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The Impact of Machismo on Women's Health and Security in Peru

and

How the State Fails Women

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### **Abstract**

In Peru, women are victims of intimate partner femicide due to machismo culture and gender inequality. The prevalence of such crimes does not seem to diminish in spite of social efforts and legislature reform. This systematic literature review examined areas in which the state is failing women and found that gender equality and gender violence legislature is either weakly written or unenforced, or a combination of both. In addition, the literature also discovered that lack of enforcement of law is due to prevalent machismo culture in the country. Future legislation needs to address this machismo culture to improve gender equality and provide tools to effectively enforce the law, in order to successfully reduce the prevalence of intimate partner femicide in Peru.

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## Introduction

Gender inequality is a prevalent issue across the world that affects women and those surrounding them. It is the belief that men and women are not equal and must abide by socially constructed gender norms (Sen, 2001). These gender norms range from seemingly innocent assignation of the color blue for boys and pink for girls, to the idea that women should conduct themselves in a gentle manner, while men are expected to be aggressive (Kachel et. al, 2016).

In efforts to maintain the effort of women, gender inequality can sometimes lead to violence by means of sexual abuse, physical abuse, and verbal abuse which can result in death. (WHO, 2011). The murder of women due to gender discrimination is called femicide. Femicide is often the culmination of enduring violence (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2010).

In efforts to form effective legislature, the Kingdon's multiple-streams framework provides an exploration on how problem, politics and policy interact together. The problem is identified as intimate partner femicide. The politics are the social movements pushing for legislative reform. The policy stream includes the policies that are already in place to curb the prevalence of intimate partner femicides but that have been ineffective. These three streams influenced each other to result in amended laws and new laws that attempt to combat the initial problem of femicide. However, these laws are still not effective as they are yet to change the persistent problem of prevalent intimate partner femicide in Peru (Beland & Howlett, 2016).

The purpose of this thesis is to systematically assess the literature surrounding the prevalence of intimate partner femicide in Peru, with the goal of identifying the factors that are allowing for the continuous cases of intimate partner femicide at a state level. The findings show that the laws are weakly written, widely unenforced and provide obstacles for women who seek

justice (Boesten, 2012; Garcia-del Moral & Neumann, 2019). The inability from the government to execute effective legislative measures and inability to execute enforcement of effective measures contributes to the prevalence of all types of violence against women in Peru, including femicides.

The reviewed literature also widely concurred that gender inequality and machismo culture are the reasons behind this lack of attention and preoccupation towards violence against women. This consequently leads to the lack of enforcement of laws, which allows for the prevalence of femicides and other gender-based violence in Peru.

## Background

In Peru, there is a lack of effective policies on femicide and other forms of gender-based violence. A problem that is not only prevalent in Peru but in other parts of the world. The United Nations notes that in spite of governments implementing policies to prevent gender-based violence, aid battered women and empower women, these laws are rarely enforced across the world (UN, 2015).

Developing policing and enforcing the law are two of the ten essential services of Public Health. These services are necessary in order to identify the health problem, develop measures to prevent health issues and improve the health of the individual and community. Lastly, it is imperative to make sure that these measures are being followed so that the desired outcome is achieved (CDC, 2011).

Developing effective policies is done in efforts to protect the health of the community and guide the intended public health measure (CDC, 2011). Enforcing the law is done to protect health, promote health and improve health (CDC, 2011). These two areas are failing in Peru, leading to the inability of reducing the prevalence of intimate partner femicide.

Gender inequality and the culture of machismo are attributed to femicides and the failure of the laws to prevent these deaths (Sugihara & Warner, 2002). Social gender inequality is the sharp unequal treatment of men and women in society (Lorber, 2010). As an example, this is seen in the institution of education, where about 40% of countries around the world do not provide girls equal access to education as boys (UNESCO, 2017).

Another area in which gender inequality is found in society is in economic independence. Women are paid less for equal work in comparison with their male counterparts. Globally, women in average earn 77 cents per every 1 dollar than men earn (UN Women, 2016). This is

an important aspect to consider when discussing violence since education and economic status are two known risk factors of gender-based violence, including femicide (CDC, 2018).

