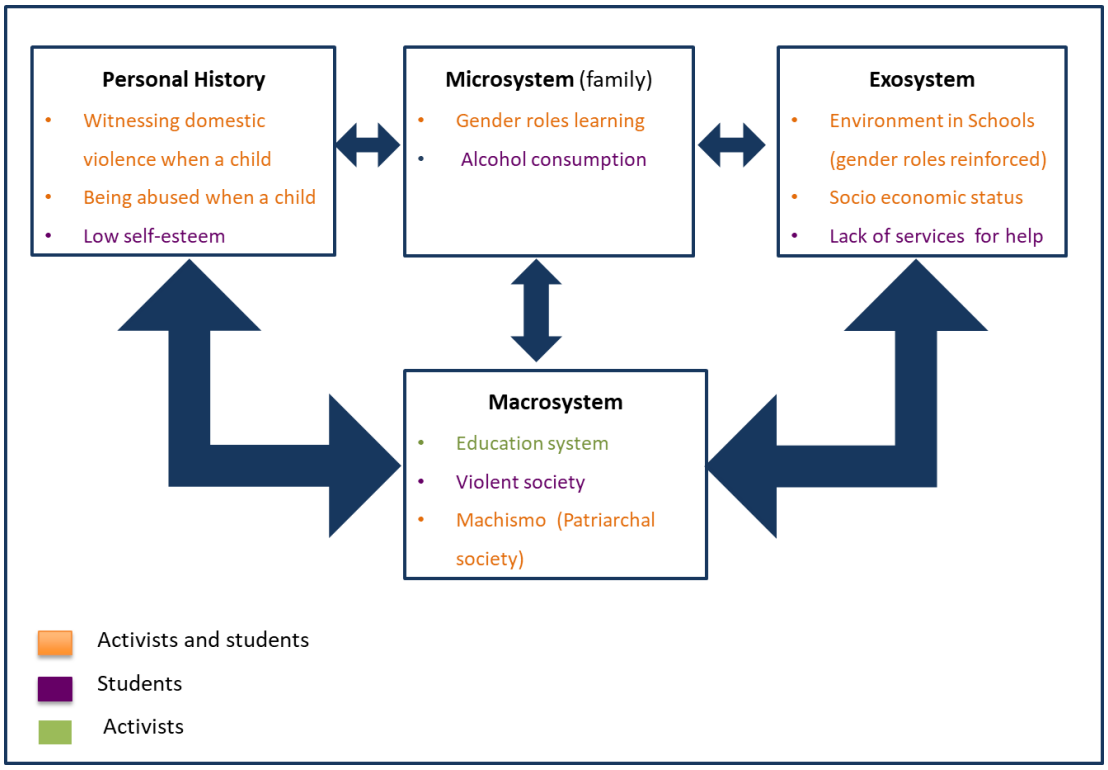


Fig 7.1: Activist and student perspectives on causes of GBV. Source: own elaboration.

Like the activists, the factors young students referred to can be related to the ecological framework of violence (Heise, 1998). As Figure 7.1 shows, at the *personal history level,* students' opinions were similar to those of activists, focusing on how violence in the family is reproduced. As Luna and Antonio suggested, respectively:

> *Perhaps that comes from [when they are] little children, because their parents educate them like that, or the children themselves see that there's that kind of treatment in the family. So, it's like history repeats itself. (*Luna*)*

> *I think that mainly the way parents educate their children. I think at home there are fathers that beat the mother or the sister and they treat the son as superior to his sisters or even his mother, I think it's that. (*Antonio*)*

In these examples, child abuse and domestic violence connect with the second level, *microsystem*. Students paid attention to gender roles, but also to other factors. For example, Mel, who came from a rural area, argued that alcohol consumption

contributes to GBV, while the lack of services to provide help to women in rural areas facilitates GBV:

> *In rural areas…there are many who suffer that [kind of] violence. And they don't have a centre to make a complaint. I think it's also because of ignorance, the girls let themselves get beaten and the men consider themselves machistas. Mostly in the rural areas...and I think it's also because of alcoholism, there's a lot of alcoholism and that's why they suffer. And women also drink a lot in the rural areas, so the men take advantage of that.*

Students also paid more attention than activists to socioeconomic status, which is identified in the third level, *exosystem*. Giangela claimed that women with a lower socio-economic status are more likely to suffer violence:

> *Perhaps there's a disadvantage between a woman who has more money and another who doesn't, because sometimes she tends to get humiliated.*

In relation to the *macrosystem,* students mentioned the violent environment of Peruvian society, a theme not raised by activists. As Roma suggested:

> *One of the main causes for me is that we live in a violent world. It's not just about machismo…we don't just see men who are violent to women but also women who are violent to other women…in general we live in a violent society.*

As Chapters 3 and 5 discuss, GBV occurs within a wider context of social and political violence, in which "people can become desensitized to aggression and see it as a suitable way of obtaining what they want" (Flake, 2005, p.354). In these acts of aggression, gender relations intersect with race and class.

Students also described machismo as a cause of GBV. As with activists, they highlighted two aspects, strict gender roles, and male dominance over women. In relation to the first aspect, Giangela suggested:

> [*Machismo] for me is bad, effectively it comes from the family. Parents when they have children ought to treat a son or daughter equally and give them the same tasks and responsibilities, so they get used to being treated like that.*

Roma, a sociology student, highlighted how machismo involves assertion of male power:

> *Machismo doesn't want equality, it's about making the other gender submit, so a woman is inferior to him. Therefore, when there's not a relationship of equality, there's power over the other, and he can do what he wants with her, right. So, that's something very negative.*

Students also mentioned other individual-level causes of GBV. The survey showed that 28% of students thought that 'the victim's behaviour' was one of the three most important factors in GBV, so it is worth reflecting on these perceptions. Mel, a student from a rural area of Arequipa, connected her opinions with the social environment where she came from. When I asked about the underlying causes of GBV she replied, "you mean physical maltreatment?" I replied yes and also about the other forms of GBV, such as psychological and sexual. She replied:

> *Yes, but also there are people who don't like anyone interfering in their relationships, there are women who like being beaten. For example, they get told to make a complaint, and they stick by that person that effectively is hurting them.*
>
> Nadia: *Why do you think this happens?*
>
> Mel: *Because of love, because a woman has fallen deeply in love, so she lets him hurt her.*

This comment about GBV and its relationship with love can be better understood when the context is known. As Pain & Staeheli (2014) suggest, love is individualistic, universal, but also culturally and historically embedded. Thus, when I heard "women like being beaten" I interpreted it as women accept being beaten, rather than a literal interpretation. This was not the first time I heard this type of comments. From my experience growing up and living in Arequipa, I heard this from both men and women. Sadly, this is a very common part of narratives about GBV. In Peru, murders of women within a relationship is usually portrayed in the media as 'passionate crimes' in which jealousy and love are factors analysed. By effectively associating

violence with love, this is one way in which the *machista* culture perpetuates beliefs that violent behaviours are normal in relationships.

Another relevant concept is *marianismo*, which suggests that women are expected to sacrifice themselves for their family (Derks & Heessels, 2011; Duffy et al, 2012). In the Peruvian context, family is very important, and women are usually assigned the responsibility to keep the family together. Both concepts, machismo and marianismo, could help to understand why some women can accept violence in their relationships and are seen as passive. However, besides 'love' there are also other factors why a woman could stay in a relationship despite being abused. For example, Luna suggested that this could happen because some women are still economically dependent on men:

> *Because a lot of women get used to it and I think it's also dependence. They depend on the man and they say, if he leaves me, what am I going to live on, when they don't realise that a woman can also work...*

Like activists, students considered that involving men could be an effective strategy to raise awareness about GBV, particularly for other men. For example, Giangela highlighted how men with machista attitudes and behaviours might be more likely to listen to men's voices than women's:

> *I think that they should also speak up, whether it's on the radio, or form their own group to raise awareness in the community…referring to men, right, because if for example a man who has that machista outlook just listens to women, he's going to keep saying, no, they're wrong, and so on. But if he sees that there are groups of men that support women and think that everyone should be equal, for men and women, maybe that changes things.*

Jamie thought that male participation can start from a small scale, such as male friends talking with each other about how to change their behaviour. He also suggested that involving men in the campaign could be more 'efficient, because of "that fact of feeling that we are, in some sense 'better', so to speak, they'd take more notice of us".

Giangela's and Jamie's thoughts reflect on how men's power could be still used to help to address women's issues, particularly in this case of GBV. However, these thoughts could be critiqued. This was shown when the movement posted photos about the campaign *#ConEllaMeComprometo*, described in the previous chapter. On the NUM Facebook there was a critical comment about how the movement was providing more space for men, in a society in which they already empowered.

Another opinion raised in student interviews about the male contribution to contest GBV, not mentioned by activists, was how men should protect women:

> Nadia: *And you as a man, how do you think you could get involved to solve the problem of violence.*
>
> Antonio: *Acting in defence.*
>
> Nadia: *Defending the woman?*
>
> Antonio: *If they're seeing a woman being attacked or something, go and defend her to they know it's wrong and a woman isn't alone.*

This discourse about male participation to address GBV is very common in Peruvian society. Arguably, this perspective remains embedded in the machista culture, in which instead of encouraging men not to exercise any violent act or dismiss a woman, they still insist on protecting women, as a sign of power and control. Also, this discourse assumes that violence occurs in public settings, when statistics show that GBV is exercised mostly in private spaces.

7.4 Student perceptions of Ni Una Menos

Overall, young students had a general awareness of the NUM movement but did not know very much about it. Most had heard of the movement through TV and/or social media but were not able to discuss more about its objectives or approaches. For example, Jamie thought that what NUM proposes is interesting, because it aims to change the status quo. However, he did not know very much about specific activities.

> *I mean I'm not that familiar with what it is and what they do, but it seems like a good initiative to start to make social change.*

The survey results showed that the students' main sources of information on GBV are social media and TV, with 63% of students saying they saw 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of information on GBV through social media and 48% on TV (see Table 7.3). In interviews, most said they heard about the marches and when the media was highlighting specific cases of GBV. For example, Roma mentioned hearing about NUM in relation to the case of a journalist who was a victim of GBV. Cases that appear in the media often refer to NUM, with the hashtag, #NiUnaMenos used on TV and social media as a symbolic connection between individuals and the cause of contesting GBV. Therefore, it was difficult to assess whether this general awareness had any connection with the NUM Arequipa movement.

