



Latin America Regional Analysis

Hanna Smit and Erika Fraser

Query: What are the main forms, drivers and most vulnerable populations for violence against women and girls across the Latin America region? Are there any regional trends or common challenges?



1. Overview

Women and girls face multiple forms of violence across the Latin America region. This query has identified several regional trends and challenges in terms of the main forms, drivers and most vulnerable populations. It is based on a rapid analysis of the evidence, with over 80 documents reviewed for this query (see Annex 1 for methodology).

Regional trends and common challenges include:

- **Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is widespread**, presenting a public health and human rights problem. 1 in 4 (25%) ever-partnered women aged 15-49 years report having experienced physical and/or sexual IPV in their lifetime – a higher figure than Europe and Asia, but lower than the global average of 27%. Countries with the highest rates are Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.
- **There is some evidence that partner violence is declining**, with reported prevalence of both physical and sexual IPV declining significantly in Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru – the five countries with comparable data collection over 10-20 years. Evidence from the region and globally show that it is possible to prevent violence, but greater and more sustained investment is needed in evidence-based initiatives (Bott et al., 2019).
- **The region has high rates of lifetime non-partner sexual violence (11%), almost double the global average of 6%** for women aged 15-49 and reaching a high of 38.8% in Mexico (WHO, 2021).
- **Femicide¹ is a common challenge**, with 10 of the 12 countries with the highest global rates found in Latin America. Countries with the highest rates include Honduras, El Salvador and Bolivia. However, there are signs of progress, with growing public awareness and legislation. During the COVID-19 pandemic, several countries experienced declines in femicide rates.
- **Sexual harassment in public spaces, transport and the workplace are widespread** across the region, with impacts on women's mobility, access to economic opportunities and education.
- **Online and ICT-facilitated violence is a growing trend within the region**, with a study finding that 60% of girls and young women have experienced online harassment on social media in Latin America - one of the highest rates in the world (Plan International, 2020).
- **School-related gender-based violence is a significant problem**, but there is limited data or evidence on how to address it in the region. Only 9 out of 93 initiatives addressing school violence have a focus on GBV or sexual violence, despite high levels in the region (Chávez et al., 2020).
- **Child, early and forced marriages and unions** are still not recognised as a significant issue, despite having three of the world's worst-affected countries (Brazil, Mexico and the Dominican

Republic) and it being the only region where rates have not dropped over the last 30 years. Violence is both a cause and consequence of child, early and forced marriage and unions.

- **Other forms of violence have more localised patterns within the region** include conflict-related sexual violence in Colombia, and trafficking for sexual exploitation and abuse.
- **The most vulnerable populations** for violence against women and girls across the Latin America region include: adolescent girls and young women; women and girls with disabilities; migrant, refugee and displaced women and girls; lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) individuals; sex workers; women and girls living with HIV; older women; and activists and Women Human Rights Defenders.

Common drivers of violence against women and girls in the region include:

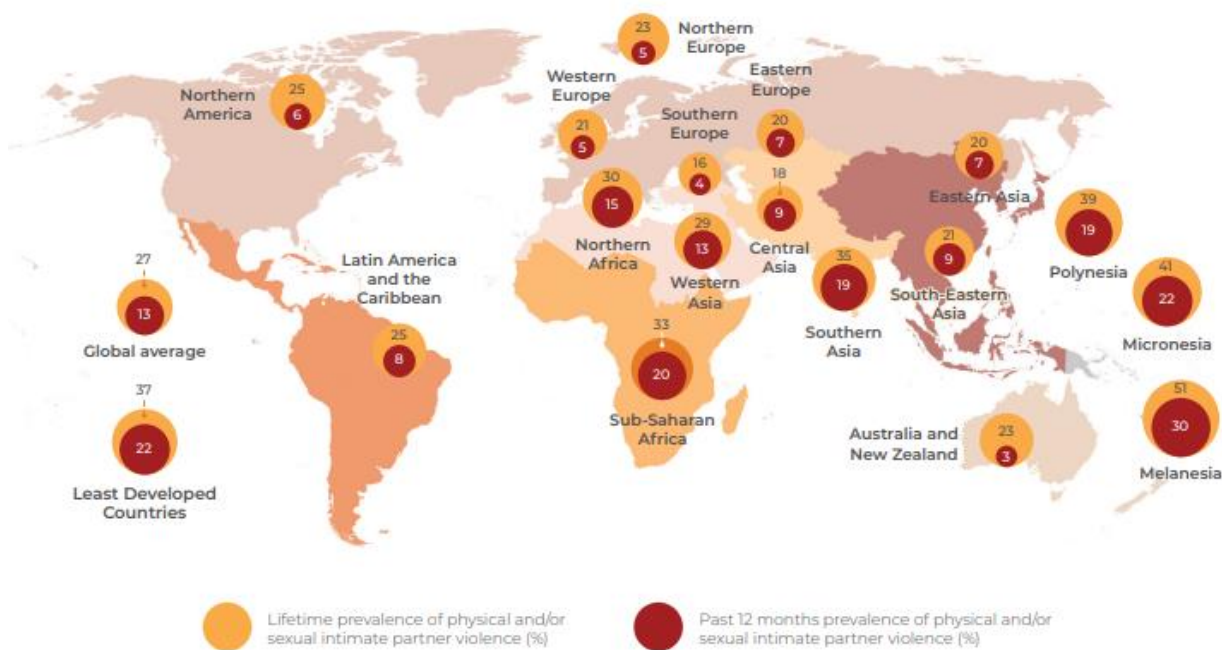
- **Deeply rooted social norms about gender and power** that help sustain the use of violence. Progress continues to be slow. Gendered norms intersect with other discriminatory norms around racism, homophobia and classism to increase violence against some groups of women and girls.
- **Limited implementation and enforcement of laws and policies** to prevent and respond to violence against women. Despite significant progress in regional and national legislation, there remain challenges in implementing laws due to lack of institutional coordination and financial resources.
- **Poverty** increases the risk factors for partner violence, such as household stresses, unemployment and food insecurity, although the relationship is complex and bi-directional. Poverty also makes it more difficult for women to leave violent relationships.
- **Conflict and displacement** exacerbate gender inequalities and heighten women and girls' vulnerability to violence, both in private and public spaces. Intergenerational effects of conflict violence are also evident, particularly among displaced families in Colombia.
- **Harmful use of alcohol and drugs** can act as a risk factor for increasing the frequency and severity of IPV perpetration and experience.
- **Violence against children** increases the risk of both experiencing and perpetrating violence later in life and can contribute to intergenerational cycles of violence. Violence against children and women often co-occur in the same families and have shared risk factors, such as gender inequality, male dominance in the household, and harmful use of alcohol and drugs.
- **Covid-19 has exacerbated many of the above drivers of violence** against women and girls, such as economic insecurity and limited enforcement of laws. In addition, measures to restrict the spread of Covid-19 have trapped women and children with their perpetrators and reduced their access to support systems and social services.

