

# Revista de Ciencias Sociales

50 *Años*  
ANIVERSARIO

# Living environments: Gender violence in the Peruvian highlands

**Pacheco-Luza, Edgard\***  
**Álvarez-Becerra, Rina\*\***  
**Acevedo-Duque, Ángel\*\*\***  
**Bustamante-Cabrera, Gladys\*\*\*\***

## Abstract

This research addresses the concerning living conditions of indigenous women and girls in the Peruvian highlands, who face situations of violence and discrimination that contradict the United Nations Agenda's Goal 3 (Health and Well-being). The main objective was to analyze the perceptions of indigenous women (Aymara and Quechua) who are victims of intimate partner violence regarding the barriers to seeking formal institutional help. A qualitative methodology based on grounded theory was employed, with a reflexive thematic analysis design. Seventeen interviews were conducted with women aged 22 to 60 who met the criteria of having experienced intimate partner violence and self-identifying as Aymara or Quechua. Key findings include self-silencing behaviors, fear of the aggressor's reaction and the consequences of seeking help, as well as the minimization and justification of the violence, which perpetuate the abuse. Additionally, a cultural stigma was identified that questions women's rights over their traditional gender roles, thus hindering their well-being and safety. Social barriers at multiple levels further prevent these women from seeking formal help, reinforcing the cycle of violence.

**Keywords:** Intimate partner violence; indigenous women; help-seeking barriers; cultural stigma; gender roles.

---

\* Postdoctor en Ética y Epistemología. Doctor en Ciencias de la Salud. Magister en Psicología Clínica. Director de Gestión de Investigación en la Universidad Andina del Cusco, Cusco, Perú. E-mail: [epacheco@uandina.edu.pe](mailto:epacheco@uandina.edu.pe) ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0133-0573>

\*\* Doctora en Educación, Especialidad con mención en Gestión Educativa. Docente Investigadora en la Universidad Nacional Jorge Basadre Grohmann, Tacna, Perú. E-mail: [rinalvarezzb@gmail.com](mailto:rinalvarezzb@gmail.com) ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5455-6632>

\*\*\* Postdoctor en Gerencia Pública y Gobierno. Doctor en Ciencias Gerenciales. Docente Investigador de la Facultad de Administración y Negocios en la Universidad Autónoma de Chile (UA), Santiago, Chile. E-mail: [angel.acevedo@uautonoma.cl](mailto:angel.acevedo@uautonoma.cl) ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8774-3282>

\*\*\*\* Doctora en Ciencias de la Vida y Bioética. Docente Investigadora en la Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, La Paz, Bolivia. E-mail: [dra.gbustamante@gmail.com](mailto:dra.gbustamante@gmail.com) ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2275-4386>

# Entornos de vida: Violencia de género en la sierra peruana

## Resumen

Esta investigación aborda las preocupantes condiciones de vida de las mujeres y niñas indígenas de la sierra peruana, quienes enfrentan situaciones de violencia y discriminación que contradicen el Objetivo 3 de la Agenda de las Naciones Unidas (Salud y Bienestar). El objetivo principal fue analizar las percepciones de las mujeres indígenas (Aymaras y Quechuas) víctimas de violencia de pareja sobre las barreras para buscar ayuda institucional formal. Se empleó una metodología cualitativa basada en la teoría fundamentada, con un diseño de análisis temático reflexivo. Se realizaron diecisiete entrevistas a mujeres de 22 a 60 años que cumplieron con los criterios de haber experimentado violencia de pareja y autoidentificarse como aymaras o quechuas. Entre los hallazgos clave se encuentran conductas de autosilenciamiento, miedo a la reacción del agresor y a las consecuencias de buscar ayuda, así como la minimización y justificación de la violencia, que perpetúan el abuso. Adicionalmente, se identificó un estigma cultural que cuestiona los derechos de las mujeres sobre sus roles de género tradicionales, obstaculizando así su bienestar y seguridad. Las barreras sociales en múltiples niveles impiden aún más que estas mujeres busquen ayuda formal, reforzando el ciclo de violencia.

**Palabras clave:** Violencia de pareja; mujeres indígenas; barreras para buscar ayuda; estigma cultural; roles de género.

## Introduction

Living conditions are associated with the set of factors and circumstances that influence the quality of life of people in a certain place or society. These conditions can vary greatly depending on the geographical, economic, social, and political context. It is important to note that living conditions can vary significantly among different population groups, such as people of different ages, genders, ethnicities, or socioeconomic levels (Sztumski, 2021). To improve living conditions in general, it is necessary to comprehensively address these aspects and promote public policies that guarantee equitable access to the resources and services necessary for a dignified and quality life.

From the perspective of this research, the representative knowledge highlights the need to continue promoting life conditions focused on well-being (World Health Organization [WHO], 2012; ONU Mujeres, 2018). It is estimated that one in three women and girls experiences physical or sexual violence at

some point in their lives, representing 30% of women between the ages of 15 and 49 who have suffered sexual violence from their partner (WHO, 2021).

While, this scenario poses a challenge to the health and well-being expectations established in SDG 3 and gender equity and equality of SDG 5 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Reaching target 5.2 is a global challenge due to the universality of violence against women. Improving the understanding of intimate partner violence provides language that reinforces compliance with SDG 5.

Violence against women continues to be a problem in the world since it violates the human rights of women and burdens countries (WHO, 2021). In the United States, intimate partner violence occurs in more than a third of women (Stewart & Vigod, 2019; Luebke et al., 2023); in Florida it is a common problem (Houseman & Semien, 2022). Likewise, in Asia and the Pacific (Jewkes et al., 2017; Nagashima-Hayashi et al., 2022); in South Africa (Rapanyane, 2021); Ghana (Ajayi &

Soyinka-Airewele, 2018; Apatinga, 2019); Pakistan in South Asia (Roomani et al., 2016; Ali, Farhan & Ayub, 2020; Wassan, Channa & Syed, 2021), among other countries, the processes that aim at sustainable health and well-being (Ajayi & Soyinka-Airewele, 2018) are moving forward. This problem is similar in Latin American and Caribbean countries, such as Brazil (Formiga et al., 2021); Ecuador (Tayupanda et al., 2021; Donoso et al., 2021).

In Peru, a particular situation is evident in women and girls, violence against women reflects an unequal power dynamic created within the gender binary system (Tsapalas et al., 2021) in different regions (Castillo, Bernardo & Medina, 2018; Fernández, Quiñonez & Prado, 2019; Carrión-Abarca & Aranda, 2022; Rincón et al., 2024), which is reflected in a 15.1% of women who have suffered physical and/or sexual violence (Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia contra las Mujeres y los Integrantes del Grupo Familiar, 2021).

However, the profile of violence against rural indigenous women in Peru is 64.1% (Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia contra las Mujeres y los integrantes del Grupo Familiar, 2018). This could suggest that it is indigenous women who are exposed to greater sexual violence and human rights violations than non-indigenous women (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2019), with a greater risk of femicide than women from urban-urban-marginal areas (Quispe et al., 2018).

Many victims of violence, whether indigenous or not, often remain silent, refraining from reporting their aggressors (Falcke, Gonçalves & Wagner, 2017; Arisukwu et al., 2021), which reinforces the cycle of violence (Both et al., 2020). In the Peruvian highlands, many victims do not report violent crimes or seek help, contributing to a “dark figure” of unreported cases (Mujica, 2011). Among indigenous women, there is greater tolerance or resignation towards violence, making it a largely underreported crime (Benoit et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2018). The refusal to seek help extends to both formal channels, such as the police and support centers, and informal support from family, community, or friends.

Although research that analyzes the behaviors of women victims of violence has increased in Peru (Benavides et al., 2019), there are still unexplored knowledge gaps. There are few studies that focus on barriers to access or on understanding why indigenous women do not seek formal help (Romero & Olivares, 2021). In this study, the purpose was to answer the research question: What is the perception of the Aymara indigenous women of Tarata in Tacna and the Quechua women of Sicuani in Cusco about the barriers to seeking formal institutional help in cases of partner violence? Similarly, the objective of the research was to analyze the perception of indigenous Aymara women from Tarata in Tacna and Quechua women from Sicuani in Cusco regarding the barriers to seeking formal institutional help in cases of intimate partner violence.