Table 7.3: Students' sources of information on GBV

	A great deal	Quite a lot	Some	Little	Very little	DNA
TV	11%	37%	34%	13%	4%	
Radio	1%	7%	45%	31%	14%	2%
Newspapers	4%	21%	41%	24%	8%	2%
Social media	22%	41%	27%	7%	1%	2%
Friends & family	9%	20%	35%	26%	9%	2%

Source: survey conducted at the San Agustin National University of Arequipa, October 2018 (n=123)

The survey also asked students whether NUM had raised their awareness of GBV, made them reflect on gender roles, or made it easier to discuss GBV. Table 7.4 shows that 11% to 12% of students strongly agreed and 42% to 46% agreed, while 18% disagreed or strongly disagreed. This was not necessarily because students disagreed with the NUM messages about GBV. The interviews showed that some students agreed with the messages but were not strongly influenced because they already had these perspectives because of personal beliefs or family education. As Kionara suggested:

> *That Ni Una Menos campaign, I already had that [point of view] before, so, it wasn't just because of that campaign happening that I've educated myself. I've always thought that's how it should be – that women shouldn't be*

maltreated. And…well, in my family there was never that type of aggressions.

Students had somewhat stronger agreement with the statement that social media in general had enabled more discussion of GBV (77% agreed or strongly agreed). I also asked a question about whether NUM represented the perspectives of all Peruvian women. This sought to explore the possible negative views of the movement as it has become involved with wider feminist causes and faced criticism, as discussed further in Chapter 8. Interestingly, although 61% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, 31% gave a negative or uncertain response, the highest of any question in the survey.

Table 7.4: Student perspectives on GBV and the Ni Una Menos movement

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know / DNA
Social networks have been important for public discussion of GBV	18%	59%	15%	3%	2%	2%
NUM has raised my awareness about GBV	12%	46%	22%	11%	7%	3%
NUM has influenced my thinking about gender roles	11%	42%	24%	11%	7%	6%
NUM has made it easier to talk about GBV	12%	46%	22%	11%	7%	3%
NUM represents the perspective of all Peruvian women	14%	47%	8%	20%	4%	7%

Source: survey conducted at the San Agustin National University of Arequipa, October 2018

(n=123)

Given that students struggled to differentiate the national NUM movement from the local, I continued exploring what they knew about NUM in general, including what they thought its objectives were. Most students agreed that NUM is looking to eradicate GBV in Peru. Nevertheless, Roma provided a slightly different opinion, suggesting that NUM objective was to "claim rights for women".

I was also interested to know whether students had any interaction with the movement. In the interviews, students were not able to provide much information. Only a few students had ever interacted with the NUM Facebook page. However, the

survey gave a clearer picture. As Table 7.5 shows, 35% of students had liked or shared some content from a NUM Facebook page, while 8% had participated in a march and 1% (one student) participated in another event organised by NUM in Arequipa. This shows evidence of student interactions with the local movement, although this could have been with either of the two movements in Arequipa. Interestingly, while nine out of ten students who participated in a march were female, the percentage of students who liked or shared social media content was not significantly different between males and females.

Table 7.5: Student engagement with *Ni una menos*

Have heard of NUM	98%
Have seen NUM on TV, social media or radio	85%
Have 'liked' a post by NUM or shared their content on social media	35%
Have participated in a march organised by Ni una menos	8%
Have been involved in a protest or vigil organised by NUM	1%
None of the above	12%

Source: survey conducted at the San Agustin National University of Arequipa, October 2018 (n=123)

I also asked in the interviews if what they heard from NUM had an impact in their daily life. Some students suggested that they have reflected more about gender inequalities and GBV.

> *Yes, it's made us reflect, we all say we have to take care of one another, we've learnt to respect each other, women and men, and that we're all equal.*
> (Kionara)

Jamie suggested that NUM made him reflect on the 'trauma of women':

> *I think that it does harm to a woman. It's always traumatic, horrible, to see how among human beings we denigrate each other or manage to treat someone like an object, which just isn't right.*

Finally, I asked the students how they think NUM Arequipa could help more to contest GBV. Students suggested that the most effective approach would be if the movement gets involved with schools, so they can raise awareness about the topic and provide information.

> *Well, I think they should get more involved in universities, in schools, give them talks about how to act and manage situations because sometimes people who are victims of violence are depressed and feel like the world's falling down around them, so they don't see a solution and sometimes think about suicide and all that. So I think they should focus more on giving talks in schools, universities.*

Also, some of the students highlighted the need for movements such as NUM to reach rural areas, given that in those areas there are not centres of support for victims of GBV. As Mel noted:

> *I think they should do more to spread information about this, especially in rural areas, because in the city [victims] have the chance to go to the centres, women's emergency centres, to the police station. But in rural areas no, there aren't centres where they can go, that's why they get maltreated, they even get killed.*

Interestingly, these comments focused on improving information and short-term support for victims rather than longer-term, structural or political actions to address gender inequalities.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has compared and contrasted activist and student understandings of GBV and explored the communication between NUM and local community. Activists showed a clear understanding of gender power relationships when discussing how gender roles and machismo perpetuates women's oppression and GBV. Both students and activists discussed how gender roles learned at home and reinforced in wider society can cause or permit GBV. However, activists went beyond the personal and family level by discussing how harmful models of masculinity are reproduced and critiquing how certain sectors of society resist change. The survey results showed that students identified machismo as the most important cause of GBV, and in interviews they discussed personal experiences of unequal treatment and described machismo at a family level. However, few talked about gender inequalities or analysed social relations as a cause of GBV.

Activists' understandings were reflected in the strategies that the movement chose to communicate with people in Arequipa, such as the activities to raise awareness about machismo and campaigns to involve men in contesting GBV, discussed in Chapter 6. These approaches, which focus on informing people about their rights and showing how they can change behaviours at an individual level, reflect activists' insights about the cultural context where they work. This approach differs from the more theoretical focus on gender equality in the government's education curriculum.

Overall, the students showed a strong awareness of the issue of GBV and recognition of the wider NUM movement in Peru through social and traditional media. However, they were less likely to be aware of the NUM Arequipa group or to have interacted with it, so it was difficult to analyse how the strategies of NUM Arequipa were perceived by the students. The students' views about the global movement were mostly positive, and approximately half of those surveyed agreed that NUM had some influence on their awareness of GBV or their thinking about gender roles and inequalities. However, for social movements that form under a consolidated umbrella group, this form of organisation can bring both benefits and challenges (Wright, 2006). As the next chapter discusses, some of the achievements and challenges of the NUM Arequipa movement are related to its connection with the Ni Una Menos umbrella in Peru and Latin America.

8. Achievements and challenges of NUM Arequipa

8.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the previous two to address the third research question: What have been the achievements of the NUM Arequipa movement and what challenges has it faced? It takes into account the objectives and tactics of the group, discussed in Chapter 6, and how it understands GBV, discussed in Chapter 7.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section looks at how activists defined their achievements, including those related to the group itself, to their relations with victims of GBV and with the wider community. The most important theme is the relationships of trust and respect that the group was able to build – within the group, with victims and their families, and with local organisations.

The second section discusses the major challenges the group faced, including overcoming indifference, achieving acceptance from the community and sustaining the movement. An important challenge for the group that related to all of these was controlling its public identity and how it was represented. This particularly related to the group's association with the broader NUM cause and with feminism. Sometimes the struggles over identity and representation affected the group's ability to maintain the relationships needed to pursue its objectives.

8.2 Achievements of NUM Arequipa

When I asked about the achievements of NUM, the activists had different opinions. This is probably because each activist had different experiences within NUM, and their perspective was based on those experiences and their personal interests. Activists differentiated the achievements inside the group from those related to their engagement with victims of GBV and the wider community.

8.2.1 Sustaining the movement: Relationships and personal growth

After the division of the movement, NUM Arequipa had to pay a lot more attention to relationships within and outside the group in order to achieve its goals. Maintaining both kinds of relationships was an important achievement for

movement's sustainability.

Activists highlighted the friendly environment within the movement. For Fatima, "having the opportunity to interact with other activists, get to know each other [and] respect others' ideas" were themselves achievements. The relationships within the group have evolved into a sense of friendship between members who despite having different ideas, manage to discuss them with tolerance. Brown & Pickerill (2009) suggest that the constant interaction that activists have with each other helps to build affective attachments to each other and the cause that they support. As suggested in Chapters 6 and 7, relationships with other organisations and the local community were also important. These relationships were based on respect, which for the activists was necessary to contest GBV.

Leadership was another area that activists saw as a success. No group can continue without someone who guides it and helps keep it together. In NUM Arequipa, Shirley preferred to be called coordinator or *vocera* (spokesperson), rather than *leader.* However, in the interviews the other activists referred to her as the leader of the movement and acknowledged her work. For example, Faviana, who was also part of the movement since the beginning, emphasised Shirley's leadership in dealing with differences of opinions in order to keep the movement together:

> *Because I'm not going to tell you that there are no differences in the group, because there are differences, but the leader has to know how to manage those situations.*

Activists also highlighted what they had learned in the movement. Faviana and Shirley suggested that they previously had *machista* attitudes but after becoming involved with NUM they learned to recognise and change those attitudes. This showed a process of self-reflection and deconstruction of received ideas about gender. Activists of NUM not only had to deal with the issues in the community, but also work on themselves and un-learn what they had been taught by the *machista* culture. As Faviana and Shirley reflected:

> *It's also important for us to keep educating ourselves, right. I mean, in this group I've learned a lot. Though it's true that the first thing that pulled me in*

was the death of those two female backpackers, later I learned a lot more, I noticed that there were machista actions that maybe were going on at home and I hadn't noticed. I mean, I didn't know that that was violence (Faviana).[19]

A person at my age, I had to learn a lot. At the start, I was machista, I had to learn a lot, that certain attitudes and behaviours were machista. I had to educate myself, I had to read, I had to learn, I had to get to know a lot of people, to be able to understand that I had a problem and understand that, if I wanted to help other people that came to see us, then I also had to grow, grow as a human being (Shirley).

This emphasis on cohesion and continuity *within* the group as an achievement reflected the motivations of activists discussed in Chapter 6, which shows that their participation in the movement was strongly connected with their personal and professional lives. Research on social movements and groups shows that strong cohesion within a group is associated with better ability to complete tasks and is also valued for its emotional impact (Bayard de Volo, 2006; Brown & Pickerrill, 2009). Severt & Estrada note that groups "not only provide a platform for individuals to be more productive and accomplish tasks that they would not be able to complete alone, but they also provide important emotional benefits to members of the group" (2015, p.9).