2. Forms of VAWG

2.1 Intimate partner violence

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is the most prevalent form of violence against women and girls and is widespread across the region. Around 1 in 4 (25%) ever-partnered women aged 15-49 years report having been physically and/or sexually abused by an intimate partner in their lifetime. This figure is slightly lower than the global average of 27%, but higher than Europe and Asia (see Figure 1 below). For each region, the percentage of women who reported physical or sexual IPV in the past 12 months was lower than the percentage who reported it in their lifetime; in Latin America the estimated recent prevalence is 8% of women in the past year. The figures are based on physical and sexual violence, but it is important to note that emotional abuse and controlling behaviours by partners are also widespread. The proportion of women who reported emotional abuse by a partner in the past year ranged from 13.7% (Honduras) to 32.3% (Bolivia) (Bott et al., 2012).

Figure 1: Regional prevalence estimates of Intimate Partner Violence

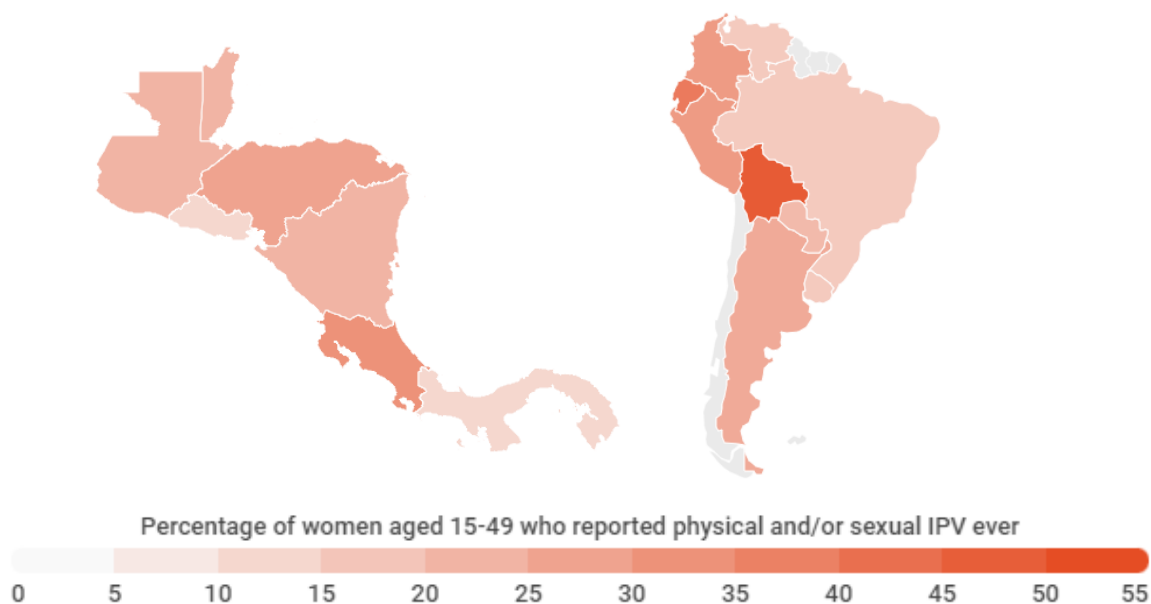


(Source: WHO, 2021, p.xiii)

Countries with the highest rates of reported physical and/or sexual IPV are Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru (see Figures 2 and 3). The figures and ranking vary between lifetime and past-year prevalence. Countries with the highest *lifetime* IPV rates include Bolivia (58.5%), Ecuador (40.4%), Costa Rica (35.9%), Colombia (33.3%) and Peru (31.2%). Countries with the highest *past-year* IPV prevalence include Bolivia (27.1%), Colombia (18.3%), Honduras (11%), Ecuador (10.8%) and Peru (10.6%). It should be noted here that data are not always comparable

across the region, due to differences in how data is collected. The figures mentioned above are based on a systematic review and reanalysis of national, population-based IPV estimates for comparability (Bott et al., 2019). It is also important to note that there can be very high burdens of IPV in some geographic areas within countries or for some groups of women and girls (see Section 4 for most vulnerable populations).

Figure 2: Prevalence of lifetime physical and/or sexual IPV in Central America and South America



(Based on data from Bott et al., 2019)

2.2 Non-partner sexual violence

Latin America and the Caribbean² has one of the highest rates of lifetime non-partner sexual violence (11%) in the world, almost double the global average of 6% for women aged 15-49 (WHO, 2021). Rates of non-partner sexual violence vary across the region, reaching a high of 38.8% in Mexico.³ A review of sexual violence in the region found that the most common forms are sexual abuse of children and young people, trafficking for sexual exploitation, sexual harassment in workplaces or education, sexual violence in emergencies or conflict settings, and sexual violence during the migration process (Contreras et al., 2010).