## **1. Theoretical foundation**

### **1.1. Life conditions: Intimate partner violence**

Living conditions and intimate partner violence are two related but different aspects. However, from the situation experienced with indigenous women, this is closely related (Romero & Olivares, 2021). Living conditions are associated with a set of factors that influence the quality of life of these women; while violence is exposed through physical, emotional or sexual aggression that occurs within a relationship in this type of ethnic group.

Violence occurs in the context of an intimate relationship. Associated terms include interpersonal violence, domestic violence, partner abuse, which vary in their conceptualization and do not always refer to the same composition of violence (Ramírez, Alarcón & Ortega, 2020; Orozco, Jiménez & Cudris-Torres, 2020; Romero & Olivares, 2021). The types of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) can occur singularly and simultaneously; and include psychological, sexual, physical, economic abuse, and intimidating behaviors



## 2. Methodology

### 2.1. Design

A qualitative approach (Creswell, 2013), was adopted with a reflexive thematic analysis design (Braun & Clarke, 2019), based on a reflexive engagement with the analytical process to refer and structure the thematic categories according to the barriers to help-seeking for intimate partner violence in indigenous Quechua women from Sicuani in Cusco and Aymara women in Tarata de Tacna, which are highland regions of Peru.

### 2.2. Setting

The data were obtained from two Peruvian regions, from the province of Sicuani located at an altitude of 3,549 meters above sea level in Cusco where the women speak Quechua and Spanish. And from the high Andean area of Tarata or “Tarataya” which means very cold place (Inca Yunka territory) located at 4,500 meters above sea level where Spanish and Aymara are spoken, with Inca settlements still present in both places. The local population is mainly dedicated to agriculture and cattle raising. Most of the participants are engaged in

agricultural and livestock activities in villages or towns, since most of the local women are involved in micro-commercial, consumer and subsistence economic activities (Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia contra las Mujeres y los integrantes del Grupo Familiar, 2019).

### 2.3. Participants

As a selection strategy, referral sampling was used, seventeen indigenous Quechua and Aymara women participated. Theoretical sampling was used (Robinson, 2014). The women were eligible according to the following inclusion criteria: (a) If they had suffered violence against women in the intimate partner relationship (IPV) in the context of cohabitation or were legally married (they could be living with the perpetrator, separated or divorced); (b) self-identified as belonging to the Aymara or Quechua population, and (c) were 18 years of age or older (see Table 1). All participants were bilingual (Quechua-Spanish and Aymara Spanish). Exclusion criteria: Pregnant women or women with ongoing complaints at the time of the interview. None of the women interviewed refused to participate (González-Díaz et al., 2021).

**Table 1**  
**Distribution and characterization of the unit of analysis**

	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>
1	Carlota	45	Housewife	Quechua
2	Eduviges	25	Housewife	Aymara
3	Asiri	60	Housewife	Quechua
4	Rosa	37	Housewife	Aymara
5	Paqari	40	Housewife	Aymara
6	Dora	22	Housewife	Aymara
7	Yoli	22	Technique	Aymara
8	Flor	43	Salesperson	Quechua
9	Alaja	55	Housewife	Aymara
10	Lula	38	Farmer	Aymara
11	Rosalina	39	Housewife	Aymara
12	Florina	40	Emollient saleswoman	Quechua
13	Teófila	43	Goat breeding	Aymara



14	Marina	35	Street vendor	Aymara
15	Cusisiña	43	Merchant	Quechua
16	Chaska	44	Housewife	Quechua
17	Urpi	55	Farmer	Quechua

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

## 2.4. Instruments

A semi-structured interview was used with open-ended questions formulated face-to-face, since they allow proximity and flexibility to capture emerging findings (Pope & Mays, 2013) and a deep understanding of the topic. For its elaboration, a matrix of categories was made according to the research objective. The topics considered were familiarization, external context, psychological, socio-family and

gender role, linked to help-seeking behaviors, based on Hulley et al. (2023).

The instrument was validated by five experts (psychologists with experience in working with women victims of violence, methodologists, academics with expertise in qualitative research). Before starting the fieldwork, the understanding of the questions was validated by a sample of three interviewees and modified according to the results of the pilot test (see Table 2).

**Table 2**  
**Topics and Guiding Questions**

Topic	Guiding questions
External context	What was your experience of IPV violence in your setting?
	How did intimate partner violence against you occur?
	How do you think other women in the community view violence by their husband or partner? What do you think?
	How did you react to ask for help?
Psychological context	What aspects do you think made it easier for you to ask for help or not?
	Personally, did you have the strength or courage to decide to ask for help or to communicate or not to communicate to any authority that you had suffered violence from your partner?
	How accessible or easy was it for you to ask for help for the problem of violence you had been suffering?
Socio-family context and gender role	What are the difficulties or problems that women who suffer intimate partner violence have in reporting or asking for help?
	How do you think other women in the community view intimate partner violence?
	In what ways could the community help you? And institutions such as the police? the justice system (law)? the health post? the church?

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

## 2.5. Procedure

Before data collection, a dialogue was initiated with older women who hold natural leadership roles in the community. These leaders were informed about the purpose of the study and offered their support for the research. They served as key informants,

helping to identify and approach women who had experienced intimate partner violence. The participants, after providing informed consent, were thoroughly briefed on the objectives of the research and were given the appropriate time and location details for the interviews.

Cultural sensitivity and possible biases or interests were considered, so the research

assistants were local university women trained by the research team. One of the researchers was constantly monitoring data collection in the field. The tone of the interview was friendly and respectful, which helped the participants feel relaxed and prevented them from becoming frightened or distrustful. All participants were asked the same questions; however, the interviewers made intermittent probes or interventions to clarify ideas and responses related to partner behaviors or help-seeking.

The interview guide was prepared in Spanish; however, there was the opportunity to ask questions in the local language according to the interviewee's preference. It was also considered that recounting experiences of violence can be traumatic, so psychological counseling was made available, arranged by the authors of the research. Permission was re-requested from the participants for the audio recording of the interviews. In all cases, a pseudonym was used to anonymize and protect the identity of the respondents.

Interviews were conducted between December 2022 and February 2023 and occurred in one session in all cases. The duration was between 30 to 60 minutes on average, in order to ensure meaningful discourse for analysis. All participants were asked to choose the time and place for the interviews, so all interviews were conducted at different times and places. They were transcribed in the word processor and assigned an alphanumeric code for analysis.

## **2.6. Ethical and quality criteria**

The research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Hospital Hipólito Unanue de Tacna (Code 100-CIÉI-2022). The ethical principles of the Declaration of Helsinki (Asociación Médica Mundial [AMM], 2020), on confidentiality, anonymity, and the right of the participants to stop participating without consequences were ensured and strictly observed.

Prior to each interview, the informed

consent process was discussed. This served to inform about the purpose of the research, the rights of the participants, the use of the results, confidentiality and privacy measures, the form of identification and disidentification of the interviews. As well as the possible risks/benefits of their participation and the right to withdraw from the study at any time if they chose to do so. Each participant was asked to choose a pseudonym for anonymity purposes. All members of the research team scrupulously adhered to the ethical recommendations suggested by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2001) for studies of intimate partner violence.

Quality criteria including credibility, confidence, confirmability, and transferability were applied (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility rigor was achieved through triangulation and peer-reporting. Research team members reviewed and analyzed the data, analyses, and interpretations. Themes developed were 95% in agreement; discrepancies were submitted for discussion for a final decision. The reflective log of the first author was reviewed by another member with the role of auditor *diriment*, who assessed the possibility of evidence of bias and indicated that it could be continued due to the transparency of what was performed. Also, for confirmability, formal declarations of compliance with standards and non-existence of conflict of interest were included. An audit trail of analytical interpretations was constantly maintained for ongoing reference by the research team.

## **2.7. Qualitative data analysis**

For the data analysis, an inductive logic based on reflexive thematic analysis was applied (Braun & Clarke, 2021) as a method to identify, analyze, and explore patterns in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). All researchers, who have experience in qualitative research, reviewed the transcripts to verify their accuracy and made the necessary corrections. The analysis followed several steps: first, the interview transcripts



were repeatedly read using the ATLAS TI v.22 software to familiarize with the information, identify potential limitations, and decide on the analysis approach. Second, the search and identification of themes were conducted, along with the creation of categories, the development of semantic maps, and the preparation of code tables. The iterative data analysis (Creswell & Creswell, 2017) allowed for organizing and coding the qualitative data, facilitating the identification of emerging patterns and themes.