8.2.2 Supporting victims of GBV

Activists also linked their achievements with the objectives of NUM, described in Chapter 6. Some suggested that their biggest success was the help provided to victims, including being part of their recovery process. For Shirley, supporting victims was the main achievement:

Yes, definitely…having had cases of desperate women, who've turned up crying with no desire to keep living, not caring about anything. Having them leave strengthened and calmer, that's our achievement.

[19] Faviana is referring to the murder of two female backpackers in Argentina in 2015.

Claudia paid particular attention to how the movement empowered women not only to denounce cases of GBV but also to get away from their aggressors:

> *Raise people's awareness, so they're encouraged and empowered, so they get the courage to complain about their case and get away from their abuser.*

Claudia's reference to 'empowerment' of victims as a key part of the movement's success relates to Kabeer's (1999) definition of empowerment as the ability of women to make strategic choices to change their lives. This differs from mainstream understandings which try to measure and quantify empowerment, particularly within development projects (Smyth, 2007; Morrow, 2018).

The group attended about five cases while I was in Arequipa. However, the achievement was not just about numbers but the difference the activists could make to women, including through moral and psychological support and advice, helping them to connect to professional services, negotiating the justice system and encouraging them to leave their abusers. It was not possible to evaluate the achievements of the movement in individual cases because the research did not engage with victims of GBV and in any case, it is difficult to judge 'success'.

Some critics have questioned the focus on victims by women's movements in campaigns to address GBV. Kapur (2002) suggests that worldwide campaigns against GBV have been successful because of their focus on victims, particularly within the human rights framework, which has allowed women to speak up and to call public attention. However, she argues it has also contributed to 'gender and cultural essentialism', which has stereotyped women of the South as passive victims. Nevertheless, in the case of NUM Arequipa, the focus was not about representing women as victims but on providing practical support that would allow them to change their situation.

8.2.3 Interaction with the local community

Another achievement that activists mentioned was the useful information they provided to the local community as part of public activities. This was not only about providing information about GBV but also encouraging people to reflect on the issue and empowering women to report their cases. Gretel considered that the interaction

with men and women from different backgrounds and ages was an achievement for the movement, given that this encouraged people to make positive social change:

> *Well, our greatest achievement, is reaching more people. Reaching more people through public action, in markets, in cemeteries, in poor districts on the outskirts, that's been a good achievement. The achievement is also reaching new generations…It's like they're also being empowered to do good things, to get along better as a country.*[20]

Likewise, Fatima argued that the movement has managed to win trust from the local community, which has helped establish strong relationships with women, and people who ask the movement for help. By emphasising how the relationships of trust and respect with the community allow them to undertake their diverse activities, the activists made clear the importance of maintaining this trust and respect. This helps understand their concerns about how the movement is represented, discussed in Section 8.2.2.

An interesting finding was that no one really focused on the marches and large-scale awareness-raising campaigns as achievements, despite this large-scale awareness being the starting point for the NUM in Peru through the first march in 2015. In a meeting after the 2018 march, the activists reflected on the decline in attendance and generally disappointing public response, concluding that it was probably not a very effective way of helping the cause or raising awareness. Likewise, activists did not mention influencing government or the agendas of political parties as part of their achievements. As discussed in Chapter 6, this fits with their identity as apolitical, and is further evidence of the group's affinity with 'quiet' activism.

8.3 Challenges faced by NUM Arequipa: Seeking acceptance and overcoming indifference

This section looks at the major challenges faced by the NUM Arequipa movement in achieving their objectives, focusing particularly on issues of identity (how the

[20] In Peru, cemeteries are a popular gathering place where families go to visit their dead relatives on certain days, so this explains why this is one place where the movement has targeted to communicate with the community.

movement saw itself) and representation (how it was portrayed and how others saw it). This is very important to understand in relation to the overall question of how the movement contests GBV because this effect how it is able to form relationships and engage with the community.

8.3.1 Indifference to GVB

The fundamental challenge that NUM Arequipa faced was to raise people's awareness and highlight the important of GBV as an urgent social issue. Chapter 7 showed that a majority of young students agreed that GBV is a priority for Arequipa, but fewer strongly agreed, and females were more likely than males to agree with this. Given that university students are likely to be more receptive to messages about GBV, this highlights the task that activists have to overcome indifference towards GBV. Most activists suggested that people's response was variable. Claudia noted that when they go out to the streets people acknowledge they are doing voluntary work and thank them for this. However, some activists highlighted the community's lack of sensitivity towards cases of violence:

> *Well, the challenge we have is the [public] response, definitely. I think we need more acceptance from the rest [of the community]. We need people to get involved more…for them not to be indifferent to the pain of a woman, a child, the elderly or people who have suffered violence. Because they're not aware, they don't empathise. They always say, well, since it didn't happen to me, I don't care, it doesn't interest me, and just carry on, it'll sort itself out.*

Shirley reflected on possible reasons for indifference towards GBV in Arequipa. She suggested that this might be because it is a sensitive topic and, generally speaking, people are not willing to get involved in cases of GBV. Likewise, she highlighted that indifference is perpetuated at structural levels. A reflection of structural indifference is the lack of resource dedicated to combating GBV, particularly at local levels. Despite national plans and policies to eradicate GBV, their implementation is often slow or superficial. The representative of the Women's Emergency Centre in Arequipa noted that:

> *This [provincial network to combat family violence] should be not just a space where we agree to do activities but where we really look at what to do…In my experience so far…there's very little responsibility on the matter from our [political] authorities…until now, in two years there aren't many things being resolved. First, because there's no budget…So, there's no commitment.*

This challenge of indifference is interesting, given the massive support NUM received when it first started. As discussed in Chapter 5, the national NUM movement began with high-profile cases involving clear evidence of abuse, 'acceptable victims', and saturation media coverage. However, when such cases are no longer in the news, people's enthusiasm for seeking to address GBV seems to decrease, especially when they are asked to reflect on their own community environment.

The movement is seeking to engage not only women but also men, which can be more challenging. Some activists argued that in their experience women are more likely to respond to the movement, while men are less interested. For example, Libia emphasised how men tend to dismiss the issue of GBV:

> *Men often get a bit embarrassed to share, or to help those movements, or they care more about other things, because for them it appears something very distant.*

However, this disconnection of the movement with men is not only about indifference. Some activists reflected on men's attitudes towards the movement, which sometimes can be reluctant to listen and even respond with aggressive or disrespectful behaviour. Even though this seems a difficult challenge to overcome, the movement has decided to connect directly with men, such as the campaign at San Agustin University, described in Chapter 6, and sharing posts on social media about how they can help to eradicate GBV.

In this campaign there were some disrespectful behavours and comments from men, such as "and what about us" "my girfriend hits me" or "*ni uno menos"* (not one man less, parodying the *ni una menos* slogan). This behaviour showed the contemptuous attitudes that some men have towards the movement and about women's approaches to address GBV. These attitudes may reflect defensiveness at being

criticised as well as dismissiveness towards information provided by female activists based on views of women's inferiority as public actors. However, even though connecting with men and general indifference are identified as challenges, the fact that NUM Arequipa have identified them and taken actions can be seen as an achievement.

8.3.2 Representation of the movement

An important challenge identified in the interviews was the representation of the movement. Some activists raised concerns about how the movement is seen because of the feminist representation of other Peruvian and/or Latin American women's movements. As discussed in Chapter 7, despite the different approach of NUM Arequipa, the public did not distinguish the local movement from the national and international NUM.

From the activists' perspective this nondifferentiation between movements made it difficult to control how they were represented. To explain this concern, Alejandra gave the example of abortion. Other NUM movements have identified themselves as pro-abortion and people usually assume that all NUM movements are:[21]

> *I think the challenge is the eyes of the world, they don't look well on the Ni Una Menos group because there have been very extremist women in other countries…For example, they think that Ni Una Menos is behind the [pro-]abortion movement. The topic of abortion is very controversial; for now we're not focusing on it in NUM Arequipa, but given that in other countries they have focused on it, so the name of Ni Una Menos is…That's our challenge, to show that NUM Arequipa does do positive work and that we're not a bad example as some people think, because of what women have done in other countries.*

As discussed in Chapter 6, for some sectors of Arequipa, feminism is not well accepted because it has been stereotyped as radical and extremist. The different opinions about abortion in Latin America reflect understandings of unsafe abortion

[21] NUM Arequipa openly supports abortion only in case of rape. This has been agreed between activists, who have contradicting opinions about the topic. Therefore, it is difficult for the movement to make public statements.

as structural violence (Braam & Hessini, 2004; Landa, 2016) or moral beliefs about protection of human beings (Landa, 2016). This last understanding is common in some sectors of Arequipa, because of the strong religious influence.

Therefore, this debate challenged the movement because for women's movements being portrayed as pro-abortion means being set against the majority of the community, which makes acceptance more difficult. As noted earlier, for the movement's objectives of supporting women and raising awareness it is important for them to inspire confidence in people.

8.3.3 The conservative context: Cultural resistance to change

An important challenge is that in the last two years community support has decreased, after a very supportive response in the first year when NUM was active. Activists attributed decreased support to several factors, including changes in the mainstream media's coverage of the movement, the introduction of more controversial feminist agendas in NUM Peru, and the influence of new social movements such as *Con mis hijos no te metas* opposing implementation of the gender focus in the Peruvian education system. These movements reject the gender focus because their understanding of gender is based on biological determinism, rejecting gender as a socially constructed concept.

The controversy about the gender focus in the Peruvian curriculum is part of a political debate between the national government and opposition parties and as stated in Chapter 6 NUM Arequipa was not interested in working with specific political parties. Nevertheless, the issue has been contested by two of the most popular political parties in Peru, APRA and Fuerza Popular. While there are also parties supporting the gender focus, such as Frente Amplio and Nuevo Peru, NUM Arequipa still did not want to be linked to them. This was a challenge for the movement because despite its interest in staying apolitical and engaging with the entire community, this issue had become highly politicised, creating divisions in society.