The culture of machismo is the idea that men should be dominant over women and this dominance can be reinforced even through violence (Chon, 2011; Mithell, 2013). Machismo is the terminology used in Latin American countries, but this idea is also known as sexism, toxic masculinity, patriarchy, and male chauvinism. This culture of machismo is deeply embedded in Peruvian culture (Flannery, 2019).

To be able to understand femicide and the repercussions gender inequality has, it is important to understand the sometimes precursor to femicide, domestic violence. This form of gender-based violence has serious adverse health problem that affects women and those surrounding them. Women who experience domestic violence are more likely to suffer from lifelong health issues such as chronic pain, sexually transmitted infections, gastrointestinal disorders, depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Plichta & Falik, 2001). The children witnessing this violence are predisposed to either become a victim of gender-based violence or grow up to be the perpetrator (UN Women, 2019). Women who experience domestic violence, are also more likely to be victims of femicide (Taylor & Janiski, 2011)

### Femicide Around the World

According to a report initially released by Pan American Health Organization, gender-based violence causes more injuries and deaths than malaria, cancer, car accidents and war among women between 15 and 44 years old (Delgado & Caivano, 2014). The United Nations estimates that in 2017, at least 50,000 women in the world were murdered by an intimate partner, that is about 38% of all murdered women (WHO, 2017; UNODC, 2018).

Higher prevalence of intimate partner femicides are seen in the African continent, where the rate is 3.1 per 100,000 population. The second worst rate is found in the Americas, where the rate of intimate partner femicide is 1.6 per 100,000 (UNODC, 2018). Other troubling statistics show that 1 in 3 women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence (WHO, 2011). Thirty percent have experienced sexual violence from a partner or non-partner (WHO, 2013). This emphasizes the global scope of this problem (Simister, 2012, Vives-Cases, 2010).

### Legislation Around the World

Legislation regarding women's rights have a reprimandable history. Physical violence against wives, often a precursor to femicide, was legal in most countries in the 1880s, due to the belief that it was the man's right to beat their wife in order to discipline them and to establish authority (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d). This is a prime example of how patriarchal beliefs influenced decision making (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d). In 1871, Alabama, became the first state in the United States to rescind the legal right of husbands to beat their wives, other states followed soon after (Fagan, 1995). To this day, there are countries such as Afghanistan and Jordan, where 90% of the population believes it is the man's right to hit a woman (UNICEF, 2013).

In the United States, 1900s, police that intervened in domestic violence cases would rarely enforce the law and make any arrest (Lentz, 1999). A habit that persisted even towards the end of the century (Lentz, 1999). In fact, prior to the 1970s, police stations had policies in place that advised against arrests of husbands in domestic violence altercations, claiming this crime was "unsuited for police attention and inappropriate for prosecution and substantive punishment" (Fagan, 1996). Well into the 1990s, the belief that violence within a marriage was

a private matter, an intrapersonal conflict, persisted in several countries around the world, indicating the gender norms influence on enforcing laws (Fagan, 1996; United Nations, 1993).

Latin American countries have been implementing legislation surrounding femicide since 2008, at a slow but sturdy pace (Global Americas, 2019). By the end of 2015, 16 countries, including Peru, had amended or adopted laws that addressed femicides (Global Americas, 2019).

### Social Movements Around the World

In cases of significant social injustice, social conflict, collective unrest or the collective feeling of livelihood being threatened in any way, social movements have been used as a tool to demand change from the respective governing body (Neumann, 2018). In the case of gender inequality, the story is not different.

In the United States, the second feminist movement of the 1960s to 1980s, was concerned with equal rights and ending discrimination against women by changing the sexist structure of society (Ohio University, 2018). This discrimination allowed for domestic violence, marital rape and oppression of reproductive rights, areas of which this second wave feminist movement was most concerned about (Ohio University, 2018).

The sexist structure demanded women to identify themselves in relation to the men surrounding them, implying that a woman can only be a wife, a mother, a sister or a daughter (Ohio University, 2018). An idea that continues to stubbornly infiltrate American culture and other cultures around the world, including Peruvian culture (Villanueva, 2018).

The second feminist movement was instrumental in creating victim-witness programs, opening shelters for battered women, special prosecution units, as well as treatment programs for

perpetrators (Fanga, 1996). In addition to the contributions to a more equal society (Fanga, 1996).