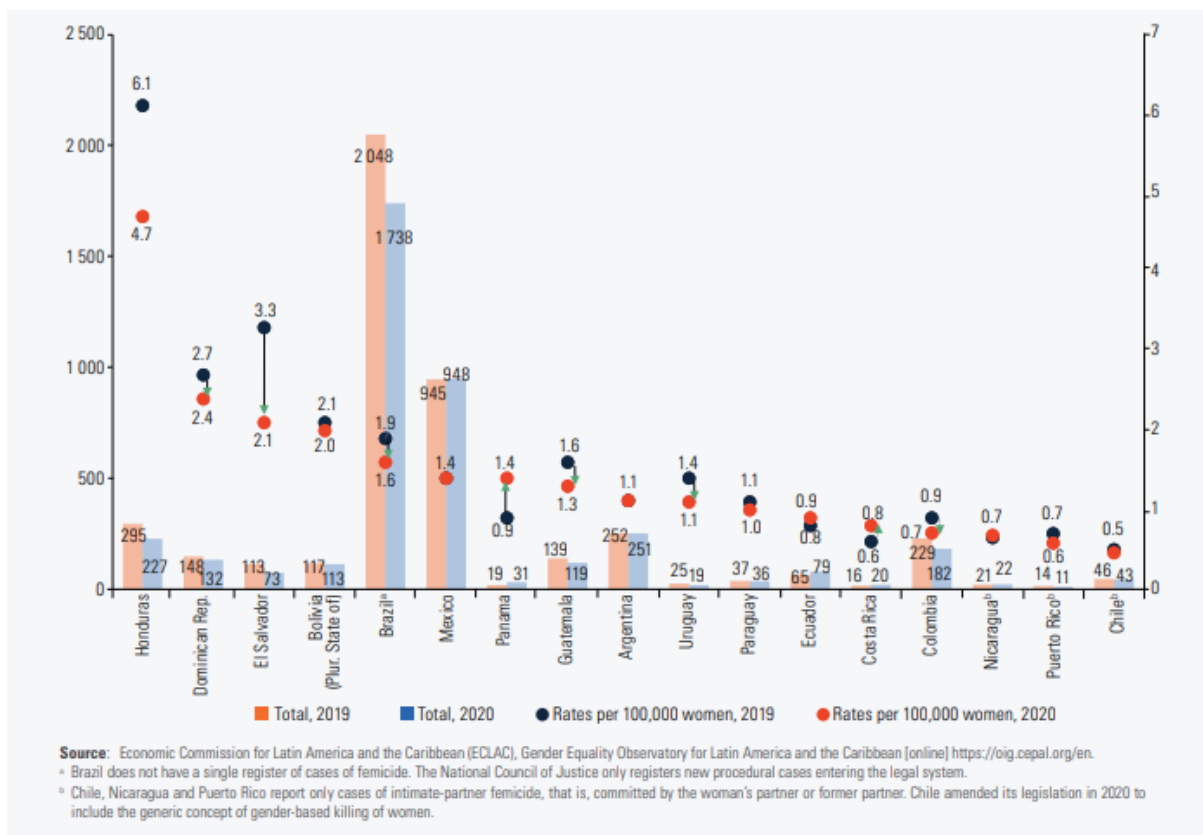
As with other regions, most non-partner perpetrators of sexual violence are known to the victims, including relatives, neighbours, friends, colleagues, priests and teachers. For example, surveys have found that strangers were the perpetrators for 21% of women who reported forced sex in Bolivia and 33% of women in Bolivia (Contreras et al., 2010). In parts of the region, gang rape is not uncommon. In Brazil, for example, it is estimated that a gang rape (*estupro coletivo*) occurs every 100 minutes, with the Ministry of Health recording 5,372 gang rapes in 2019. The actual number of cases is likely to be much higher, due to underreporting (Souto, 2021).

2.3 Femicide⁴

Latin America has the highest rate of violent, gender-based deaths (femicide) in the world, with 10 of the 12 countries with the highest rates. Countries with the highest rates per 100,000 females (2020) include Honduras (4.7), El Salvador (2.1) and Bolivia (2.0). In absolute numbers, the largest numbers of deaths per year (2020) are in Brazil (1,736) and Mexico (948). The data suggests that although femicide affects all women, it occurs most frequently during women’s reproductive years, peaking in the 30-44 age group (ECLAC, 2021).

However, there are signs of progress in tackling femicide in the region. In the last decade, countries have started to bring in legislation, with the number of Latin American countries⁵ making femicide a crime increasing fourfold since 2010. There has also been growing public awareness around femicide with films such as ‘Three Deaths of Marisela Escobedo’⁶ and public protests such as the March 2020 protests in Mexico. In 2020, an estimated 4,000 women were victims of femicide in the region – a reduction of 10.6% since the 2019 figure of 4,576 femicides. Countries which saw declines in their figures included Honduras, El Salvador, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Paraguay and Uruguay (ECLAC, 2021).

Figure 3: Latin America: cases of femicide, 2019-2020



(Absolute numbers and rates per 100,000 women) (ECLAC, 2021)

2.4 Conflict-related sexual violence

Over the past few decades, there have been high levels of conflict-related sexual violence in those Latin American countries which have experienced armed internal conflicts, including Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala and Peru. Almost all armed groups have perpetrated sexual violence against women and girls, although the main perpetrators are government and paramilitary forces (Contreras et al., 2010).

Conflict-related sexual violence remains an ongoing problem in Colombia, due to high impunity rates which have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. The most recent UN Secretary General's report noted that the National Victims' Unit recorded 239 cases of conflict-related sexual violence in Colombia in 2020. Of these, 197 were committed against women, 15 against girls, 13 against men and 6 against boys. Eight victims identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or intersex. 67 victims were Afro-Colombians, 15 were individuals from indigenous communities and 16 were persons living with disabilities (UN Secretary General, 2021).

2.5 Sexual harassment in public spaces and the workplace

Across the region, women and girls experience high levels of sexual harassment on public transport, which limits mobility and access to education and economic opportunities. Surveys in Quito (Ecuador), Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Santiago (Chile) found that most public transport users have experienced or witnessed sexual harassment. In Buenos Aires, 89% of women interviewed had experienced sexual harassment, including 49% in the last 12 months. As a result, women actively avoid public transport due to the risks of harassment, with 7 out of 10 women in Buenos Aires refusing to travel alone. In Santiago, half of women change their routes to avoid specific areas of the city (FIA Foundation, 2017). Fears about sexual harassment and violence limit women's mobility, access to economic opportunities, and the ability to move into higher paid or more secure jobs (Fraser et al., 2017). For example, women living on the periphery of Mexico City make difficult decisions over the trade-off between economic opportunity and personal security, as women's earnings are three times higher in the city centre, but over half experience sexual harassment on public transport (UN Women, 2014).

Studies also show high levels of sexual harassment and violence in public spaces throughout the region. In Brazil, 89% of women living in cities have been subjected to harassment or violence in public (ActionAid, 2016). In Ecuador, 68% of women experienced some form of sexual harassment and/or violence in public spaces during the previous year (UN Women, 2011). Girls and young women are particularly at risk for sexual harassment, with 9 in 10 young women aged 19-29 years having been a victim of street harassment in Lima, Peru (CEPAL, 2015).

Women also experience violence and harassment in the workplace, with far-reaching consequences for women and their families, businesses, and national economies. Research with women workers in Brazilian textile and shoe factories concluded that sexual harassment is a 'constant problem'. Sexual harassment is often mixed with other types of violence and

discrimination, with increased risks for Afro-Brazilian women and LGBTQI+ workers (de Castro, 2019). However, the region is also a global leader in addressing violence and harassment at work, with Uruguay being the first country in the world to ratify ILO Convention 190 on Violence and Harassment, closely followed by Argentina and Ecuador.