Shirley argued that these controversies offered a way for conservative groups to resist change and attack NUM by associating it with what they portrayed as radical agendas. Ultimately, this involved defending patriarchy and machismo:

> *When the topic of feminism got established in Peru, especially in Lima, certain other topics and agendas began to appear, which eventually caused displeasure for a certain sector. That was the religious sector, Catholics, Christians, evangelical [religions]. So they didn't really agree with this, but Ni Una Menos didn't have much influence, so they couldn't directly oppose [it]. So how did they do it? They did it through two groups, one of which was 'Con mis hijos no te metas'. [This group] tried to eliminate the gender focus theme from the national curriculum. In that way it tried to portray groups like NUM as only interested in trying to make their kids gay. So that was the basis of that group, and to attack Ni Una Menos and other collectives such as LGBT groups. That's their objective, I feel…that the only goal of those groups is to attack women.*

Overall, activists suggested that these controversies had a negative impact on NUM's image and acceptance. After a year of managing to put the theme of GBV on the public agenda, they began to face increasing resistance. As a result of these controversies NUM lost support from people who opposed the gender focus. Their effect on the movement was described by Faviana:

> *Before 'con mis hijos o te metas'. Before the pro-life [groups], there was [more] attendance in the marches; after 'con mis hijos no te metas' and this pro-life group that appeared…I mean, I've really seen a very clear division, even in my own surroundings. I mean, it has a big impact, whether you're in agreement with one or the other.*

This strong opposition was evidence of the embedded machista culture in Peru. As discussed in Chapter 5 conservative groups claim that the gender focus in the education curriculum disregards sex differences and undermines traditional values of family and motherhood. These groups have a clear political agenda, stimulating people's fears and making mainstream politicians reluctant to commit more resource

or even talk about gender, machismo and femicide (Bruce, 2018). This type of opposition directly challenges the philosophy and strategies of NUM Arequipa, which is caught between its principle of maintaining respectful relationships with everybody and its objective of making change, which involves challenging the status quo. This is a challenge that activists did not describe directly in interviews, but I was able to perceive during my time with the group.

8.3.4 Sustainability of the movement

A final challenge is maintaining the movement and continuing to undertake a range of actions. At the time of the research, NUM Arequipa had been working a year since the division, with both old and new activists. Every year the movement recruits activists, with the last recruitment in April 2018. Some take breaks or stop participating because of personal life issues or workload. However, the coordinator, Shirley Oporto, does not take many of these breaks. From my experience and talks with activists I could see that Shirley is the core of the movement. The passion she put into every event and/or case related to NUM was very clear. Despite this being a positive input for the movement, relying on individuals can be a risk for sustainability.

Also, activists raised the issue of budget restrictions. Activists are volunteers, but as well as giving their time, when necessary they also contribute economically. From participant observation I noticed the efforts to reduce costs of activities and filling resource gaps such as asking people to lend a space for meetings or working with other organisations with more financial capacity such as the local government to organise bigger events.

In this sense, one of the movement's strengths became a challenge. By not operating as an NGO and refusing to have any involvement with political parties, the movement was able to act flexibly and according to the ethics and principles of activists, thus avoiding some of the issues with 'NGO-isation' that have been raised in relation to Latin American women's social movements (Alvarez, 2000; Jad, 2007). However, it also removed the usual sources of finance, making it all the more important to maintain relationships and goodwill with different parties.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the achievements and challenges of NUM Arequipa movement. It shows that activists saw achievements relating to their own internal relationships, the support they provided to victims of GBV, and their interaction with the wider community. A key success was that the movement continued to survive and grow, thanks to the friendly and tolerant relationships maintained between the activists. An interesting question is whether the split from the other NUM in Arequipa contributed to developing a smaller more cohesive group, but this would require further research also including the other group.

The chapter acknowledges that it was not possible to fully evaluate the success of the different actions that the movement undertook. However, it was able to provide a variety of support to victims and their families which either were not accessible, or they did not know about. As an independent organisation, NUM Arequipa could help victims access support, pursue justice and gain courage without the restrictions that NGOs and public organisations face. A corresponding challenge was that the movement did not have permanent financial support which meant it had to rely on maintaining relationships with different groups.

In trying to raise awareness in the wider community, NUM Arequipa had to overcome indifference and seek acceptance. The movement faced a dilemma regarding identity and representation. The umbrella of Ni Una Menos as a broader movement in Latin America inspired the activists to act in a common cause and has also helped them engage with the local community by raising the profile of GBV. However, it also represented an obstacle, because of differences in philosophies and approaches. Even though the movement received massive support in its initial protests against GBV, when it addressed new topics related to gender inequalities from a structural and cultural level, such as the introduction of a gender focus in policies and abortion law reform, this provoked a reaction from some conservative sectors.

For NUM Arequipa, one challenge was to differentiate its more cautious and respectful approach from the openly feminist agendas of the wider movement. However, there were also areas where it fully agreed with the wider movement –

such as the gender focus in education – but was still opposed by some social groups. The lack of understanding and opposition from some sectors of the Peruvian community towards vital topics about gender inequality shows that there is still a long way to go to contest the patriarchal structures and *machista* attitudes that underlie GBV.

9. Discussion and conclusion

9.1 Introduction

Through this thesis I have presented the NUM Arequipa story in a local context, looking at the relationships between activists' motivations, the strategies they used to contest gender-based violence (GBV), their interactions with the local community, and the achievements and challenges they faced. In this concluding chapter, I briefly respond to the research questions, providing the key findings from chapters 6 to 8 and then draw them together with the theoretical and geographical themes discussed in earlier chapters. First, I place NUM Arequipa in the context of Latin American women's social movements and reflect on its model of activism. Second, I reflect on its efforts to combat GBV in Arequipa, placing this in the context of the gender and development (GAD) discourse. Finally, I present some opportunities for further research.

9.2 Responding to the research questions

My research sought to respond the main question:

How is the Ni Una Menos movement contesting GBV Arequipa, Peru?

In order to respond to this main question, I also posed three sub questions:

How and why did NUM Arequipa form and what actions does it undertake to combat GBV?

In Chapter 6 I provide an overview of the NUM movement's formation and evolution in Arequipa. Exploring the activists' motivations and perspectives helps understand the strategies the movement uses to contest GBV. My research found that the movement in Arequipa was formed through social media as part of the national response to the high-profile GBV cases in 2016, later splitting into two because of differences of opinion and priorities. NUM Arequipa's highest priority is supporting victims of GBV, and a strong second objective is raising awareness about GBV. To raise awareness, NUM Arequipa undertakes a variety of activities, approaching the general public and targeting specific population groups, including men. NUM has

established relationships with government, private and non-profit organisations, while social media plays a key role in carrying out and connecting the actions.

How does the NUM Arequipa movement interpret and engage with the community about the issue of GBV?

In Chapter 7 I examine how GBV and its underlying causes were understood by activists and young students. Both groups identified the culture of machismo and its reproduction at different levels as the main underlying causes of GBV, though activists showed a deeper understanding of the relationship between machismo, gender inequalities and GBV. Students also saw machismo as an important cause but some focused more on personal-level factors. I also analyse how the movement engaged with the community, drawing on the perspectives of young students. This showed that most students were aware of the wider Ni Una Menos movement and a significant proportion said it had influenced their perspectives on GBV and gender inequalities. However, they struggled to differentiate the local movement from the broader Ni Una Menos movement in Peru and Latin America.

What have been the achievements of the NUM Arequipa movement and what challenges has it faced?

Chapter 8 explores the achievements and challenges of NUM Arequipa. At an internal level, activists reflected on the movement's continuity and their personal growth; while at an external level they saw the support offered to victims of GBV and the ability to connect with different groups in the community as key achievements. NUM Arequipa faced challenges both in overcoming indifference and achieving acceptance. A difficulty was controlling their representation as part the Ni Una Menos umbrella, which helped them to gain recognition but also associated them with actions and images they did not necessarily identify with. A bigger challenge was the emergence of conservative social movements who opposed the gender focus in education and associated this with Ni Una Menos, affecting the public acceptance of the movement.

To link these findings to the overall question, the following sections look at NUM Arequipa in two ways. First, as a women's social movement, connecting with theories

of social movements and activism. Second, as a response to GBV, placing NUM's strategies in the context of gender and development (GAD) approaches.

9.3 NUM Arequipa as a place-based social movement

Place and culture are factors to study when analysing any social movement and particularly women's movements (Fairhurst et al, 2004; Pain, 2014; Polleta & Jasper, 2001; Taylor & Whittier, 1999). In this section, I reflect on how the cultural and political context relates to two key aspects of NUM Arequipa: the collective identity of the activists, and the model of activism they carry out.

9.3.1 Collective identity of NUM Arequipa: Empathy and justice

As Chapter 3 shows, there are two broad traditions in Latin American women's social movements. The first relates to the feminist movement, which has mainly taken theoretical and political approaches to addressing gender inequalities (Vargas, 1992). The other tradition involves diverse groups of women who have acted to defend the rights and interests of their families and communities (Barrig, 1993; Couse, 2012). This also includes the movements against GBV in Mexico and Central America initiated by the families of femicide victims (Alvarez et al., 2015; Prieto-Carrón et al., 2007; Wilson, 2014).

NUM Arequipa has some connections to both these traditions, but it is not completely part of either. As discussed in Chapter 6, one of the key characteristics of NUM Arequipa was its differentiation from self-identified feminist movements. Some activists identified as feminist, and the movement used feminist theory and discourse in connecting machismo, gender inequalities and GBV. Their decision not to collectively identify as feminist reflected some differences in beliefs, priorities and tactics, but also a view of feminism as an 'outside' philosophy that needs consideration from a local perspective before being adopted. As noted in Chapter 3, some Latin American scholars have criticised international feminist approaches because of their strong Western influence (Escobar, 2007; Gargallo, 2007; Schutte 2011; Vargas, 1992). This perception continues to an extent in Arequipa, even among those who are contesting GBV. Thus, NUM Arequipa preferred to refer to itself as a human rights movement, emphasising principles of care and justice.

From my case study, I conclude that NUM Arequipa's collective identity is built on these principles of care, justice and the emotion of empathy. Activists were motivated by the high-profile GBV cases publicised by the national movement but also their awareness of the suffering of many other women, which created a strong link of solidarity and a strong desire to create social change. Although they prioritised contesting GBV, they rejected all types of violence. When choosing strategies, the movement considered not only the potential effectiveness of actions but also how the actions connected with their personal identities, experiences and emotions (Jaster & Young, 2019).