The whole team participated in the coding (free coding and live coding), which allowed consensus to be established in cases of discrepancies in code naming and interpretations. A third step was to establish categories and subcategories with labels. Potential themes emerged that are evident in the reduction and synthesis of the code. To formulate the final report, the meaning generation strategy (Carrasco & Gavilán, 2014) (identification of pat-terns, frequency of codes from the interviews, relationships between codes (factorization) was used to demonstrate the explanatory power of the codes according to the density obtained from the number of relationships above the average of these. Codes were considered significant if they met at least one of the above conditions.

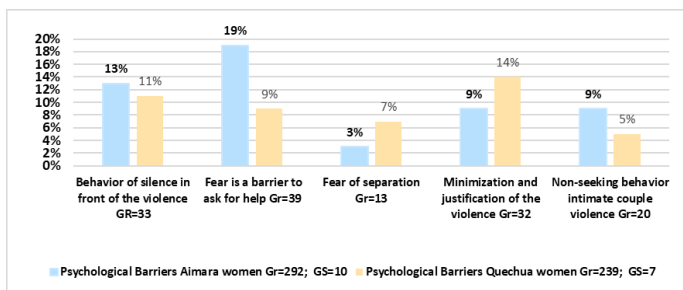
### 3. Results and discussion

This section presents the results of the

hermeneutic-interpretative analysis of the interviews, focusing on the experiences of Quechua and Aymara indigenous women who encountered various barriers in seeking help for situations of violence. These barriers were grouped into three main categories: Psychological barriers, barriers related to the socio-family context and gender roles, and barriers stemming from the external context.

#### 3.1. Key informant responses: Psychological barriers

The results in this section of the research address the psychological barriers that play a significant role in violence against Quechua and Aymara women (see Chart I). These barriers can make it difficult to identify, report and seek help in situations of violence against Quechua and Aymara women, which requires comprehensive approaches that include awareness-raising and education on gender and human rights, the promotion of leadership and participation of women in the decision-making, the strengthening of support and protection services, and the implementation of policies and legislation that guarantee equality and nonviolence. An opportunity to clarify the meaning of violence in Quechua and Aymara women is found in Peru. According to the statements of 17 indigenous women, this type of violence is intertwined with psychological determinants (see Figure I).



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

**Chart I: Psychological Barriers**

### **a. Fear**

For women who were raped by their intimate partner, a powerful obstacle to seeking for-mal help was the fear of the partner's reaction (see Chart I). Not only that they would be raped again, but also that it would harm their children (Herrero-Arias et al., 2021), even though, in some cases, they had the support of their family.

Nothing can be done against the man. Right? Living in fear, not being able to tell anyone. There are others who are afraid to tell them. What will they say to me? That I live like this, many laugh, others will feel me and what do they do? They keep quiet, nothing else. (Dora, 22 years old, Aymara)

If you denounce, all of a sudden, it becomes more violent with everyone, with me and with my children. Other women go through the same thing (...). I think that (...) that she is not able to ask for help, because she has half a man, right? You don't have the courage, because of the fear of the reaction and the violence of the partner. (Carlota, 45 years old, Quechua)

It was difficult for me to ask for help because of fear. I spent two years with that partner who mistreated me all that time (...). The problem in reporting is fear. (...) An impediment (...) is always fear, of what will happen if they report them. (Paqari, 40 years old, Aymara)

Despite IPV, women experience fear of separation: "I wouldn't want to separate. How will my life be when I separate", I used to say Florina (40 years old, Quechua). Likewise, fear extends to the social environment that surrounds her (Ferreira et al., 2018), due to reproaches or the possibility of not having the help of her direct family, if they did not have any participation or interference in the decision to live together or get married. Two participants pointed out: "Me too, well I don't know how to tell them. Because I was afraid that they [the victim's family] would punish me too for getting me a man like that. And also for going to live with him" (Teófila, 43 years old, Aymara).

I was so blinded and afraid that I could

do almost nothing. Even though I had my son by my side, I should have been strong and reacted well. But no! I was constantly threatened and mistreated, and the fear didn't let me defend myself. He always turned his whole family against me. (Marina, 35 years old, Aymara)

### **b. Minimization and justification of intimate partner violence**

The women minimized the man's violent behaviors (see Chart I), as they tried to justify them with rea-sons related to work, behaviors typical of a lover, personality and as behaviors learned from the aggressor's upbringing in contexts of violence.

But maybe he came home angry from work, the thing is that I never ask him why he comes home angry. I understood him. As I said, maybe it's because of his work, because their work is tiring, that's why I understood him. (Lula, 38 years old, Aymara)

In other cases, the consequences are minimized, establishing limits according to the seriousness of the facts or having a limited understanding of the crime of sexual aggression. As a result, Quechua and Aymara women have difficulty in correctly attributing the qualification of crime to the VIP and in other cases in recognizing abuse or violence as a crime, and abusive behaviors go unnoticed. This constitutes a barrier for women to seek access routes for help in cases of IPV and to denounce the aggressor.

When I was a young girl, he also grabbed me by force and, like rape, it will be like that. When I was alone, he took advantage of me. I didn't accuse him, nor did I go to the police (...) so he got me pregnant. (Cusisiña, 43 years old, Quechua)

In many cases, women blame themselves for the perpetrator's acts of violence (Kennedy & Prock, 2018), which con-tributes to dismissing the possibility of seeking help for them. They feel guilty, perhaps as a conscious or unconscious way of justifying the partner's violence to themselves and others. "Eh...

sometimes I think it's my fault. Uhm..., when I have an argument with my husband, I say: I shouldn't have said that, I shouldn't have done that, but it happens and we start talking as if nothing had happened" (Carlota, 45 years old, Quechua).

On the other hand, women in IPV experiences define their own limits and criteria of the magnitude of violence they must tolerate in order to act, since in some cases, they consider that the tolerable limits are exceeded depending on whether it was very frequent or if the physical harm was not serious: "If it had been a blow, if there had been no fracture, maybe I would have put up with it" (Dora, 22 years old, Aymara).

### **c. Silent behavior**

In intimate partner abuse relationships, intimacy plays an important role in the way women approach victimization from their perspective and how they decide what behavior to follow to seek help. Many Quechua and Aymara women reacted with silence, without complaints or protests, which not only decreases the likelihood, but also becomes a powerful barrier to seeking help (see Chart I). One participant said: "I keep quiet; I didn't tell anyone anything. I pretend nothing happened, I don't say anything" (Carlota, 45 years old, Quechua).

The reasons for keeping silent, had different reasons. Several women said that the reason was fear of the aggressors' reaction or to protect their children:

If you love him when you want to, when you love him, I believe that you cannot hit or hit each other. Suddenly, he didn't love me, just like that, I realize it. Later, when I had children, I just put up with it. I couldn't do anything, I couldn't complain, I had to keep quiet, just like that. (Alaja, 55 years old, Aymara)

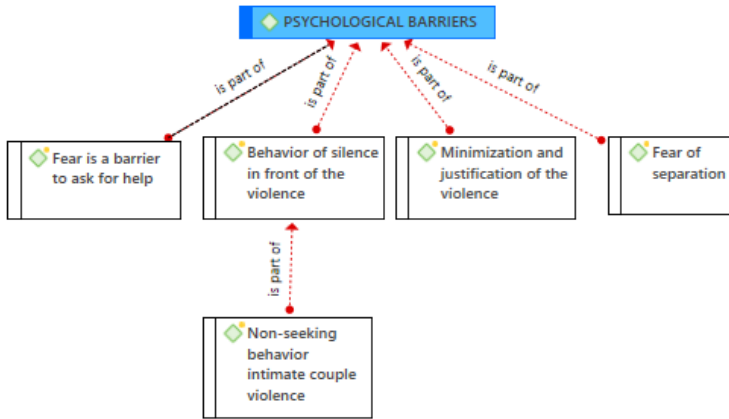
In other cases, self-silencing is influenced by cultural and social values (Santillan et al., 2002; Ali et al., 2020), linked to stigma and criticism of women suffering from IPV. A Quechua participant said: "Saying (referring to herself): people would talk about me, about what violates me, mis-treats me. That's why I don't keep quiet anymore (...) Women almost always don't say anything. If he hits us, what can we do" (Urpi, 55 years old, Quechua). The women's silence allowed the violence to continue and prevented them from seeking help from formal and vicarious sources of support.