There is limited evidence on sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment (SEAH) in the aid sector in Latin America (Feather et al., 2021), although it is likely to be an issue given the numerous reports in other contexts. Recent research in El Salvador using a new participatory tool, the Listen Up! Barometer,⁷ has highlighted the importance of allocating specific funds for actions to prevent and respond to SEAH during humanitarian emergencies (IRC, 2021).

2.6 Trafficking for sexual exploitation

Women and girls represent most detected victims of trafficking in Central America and the Caribbean (79%) and South America (69%), with most trafficked for sexual exploitation. Sex trafficking is a form of violence that involves both threats and actual violence. Within Central America, the flows mainly move from south to north. In South America, trafficking flows are more complex, but mostly limited in terms of geographical reach to a nearby country (UNODC, 2020).

Compared to other crimes, women also represent a relatively large share of sex trafficking offenders. Women constitute over half of offenders convicted of trafficking in persons - 52% in Central America and 33% in South America (UNODC, 2020). Convicted female human traffickers are often former victims, with studies finding that sex trafficking victims are often offered the opportunity to switch to the role of recruiting new victims or serving as a 'madam' to reduce their debt to traffickers (Fraser, 2018). A well-publicised case in Argentina illustrates this well: the trafficking gang used Dominican women recruiters who were victims of sexual exploitation in Argentina to gain the trust of young women and girls in the Dominican Republic with false promises of legal work in Argentina (UNODC, 2016).

LGBTQI+ people are highly vulnerable to sex trafficking in the region, but violence is under-reported to local and national governments (Ribando Seelke, 2016; Martinez and Kelle, 2014). In Venezuela, trans sex workers are often victims of human trafficking and violence, with gangs extorting them for money (Rudolph, 2016). In Peru, there are reports that many transgender women in prostitution are unidentified trafficking victims (US Department of State, 2017).

There are some indications that the COVID-19 pandemic has both increased and changed the nature of sex trafficking in the region. In Mexico, organisations who support sex trafficking victims have observed an escalation in activities during the pandemic, triggered by economic insecurity. The COVID-19 pandemic also increased the pool of potential victims by amplifying economic inequalities in the region (UNODC, 2020). Despite stay-at-home orders and travel restrictions, traffickers have found new ways to exploit young women through digital devices. Within the region, sexual exploitation of trafficking victims has increasingly moved online, with demand for webcam pornography growing by 30% in the first few months of the pandemic (Lima, 2020).

2.7 School-related gender-based violence

There is limited data on the scale of school-related gender-based violence in the Latin America region, compared to other regions such as Africa. Studies in Latin America have tended to look more broadly at school violence, or focus on gangs, guns and drugs in schools (Parkes, 2015; Chávez et al., 2020).

There is some evidence from smaller studies that show that marginalised groups of students are at higher risk of school-related gender-based violence, with over 60% of LGBTQI students in Chile, Mexico and Peru reporting that they had been bullied compared to 7% of heterosexual students (UNESCO, 2012).

Schools have a key role to play in preventing violence against women and girls, but there are currently few initiatives in the region. A recent UNICEF study found that only 9 of 93 initiatives that aim to mitigate the impacts of school violence in the region have a focus on preventing gender-based violence or sexual violence despite the high levels in the region (Chávez et al., 2020).

2.8 Online violence

Violence against women is increasingly manifesting itself in online and ICT-facilitated violence within the region, which can take many forms from cyber-harassment and stalking to non-consensual pornography (also known as 'revenge porn'). There is limited data on the scale of online violence in the region, although a study by Plan International (2020) found that 60% of girls and young women between the age of 15-25 have personally experienced some form of online harassment on social media platforms – one of the highest levels in the world, compared to 58% in the Asia-Pacific region, 54% in Africa and 52% in North America. Social media harassment starts at a young age, with most girls saying that their first experience happened between the ages of 14-16. This trend has increased during the COVID-19 pandemic as women and girls spend more time online (UN Women, 2020).

Groups of women most at risk of online violence include human rights defenders, women in politics, journalists, bloggers, women belonging to ethnic minorities, indigenous women, lesbian, bisexual and transgender women, adolescent girls and young women, and women with disabilities (UN Women, 2020). Research in seven Latin American countries⁸ found that women journalists experienced high levels of abuse on social media, with evidence of coordinated attacks. The abuse led to over two-thirds

60% of girls and young women aged 15-25 have personally experienced some form of online harassment – one of the highest levels in the world

[PLAN INTERNATIONAL, 2020]

(68%) of women journalists self-censoring and withdrawing from debates and online discussions (Cueller and Chaher, 2020).

2.9 Child, early and forced marriage and unions

1 in 4 girls are married or in an early union before the age of 18 in Latin America and the Caribbean. The region has a higher share of informal early unions (cohabitation without legal registrations) in contrast to the more formal marriage practices elsewhere in the world. Both formal marriages and informal unions have implications for school dropout, teenage pregnancies, poverty, and girls' prospects (Girls not Brides, 2020). Often, these unions involve much older, more experienced men, with implications for power balances within the relationship and the girls often face violence, abuse and control by their partners (Greene, 2019).

Latin America and the Caribbean is the only region where child marriage rates have not dropped over the last thirty years. Child, early and forced marriage and unions are still not recognised as a significant issue in the region, partly due to a lack of up-to-date data, despite three of the world's worst-affected countries being in the region (the Dominican Republic, Brazil and Mexico) (Girls not Brides, 2020; UNICEF, 2021).

Girls who marry young or form unions are at higher risk of violence. A survey of 18,800 households in Ecuador found 70.5% of women who first married or entered a relationship between 16 and 20 experience violence, followed by women aged 21 to 25 (69%), and then women aged 26 to 30 (51%) (ECLAC, 2014).

Violence can also be a cause of child, early and forced marriage and unions, with girls seeing marriage as a way of leaving violent family environments or avoiding selling sex. Research in Brazil highlighted the case of a 13-year-old girl who married a 36-year-old so that she would not be prostituted like her sister (Taylor, 2019). Organised crime and street violence can also increase the risks of child, early and forced marriage and unions, with research in El Salvador, Honduras and Brazil finding that girls enter into early unions with members of organised crime as a form of protection. Some girls are forced into it by their families, as refusing could put their lives at risk (Taylor, 2019; Moloney, 2015).