Some discussions of empathy in social movements have presented it as the more superficial response of sympathy or critiqued the way it involves framing people as victims (Dunn, 2004; Liu & Shange, 2018). However, in the case of NUM Arequipa the basis of collective identity was the shared experience of a machista culture, which Libia described as generating 'fear', which they had personally felt, and which they recognised as affecting not only all women but other groups as well. Although the activists did not explicitly discuss this, the critical view of machismo as dominance potentially offers a way to connect across differences of class, ethnicity and sexuality. Therefore, understanding the context of Peru and Arequipa helps understand how NUM Arequipa seeks to have a clear identity but also be inclusive.

9.3.2 NUM Arequipa as a model of activism: Connecting 'quiet' and 'traditional' activism

NUM Arequipa's style of activism aimed to create change in women's lives in different ways from individual, short-term support, to long-term cultural change. While recognising that raising awareness about GBV is important, supporting victims of GBV was a short-term, practical approach to alleviate their struggle and potentially transform their lives. The strong focus on building respectful relationships within the local community and the low profile of some strategies such as providing support to victims or providing workshops at schools about GBV, connects NUM Arequipa with the concept of 'quiet' activism (Hackney, 2015; Horton & Kraftl, 2009; Jenkins, 2017; Martin et al., 2007; Pottinger, 2017). This type of activism pays particular attention

to relationships and 'everyday politics', in which small actions can contribute to engagement and commitment to a cause.

Authors on quiet activism contrast this with large-scale, protest-based social movements. However, the experience of NUM Arequipa shows these different styles of activism are not exclusive. NUM Arequipa also raises awareness about GBV and aims to change the machista culture through public events (marches, protests, vigils) and campaigns and posts on social media. When developing these activities NUM Arequipa was careful to respect its main networks and relationships, following what Shirley called a "technical approach, based on the law and policies".

This does not mean that NUM Arequipa does not protest injustices committed by public or private organisations or people associated with them, but it does take care when and how it gets involved in these cases. This approach also means respecting cultural practices. For example, in a religious city such as Arequipa, it is normal for prayers to be part of some events, such as vigils related to victims of GBV. For a movement such as NUM Arequipa, respecting and participating in this is not only consistent with activists' personal identities but also important to maintaining respectful relationships. Despite these efforts, the emergence of conservative groups that oppose gender equality has affected the movement's support and acceptance.

As Chapter 2 discusses, the role of social media has been an important topic of debate in relation to new social movements. For NUM Arequipa, social media has played an important role in both its 'quiet' and its public activism. The NUM Facebook page acts as a way for the movement to raise awareness about GBV and gender inequalities and also to present its own identity as distinct from the national movement. At the same time, it is the main form of communication with women who are seeking support from the movement. Social media (WhatsApp) is also the main way activists communicate and discuss issues from day to day and has allowed me to continue my connection to the movement after returning to New Zealand. Social media thus helps bridge the different kinds of activism that NUM Arequipa undertakes.

9.4 NUM Arequipa as a response to gender-based violence

At a global level development organisation have struggled to address the topic of GBV. As discussed in Chapter 2, development has historically focused on promoting women's involvement in the formal economy and seeking equality in education, employment and political participation (Momsen, 2010; Parpat 2002; Sen & Muckherjee, 2014; Zwart, 1992). The gender and development (GAD) approach has been 'mainstreamed' in development programmes since 1995. However, as Debusscher (2012) shows, actual projects often focus on economic objectives, reverting to a women and development (WAD) or even women in development (WID) approach. As Chapter 5 discusses, in Peru these objectives are usually less important to women than being free of violence in their personal lives and gaining education and employment does not necessarily reduce the risk of violence (Dador Tozzini, 2011).

Thanks to pressure from feminist and women's social movements, GBV is now recognised as a priority within development and is a target in the SDGs (Morrow, 2018). The main approach to addressing GBV is through government agreements and the establishment of laws and policies. At national level, Peru has implemented laws and policies to a similar extent as other Latin American countries (Dador Tozzini, 2011; Diaz & Miranda, 2010). However, this has produced little progress in fighting GBV, for several reasons. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 8, policies such as the gender focus in education have been resisted by some social sectors, led by conservative political and religious groups. Also, there has been insufficient resources dedicated to implementing policies in law, justice and education (Calderón, 2019). This particularly affects preventive approaches, which require dedicated resources in order to be effective.

Therefore, while theoretical and political action is important to influence laws and policies and even to define concepts such as femicide and GBV, other grassroots actions are vital to contest GBV. As Chapter 6 shows, groups such as NUM Arequipa can complement other actors at a local level by connecting people to services, advocating and providing support through legal processes, raising awareness in peripheral areas and beginning long-term preventive approaches such as engaging

with young men. This is all done on a voluntary basis and with very limited resources, but it helps people that would otherwise not receive support and it contributes to making the cultural change needed to eradicate GBV.

Top-down policies implemented by development organisations often tend to overlook cultural factors (Debusscher, 2012; McEwan, 2001; Mohanty, 1998). In the Peruvian context machismo is a predominant cultural characteristic. Therefore, all attempts to address gender inequalities and GBV need to consider how to address machismo. NUM Arequipa acknowledged this characteristic and has planned education-based approaches to confront machismo, working with young people in schools and universities, including men. The activists considered that working with men as allies can enrich their strategies and they recognised that rigid gender roles and inequalities have negative effects on men as well as women. Arguably, in involving both women and men to make change within the local context, these actions are more aligned with the GAD approach than many development programmes that have used this description (Debsusscher, 2012).

9.4.1 Education as a solution to GBV?

When discussing solutions to GBV, activists and students tended to focus on the importance of education. At face value, 'education' seems like a technical solution that fits with the idea of development as a solution to gender inequalities. However, I found at least three different understandings of how education can contribute to the cause. First, education was seen as a level of instruction and access to knowledge, which development agencies have adopted based on the co-opted concept of empowerment, under the belief that the more educated women are, the less risk they have of suffering abuse (Kabeer, 1999). However, studies show that being more educated does not necessarily reduce the risk of GBV (Diaz & Miranda, 2010; Flake, 2005).

Second, education was seen as a process of learning and adopting personal values at home and in the community. For some participants, this was related to basic and broad values, such as respect, honesty, care, love which are necessary for all human beings. Others considered that gender roles imposed by the *machista* culture can be renegotiated through family-level learning processes, modelling alternative

behaviours and values for children. This informed the priority that NUM Arequipa gave to engaging with individuals and small groups, particularly young people.

A third interpretation involved the inclusion of a specific gender equality focus in the education system, to break down stereotypes and change ways of thinking about gender roles. Activists supported this approach, while 40% of female students surveyed thought that a lack of a gender focus in education was one of the three most important causes of GBV. However, this is the most controversial interpretation, as the Ministry of Education's gender focus in the curriculum has been strongly contested by conservative social movements and has provoked differences within Peruvian society (Merino-Solar, 2017).

The concerted opposition to the gender focus in the education curriculum shows the difficult in addressing gender inequalities and GBV through a top-down, technical approach. It shows the need for different kinds of grassroots women's movements to achieve equality and eradicate GBV. This includes both the more politicised and direct approaches of the national Ni Una Menos movement as well as the more cautious and less political approaches of NUM Arequipa, which aim to stay connected with sections of the community vulnerable to influence from the conservative movements. It again highlights the importance of NUM Arequipa's 'quiet' actions that bypass national debates and connect with people locally and seek to make social and cultural change from the bottom up.

9.5 Future possible research

In this thesis I have discussed a range of topics related to NUM and its strategies to contest GBV in Peru. However, several themes arose which deserve further research. These include further exploring how activist identities and the changing context shape movements to contest GBV, the representation of social movements through social media, the influence of geography on social movements, and changing masculinities as a strategy to address GBV.

As noted in Chapter 6, there are different NUM groups in Peru, including two in Arequipa. This study has shown some differences between the groups, including whether they adopted an explicitly feminist identity and some aspects of priorities

and strategies. This reflected the individual identities of activists, while social movements also evolve according to cultural and political context. (Obregon & Tufte, 2006). Further study comparing different groups across time would help understand the factors that contribute to the evolution of women's social movements in Peru.

Debate about the theory and practice of new social movements highlights the role of social media in promoting strategies and representing social movements. This thesis has explored the use of social media as a tool by NUM Arequipa; however, I was not able to look in detail at its representation through Facebook and Instagram. Paying attention to how the movement creates and represents its identity through the language and images on social media is an interesting area to explore, especially in comparison to other NUM groups and/or other women's movements in Peru and Latin America.

Geography is also a key aspect when studying social movements. My research took place in an urban area. In interviews with young students the topic of GBV in rural areas was discussed, including the lack of services to support victims of GBV and problems of alcoholism. Rural areas in Peru are well-known for being overlooked despite their long history of facing discrimination and abuses against women (discussed in Chapter 5). There are few academic studies that explore the informal and formal organisation of women to contest GBV in rural areas. Also, until recently there has been limited access to social media because of lack of internet connections. Future research could look at whether and how movements like NUM operate in rural areas.

GBV is an issue that historically has been addressed as a women's issue. However, recent contributions from feminists and activists emphasise that men also suffer from machismo and rigid gender roles and are allies in making change. Therefore, further analysis is needed of how male participation could help to reduce GBV in Latin America, particularly for younger generations. This could include exploring attempts to promote a reconstruction of masculinities in Peru. This would help women's social movements to have a better understanding of how to engage more men in the cause and to design of future strategies to address GBV.

For the purposes of my research I focused on violence against women, as this has been the main focus of the Ni Una Menos movement in Peru to date. However, future research could explore in more detail how machismo impacts specifically on the LGTBQ community, and the specific characteristics of the violent environment they face.

9.6 Final reflections

Throughout history women have fought to gain their rights and there has been some progress in gender equality. Nevertheless, despite all efforts, this progress is not always reflected in the everyday lives of women, because of struggles to overcome gender power relations within specific societies. GBV is universal and reflects deep inherited power relationships within culturally-specific manifestations of patriarchy, its persistence is evidence of the long journey ahead to achieve gender equality. The top-down approaches of development have a role in addressing GBV, and its inclusion as a target in the SDGs is an important step in recognising and making visible what has long been a priority for women in the South. However, development approaches have been limited by their association with economic agendas and often struggle to acknowledge the cultural context in which GBV occurs (MacEwan, 2001; Mohanty, 1998; Lugones, 2008; White, 2006). Therefore, the bottom-up approaches of social movements are essential to contest GBV.