### **d. Non-help-seeking behaviors IPV**

Help-seeking avoidance behaviors depend on the silence of IPV victims (see Chart I). The participants remained silent and did not consider seeking help a possibility: "I didn't tell anyone, I didn't go to the police or anything (...) Before, I didn't even think about doing anything, I didn't see it as a possibility" (Rosalina, 39 years old, Aymara).

In some cases, the women know of a formal source of help (Satyen, Rogic & Supol, 2019), but they still avoid seeking help: "I have never gone to complain, to any place. I used to say, I'm going to go complain to the DEMUNA, go to your DEMUNA lover, complain, complain! That's what she said to me. I didn't go, just for words I would say". (Alaja, 55 years old, Aymara).

The psychological impediments to seeking help were fear, especially fear of separation and reaction from the partner, minimization and justification of the violence and a behavior of silence in the face of the violence suffered by the women. In this process, they experience behavioral reactions of limiting or avoiding help-seeking (see Figure II).



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

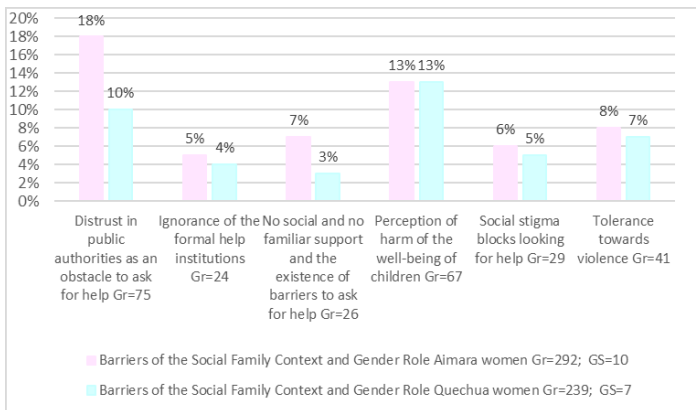
**Figure II: Semantic Network of Psychological Barriers to Help Seeking in Peruvian Aymara and Quechua Women**

#### 4.2. Responses from key informants: Barriers of the socio-family context and gender role

##### a. Perception of harm to the welfare of the children

The possibility of asking for help is

reduced if the women think that by doing so they will harm the well-being of the children because of the violent reaction of the partners against the children (Zeoli et al., 2013). However, the possibility of improving their well-being is an incentive to overcome their fear and seek help or separate, especially if the children are no longer children (see Chart II).



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

**Chart II: Psychological of the Social Family Context and Gender Role**

If I separate, we'll split up - he will tell me -. If you can tell me, we'll split up. I make myself stay with two boys, since there are five of them. He knows how to touch me with three and he knows how to touch me with two. So, I love my children, all my children. I don't leave even one, I have stayed for my children, for my children. (Alaja, 55 years old, Aymara)

### **b. Lack of knowledge of formal aid routes and institutions**

Many women are unfamiliar and unaware of the routes and formal institutions that provide assistance to women victims of IPV (see Chart II). They also reported difficulties in identifying or seeking formal help, as two participants said: "Yes, it was difficult as I was telling you the beginning, to see if someone could help me. I wasn't sure where to go. But, no, so I gave up. How many years I was putting up with" (Lula, 38 years old, Aymara). Another woman said:

Myself then, I no longer renounce, nothing. I am an employee in my house. I have to cook food. He doesn't help me [the partner] or ask what is missing? I have to solve everything. And he doesn't do anything, I'm bored with that. I don't know how to ask for help, where to go. Uhm... (Cusisiña, 43 years old, Quechua)

### **c. Lack of social and family support**

The lack of social support from the family to help women leave abusive relationships is linked to the traditional and cultural values of the ancestral practice of Aymara and Quechua coexistence (see Chart II). In these, it is recognized that there is no equality between men and women, but rather a complementarity of differences between them, especially in terms of roles (Carrasco & Gavilán, 2014). Patriarchal norms and cultural pressure are linked to women's sense of isolation and limited resources to ask for help, which discourages the decision to leave an abusive relationship. In many cases the patriarch or his or her matriarch intercedes

with the victim to prevent the perpetrator from being denounced and in other cases, even supports or encourages violence against the wife or son's partner.

The following quote from a survivor of IPV highlights the ways in which these concepts operate to keep women in abusive relationships:

Before, I didn't ask for help because of my father's orders. He would always tell me: 'Why did you get a husband? Now hold on, tie ten ropes around your head to cut off your husband, you asked for it. As he used to say that to me, I didn't say anything. I just knew what was going on with him- (Carlota, 45 years old, Aymara)

Likewise, cultural values reward women's submission and male dominance, which were significant themes among the experiences of Quechua and Aymara IPV. What was taught in the social and family nucleus corresponds to training for adult life, according to the social and cultural perspective defined for each gender, with the fullness being the behaviors exhibited in the adult stage and the formation of a family through cohabitation or marriage. A Quechua woman recalled a teaching of yesteryear, of the way in which she should try to take care of her partner: "This is what we have been told before, since I was young, "Men, women have to take care of everything, they have to wash their little pieces", so we have to do with them" (Cusisiña, 43 years old, Quechua).

### **d. Distrust of the public authorities**

The women were distrustful of public institutions to seek help, especially the police force (see Chart II). Seeking help to escape the abuse was fraught with high expectations of receiving support for their denunciation (Marmo, 2023). However, many felt that they were not listened to or that it was difficult to get help.

They don't take it into account, those things. You have to be badly beaten or dying to get help. But... What about psychological abuse, that is also important, they have to help you. But the institutions don't take it

seriously. Some institutions don't attend you, you have to have blows on your body, otherwise they don't. (Chaska, 44 years old, Quechua)

The Quechua and Aymara women interviewed felt that authority (especially the police) was not a helpful alternative for their safety in the face of intimate partner violence. On the contrary, they did not feel listened to.

As I said, I thought that the authorities [police] would support me, but they did not. So what was I going to do? I left with low morale. I came back, saying [herself]: This is not how justice is done. Here then, to sue better I will do justice with my hands (...). But the only thing I did, as I told her, we have already started to talk like this sitting down [with the perpetrator]. Done! (Dora, 22 years old, Aymara)

Many women were discouraged from seeking police support, and as such, had to continue to endure the abuse. One woman stated her efforts to report IPV and abuse when she tried to do so: "I went to report twice and the police never listened to me No? No, what can I say, the po-lice don't support you. They just leave you like that. They just yell at you, nothing else" (Rosa, 37 years old, Aymara). "No institution has given me any kind of help. No, I don't know..." (Florina, 40 years old, Quechua).

### **e. Social stigma hinders seeking help.**

Remaining loyal to one's partner or spouse is a barrier to leaving an abusive relationship (see Chart II): "They told me to separate. But I was the one who didn't want to. Because I said, 'What will people say? They would say, 'Oh, what has he done? The woman is seen as guilty'" (Asiri, 60 years old, Quechua).