3. Drivers

3.1 Social norms

Social norms that support violence against women are deeply rooted, with progress being slow in the region. Analysis of countries with available data shows that in the past five years, the percentage of respondents who agree with wife-beating has reduced in only five countries - Peru, Honduras, Mexico, Brazil and Chile. It has remained stagnant in Ecuador, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia and worsened in Guatemala and Argentina (Lopez-Calva, 2020).

Across the region, younger women and men continue to support social norms that drive violence against women and girls. Research with young people aged 15-25 in eight Latin American and Caribbean countries⁹ identified a set of beliefs that lead young people to view acts of male violence as 'normal' (Ruiz and Garrido, 2018). These include norms around male virility, strict gender roles and control over women's bodies (see Table 1), which are based on a distorted idea of 'romantic love' expressed as control rather than loving companionship. Several studies have highlighted the way that traditional gender norms are shaped by *machismo*, whereby men assume a dominant role in society and exercise control over women (OECD, 2020; Alvarez, 2021; Ruiz & Garrido, 2018).

These gendered norms can also intersect with social norms relating to other forms of discrimination, including racism, homophobia and classism, to increase violence against certain groups of women (see Section 4).

Table 1: Individual beliefs and social norms that sustain or justify VAWG among young people in Latin America

Types of social norms	Beliefs	Young women	Young men
A real man must have sexual relations when he wants and with whomever he wants; not so for women	It is common for a man who is drunk to beat or force a woman to have sexual relations	51%	62%
	Men have greater sexual desire than women	87%	87%
	Men can have sexual relations with whoever they want, women cannot. [What they think their friends believe]	82%	80%
	Women sometimes act hard to get for having sexual relations, saying NO when they really mean YES	45%	65%
	Men get angry if their partner does not want to have sexual relations. [What they think their friends believe]	63%	69%
Men should take advantage of all the opportunities that arise, women typically give grounds for this	A decent woman should not dress provocatively, nor walk alone on the streets at night	62%	72%
	If a woman gets drunk, then a man can have sexual relations with her, even if she is not conscious	31%	40%
Women's bodies should always be controlled, available and criticised	It is normal for a man to compliment a woman on the street. [What they think their friends believe]	75%	75%
	It is safer for women if a man accompanies them on the street. [What they think their friends believe]	81%	86%
	It is not appropriate for a woman to end an unwanted pregnancy	79%	84%

(Ruiz and Garrido, 2018)¹⁰

3.2 Policy and legislative barriers

At a regional level, significant commitments have been made to prevent violence against women, with all twenty Latin American countries ratifying the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (also known as the Belém do Pará Convention)¹¹ (OAS, 2020). Similarly, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has been ratified by 16 countries in the region (El Salvador has signed the convention, while Guyana, Honduras, Nicaragua and Suriname have neither signed nor ratified it) (ECLAC, 2022). Despite this, it is clear that gaps remain in their implementation and enforcement, with these legal frameworks challenged by weaknesses in institutional coordination, lack of financial resources, and inadequate design of budgetary policies (Ruiz & Garrido, 2018).

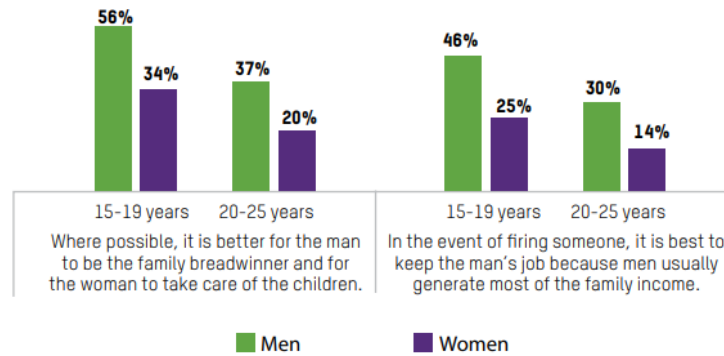
Legal initiatives to prevent violence against women and girls are further limited at the national level, with 11 countries exclusively relying on legislation that protects the rights of victims/survivors of domestic or intrafamily violence (Belize, Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, Guyana, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname and Uruguay) (Essayag, 2017). This restricted focus on the domestic or household level overlooks violence against women and girls in other settings, such as the workplace, educational institutions, health facilities, or during conflict (ECLAC, 2014). Such gaps in legislation and implementation perpetuate a culture of impunity for men who commit violence against women and girls.

90% of countries in Latin America have legislation on sexual harassment in employment, with Guatemala and Suriname being the exception (World Bank, 2021). However, 80% of Latin American countries have criminal penalties or civil remedies for sexual harassment in employment, with Argentina, Guatemala, Chile and Suriname lacking this legislation (World Bank, 2021).

3.3 Poverty and unemployment

One of the main reasons women struggle to escape violence in Latin America is their lack of financial autonomy; women in Guatemala and Colombia have emphasised financial dependency as a major factor perpetuating violence against women (Ruiz & Garrido, 2018). Figure 4 shows this is partially based on the social norms that men are providers, and that, whenever possible, it is better for the man to be the family breadwinner as they generate most of the income, and for the woman to take care of the children (Ruiz & Garrido, 2018). In Bolivia, 61% of men aged 20–25 years believe that when a mother works outside the home, the children suffer abandonment. In Honduras, 65% of men believe it is better that they should provide for the family and that women take care of the children (Ruiz & Garrido, 2018). This belief is also shared by 54% of men in Guatemala, and 52% of men in Nicaragua (Ruiz & Garrido, 2018). This belief, together with women's lower representation in trade unions, could be a factor in the higher female unemployment rate in the region (Ruiz & Garrido, 2018).

Figure 4: Women as carers, men as providers



(Ruiz and Garrido, 2018)

There are strong bi-directional links between household poverty and violence, with poverty increasing the risk factors for intimate partner violence, such as household stresses, unemployment and food insecurity (UN Women and SDDirect, 2020). However, the relationship is complex. A comparative analysis of 9 Latin American countries (Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay) found substantial proportions of women from all socioeconomic backgrounds reported physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner (Bott et al., 2012). While the prevalence of intimate partner violence (IPV) in Latin America is usually lowest among women with the highest levels of wealth and education, this is not always the case (Bott et al., 2012). In some countries, the highest levels of IPV were reported by women at intermediate levels of wealth or education – while the data doesn't show clear causality, this could suggest that where women's increasing education and employment are challenging traditional gender roles, their risk of violence has increased (Bott et al., 2012).