With this research I have explored how women's social movements in Latin America are contesting GBV through diverse strategies. The case of NUM Arequipa provides an interesting insight into how these strategies connect personal identities, experiences and actions that reflect the local context. NUM Arequipa privileges a quiet activism of direct action by supporting victims and raising awareness about GBV, trying to influence cultural change while maintaining respectful relationships. This approach slightly differs from movements of the Latin American and Peruvian region, which tend to be more visibly public and which claim a feminist agenda.

I conclude that the work of self-identified feminist and non-feminist movements to contest GBV is equally important. Both types of movements raise awareness about machismo and aim to create social change. Feminist movements have a more

political focus and in doing so, they aim to influence policies and to open dialogue with the government in addressing GBV. While NUM Arequipa is less oriented towards formal politics, it has a strong focus on changing cultural patterns and connecting with women at a personal level in their everyday lives. These two different approaches are complementary in the difficult task of contesting GBV. Both require rigour and care at different scales.

Epilogue

The content of this thesis is based on fieldwork undertaken during August-October 2018. Since returning to New Zealand I have remained in contact with the NUM Arequipa activists through WhatsApp and Facebook. Thus, I have been able to notice the evolution of the movement. At the start of 2019, some members I interviewed retired definitively from the movement, while others took sporadic breaks. At the same time, the movement recruited new activists. By July 2019, the total number of members had increased to 16, which has allowed the movement to undertake activities more regularly than when I did the fieldwork.

This year the movement has continued the strategies discussed in this thesis. However, there has been less focus on public activities and the focus is more on targeting specific audience through different actions, such as:

- Training for local radio announcers in use of appropriate language when discussing news items about gender-based violence.
- The group has established a formal relationship with the San Agustin public university and has been working on fairs and workshops for students.
- Public workshops on themes related to GBV. These have been undertaken from psychological and legal perspectives and with support of allied organisations.

The trend of activists with a background in law continues, given that some new member are also lawyers. This has been reflected in some strategies, such as the organisation of workshops mentioned above.

This year a trial has been reopened against some members of the armed forces accused of sexual assault during the internal conflict in the 1990s (mentioned in Chapter 5). NUM Arequipa has openly stated its support to women who suffered the assaults and it has been aware of the implications of this trial.

Given growing number of migrants from Venezuela in Peru, the Municipality of Arequipa has been organising events and workshops to promote non-discrimination against migrants. NUM Arequipa participated in these events to promote equality.

These activities have not been explicitly for women. This shows the focus of the movement to engage with broader topics related to human rights, as noted in Chapter 6.

Despite some activists questioning whether marches are effective or not based on the poor response in 2018, NUM Arequipa has decided to carry on with the 4th NUM annual march for August 2019 in coordination with the national movement, as in previous years. This year the slogan is '*Marcha por mujeres libres de violencia' (march for women free of violence)* and activists are considering wearing a purple handkerchief. This could show a shift in perspectives about individual and collective feminist identity, given that purple is well-known in Latin America as the feminist colour. However, I acknowledge that this possible shift would need further information and engaging with the new activists, who didn't participate in my research. The changes I have observed are evidence of the importance of continued research on women's social movements, exploring how activists interact with the socio-cultural context.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheets

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEWS WITH ACTIVISTS

Social movements contesting gender-based violence: The *Ni Una Menos* movement in Arequipa, Peru.

The aim of this participant information sheet is to provide to the participants an overview about the research and an explanation about their role as participants.

My name is Nadia Infantes and I am a Master's student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis. My research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (HEC approval number 0000026266).

Aims of the research

My research project aims to explore how the *Ni Una Menos* movement is contesting gender based-violence in Peru, as an example of a women's social movement that aims to directly challenge gender-based-violence, not only by changing policies but also by influencing cultural beliefs and attitudes. Using as a case study the movement in Arequipa.

How your participation will contribute to my research

Your participation will help me to obtain information about the background of the movement, how it has developed, strategies used, achievements and the challenges faced. This information will help to document the *Ni Una Menos Arequipa* movement in academic research and share the story of how it is contesting gender based-violence.

How data will be collected and stored

Interviews will be recorded on a digital recorder and some written notes may be taken during the interview. The only people who will ordinarily have access to the digital recording of this interview and any notes taken will be the researcher and academic supervisor (see contact information below). If a research assistant is contracted to assist with transcription of the digital recordings, they will sign a confidentiality agreement making a commitment not to in any way divulge the content of the recordings.

Any personal information about you (for example, the audio recording of your interview) will be destroyed at the completion of the research. The rest of the information collected in the research will be retained for five years in a secure archive.

How data will be used

Data collected will contribute to the final document of this research, a thesis. A copy of the thesis will be held in the Victoria University library and in a public electronic research archive. Findings may also be presented as part of articles for academic journals and/or presentations at academic conferences.

Confidentiality

As a default position, you will not be identified in research reports unless you explicitly request this in the consent form. Where direct quotations are used, they will be attributed the nickname you chose, provided in the consent form.

You will have the opportunity to review a transcript or summary of the interview, in the format of your preference.

What are your rights as a participant?

- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview
- You may decide not to answer a question without giving any reason
- You may withdraw any information provided
- You may withdraw your participation at any stage before, during or up to 3 months after the interview, without needing to give a reason and all information provided will be deleted and therefore not used in this study
- Receive a copy of your interview recording and transcripts
- Be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

Further information

For further information, you may contact:

Researcher:

Nadia Yris Infantes Abril

Email: nadia.infantesabril@vuw.ac.nz or

Academic Supervisor:

As. Professor Sara Kindon
Email. sara.kindon@ vuw.ac.nz

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research, you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028. HEC approval number: 0000026266.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEWS WITH YOUNG PEOPLE

Social movements contesting gender-based violence: The *Ni Una Menos* movement in Arequipa, Peru

The aim of this participant information sheet is to provide to the participants an overview about the research and an explanation about their role as participants.

My name is Nadia Infantes and I am a Master's student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis. My research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (HEC approval number 0000026266).

Aims of the research

My research project aims to explore how the *Ni Una Menos* movement is contesting gender based-violence in Peru and how it is perceived by young women and men (18-25) in urban and rural areas in Arequipa.

How your participation will contribute to my research

Your participation will help me to get perceptions about the *Ni Una Menos* movement, their strategies to contest gender-based violence in Arequipa, and how these strategies have reached and communicated with people. To do this I will use interviews that will be recorded if you agree.

How data will be collected and stored

Interviews will be recorded on a digital recorder and some written notes may be taken during the interview. The only people who will ordinarily have access to the digital recording of this interview and any notes taken will be the researcher and academic supervisor (see contact information below). If a research assistant is contracted to assist with transcription of the digital recordings, they will sign a confidentiality agreement making a commitment not to in any way divulge the content of the recordings.

Any personal information about you (for example, the audio recording of your interview) will be destroyed at the completion of the research. The rest of the information collected in the research will be retained for five years in a secure archive.

How data will be used

Data collected will contribute to the final document of this research, thesis. A copy of the thesis will be held in the Victoria University library and in a public electronic research archive. Findings may also be presented as part of articles for academic journals and/or presentations at academic conferences.

Confidentiality

As a default position, you will not be identified in research reports unless you explicitly request this in the consent form. Where direct quotations are used, they will be attributed the nickname you chose, provided in the consent form.

You will have the opportunity to review a transcript or summary of the interview, in the format of your preference.

What are your rights as a participant?

- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview
- You may decide not to answer a question without giving any reason
- You may withdraw any information provided
- You may withdraw your participation at any stage before, during or up to 3 months after the interview, without needing to give a reason and all information provided will be deleted and therefore not used in this study
- Receive a copy of your interview recording and transcripts
- Be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

Further information

For further information, you may contact:

Researcher:

Nadia Yris Infantes Abril

Email: nadia.infantesabril@vuw.ac.nz or

Academic Supervisor:

As. Professor Sara Kindon
Email. sara.kindon@ vuw.ac.nz

Phone: +64 4 4636194

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor, Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028. HEC approval number: 0000026266.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR SURVEY

Social movements contesting gender-based violence: The *Ni Una Menos* movement in Arequipa, Peru.

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request. My research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (HEC approval number 0000026266).

Who am I? I am Nadia Infantes Abril, from Development Studies, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis for a Master's degree.

What is the aim of the project? My research project aims to explore how the *Ni Una Menos* movement is contesting gender based-violence in Peru and how it is perceived by young women and men (18-25) in Arequipa.

How can you help? If you agree to take part you will complete a survey. The survey will ask you questions about how the movement is connecting with the community in Arequipa and how young women and men are responding to the movement. The survey will take you approximately 5 minutes to complete.

What will happen to the information you give? This research is anonymous. This means that nobody, including the researchers will be aware of your identity. By answering it, you are giving consent for us to use your responses in this research. Your answers will remain completely anonymous and unidentifiable. Once you submit the survey, it will be impossible to retract your answer. Please do not include any personal identifiable information in your responses.

What will the project produce? The information from my research will be used in my Master's thesis, academic journals and conferences.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either me or my academic supervisor.

Researcher:
Nadia Yris Infantes Abril
Email: nadia.infantesabril@vuw.ac.nz or

Academic Supervisor:
As. Professor Sara Kindon
Email. sara.kindon@ vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028. HEC approval number: 0000026266.

Appendix B: Consent forms

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: ACTIVIST INTERVIEWS

Researcher: Nadia Yris Infantes Abril, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington. HEC approval number: 0000026266.

I have had the opportunity to consider all the information presented to me in the information sheet and to have any questions answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I can ask further questions at any time. I may withdraw my participation (or information I have provided) at any time during the interview or up to three months afterwards., by direct communication with the researcher or by emailing nadia.infantesabril@vuw.ac.nz

	Yes	No
I give my consent to take part in this study and participate in an interview	( )	( )
I agree to the interview being recorded for later transcription.	( )	( )
* I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to my real name in any documentation arising from the project.	( )	( )
I prefer the following name instead _____		
I give consent for my information to be stored for five years and to be used to inform future academic journal articles arising from the project and/or academic conferences.	( )	( )
** The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed in April 2023.		
I would like a copy of the recording of my interview	( )	( )
I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview	( )	( )
I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview	( )	( )
I would like to receive a copy of the research report produced through this project.	( )	( )

Full name:

Email:

Signature: **Date:**

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: YOUNG PEOPLE INTERVIEWS

Researcher: Nadia Yris Infantes Abril, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington

I have had the opportunity to consider all the information presented to me in the information sheet and to have any questions answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I can ask further questions at any time. I may withdraw my participation (or information I have provided) at any time during the interview or up to three months afterwards., by direct communication with the researcher or by emailing nadia.infantesabril@vuw.ac.nz.