Many women, within the Quechua and Aymara community, feared the consequences of denouncing or leaving abusive relationships, due to social criticism and humiliation for the families. The blame is placed on the woman, not the man. A Quechua woman narrates that the fear of family and social criticism induced her to ask her husband for forgiveness:

On the other hand, I do (the woman asks for forgiveness) to calm my husband. For fear of my family. What will my family say? What will people say to me? (...) There are times when people say, "This woman is denouncing, just denouncing!" (Flor, 43 years old, Quechua)

A woman who is separated or who denounces her partner for IPV is not well regarded by others, so she is the victim of criticism and negative comments towards the woman. The woman must respect her husband. The family and others also keep silent, as it is not well seen to make IPV public:

Well, there are other people who tell you: So now as they say: Break it up, break it up already! There are others who say: That's life, what can you do! We'll have to put up with it, that's what they say. And the old people, but well. My uncle says there: If you are going to separate, what will people say? What will your family say? That's how it is, we have to put up with it (Dora, 22 years old, Aymara)

### **f. Tolerance of violence**

Women accept violence perpetrated by an intimate partner, since it is tolerated as normal behavior of the couple (see Chart II). Tolerance is associated with social stigma at all levels (Igbolekwu et al., 2021), as even parents tolerate the violence, which makes it difficult or difficult to disclose the abuse and seek help. As the following quote illustrates, the family not only disapproves of reporting the crime, but also highlights the significant impact of the culture of preserving the honor of the sexually violated woman through marriage to the aggressor:

After he has abused me Uhm... no, I have warned some ladies, that's how it happened to me... They told me: report him then! When I denounced him, I made my mother see that denouncement. My mother, she burned him. [The mother says] You have to bring him to the house! "denounces! ... Uhm... pue. He's your boyfriend! Bring him to the house, let's talk. How are you going to sleep with a stranger? Bring me! Bring me! Then I came to look for him.



Asking then, I took him. Then there, they talked with my mother. The next day he had returned with his father, with his mother and with his brothers and they brought me [they took the victim]. My mother handed me over. (Urpi, 55 years old, Quechua)

The anchored conceptions that women should tolerate partner violence suggests a superior hierarchical position of men, which made it difficult for women to seek help.

That mentality, I carry to this day. I had it all my life. I have lived with my partner for twenty years, with the father of my children. And he beat me, he treated me like that, he treated me like anything. He used to lift me up from my single life, all those things lifted me up. I put up with it. That's how I put up with it (...) For 20 years we have lived like that. That's when I denounced him. And from there now, I already have documents, like this... (Flor, 43 years old, Quechua)

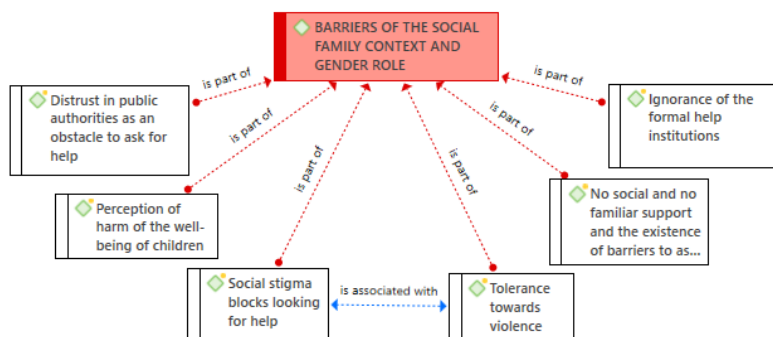
The dynamics of the social position of men and women places women in a position of lesser power and on a plane of inequality,

which does not favor help-seeking behavior:

Violence, humiliation, beatings, it was always because of the same thing. Because he has always been at the dances. That is, he pushed me aside, as if I didn't exist. That's how I saw it. I didn't complain or complain. I didn't sue him to the police. (Rosa, 37 years old, Aymara)

"I have put up with my partner's violence like others. Just like that, without denouncing him" (Urpi, 55 years old, Quechua).

The results in this section of the investigation show that it is important to take into account that the presence of one or several of these indicators does not mean that a child is experiencing damage to well-being, since each situation must be evaluated individually. However, if there are any concerns about the well-being of a child, it is essential to seek appropriate support and assistance, such as speaking with health professionals, social services or reporting the abuse to the appropriate authorities (see Figure III).



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

**Figure III: Semantic network of barriers of the socio-familial context and the gender role for seeking help in Peruvian Aymara and Quechua women**

### 3.3. Responses of key informants: barriers of the external context.

#### a. Normalized violence

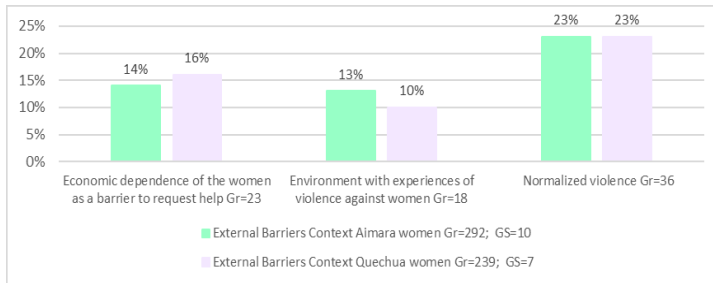
The perception was found that the

manifestations of IPV seem to have been normalized, so they are not considered as such, and continue to manifest themselves in the context of violence against women (see Chart III). This intersects with the insidious prejudices of the culture, which favors the

acceptance of IPV (Palacios & Bayard, 2017). A quote from a participant clearly illustrates this:

I am now going through the same violence with my partner. With the father of my children, I have also lived like this. When

I was 20 years old, I got married, so my mother used to say to me. Uhm..., you are married, you have to respect your husband, for your children. (Flor, 43 years old, Quechua)



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

### Chart III: Psychological of the Social Family Context and Gender Role

The behavioral mechanism of women’s submission and difficulty in recognizing that mistreatment is not a sign of appreciation, hinders the visibility of IPV and undermines initiatives and responses to help women victims: “Women get used to mistreatment. Some say: ‘If he loves you, he hits you! Many believe it is normal, because he is their husband or partner’” (Carlota, 45 years old, Quechua).

Many women do not attribute to IPV the criminal nature and its consequences. Two women pointed out:

I did not complain, nor did I report it, because I thought it was not so serious, a shout or a few blows. I thought it wasn’t serious, but I also knew how to handle it, didn’t I, because it didn’t go any further. (Chaska, 44 years old, Quechua)

“Practically, we already have to live like this, with violence” (Dora, 22 years old, Aymara).

#### b. Environment with experiences of violence against women

The participants have lived in environments with experiences of intimate partner violence, as an external element

(see Chart III). Intimate partner violence of daughters and mothers: “Well, that was when I was a child, wasn’t it? For example, my parents argued. Well, mostly my father was very violent with my mother, verbally and with blows too, that is, physical aggression too” (Eduviges, 25 years old, Aymara).

In my family, that’s how they have had problems. My mother received all kinds of blows. She was afraid, because she was married, she didn’t want to lose her husband. And he, my dad, kept hitting her, until one day they almost killed each other. So my mom wanted to kill herself, my dad wanted to kill himself. We, the children were small, and we saw everything (...). He hit us too. So, we would cry and tell him: Dad, don’t hit my mom! (...) I have seen many cases of women beaten, abused. (Flor, 43 years old, Quechua)

#### c. Economic dependence

Women’s economic dependence makes it difficult for women to ask for help or denounce abusive relationships (see Chart III). The particular characteristics of inequality between women and men, there is a virilocal character in which the male exercises the ownership of

the in-come, although it is the woman who works or generates the profitability, which deter-mines a subordination and economic dependence of the woman:

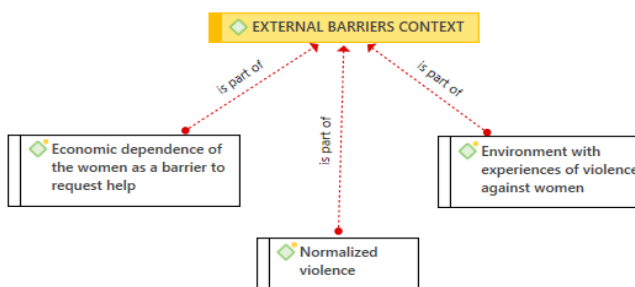
In my case, I work, I earn more or less, it will not be good sometimes. God blesses me, people buy from me (...) I give my husband the money. On his behalf, lots bought me (...). In the bank we also saved, also in his name, because I respected my husband. So because of those things, I did not handle my money. I would tell him, if there was something to pay in the bank, I would help him. If there is something to save for the bank, I give it to him [and she tells him] “go now and put it in your account”. (Flor, 48 years old, Quechua)

Many women desist from initiating or continuing to seek help. For example, she regrets reporting him, which would allow her to continue with the judicial process to obtain alimony or another protection measure. However, she hesitates and desists due to

insufficient or no economic capacity to assume the expenses or meet basic family needs.