3.4 Conflict and displacement

There is growing evidence that women and girls experience elevated levels of violence in conflict- and crisis-affected contexts across the region, with higher levels of intimate partner violence as well as violence at the hands of combatants. Gang rape, sexual slavery, mutilation, torture, and forced pregnancy of imprisoned women have been recorded during the military dictatorships of the southern Cone countries (Chile, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay) and where states waged counterinsurgency wars against civilians (El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala) during the last century (Wilson, 2014). A review of sexual violence in armed conflict across the region suggests increased violent sexual acts were perpetrated against women and girls to spread terror in communities, take revenge against rebels, and to use women and girls as "spoils of war" (Contreras et al., 2010). This conflict context and history, compounded with the environment of drug trafficking and trafficking in women throughout the region, has created an unsafe environment for women (ELLA Network, 2014).

Violence is widespread amongst displaced women and girls. In Colombia, where there are an estimated 5.2 million internally displaced persons, increases in gender-based violence have been attributed to new vulnerabilities caused by displacement, i.e. economic and educational disparities, post-traumatic stress following experiences of violent events, loss of social support, changing gender roles, and loss of financial support either through loss of own employment or loss by the husband (Wirtz et al., 2014). These circumstances can also influence women's decisions to stay in partnerships with violent men, form new unhealthy relationships, and possibly engage in sex work for financial stability (Wirtz et al., 2014). Over one third of internally displaced women in Colombia have experienced forced sex (Contreras et al., 2010).

Intergenerational effects of violence are also evident among the displaced, with displaced women in Colombia reporting patterns of violence and victimisation among their children (Wirtz et al., 2014). While exposure to domestic violence in childhood is a known risk factor for future perpetration of violence or victimisation in Latin America, exposure to armed conflict may further exacerbate these outcomes for children and families (Wirtz et al., 2014).

3.5 Alcohol and substance use

The excessive use of alcohol and drugs is a risk factor for IPV perpetration and experience, both globally and in Latin America (Imbuch et al., 2011; Kerr Wilson et al., 2020). Women cite many different situations that can 'trigger' IPV, but a partner's alcohol consumption plays an important role in almost all settings (Bott et al., 2012). Latin American and Caribbean countries included in the GENACIS study¹² show both victims and perpetrators of IPV (either men or women) were more likely to be drinkers of alcohol and were more likely to drink heavily on each occasion, compared to those who did not report IPV (Bott et al., 2012).

The evidence shows that men who perpetrate IPV were also engaged in harmful alcohol and substance use preceding the event. In Brazil, analyses of IPV events show men were drinking during 38.1% of the events and women 9.2% (Zaleski et al., 2010a). Overall, women were more frequently involved in both mild and serious episodes of violence than men, and violence was reported four times more frequently in intoxicated men – this supports the assumption that public policies aimed at reducing alcohol consumption could have benefits in preventing IPV in the country (Zaleski et al., 2010b).

3.6 Childhood experiences of violence

Violence against children is a significant problem in the region in its own right, as well as being a key risk factor for violence against women. A comparative analysis of nine Latin American countries found that the most consistent risk factor for physical or sexual IPV for women across all countries was a history of 'father beating mother' (except Honduras which did not measure it) (Bott et al., 2012). The prevalence of IPV for women was also significantly higher for those who reported experiencing sexual abuse as a child (Bott et al., 2012). This supports the body of evidence suggesting childhood trauma and exposure to violence – either as a victim or a witness

– can increase the risk of both experiencing and perpetrating other forms of violence later in life (i.e. intimate partner violence), which can in turn contribute to intergenerational cycles of abuse (Erolin et al., 2014; Benavides et al., 2015; Fulu et al., 2017).

There is growing evidence on the intersections of VAWG and VAC, including shared risk factors¹³ and co-occurrence of multiple forms of violence in the same household. Children living in households where the mother is being abused are also more likely to experience violent discipline and other forms of violence. Research from Peru determines that in urban settings, children whose mothers experience physical violence are almost twice as likely to suffer physical abuse themselves (Benavides et al., 2015).

There is a perceived legitimacy in using violent forms of punishment for child discipline across Latin America, with large proportions of children aged 1-14 experiencing violent discipline (Benavides et al., 2015; Bott et al., 2021). This is especially the case for children living in households with women who had experienced IPV, with reports of significantly more punishment, i.e. hitting, beating, spanking or slapping, than other children (the data does not reveal who in the household administers the punishments) (Bott et al., 2012). In a review of nine Latin American and Caribbean countries (featuring Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru), IPV and violent discipline was found to co-occur in a substantial proportion of households, with children in IPV affected households experiencing significantly higher levels and likelihood of physical punishment and verbal aggression (Bott et al., 2021). This co-occurrence can contribute to a cycle of abuse, with childhood trauma leading to violence against women and further child maltreatment, which can increase the risk of experience of perpetration of violence during adulthood (Fulu et al., 2017).

3.7 COVID-19 pandemic

Covid-19 has exacerbated many of the existing, and aforementioned, drivers of violence against women and girls. In particular, women faced higher rates of unemployment and furloughing due to their overrepresentation in sectors in the hardest hit occupations, such as retail, travel, leisure and hospitality (Inter-American Commission of Women, 2021). Women in Latin America are also more likely to be engaged in informal work that excludes them from formal social protection measures, decreasing their economic autonomy as they were forced into unremunerated roles, such as caregiving and homemaking (Cucagna & Romero, 2021). Women who continue to work as domestic workers face the double risk of contagion if they continue working, or poverty if they stop (Inter-American Commission of Women, 2021).

The Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated many drivers of violence against women and girls

Measures to prevent the spread of Covid-19, such as quarantine, isolation, and restrictions on movement, have especially affected violence against women and girls in the home. With limited opportunities to leave the home or seek help, women were locked in with their perpetrators, isolated from support systems or social services (UN Women, 2020). Emerging data suggests that violence against women, especially domestic violence, intensified during this time: 158 cases of domestic violence were formally registered in the first week of Bolivia's national quarantine; in Peru, where women's movement was restricted to Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, the Ministry for Women received 600 calls and registered 168 cases of violence against women within the first two weeks of the national lockdown (García Nice & Borushek, 2020). Risks of exposure to violence and discrimination in public spaces of trans persons and the LGBTQI community also increased in countries where emergency measures segregated mobility by biological sex (UN Women, 2020).