	Yes	No
I give my consent to take part in this study and participate in an interview	( )	( )
I agree to the interview being recorded for later transcription.	( )	( )
I agree to being quoted in the document for this project. I understand my name will not be used in reports, nor will any information that would identify me.	( )	( )
I would prefer to be named _____ (pseudonym) in the research.		
I give consent for my information to be stored for five years and to be used to inform future academic journal articles arising from the project and/or academic conferences.	( )	( )
** The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed in April 2023.		
I would like a copy of the recording of my interview	( )	( )
I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview	( )	( )
I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview	( )	( )
I would like to receive a copy of the research report produced through this project.	( )	( )

Full name:

Email:

Signature: **Date:**

[Name and address of organisation]

To whom it may concern

Feminist social movements contesting gender-based violence: The *Ni Una Menos movement* in Peru

This letter is to inform you that as part of research I am undertaking about how feminist social movements are contesting gender-based violence in Peru, I am seeking to interview one or more representatives of [name of organisation]. The reason why I would like to interview representatives of [name of organisation] is because [organisation-specific explanation].

To confirm that you are happy for me to directly contact employees or representatives of [name of organisation] to participate in interviews, I would appreciate you responding by email to nadia.infantesabril@vuw.ac.nz or by signing the consent form on the following page.

Further information about the research project may be obtained from the following contacts.

Principal researcher

Nadia Yris Infantes Abril

Email: nadia.infantesabril@vuw.ac.nz or

Phone: xxxxxxx (Peru)

+640273473131 (New Zealand)

Academic supervisor

As. Professor Sara Kindon
Email. sara.kindon@ vuw.ac.nz

Phone: +6404 4636194

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee Convener: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028. HEC approval number: 0000026266.

Yours sincerely

Nadia Yris Infantes Abril
School of Geography, Environmental and Earth Sciences
Victoria University of Wellington
NEW ZEALAND

Appendix C: Interview guide (English version)

INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVISTS

Social movements contesting gender-based violence: The *Ni Una Menos* movement in Arequipa, Peru.

Personal opinions about gender- based violence.

1. What is your opinion about the gender-based violence issue in Peru and Arequipa
2. Do you think the issue of gender-based violence shows the same characteristics in urban and rural areas, or are they different?
3. What do you think are its underlying causes?
    - Why do you think it is so difficult to overcome?
    - If not mentioned before. What do you think about the opinion that machismo is a factor in gender-based violence?
4. What needs to happen to overcome gender-based violence in Arequipa and in Peru?

Start of Ni Una Menos in Arequipa and participation of activists

5. When and how did you get involved with the *Ni Una Menos* movement?
6. What do you do in the movement?
7. How did the Ni Una Menos movement idea start in Arequipa?

Ni Una Menos strategies/objectives

8. What are the objectives of the *Ni Una Menos* movement?
9. What strategies are being used to achieve the movement's objectives? How have they developed over time?
10. There is a close connection of women's movements with feminism. Would you consider that the Ni Una Menos movement Oficial Arequipa identifies as a feminist movement?

Ni Una Menos impacts/reach

11. How has the movement attempted to reach and communicate with the wider community in Arequipa?
12. Which groups in the community is the movement trying to target?
13. Has the *Ni Una Menos* movement been in contact with other areas of the region Arequipa?

14. How has the community in Arequipa responded to *Ni Una Menos* and to its messages against gender-based violence?
15. Do you think men have also been involved with *Ni Una Menos?* How and why?

Social media

16. What role has social media had in the *Ni Una Menos* movement?
17. What do you think about the hashtag *#juecescorruptos*

Evaluation of the movement

18. What successes have the movement had so far?
19. What are the biggest challenges that the *Ni Una Menos* movement is facing in Arequipa and Peru?
20. Do you think is there anything that could be improved in the *Ni Una Menos* movement?
21. My research is also looking at the responses of young women and men towards how *Ni Una Menos* is contesting gender-based violence. I would like to know if there is any particular idea/question you would like to be included in the survey?

INTERVIEW WITH YOUNG WOMEN AND MEN

Social movements contesting gender-based violence: The *Ni Una Menos* movement in Arequipa, Peru.

Personal opinions about gender- based violence.

1. What is your opinion about the gender-based violence issue in Peru and Arequipa?
2. Do you think the issue of gender-based violence shows the same characteristics in urban and rural areas, or are they different?
3. What do you think are its underlying causes?
    a. Why do you think it is so difficult to overcome?
    b. If not mentioned before. What do you think about the opinion that machismo is a factor in gender-based violence?
4. What needs to happen to overcome gender-based violence in Peru and Arequipa?

Connection with the Ni Una Menos movement

5. What is your opinion about the *Ni Una Menos* movement?
6. Can you explain what the purpose and objectives of *Ni Una Menos* are?
7. How and when did you hear about *Ni Una Menos*? By a friend, on TV, or internet …
8. Do you think *Ni Una Menos* has tried to connect with your community?

Involvement with the Ni Una Menos movement

9. Have you been involved with any event organized by the *Ni Una Menos* movement? If yes, can you explain how you decided to get involved and what you did?
    a. Or have you interacted with any social media webpage (e.g Facebook)? How?
    b. Do you feel that what you see/saw on the social media was relevant to you and to the context of your daily life and age group? Why?
10. Do you think that men have been involved with the movement in the same way as women? Why or why not?

Ni Una Menos impact

11. Do you think *Ni Una Menos* has had any impact in regards to gender-based violence? If so, what has this impact been?
12. Have there been any impacts you have noticed in your daily life relationships (with friends, family, workplace, etc)

Suggestions for the Ni Una Menos movement

13. How do you think *Ni Una Menos* could improve its effort to contest gender-based violence?

INTERVIEW WITH ORGANISATIONS

Social movements contesting gender-based violence: The *Ni Una Menos* movement in Arequipa, Peru.

Personal opinions about gender- based violence

1. Can you explain what the CEM does to contest gender-based violence?
2. What is your opinion about the issue of gender-based violence in Peru and Arequipa
3. Do you think the gender-based violence shows the same characteristics in urban and rural areas, or are they different?
4. What do you think are its underlying causes?
    - Why do you think it is so difficult to overcome?
    - If not mentioned before. What do you think about the opinion that machismo is a factor in gender-based violence?
5. What do you think needs to happen to overcome gender-based violence in Arequipa and in Peru?

Opinion about the Ni Una Menos movement

6. What is your opinion about the Ni Una Menos movement?
7. What have you been able to observe about how this movement has developed in Arequipa?
8. Can you explain what the purpose and objectives of Ni Una Menos are?

Involvement with the Ni Una Menos movement

9. Have you had any opportunity to connect with either of the Ni Una Menos movements in Arequipa? How did this connection occur?
10. Has the Women's Emergency Centre participated in any march or other event organised by the Ni Una Menos movement in Arequipa?

Ni Una Menos impact

11. The first Ni Una Menos march in 2016 had massive participation in Lima and in other regions and the initiative seems to have bene well-received by the Peruvian and Arequipa community in general. Why do you think its popularity hasn't been maintained through to this year? Do you think it has even been weakened, and if so, why?
12. Have you been involved with any case in which the Ni Una Menos movement has been mentioned?

Suggestions for Ni Una Menos movement

13. How do you think that Ni Una Menos could improve its efforts to combat gender-based violence?

Appendix D: Interview guide (Spanish version)

INTERVIEW (ACTIVISTS)

Personal opinions about gender- based violence.

1. ¿Cuál es su punto de vista de la problemática de la violencia de género en nuestro país y ciudad? Perú, Arequipa
2. ¿Cree que la violencia de genero presenta diferentes características en diferentes grupos, como en niveles socioeconómicos, áreas urbanas y rurarles, etc?
3. ¿Cuál cree Ud. es o son las causas de la violencia de género o en contra de las mujeres?
   a. ¿Por qué cree que es tan difícil de superar este problema?
   b. Si no se menciona antes. ¿Qué opinión tiene sobre el machismo?
4. ¿Qué tendría que suceder para que se supere la violencia de género en Arequipa y Perú?

Start of Ni Una Menos in Arequipa and participation of activists

5. ¿Desde cuándo y cómo decidió involucrarse en el movimiento o involucrarse con Ni Una Menos
6. ¿Qué es lo que usted realiza en el movimiento y que ha realizado hasta el momento?
7. ¿Cómo nació el movimiento Ni Una Menos Arequipa?

Ni Una Menos strategies/objectives

8. ¿Cuál son los principales objetivos de Ni Una Menos?
9. ¿Cuáles son las estrategias usadas para llegar a sus objetivos? y como se han venido desarrollado estas estrategias? ¿Qué tan efectivas cree que son estas estrategias?
10. Existe una estrecha conexión entre movimientos de mujeres con el feminismo. ¿Considera que el movimiento en Arequipa es feminista? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
    Alternativa: ¿Crees que el movimiento también debería preocuparse con otras injusticias que sufren las mujeres? ¿Cuales?

Ni Una Menos impacts/reach

11. ¿Cómo Ni Una Menos ha intentado llegar y comunicar con la amplia comunidad arequipeña?

12. ¿A qué grupos de la comunidad Ni Una Menos se está dirigiendo?
13. ¿Ni Una Menos Arequipa ha tenido contacto con otras áreas de Arequipa? ¿Con quienes?

14. ¿Cómo ha venido respondiendo la comunidad arequipeña hacia Ni Una Menos y a sus mensajes con relación a la violencia de género?
15. Cree Ud. ¿Que los hombres también se han involucrado con Ni Una Menos? ¿Cómo y por qué?

Social media

16. ¿Qué rol ha tenido las redes sociales para la campana?
17. ¿Qué crees que representa el hash tag de la marcha de este año Mujeres por Justicia?

Evaluation of the movement

18. ¿Cuáles crees han sido los mayores logros de Ni Una Menos?
19. ¿Cuáles son los retos y las dificultades más grandes que enfrenta Ni Una Menos en Arequipa y Perú?
20. ¿Crees que hay algo se podría mejorar en el colectivo de Ni Una Menos?
21. Mi estudio quiere analizar las percepciones de los jóvenes hacia como Ni Una Menos está combatiendo la violencia de género. Tiene algo en particular que le gustaría se pregunte a los jóvenes.

INTERVIEW (STUDENTS)

Personal opinions about gender- based violence.