When I went to report him, I was sad. I’m going to denounce! I’m going to get him summoned! Then I thought... What am I doing, now who is even going to give me a sunshine? Who’s going to help me? How will my life be? (Florina, 40 years old, Quechua)

It is essential to address these barriers from the external context through the implementation of policies and laws that promote gender equality and the prevention of violence, awareness raising and education on gender violence, the creation of support networks and adequate services for victims and strengthening the accountability of perpetrators. It is also important to promote cultural and social changes that challenge the norms and beliefs that perpetuate violence against women (see Figure IV).



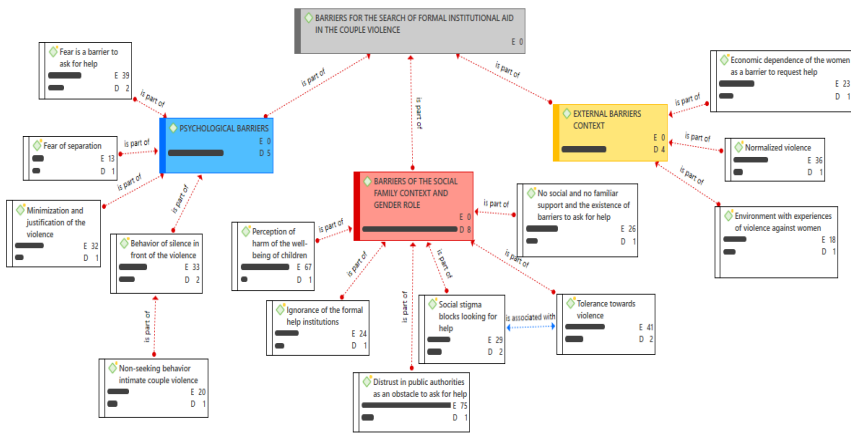
Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

**Figure IV: Semantic Network of External Context Barriers to Help Seeking in Peruvian Aymara and Quechua Women**

### 3.4. Obstacles to Seeking Help for Intimate Partner Violence in Indigenous Quechua and Aymara Women in the Altiplano Regions of Peru

With regard to the perception of the obstacles to seeking formal help for Quechua

and Aymara women, three areas were found that were described based on their experiences of IPV throughout their lives: (a) Psychological barriers, (b) socio-family context and gender barriers, and (c) barriers from the context external to the woman (see Figure V).



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

Figure V: Semantic Code Network

The findings showed the frequency of the main emerging codes, which are graphically visualized in the thickness of the flow of codes. There was a remarkable link between the perception of harm to the welfare

of children in both ethnicities of women (Quechua and Aymara). As well as distrust in public institutions, being more intense in Aymara women (see Table 3).

Table 3  
 The research yielded emerging categories

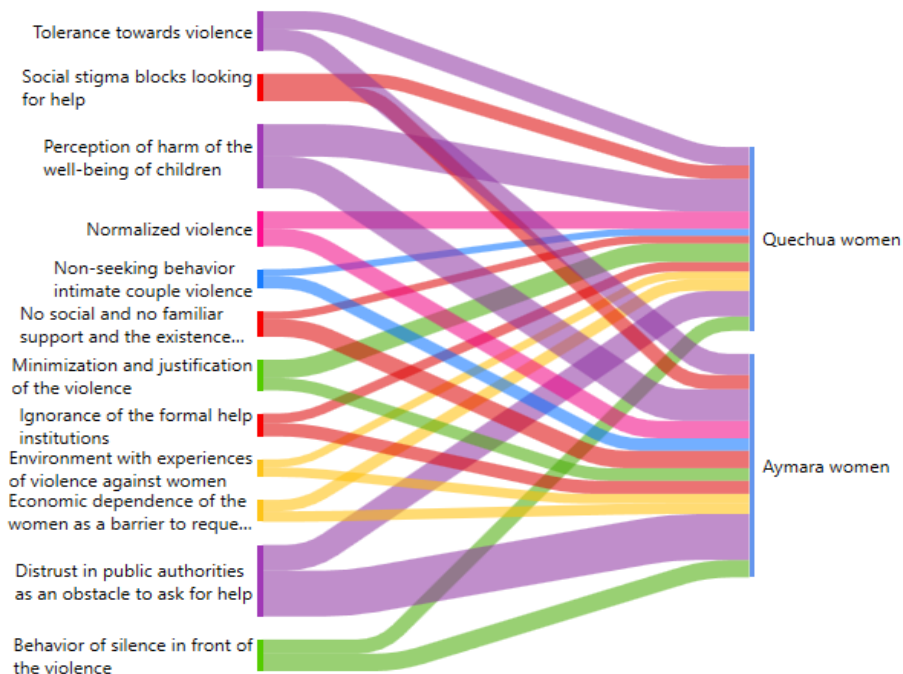
	Aimara women Gr=292; GS=10		Quechua women Gr=239; GS=7		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	
<b>Psychological Barriers:</b>					
Behavior of silence in front of the violence Gr=33	18	24.0	15	24.0	33
Fear is a barrier to ask for help Gr=39	26	35.0	13	21.0	39
Fear of separation Gr=13	4	5.0	9	14.0	13
Minimization and justification of the violence Gr=32	13	18.0	19	30.0	32
Non-seeking behavior intimate couple violence Gr=20	13	18.0	7	11.0	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>Barriers of the Social Family Context and Gender Role:</b>					
Distrust in public authorities as an obstacle to ask for help Gr=75	48	32.0	27	24.0	75
Ignorance of the formal help institutions Gr=24	14	9.0	10	9.0	24
No social and no familiar support and the existence of barriers to ask for help Gr=26	18	12.0	8	7.0	26
Perception of harm of the well-being of children Gr=67	33	22.0	34	30.0	67
Social stigma blocks looking for help Gr=29	15	10.0	14	13.0	29

Tolerance towards violence Gr=41	22	15.0	19	17.0	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>262</b>
<b>External Barriers Context:</b>					
Economic dependence of the women as a barrier to request help Gr=23	11	28.0	12	32.0	23
Environment with experiences of violence against women Gr=18	10	26.0	8	21.0	18
Normalized violence Gr=36	18	46.0	18	47.0	36
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>77</b>

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

The Sankey diagram provides a qualitative visualization of the barriers faced by Quechua and Aymara Indigenous women when seeking help against intimate partner violence (see Figure VI). The main barriers are divided into three categories: Psychological,

sociocultural, and structural. Among the psychological barriers, there is tolerance towards violence and its normalization, reflecting how these women may fail to identify or minimize the harm.



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

Figure VI: Sankey diagram: Emerging codes

In the sociocultural realm, social stigma and the lack of familial or community support hinder access to help, while gender roles influence the justification of violence. Structural barriers include distrust in public authorities and economic dependency, which complicate the request for assistance. Through this diagram, a clear connection is observed between different barrier factors and how they similarly or differently affect both Quechua and Aymara women, revealing patterns that converge and diverge between the two groups (see Figure VI).

## **Conclusions**

There are multiple barriers that intersect at various levels, such as external contextual, psychological, socio-familial and gender role barriers, which prevented Quechua and Aymara women victims of intimate partner violence from seeking formal help. They have self-silencing behaviors directly associated with avoidance of seeking help, fear of the aggressor's reaction and the consequences of seeking help or reporting. Also noteworthy are the behaviors of minimization and justification of the violence, which strengthens behaviors of avoidance of seeking help and perpetuation of abusive relationships.

Quechua and Aymara women share similar challenges in seeking and receiving help, as there is dis-trust in public agencies, lack of knowledge of the available resources for help for violence in their community, exposure to cultural social stigma that questions the behaviors of women who make their rights prevail over their gender role, and little social and family support.

It is essential to consider these challenges and take measures to address them in the planning and execution of research with Indigenous women who suffer from gender-based violence. This includes being aware of the local language and cultural understanding, as well as conducting interviews in accessible and comfortable locations for the Indigenous women participants. It is also necessary to address some communication barriers, as

many of these women often faced difficulties expressing themselves in the language in which the research was conducted. Furthermore, their understanding of the technical language used in the interview questionnaires was limited.