More recently, The Me-Too Movement in the United States had a similar impact on policy and cultural change (Me-Too, 2018). This movement was created to address sexual abuse and sexual harassment prevalence in the work environment (Me-Too, 2018). The Me-Too movement propelled a conversation around consent, and seeks to educate men on what it means to consent (Me Too, 2018). More importantly, the movement prompted legal reform since several laws have passed in various states to protect women (Tippett, 2018). Such laws include several states strengthening their sexual harassment in the workplace laws, and a California law that requires women on corporate boards (Tippett, 2018). This movement was very important internationally as well, but it did not address femicides. Nevertheless, this movement opened a dialogue around gender inequalities and violence against women (Me-Too, 2018). Allowing for the conversation to be more regular, open and honest (Me-Too, 2018). This is important to be able to address other forms of gender-based violence, such as intimate partner femicide.

Before #MeToo went viral in the United States and the rest of the English-speaking world, Argentina was building their own social movement due to the rising numbers of murdered women by their intimate partner (Terzian, 2017). The *Ni Una Menos* movement was created in 2015 in Argentina, at a time when a woman was murdered every 30 hours due to their gender (CSJN, 2018;Terzian, 2017). The perpetrators were becoming more brazen, committing these crimes in broad daylight and in public locations (Terzian, 2017). More troubling, there was constant impunity of these crimes and poor government response (Terzian, 2017).

The *Ni Una Menos* movement organized marches demanding legislative reform that addressed preventive gender violence measures, enforcement of laws, and creation of an official

femicide registry (Terzian, 2017). The movement was successful in achieving a government response in the form of policy implementation, yet the prevalence of femicide continued, at a woman murdered every 31 hours, prompting the social movements to continue the efforts (CSJN, 2018; Terzian, 2017).

The Kingdon Framework is divided into three streams: the problem stream, the policy stream, and the politics stream. The problem is the current health outcome of concern, the policy is the current laws aimed to address the health outcome or concern, and finally the politics are the decision makers, NGOs, and/or private sector companies that may influence the policy making. These three streams interact with each other leading to policy window, which is the legislative result or response of this interaction (Howlett et. al, 1984). This framework is used to understand the policymaking in Peru and how it fails to produce effective laws.

## The Impact of Machismo on Women's Health and Security in Peru

### The Problem

In Peru, in 2016, 46% of victims of femicide had reported acts of violence (El Peruano, 2017). In 2018 alone, 149 women were victims of femicide, an increase from the previous year that recorded 121 murders, many of which had been victims of domestic abuse (INEI, 2018). In 2019, femicide cases are expected to surpass previous year's numbers (INEI, 2018).

### The Politics

In Peru, #NiUnaMenos movement was adopted with ease due to increasing frustration over the lack of government concern and action. A report noted that 81% of potential femicide victims did not receive any type of protection or aid from the government (Alfageme, 2016).

In 2016, the *Ni Una Menos* chapter in Peru organized a march that condemned the machismo norm, demanded equality among the genders and demanded legislative reform (Alfageme, 2016). This march became the most attended march in the history of Peru, indicating the level of frustration towards the government's inept response to intimate partner femicides prevalence (Alfageme, 2016).

### The Policies

In Peru, before the *Ni Una Menos* movement, there were several laws in place that aimed to combat violence against women. In 2011, an article in the penal code was introduced to broaden the term femicide by including violence perpetrated by a former partner (CEPAL, n.d.). In 2013, an amendment was introduced that modified femicide law which set prison time to at least 15 years if the victim was an adult and of 25 years if the victim was underage (CEPAL, n.d.).

Using the kingdom framework, identified as the problem was the rates of femicide in Peru; the politics would be the *Ni Una Menos* social movement, and the policies are the laws that have been in place to reduce femicide rate. These streams come together to produce new laws that were introduced in 2016 and 2018.

Since the *Ni Una Menos* marches, Peru has introduced several new laws. In 2016, Law 28.950 aimed to stimulate the empowerment of women, and give them equal and fair access to opportunities (CEPAL, n.d.). In 2018, a law was introduced that made online sexual harassment a crime. The same year, Law 30819 was amended to forbid the excuse of alcohol in domestic abuse cases. It also specifies the definition of domestic violence. This law also increased severity

of femicide if it was committed in the presence of a child and raised prison time for femicide under any circumstances (El Peruano, 2018).