4. Most vulnerable populations

4.1 Adolescent girls COVID-19 pandemic

Forced or unwanted sexual debut is prevalent among young women in Latin America. Qualitative research from Mexico indicates that young women can be reluctant to describe their first sexual intercourse as 'forced' within a romantic relationship, even if the encounter involved substantial physical or emotional coercion (Bott et al., 2012).

Adolescent fertility rates in Latin America are the second highest in the world, with major inequities between and within countries of the region (PAHO & UNFPA, 2020). Generally, girls from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and those from Indigenous and Afrodescendant communities, are disproportionately affected by adolescent pregnancy (PAHO & UNFPA, 2020). This also puts girls and young women at greater risk of physical or sexual violence by their partners, with prevalence rates two to three times higher among women who had their first child before age 17 than for women who became mothers after 25 (ECLAC, 2014).

Violence in school settings is documented across the region, with girls affected by discrimination, bullying, and sexual harassment and abuse in educational establishments. In Mexico, according to a 2016 National Survey of 142,363 women aged 15 and over, 25.3% of women and girls experienced violence at school at some point in their school life, and 17.4% reported experiencing it in the previous 12 months (INEGI, 2016). When broken down by type of violence, 16.7% reported ever experiencing physical violence, 10.9% sexual violence, and 10.4% emotional violence (INEGI, 2016).

4.2 Women and girls with disabilities

Women and girls with disabilities are at higher risk of experiencing violence than men with disabilities or women without disabilities (Marques Garcia et al., 2019). This is attributed to multiple intersecting forms of discrimination, social isolation and chronic poverty (UN Women,

Women and girls with disabilities are at higher risk of experiencing violence than men with disabilities or women without disabilities.

[MARQUES GARCIA ET AL., 2019]

2020). In Ecuador, 68% of women with disabilities have suffered gender-based violence at some point in their lives, compared to 60% of women without disabilities (OAS & Government of Panama, 2017). A national survey in Colombia found that of women with disabilities who had been married or lived with a partner, 72%

had experienced psychological, physical, sexual, or economic violence in their lifetime, compared to 67% of women without disabilities (Garcia Mora et al., 2021). Violence perpetrated by a person other than a current spouse or intimate partner has also been studied in Colombia, with women with disabilities reporting psychological violence (25.8%), physical violence (17.8%) and sexual violence (7.8%) (Marques Garcia, 2019).

Type of violence against women and girls with disability varies by type of impairment.

Demographic and Health Survey Data from Colombia shows of women surveyed with difficulties 'moving around, walking, climbing', 68.8% experienced psychological IPV, 42.2% physical IPV and 38.52% economic IPV (Ozemala et al., 2019). Of the women with difficulties 'seeing close, far and around', 68% reported experiencing psychological IPV, 39.8% physical IPV and 41.7% economic IPV (Ozemala et al., 2019).

There is a significant gap in response services for violence against women and girls with disabilities (Marques Garcia et al., 2019). Across Latin America, violence response services for women and girls with disabilities are either minimal or non-existent, and are affected by limited accessibility to shelters, intervention centres, helplines and counselling; lack of qualified service providers; lack of clear protocols to prevent VAWG with disabilities; underreporting of violence and lack of adequate response by the justice system; and lack of support in sexual and reproductive health care for women and girls with disabilities (Marques Garcia et al., 2019).

4.3 Migrant, refugee and displaced women and girls

The migratory journey can increase the risks of gender-based violence, with obstacles to medical attention, justice, and resources creating barriers to displaced people seeking help – compounding with the difficulties already caused by shortcomings in humanitarian assistance and protection measures (Human Rights Watch, 2012). In this context, women and girls face additional risks than men, for instance passing through routes or dangerous places where they may be victims of robbery, sexual violence and disappearance (IOM, 2020). Due to a lack of resources, women and girls could also feel forced into transactional sex in order to support themselves and their families, which exposes them to increased risk of contracting sexual diseases; networks of human trafficking or smuggling of migrants; and violence exercised by illegal armed groups and

drug traffickers (IOM, 2020). The occurrence of femicide is also documented as an increased risk along the migrant journey (IOM, 2020).

Interviews with migrant and refugee women in Venezuela have documented the most frequently occurring types of violence, including physical violence (35%), verbal violence (25%), psychological violence (11%) and sexual violence (10%) (IOM, 2021). Research from the Colombia-Ecuador border also shows that the risk of IPV experienced by women migrants increases due to lack of legal residence and documentation; social isolation including loss of support networks and restricted mobility; financial stress; and the experience of violence along the migratory continuum (or over the course of life) which affects occurrences of revictimisation (Keating et al., 2021).

Migrant women, refugees, and asylum seekers who have returned, or been returned, to their countries of origin can face particular risks of being attacked physically, psychologically and sexually (UN Women, 2020). This increased risk is associated with xenophobia, stigma and discrimination, barriers to access services, lack of documentation and use of illegal routes to migrate (UN Women, 2020). Combined, these factors can increase the severity of the violence and also expose women and girls to human trafficking and smuggling, which in turn heightens the use of oppression and exploitation in a context of closed borders and low economic activity (UN Women, 2020).

4.4 Women and girls who belong to Indigenous and ethnic minorities

Due to intersections of race, gender and poverty, Indigenous women are particularly vulnerable to intimate partner violence (Wands & Mirzoev, 2021). Indigenous Mayan women in Guatemala report IPV being caused by four interlinked causes, namely: the rigidity of gender roles; a lack of awareness of women's rights; the consumption of alcohol among men; and poor reproductive health (Wands & Mirzoev, 2021). Similarly in Colombia, Indigenous women are disproportionately affected by violence due to patriarchal values and practices that exploit them; their location in typically rural or isolated areas; their direct dependence on land for subsistence; illiteracy or limited proficiency in the dominant national language (i.e. Spanish); lack of preparedness to interact in labour markets as paid workers; poverty and limited access to credit; invisibility as rights holders and the perception of being a social group with particular needs (Tovar-Restrepo & Irázabal, 2014). Armed conflict can further intensify the pre-existing discrimination of Indigenous women (Tovar-Restrepo & Irázabal, 2014).

Among the diverse ethnicities of Latin America, Afrodescendent women in particular have been subjected to a long history of violence and discrimination that permeates to today.