1. ¿Cuál es tu punto de vista sobre la problemática de la violencia de género en nuestra ciudad?
2. ¿Crees que la violencia de género presenta las mismas características en diferentes sectores sociales?
3. ¿Cuál crees es o son las causas de la violencia de género?
   a. Si no es mencionado antes. ¿Qué opina acerca de la premisa que el machismo es un factor para violencia de género?
4. ¿Qué tendría que suceder para que se supere la violencia de género en Arequipa y Perú?

Connection with the Ni Una Menos movement

5. ¿Qué opinas de Ni Una Menos? ¿Has escuchado sobre su campaña?
6. ¿Cuál crees son los objetivos de Ni Una Menos?
7. ¿Cómo y cuándo escuchaste de Ni Una Menos? Por la TV, amigos(as), internet …
8. ¿Crees que la campana de Ni Una Menos ha tratado de involucrarse con tu comunidad?

Involvement with the Ni Una Menos movement

9. ¿Has tenido interacción con alguna de las redes sociales de Ni Una Menos (Facebook)? ¿Cómo?
   a. ¿Has participado en algún evento organizado por Ni Una Menos? De ser así, ¿cómo decidiste involucrarte y qué hiciste? ¿De no ser el caso, por qué?
   b. ¿Sientes que lo que viste o ves en las redes sociales está dirigido a ti, al contexto en el que vives a diario y de tu edad? ¿Porqué?
10. ¿Crees que los hombres se han involucrado con Ni Una Menos de la misma manera que las mujeres? ¿Por qué o por qué no? ¿Crees que deberían?

Ni Una Menos impact

11. ¿Crees que la campana de Ni Una Menos ha tenido algún impacto en cuanto al tema de violencia en contra de las mujeres? ¿De creerlo así, cómo ha sido este impacto?
12. ¿Lo escuchado o recibido por la campaña de Ni Una Menos, ha tenido un efecto en tu vida diaria? Por ejemplo, en tus relaciones familiares, amicales, etc. ¿Cómo ha influido en ti?

Suggestions for Ni Una Menos movement

¿Cómo crees que Ni Una Menos podría mejorar su lucha para combatir la violencia de género?

INTERVIEW (ORGANISATIONS)

Personal opinions about gender- based violence

1. Me puede comentar sobre lo que hace el Centro de Emergencia Mujer y lo que usted realiza, sus funciones, y labores.
2. ¿Cuál es su punto de vista de la problemática de la violencia de género en nuestro país y ciudad?
3. ¿Cree que la violencia de genero presenta diferentes características en diferentes grupos, como en niveles socioeconómicos, áreas urbanas y rurales?
4. ¿Cuál cree Ud. es o son las causas de la violencia de género o en contra de las mujeres? ¿Por qué cree que es tan difícil de superar este problema?
5. ¿Qué tendría que suceder para que se supere la violencia de género en Arequipa y Perú?

Opinion about the Ni Una Menos movement

6. ¿Qué opinión tiene del movimiento Ni Una Menos?
7. ¿Cómo ha Ud. podido observar el desarrollo de este movimiento en Arequipa y como se ha desarrollado en el contexto arequipeño?
8. ¿Puede describir los objetivos del movimiento Ni Una Menos?

Involvement with the Ni Una Menos movement

9. ¿Ha Ud. tenido la oportunidad de conectarse con alguno de los movimientos de Ni Una Menos, Cuál? ¿Cómo se dio esta conexión?
10. ¿El Centro de Emergencia Mujer ha participado en alguna marcha o evento organizado por el movimiento Ni Una Menos en Arequipa? ¿Cual? ¿Por ejemplo, alguna de las marchas?

Ni Una Menos impact

11. La primera marcha de Ni Una Menos en 2016, fue multitudinaria tanto en Lima como en diferentes regiones y al parecer la iniciativa fue bien recibida por la comunidad peruana y arequipeña en general. ¿Por qué crees que la popularidad no se ha mantenido o incrementado hasta el presente año? ¿Consideras que incluso su popularidad como movimiento se ha debilitado? ¿Por qué?
12. ¿Ha usted tenido algún caso en el que el movimiento Ni Una Menos haya sido mencionado?

Suggestions for Ni Una Menos movement

13. ¿Cómo cree que Ni Una Menos podría mejorar su lucha para combatir la violencia de género?

Appendix D: Survey (English version)

SURVEY – PERSPECTIVES ON THE *NI UNA MENOS* MOVEMENT AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

1. How much information have you received about violence against women from the following sources?

	Very little	Little	Some	Quite a lot	A lot
Television					
Radio					
Newspapers					
Social networks					
Friends and family					

2. What do you think are the most important underlying causes of gender-based violence? Number from one to three, with one being the most important.

	Poverty
	The culture of *machismo*
	Deficiencies in the education system
	Lack of a gender focus in education
	Deficiencies in the justice system
	Mental health of abusers
	Behaviour of victims

3. Have you heard about the *Ni Una Menos* campaign?

	Yes
	No

4. Have you had any contact with the *Ni Una Menos* movement or been involved in any actions promoted by the movement? Mark as many as needed.

	I've heard or seen information about *Ni Una Menos* on TV, on the radio or online
	I've 'liked' a *Ni Una Menos* page or shared their content through social media
	I've participated in a march organized by *Ni Una Menos*
	I've been to protests or vigils organized by *Ni Una Menos*
	None of the above
	Other (specify)

5. Mark the option that best describes your opinion about the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
Violence against women should be a high priority for the community of Arequipa					
Changing beliefs and attitudes related to *machismo* would help reduce violence against women					
The *Ni Una Menos* movement represents the wishes of all Peruvian women.					
The messages put out by *Ni Una Menos* have influenced my thinking about the social roles of men and women.					
The *Ni Una Menos* campaign has made the theme of violence against women easier to discuss in public.					
Social media has been very important in allowing violence against women to be debated and analysed from different perspectives.					

6. What is your age?

	Less than 18
	18-24
	25-29
	More than 29

7. Where were you born?

	The province of Arequipa
	Another province of the department of Arequipa
	Another department of Peru
	Another country
	Unsure

8. Where do you live currently?

	The province of Arequipa
	Another province of the department of Arequipa
	Another department of Peru
	Another country

9. Gender

Female	
Male	
Other	

Appendix E: Survey (Spanish version)

ENCUESTA: PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE LA CAMPAÑA NI UNA MENOS Y LA VIOLENCIA EN CONTRA DE LAS MUJERES

1. ¿Cuánta información has recibido sobre la violencia en contra de las mujeres a través de las siguientes fuentes?

	Muy poco	Poco	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Televisión					
Radio					
Periódicos					
Redes sociales					
Amigos y familares					

2. En tu opinión, ¿cuáles son las causas más importantes de la violencia en contra de las mujeres? Enumera del 1 al 3 en orden de importancia, en donde 1 es lo más importante.

	Pobreza
	La cultura del machismo
	Deficiencias en el sistema educativo
	Falta de un enfoque de género en la educación
	Deficiencias en el sistema de justicia
	La salud mental de los abusadores
	Comportamiento de las victimas

3. ¿Has escuchado sobre la campaña Ni Una Menos?

	Sí
	No

4. ¿Has tenido algún contacto con el movimiento Ni Una Menos o te has involucrado con algun acción promovida por el movimiento? Marcar todas las opciones aplicables.

	He visto o escuchado información sobre Ni Una Menos en la televisión, en línea o en la radio
	He puesto 'me gusta' en una página de Ni Una Menos o compartido contenido en las redes sociales
	He participado en una marcha organizada por Ni Una Menos
	He asistido a plantones o vigilias organizadas por Ni Una Menos
	Ninguno de los anteriores
	Otro (especificar)

5. Marca la opción que más corresponda a tu opinión en relación a las siguientes aseveraciones

	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Ni de acuerdo, ni en desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
Creo que la violencia en contra de las mujeres debería ser una prioridad para la comunidad arequipeña.					
Considero que, si se cambian las creencias y actitudes relacionadas al machismo, la violencia en contra de las mujeres podría reducirse					
Considero que la campana de Ni Una Menos representa el pedido de todas las mujeres peruanas.					
El movimiento Ni Una Menos me ha concientizado en cuanto a la violencia en contra de las mujeres.					
Considero que los mensajes emitidos por Ni Una Menos han influido en mi forma de pensar en relación al rol de las mujeres y de los varones en la sociedad.					
Creo que después de las campanas promovidas por Ni Una Menos el tema de la violencia en contra de las mujeres se puede discutir públicamente.					
Creo que las redes sociales han sido muy importantes para que el tema de la violencia en contra de las mujeres sea comunicado y analizado desde diferentes perspectivas.					

6. ¿Cuál es tu edad?

	Menos de 18
	18-24
	25-29
	Más de 29

7. ¿Dónde naciste?

	La provincia de Arequipa
	Otra provincia del departamento de Arequipa
	Otro departamento del Perú
	Otro país
	No sé

8. ¿Dónde resides actualmente?

	La provincia de Arequipa
	Otra provincia del departamento de Arequipa
	Otro departamento del Perú
	Otro país
	No sé

9. Genero

Femenino	
Masculino	
Otro	

Appendix F: Photo gallery from fieldwork

This gallery shows some of the additional photos I took during fieldwork with NUM Arequipa during July-October 2018. All images are reproduced with the permission of participants.

Campaign with men – #ConEllaMeCompromeTo

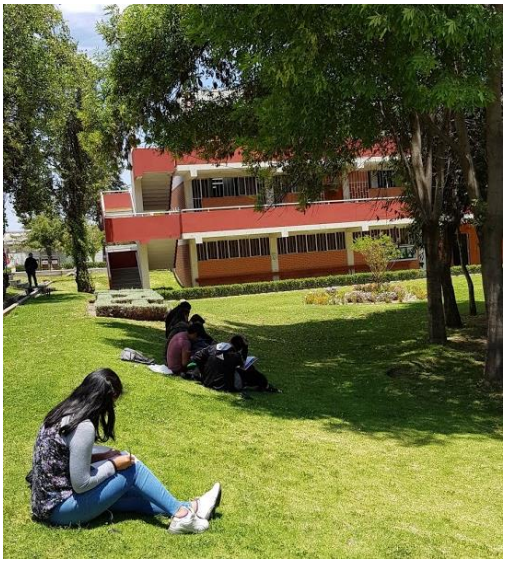
Campaign in San Camilo market (raising awareness)

DALIA
CHICHARRÓN
caja

Vigil for Karina

Working with activists

Students filling out the survey



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