These laws were implemented but have had no impact on intimate partner femicide rates in Peru. As of July 2019, Peru has witnessed 99 murders of women at the hand of their partner or former partner (INEI, 2019). This is a higher number than the previous year of 2018, when by the end of July there had been 80 femicides (INEI, 2019).

## Methods

Initial background research was done exploring the areas in which policies surrounding femicide are ineffective on preventing death of women at the hands of a former or current intimate partner in Peru. This research did not focus on other health risks or social inequalities that women may encounter due to sexism culture. It also did not attempt to explore risk factors of women victims of gender violence, the genesis of machismo or risk factors of the perpetrators of violence. Rather, this initial research aimed to discover areas in which the state fails women.

### Research Strategy

The databases utilized were Academic Search Premier, Campbell Collaboration, Google Scholar CSUSM and PubMed through CSUSM's library website. Terms used included "Peru OR Latin America AND Sexism OR machismo AND gender violence OR femicide AND prevalence AND legislature OR laws OR policies". The articles sought after indicated an explanation for the prevalence of femicide in Peru that was not at an individual level.

### Inclusion Criteria

Articles that discuss gender violence in regard to problems, legislation, preventive measures and government were included. Only articles pertaining to Latin American and Peru were included. Articles published since 2010 were included.

### Exclusion Criteria

Non-peer reviewed articles were excluded from initial research. Articles that focused on sexism in relation to military service, wartime violence, economic despair, chronic illnesses, risky sexual behaviors, sex education, body image, reproductive rights, racial inequality, physical activity, mental health, STI risk, LGBTQ rights and substance abuse were excluded. Also, any

articles that focused on machismo in the United States or any other country outside of the Latin American region were excluded.

Articles that discussed femicide or gender-based violence in Latin America as a region, failing to discuss or mention specific countries, were excluded. Articles that discussed gender-based violence and did not mention femicide (or female homicide, murder of women, *feminicide*) were also excluded.

It is important to understand the process in which a bill becomes law in Peru, since this research discuss policies. Policymaking in Peru is composed of three steps: drafting the bill, voting on it and submitting it to the president for approval. Policies are drafted, mutinously discussed and voted on in the congress floor which is composed of a unicameral house with 130 elected members (Congreso de la Republica del Peru, n.d.). For ordinary laws, a simple majority is sufficient; for organic laws, 66 votes are required; for constitutional reform laws, 87 votes are required (RPP, 2016). If approved, the bill is sent to the president who can sign it into law or veto it (RPP, 2016).

## Results

### Data Analysis

This systematic review analyzed the literature for qualitative factors aiding the prevalence of intimate partner femicide in a state level in Peru.

Articles using the key words amounted to 3,539 articles. 3,475 were excluded based on title. 38 duplicates were excluded. 9 were excluded based on abstract, and one was excluded due to the full text not being available. This resulted in a total of 16 articles of interest. Five of these articles were no longer available on the redirected site or were only available through interlibrary loan, therefore these articles were retrieved using USC's online library portal.