Other difficulties included limited access to participants, as many Indigenous women reside in remote or hard-to-reach areas, complicating the research process. Additionally, their mobility may be restricted by family responsibilities, such as childcare. Distrust also emerged as an obstacle, with some women expressing reluctance to participate due to their mistrust of the researchers, fueled by fears of potential retaliation from their abusers. Cultural differences posed another challenge, as the values, beliefs, and practices of Indigenous women can influence their responses to the study's questions. Furthermore, issues of representativeness arose, as women who did not participate may not adequately reflect the broader Indigenous population. It is important to consider the significant differences that may exist among the various Indigenous groups involved.

The perspective of this research focuses on understanding the barriers faced by Quechua and Aymara women when seeking help in situations of intimate partner violence. Through a qualitative approach, the aim is to delve into the experiences and realities of these women, taking into account their sociocultural contexts and the power dynamics that influence their well-being. This research is grounded in the need to highlight the particularities of gender-based violence in indigenous communities, where factors such as the normalization of violence, social stigma, and distrust towards institutions can limit access to assistance.

By listening to and analyzing the voices of these women, the goal is not only to identify the obstacles they face but also to generate knowledge that contributes to the formulation of public policies and intervention programs that are more inclusive and sensitive to the cultural realities of indigenous communities. In this way, the research aspires to promote meaningful change in how gender-based



violence is addressed and support is provided to victims in these contexts.

## Bibliographical references

- Ajayi, L. A., & Soyinka-Airewele, P. (2018). Key triggers of domestic violence in Ghana: A victim centered analysis. *African Population Studies*, 32(1), 4097-4108. <https://aps.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/1181>
- Ali, T. S., Farhan, R., & Ayub, M. (2020). Intimate partner violence against women in Pakistan: A review of qualitative research. *Journal of the Pakistan Medical Association*, 70(5), 892-903. <https://www.pakmedinet.com/43660>
- Apatinga, G. A. (2019). "Suffering in silence": A qualitative inquiry of sexual violence against married women in Ghana [Masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland]. <https://research.library.mun.ca/13964/>
- Arisukwu, O., Igbolkwu, C., Adebisi, T., & Akindele, F. (2021). Perception of domestic violence among rural women in Kuje. *Heliyon*, 7(2), e06303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06303>
- Asociación Médica Mundial - AMM (2020). *Declaración de Helsinki de la AMM – Principios éticos para las investigaciones médicas en seres humanos*. AMM. <https://www.wma.net/es/policias-post/declaracion-de-helsinki-de-la-amm-principios-eticos-para-las-investigaciones-medicas-en-seres-humanos/>
- Benavides, M., León, J., Etesse, M., Espezuá, L., & Stuart, J. (2019). Exploring the association between segregation and physical intimate partner violence in Lima, Peru: The mediating role of gender norms and social capital. *SSM - Population Health*, 7, 100338. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2018.100338>
- Benoit, C. M., Shumka, L., Phillips, R., Kennedy, M. C., & Belle-Isle, L. M. C. (2016). *Issue brief: Sexual violence against women in Canada*. Status of Women Canada.
- Both, L. M., Favaretto, T. C., Machado, L. H., Pereira, S., & Crempien, C. (2020). Intimate partner violence against women: Operationalized Psychodynamic Diagnosis (OPD-2). *PLoS ONE*, 15(10), e0239708. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0239708>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp0630a>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589-597. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. SAGE Publications.
- Carrasco, A. M., & Gavilán, V. T. (2014). Género y etnicidad. Ser hombre y ser mujer entre los Aymara del altiplano chileno. *Diálogo Andino*, (45), 169-180. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0719-26812014000300014>
- Carrión-Abarca, F., & Aranda, J. (2022). Violencia hacia la mujer y estrategias de afrontamiento en madres de familia de Ucayali, Perú. *Apuntes Universitarios*, 12(3), 349-366. <https://doi.org/10.17162/au.v12i3.1135>
- Castañeda, M. P., & Torres, P. (2015). Concepciones sobre la violencia: una mirada antropológica. *El Cotidiano*, (191), 7-19. <https://elcotidianoenlinea.azc.uam.mx/index.php/numeros/numeros-completos/cotidiano-no-191/viewdocument/342>

- Castillo, E. F., Bernardo, J. V., & Medina, M. A. (2018). Violencia de género y autoestima de mujeres del centro poblado Huanja – Huaraz, 2017. *Horizonte Médico*, 18(2), 47-52. <https://doi.org/10.24265/horizmed.2018.v18n2.08>
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. SAGE Publications.
- Defensoría del Pueblo (19 de diciembre de 2019). Mujeres indígenas sufren mayores violaciones a sus derechos humanos que las mujeres no indígenas. *Defensoría del Pueblo*. <https://www.defensoria.gob.pe/mujeres-indigenas-sufren-mayores-violaciones-a-sus-derechos-humanos-que-las-mujeres-no-indigenas/>
- De Souza, M. C., Ramos, E., Alves, M. M., & Gonçalves, S. (2018). Institutionalizing the theme of violence within Brazil's national health system: Progress and challenges. *Ciencia e Saude Coletiva*, 23(6), 2007-2016. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-81232018236.04962018>
- Donoso, V., Garzón, M. J., Costales, A. I., y Arguello, E. D. (2021). Dependencia emocional transgeneracional: Mujeres víctimas de violencia intrafamiliar en la Sierra del Ecuador. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Ve)*, XXVII(3), 299-316. <https://doi.org/10.31876/rcs.v27i3.36771>
- Falcke, D., Gonçalves, M., & Wagner, A. (2017). Violência conjugal: Mapeamento do fenômeno no Rio Grande do Sul. *Psico*, 48(2), 120-129. <https://doi.org/10.15448/1980-8623.2017.2.25148>
- Fernández, C., Quiñonez, M. M., & Prado, J. I. (2019). Perfil del agresor y violencia en mujeres de una zona periurbana Huánuco, Perú. *Universidad y Sociedad*, 11(5), 124-130.
- Ferreira, D., De Oliveira, V. L., De Oliveira, D. C., Corrêa, S., & Da Fonseca, A. D. (2018). Social representations of nurses concerning domestic violence against women: Study with a structural approach. *Revista Gaucha de Enfermagem*, 39, e61308. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1983-1447.2018.61308>
- Formiga, K., Zaia, V., Vertamatti, M., & Barbosa, C. P. (2021). Intimate partner violence: a cross-sectional study in women treated in the Brazilian Public Health System. *Einstein*, 19, eAO6584. [https://doi.org/10.31744/einstein\\_journal/2021AO6584](https://doi.org/10.31744/einstein_journal/2021AO6584)
- Grigsby, N., & Hartman, B. R. (1997). The Barriers Model: An integrated strategy for intervention with battered women. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 34(4), 485-497. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0087721>
- González-Díaz, R. R., Acevedo-Duque, Á. E., Guanilo-Gómez, S. L., & Cruz-Ayala, K. (2021). Ruta de Investigación Cualitativa – Naturalista: Una alternativa para estudios gerenciales. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Ve)*, XXVII(E-4), 334-350. <https://doi.org/10.31876/rcs.v27i.37011>
- Herrero-Arias, R., Truong, A. N., Ortiz-Barreda, G., & Briones-Vozmediano, E. (2021). Keeping silent or running away. The voices of Vietnamese women survivors of Intimate Partner Violence. *Global Health Action*, 14(1), 1863128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16549716.2020.1863128>
- Houseman, B., & Semien, G. (2022). *Florida Domestic Violence*. StatPearls Publishing.