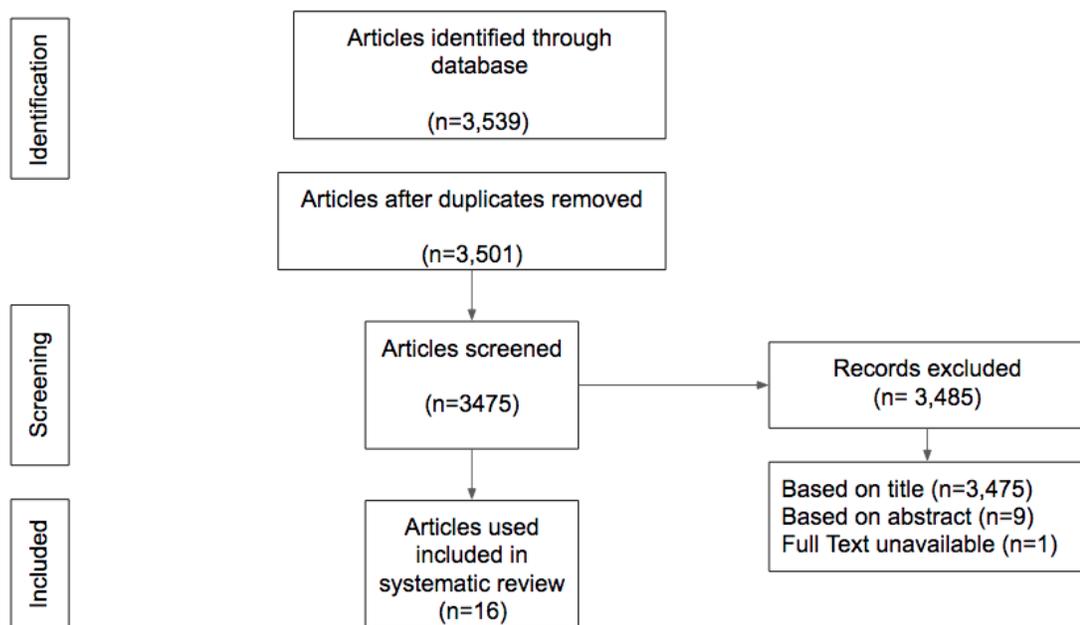


Figure 1. Flowchart for Articles included in Systematic Literature Review

Steps on the flow chart

1. Identification
  - a. Articles identified through database (n=3,539)
  - b. Articles after duplicated removed (n=3,501)
2. Screening
  - a. Articles screened (n=3,475)

- b. Records excluded (n=3,485); based on title (n=3,475), based on abstract (n=9), full text unavailable (n=1)
3. Included
  - a. Articles included in the systematic review (n=16)

The articles that were used, only four were exclusively about Peru and legislation regarding gender-based violence. Out of the four, only two were exclusively about femicide in Peru, while the other two mentioned femicide. The rest of the articles were either about Latin American as a region, mentioning Peru as an example; or focused on specific countries (Guatemala, Nicaragua and Ecuador), while also mentioning Peru as an example.

The research found two areas that are influenced by machismo in Latin America when it involves intimate partner femicide prevalence: context of the legislature and lack of enforcement of legislature. Within context of legislature, two areas main concerns were identified: verbiage of the text and the bureaucracy of the law. Regarding lack of enforcement of laws, the research identified the continuous impunity of the perpetrator, and the lack of monitoring of services as being the main contributors.

## Context of Legislature

### Verbiage of Laws

Laws enacted across Latin America fail to comply with the United Nations recommendations of strengthening, amending and implementing laws to address violence against women (Ortiz-Barreda & Vives-Cases, 2013). These failures include wording of documents and misuse or unused important terms such as \*female homicide\* and \*femicide\* to address gender violence (Boesten, 2012).

In Peru, there is a law that allows police officers to jail perpetrators immediately after the reported abuse in efforts to protect women, but if the victim reports the abuse after more than 24 hours, the detention does not occur (Boesten, 2012).

#### Bureaucracy of Laws

Bureaucracy in this context refers to the unnecessary impediment women face when reporting and seeking justice for abuse. In Peru, a medical examiner dictates the fate of a woman after an event of violence. Upon examination, the medical examiner would prescribe a certain number of rest days for the victim. If the days are less than 10, the injury is considered mild, the case is considered a misdemeanor and is so tried in family court. This is done ignoring the potential risk in which the victim may be in and ignoring psychological ramifications of the abuse (Boesten, 2012).

#### Lack of Enforcement of Legislature

##### Impunity

Laws enacted to prevent gender violence are not met in practice or had any intention of being met by the governing body, creating an environment of impunity where there are low prosecution rates, hence enabling the prevalence of the crime (Boesten, 2012; Boira et. al, 2017; Carey & Torres, 2010; Garcia-del Moral & Neumann, 2019; Kimelblatt, 2017; Mujica & Tieta, 2012; Shannon et. al, 2017; Neumann, 2018). This notable gap between implementation of law and enforcement of law is a widespread problem in Latin America (Marcus-Delgado & Caivano, 2014).

In an article written by Jelke Boesten, it was found that the reported cases of violence against women are rarely processed judicially due to the patriarchal state (Boesten, 2012). In

Peru, only 10% of gender violence cases between 2006-2009 achieved convictions (Boesten, 2012). This concept of patriarchy in Peru is defined by the use violence to perpetuate hierarchies, the superiority of men over women (Boesten, 2012). An aspect of patriarchy in Peru that Boesten points out is that the integrity of the family is valued far more than the rights of women as individuals (Boesten, 2012). Therefore, in cases of domestic violence, the case would often be presented in family court where judges usually dismiss the case or annul the sentence in efforts to maintain the nuclear family intact, ignoring the repercussions that this might have on women returning to an abusive partner (Boesten, 2012). Possible repercussions might be a continuation of the cycle of abuse or even death (Boesten, 2012). The impunity not only enables the perpetrator to continue the behavior, but it also discourages women from reporting the abuse (Boesten, 2012).

Garcia-del Moral and Neumann found that Latin American countries do not have the intention of enforcing gender-based violence laws, leading to impunity (Garcia-del Moral & Neumann, 2019). The authors indicate that gender-based violence laws are implemented in order to maintain a good international standing and to secure votes, not as an outcome of genuine intention of preventing femicides and other forms of gender-based violence (Garcia-del Moral & Neumann, 2019).

In an ecological model study conducted in Ecuador, researchers Boira, Tomas-Aragones and Rivera found that structured male chauvinism normalizes violence against women, impedes access to justice for victims, discourages victims from seeking justice and declines justice to victims (Boira et. al, 2017). The authors indicate that this is a common theme in other Latin American countries where progressive legislative reform has been achieved but due to the dominant patriarchal culture, these laws are not enforced (Boira et. al, 2017).

Gender norms play a role in the lack of law enforcement as indicated by Carey and Torres in an article about femicide in Guatemala (Carey & Torres, 2010). These authors found that given that women are expected to be quiet and gentle, they are perceived as savages and immoral when becoming angry over domestic abuse injustices (Carey & Torres, 2010). Due to this, courts and police officers do not abide by the written law, dismiss claims from the victims and condone the perpetrators (Carey & Torres, 2010). The authors clearly indicate that the long history of patriarchy in Latin America dating back to colonial times, is responsible for the current impunity of intimate partner femicides in Guatemala and other Latin American countries (Carey & Torres, 2010).

#### Lack of Monitoring

Services aimed to prevent gender-based violence and aid women experiencing abuse are not thoroughly monitored, an important aspect for the success of such services (Boesten, 2012; Stewart et. al, 2015; Vives-Cases et. al, 2010).

In a study analyzing policy data from 18 Latin American countries, including Peru, Stewart and associates found that laws are not only in accordance with the WHO guidelines, but they are strong and comprehensible (Stewart et. al, 2015). These guidelines include clinical and policy guidelines, aimed to assist healthcare providers first responding to survivors (Stewart et. al, 2015).

Nevertheless, the authors note that the strength of the laws is not translated into action. As an example, there is a law across Latin American countries requiring gender-based violence training for healthcare providers, but this training does not often occur (Stewart et. al, 2015).

In Peru, there are laws in place that instruct specific guidelines that must be followed when responding to a situation of domestic violence such as arresting the perpetrator as a

precaution, yet this does not occur (Boesten, 2012). This has become routine in part due to the lack of monitoring of police stations and judiciary precinct, allowing for impunity and perpetuation of violence (Boesten, 2012).

## Discussion

The results of the literature review indicate that gender inequality, machismo, is not only the reasons of the physical, sexual and psychological abuse perpetrators impose on their victims, but it is also the influence behind the inability of developing effective laws and inability of enforcing the laws. This, inadvertently, creates an environment of impunity and turns the state into an accessory of these crimes, which perpetuates violence against women.

The first area explored was context of the law, in where the written law drafted to prevent gender violence against women is particularly weak, allowing for loopholes that authorities use to condone the perpetrators. These laws are also bureaucratic, imposing unnecessary steps that impedes justice for the victims. This is an area that needs to be addressed during the developing of policies to be able to draft a piece of legislation that would effectively protect the health of the community.

Developing policies is one of the three core functions and one of the 10 essential services of public health. Developing policies is meant to draft measures that would benefit the community. In Peru, the benefit to the community does not occur, reducing intimate partner femicide prevalence, since this essential function is not executed properly.

Drafting an effective piece of legislation can be done by conducting a systematic review of the femicide legislature to identify the inefficiencies and unnecessary steps on seeking justice. In addition, a research study to identify the loopholes that have been commonly used by police officers and judges. The results of this study would be areas in which the new laws need to be amended to strengthen them. For example, the Peruvian law requiring medical examiner assessment of violence in order to determine severity of violence should be removed. This is an unnecessary step that not only ignores psychological ramifications of the abuse, it discourages

women from seeking help, and it silences women by ignoring their own experience (Boesten, 2012).