- Hulley, J., Bailey, L., Kirkman, G., Gibbs, G. R., Gomersall, T., Latif, A., & Jones, A. (2023). Intimate partner violence and barriers to help-seeking among black, Asian, minority ethnic and immigrant women: A qualitative metasynthesis of global research. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 24*(2), 1001-1015. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380211050590>
- Igbolekwu, C. O., Arusukwu, O., Nwogu, J. N., Rasak, B., Asamu, F., & Osueke, N. O. (2021). Domestic Violence against Women in the Nigerian Rural Context. *Journal of International Women's Studies, 22*(1), 226-245. <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss1/14/>
- Jewkes, R., Fulu, E., Tabassam, R., Chirwa, E., Dunkle, K., Haardörfer, R., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2017). Women's and men's reports of past-year prevalence of intimate partner violence and rape and women's risk factors for intimate partner violence: A multicountry cross-sectional study in Asia and the Pacific. *PLoS Medicine, 14*(9), e1002381. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002381>
- Kennedy, A. C., & Prock, K. A. (2018). "I still feel like i am not normal": A review of the role of stigma and stigmatization among female survivors of child sexual abuse, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 19*(5), 512-527. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838016673601>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. SAGE.
- Luebke, J., Kako, P., Lopez, A., Schmitt, M., Dressel, A., Klein, K., & Mkandawire-Vahlmu, L. (2023). Barriers faced by American Indian women in urban Wisconsin in seeking help following an experience of intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women, 29*(11), 2080-2103. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012221132304>
- Marmo, M. (2023). Unmasking State Harm: The Border as a Theatrical Space of Gendered Violence. *Violence Against Women, 29*(8), 1541-1561. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012231162037>
- Mujica, J. (2011). *Violaciones Sexuales en el Perú 2000-2009: Un informe sobre el estado de la situación*. Centro de Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos (PROMSEX).
- Nagashima-Hayashi, M., Durrance-Bagale, A., Marzouk, M., Ung, M., Lam, S. T., Neo, P., & Howard, N. (2022). Gender-Based Violence in the Asia-Pacific Region during COVID-19: A hidden pandemic behind closed doors. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 19*(4), 2239. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19042239>
- Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia contra las Mujeres y los integrantes del Grupo Familiar (2018). *ENDES-Indicadores 2017*. <https://observatorioviolencia.pe/endes-indicadores-2017/?print=pdf>
- Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia contra las Mujeres y los integrantes del Grupo Familiar (2019). *Mujeres rurales en el Perú: Población vulnerable a la violencia*. <https://observatorioviolencia.pe/desigualdad-y-violencia-hacia-las-mujeres-rurales-en-el-peru>
- Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia contra las Mujeres y los Integrantes del Grupo Familiar (2021). *Cusco: Planifican inicio de la Estrategia Nacional de Prevención de la Violencia contra las Mujeres "Mujeres libres de violencia"*. <https://observatorioviolencia.pe/inicia-planificacion-de-la-implementacion-de-la-estrategia-nacional-de-prevencion-de-la-violencia-contra-las->

[mujeres-mujeres-libres-de-violencia-en-la-region-cusco/](#)

- ONU Mujeres (2018). *Hacer las promesas realidad: La igualdad de género en la Agenda 2030 para el Desarrollo Sostenible*. ONU Mujeres. <https://www.unwomen.org/es/digital-library/publications/2018/2/gender-equality-in-the-2030-agenda-for-sustainable-development-2018>
- Orozco, K., Jiménez, L. K., y Cudris-Torres, L. (2020). Mujeres víctimas de violencia intrafamiliar en el norte de Colombia. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Ve)*, XXVI(2), 56-68. <https://doi.org/10.31876/rcs.v26i2.32422>
- Palacios, A. P., & Bayard, L. (2017). (Ab) usos y costumbres: Mujeres indígenas confrontando la violencia de género y resignificando el poder. *Amerika*, 16. <https://doi.org/10.4000/amerika.8165>
- Pope, C., & Mays, N. (Eds.) (2013). *Qualitative Research in Health Care*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Quispe, M. P., Curro, O. M., Córdova, M., Pastor, N., Puza, G. M., & Oyola, A. E. (2018). Violencia extrema contra la mujer y feminicidio en el Perú. *Revista Cubana de Salud Pública*, 44(2), 278-294. <https://www.medigraphic.com/cgi-bin/new/resumen.cgi?IDARTICULO=82972>
- Ramírez, J. C., Alarcón, R. A., y Ortega, S. A. (2020). Violencia de género en Latinoamérica: Estrategias para su prevención y erradicación. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Ve)*, XXVI(4), 260-275. <https://doi.org/10.31876/rcs.v26i4.34662>
- Rapanyane, M. B. (2021). Women in Trouble? A critical reflection on the major hindrances to addressing gender based violence in South Africa. *African Journal of Gender, Society and Development (Formerly Journal of Gender, Information and Development in Africa)*, 10(4), 209–225. <https://doi.org/10.31920/2634-3622/2021/v10n4a10>
- Razaghi, N., Ramezani, M., Parvizi, S., & Tabatabaee, S. M. (2022). Domestic violence against women, Islamic Republic of Iran: a grounded theory study. *Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal*, 28(4), 281-287. <https://doi.org/10.26719/emhj.22.033>
- Riffe-Snyder, K. A., Crist, J. D., & Reel, S. J. (2022). Intimate Partner Violence Stories of Appalachian Women. *Clinical Nursing Research*, 31(2), 261–273. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10547738211036272>
- Rincón, A. M., Aliaga, F. M. A., Ortecho, R. B., & Preciado, A. E. (2024). Violencia contra la mujer: Análisis a partir del ordenamiento jurídico peruano. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Ve)*, XXX(2), 446-459. <https://doi.org/10.31876/rcs.v30i2.41925>
- Robinson, O. C. (2014). Sampling in Interview-Based Qualitative Research: A theoretical and practical guide. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 11(1), 25-41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2013.801543>
- Romero, P. M., & Olivares, A. I. (2021). Urban mobility of Indigenous women: literature review and possible research routes. *AlterNative*, 17(3), 378-386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801211038653>
- Roomani, F. Z., Tayyab, F., Kamal, N., & Siddique, K. (2016). Role of women in perpetuating violence against women: Case studies of domestic violence victims. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 36(2), 1185-1195. <https://pjss.bzu.edu.pk/index.php/pjss/article/view/501>
- Santillan, D., Schuler, S., Anh, H. T., Minh,

- T. H., & Mai, B. T. T. (2002). Limited equality: Contradictory ideas about gender and the implications for reproductive health in rural Vietnam. *Journal of Health Management*, 4(2), 251-267. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097206340200400210>
- Satyen, L., Rogic, A. C., & Supol, M. (2019). Intimate partner violence and help-seeking behaviour: A systematic review of cross-cultural differences. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 21(4), 879-892. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-018-0803-9>
- Smith, S. G., Zhang, X., Basile, K. C., Merrick, M. T., Wang, J., Kresnow, M.-J., & Chen, J. (2018). *National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2015 Data Brief – Updated Release*. National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/60893>
- Stewart, D. E., & Vigod, S. N. (2019). Update on mental health aspects of intimate partner violence. *The Medical Clinics of North America*, 103(4), 735-749. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mcna.2019.02.010>
- Sztumski, W. (2021). Reflection on the human living environment in connection with sustainable development. *Problemy Ekorozwoju*, 16(1), 39-44. <https://doi.org/10.35784/pe.2021.1.04>
- Tayupanda, N. J., Ivañez, J. M., Sánchez, J. G., Valente, L. M., & Alcocer, I. M. (2021). Violencia de género contra mujeres indígenas del área rural del Cantón Tena, año 2021. *Más Vida*, 3(3), 61-72. <https://doi.org/10.47606/ACVEN/MV0075>
- Tsapalas, D., Parker, M., Ferrer, L., & Bernales, M. (2021). Gender-Based Violence, Perspectives in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Hispanic Health Care International*, 19(1), 23-37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1540415320924768>
- Wassan, M. R., Channa, A. R., & Syed, F. H. S. (2021). Violence against women in Pakistan: Causes, consequences and the way forward. *International Research Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 49(49), 49-60. <https://sujo.usindh.edu.pk/index.php/IRJAH/article/view/3811>
- World Health Organization - WHO (2001). *Putting women first: Ethical and safety recommendations for research on domestic violence against women*. WHO. <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/WHO-FCH-GWH-01.1>
- World Health Organization - WHO (2012). *Understanding and addressing violence against women. Intimate partner violence*. WHO. <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/WHO-RHR-12.36>
- World Health Organization – WHO (2021). *Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018*. WHO. <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240022256>
- Zeoli, A. M., Rivera, E. A., Sullivan, C. M., & Kubiak, S. (2013). Post-Separation abuse of women and their children: Boundary-Setting and Family court utilization among victimized mothers. *Journal of Family Violence*, 28(6), 547-560. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-013-9528-7>