The second area explored is the lack of enforcement of laws surrounding femicides in Peru. Enforcement of law is another public health essential service. This service is part of the assurance core function of public health which makes sure that policies are enforced and services are provided to assure the health goal (Michigan Association, n.d.). Failure of this service leads to no improvement of the intended health outcome, which is what is occurring in Peru.

The lack of enforcement of law in Peru surrounding femicide and other forms of gender-based violence is strongly linked to gender inequality in the country. In order to prevent further violence from occurring, the government needs to acknowledge the problem, gender inequality, and focus its efforts on eliminating this threat. Peru could do this by adding gender equality as a mandatory course or a mandatory topic in health education class. The course should emphasize learning the warning signs of toxic relationships and recognize precursors to violence, challenge gender norms, recognize subtle machismo, empower young girls, and question the prevalence of gender-based violence.

An intervention similar to the previous recommendation was implemented in India with successful results at curbing gender norms. India implemented a school curriculum program named The Gender Equity Movement in Schools, aiming to promote gender equality, examine gender roles and question the perpetuation of gender-based violence (UN Women, 2016). A study examined the impact of this implementation and discovered that boys were more comfortable at sharing household chores and were more supporting when girls desired pursuing higher education and delaying marriage (Achuyut et. al, 2011). This curriculum was later implemented in Vietnam due to its success (Achuyut et. al, 2011). However, this

implementation had mixed results when accounting for violence against women, indicating that the curriculum can be improved in order to effectively reduce violence against women (Achuyut et. al, 2011). Nevertheless, curbing gender norms is a step to prevent violence against women and even mildly reducing violence against women is an achievement.

Peru has already taken steps towards this form of intervention. In 2017, policymakers developed a policy to include gender equality in the school curriculum (ONVC, 2019). The curriculum aims to teach children to not succumb to social peer pressure surrounding gender norms, to build positive relationships away from dominance and submission, and to not accept acts of violence, an area in which the Indian school curriculum lacked (ONVC, 2019). This policy faced obstacles in the form of lawsuits aiming to not implement this policy due to its also emphasis on LGTBQ+ rights (ONVC, 2019). Nevertheless, the policy will be implemented in the 2020 school year. The expectations of this intervention are to reduce the rates of violence against women in Peru and improve security for women (ONVC, 2019).

Success of this implementation could be beneficial to the nearby countries that have higher prevalence of intimate partner femicide and gender-based violence such as Bolivia, where the rate of femicide is 2.3 per 100,000 population in 2018 (CEPAL, n.d.). For comparison, according to Gender Equality Observatory of Latin America and Caribbean, Peru's rate of femicide in 2018 is 0.8 per 100,000 population (CEPAL, n.d.).

### Limitations

There is limited peer-reviewed literature surrounding the interaction of policies and femicides in Peru. Out of the 16 publications used, only four were specifically about Peru, accounting for the lack of specific examples surrounding gender-based violence, femicides

policies in Peru. This indicates the need for more research exploring intimate partner femicide prevalence and impunity of these crimes to be able to more effectively prevent femicides.

Another limitation is the broad range of exclusion criteria terms used in this literature review. The exclusion of data surrounding risk factors, economic despair, reproductive rights and chronic illnesses, even when referring to policies and laws, limited the understanding of the health impact that the lack of enforcement of gender-based violence laws has on women.

## Conclusion

Femicide is a global health issue that affects women around the world regardless of ethnic background, socioeconomic status, education level or zip code. Ineffectiveness and lack of enforcement of laws is a concern seen in develop and developing countries, making it a global issue. Therefore, addressing the lack of effectiveness and gender inequality requires even further collective commitment in order to reduce the global prevalence of femicide and other forms of gender-based violence that have been stubbornly persistent.

Successful enforcement of femicide laws is crucial to not only prevent femicides but also to prevent other types of gender violence that may preclude femicides. This research indicates that without addressing the culture of machismo and gender inequalities proper of Peruvian culture, the intervention presented will not be enforced and therefore fail. Policymakers should take into consideration these factors when drafting laws if protection of women's rights is to be achieved.

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