Data from Ecuador demonstrates that Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian women experience the highest amount of gender-based violence (67.8% and 66.7%) compared to white (59.7%) or mestiza¹⁴ women (59.1%) (ECLAC, 2018). Similarly, a comparison between Afrodescendent and Non-Afrodescendent women in Uruguay reported consistently higher rates of gender-based violence for Afrodescendent women across social (43.7% vs. 35.3%), employment (18.2% vs. 14.1%) and educational (16% vs 7.5%) contexts (ECLAC, 2018). Racial discrimination in the

workforce typically traps Afrodescendent women in subordinate roles, confining them to lower income opportunities and higher rates of poverty as surveyed in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay – with poverty being a known driver of violence (see section 3.3) (ECLAC, 2018).

In Ecuador, Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian women experience the highest rates of violence (67.8% and 66.7%) compared to white (59.7%) or mestiza women (59.1%)

[ECLAC, 2018]

4.5 Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) individuals¹⁵

Central America has been labelled one of the most unequal and violent regions in the world, with some of the highest levels of impunity for the systematic violation of LGBT human rights (Welsh, 2020). Here, LGBTQ people risk systematic abuse from their family, community, public institutions and in their access to work – resulting in psychological, sexual, physical, and economic harm, as well as denial of opportunities and resources (Welsh, 2020). Hate crimes committed against LGBT people, including murder, are higher in the Northern Triangle (El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras) than in the Southern Triangle (Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama) (Welsh, 2020).

Rates of intimate partner violence may be higher within LGBT relationships compared to the general population in Latin America, with research showing high proportions of both IPV victimisation (60.6%) and perpetration (56.7%) occurring across participants' lifetime (Swan et al., 2021). The most common type of IPV victimisation and perpetration was psychological aggression, followed by physical assault, injury from assault and sexual coercion (Swan et al., 2012). These forms of LGBT IPV also correlate with experiences of discrimination, suggesting a negative impact of minority stress¹⁶ on romantic relationships of LGBT people (Swan et al., 2012). For example, fear of discrimination could prevent an LGBT individual from seeking assistance from their abusive relationship, or an IPV perpetrator could feel greater control over a partner by threatening to reveal their LGBT status (Swan et al., 2012).

LGBT people in the Northern Triangle of Central America are known to face high levels of violence and limited protections under national law, leading many to flee and seek asylum in the United States (Human Rights Watch, 2020). **LGBT migration in Latin America has occurred for years, with LGBT people typically escaping high levels of violence or persecution on the grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity** (Human Rights Watch, 2020). Qualitative data from this region suggests that family rejection and discrimination of LGBT people leads to economic marginalisation – particularly for transgender women who state they could find no work other than sex work – which increases the risk of violence from gang members, the public, and the police (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

Sexual minority women (lesbian, bisexual, and other non-heterosexual women) in Latin America are at elevated risk for gender-based violence. This is because sexual minority women may challenge gender stereotypes and, therefore, become targets of bias-motivated discrimination and violence (Caceres et al., 2019). This is prevalent across Latin America, with lesbian women in Brazil emphasising the significant risk of gender-based violence, including corrective rape perpetrated by family members (Calado et al., 2016). Sexual minority women in Mexico reported experiencing high rates of violence during childhood, including childhood physical abuse, mostly as a result of their non-conformity to ascribed gender roles – mothers were consistently identified as the main perpetrators (Caceres et al., 2019). Detailed evidence on the violence experienced by women of diverse SOGIESC¹⁷ from across Latin America is limited, yet this does not exclude their likelihood of increased risk of violence due to intersecting gender-based discrimination, homophobia and transphobia.

4.6 Women and girls living with HIV

Women and girls living with HIV experience different forms of violence throughout their lives. In 2018, a regional study¹ with women living with HIV in seven countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru and the Dominican Republic) found high levels of polyvictimisation - experiences of different forms of violence at the same time or throughout the life course (Luciano et al., 2019; Hale, 2020), including:

- **Childhood violence: 40%** (384 women) reported at least one episode of sexual violence by someone other than a partner throughout their lives, with over half (56%) of these women having an experience before the age of 15.
- **Intimate partner violence:** Across the seven countries, there were high rates of lifetime IPV including emotional (64.2%), physical (55.5%) and sexual violence (55.1%).
- **Controlling behaviour:** 75.6% of survey participants reported experiencing controlling behaviour by a current or most recent partner.
- **Violence in the family, community, and services:** For example, 14.9% had been denied health services due to their HIV status, around 20% of women felt coerced to undergo sterilization and/or an abortion, 48% had been denied cervical cancer or breast cancer services due to their HIV status, 10.9% had been excluded from meetings or social activities, and 25.5% had been insulted by a family member.
- **Violence associated with women's human rights activism,** with 10.9% of women having been assaulted, threatened or physical attacked, with a high of 20.8% in Colombia.

Most recently, a recent mixed-methods study with 105 women living with HIV in Argentina found that violence occurred in different situations, from different perpetrators, and throughout the

¹ Conducted with 955 women living with HIV by ICW Latina and Hivos and developed by Development Connections and Salamander Trust by and for women with HIV

lifecycle. The most common forms of violence are partner control (62.9% of women) and violence in the community (57.1%), followed by physical non-partner violence (31.5%), physical and sexual partner violence (27.6%), emotional violence (21%) and obstetric violence (12.4%) (ICW Argentina, 2021).

There are complex, bidirectional links between HIV and VAWG which have been a focus of work in the region since at least 2010 with the OASC-CIM (2011) project on VAWG and HIV in Central America.² The World Health Organisation (2017) estimates that women living with HIV are 1.5 times more likely to experience violence than other women and has identified four pathways that link VAWG and HIV: (1) women are at increased risk of violence from their partners, community and state institutions because of their HIV status and disclosure; (2) gender inequality is a common determinant of both VAWG and HIV; (3) VAWG is an indirect factor for increased HIV risk and a barrier to uptake of HIV services and poor treatment adherence; and (4) VAWG is a direct factor for transmission of HIV through sexual violence and rape (WHO and UNAIDS, 2013). HIV also intersects with and compounds discrimination based on age, race, Indigenous identity, and other identities set out in this section.

4.7 Sex workers

Across the region, different countries have legal norms and codes criminalising actions related to sex work, creating an environment rife with police repression, institutional violence, exploitation and limited access to basic health services (RedTraSex, 2016). This puts sex workers in a vulnerable situation, forcing them to work under precarious conditions; even where sex work is not directly punished by law, it is typically practiced underground in most countries (RedTraSex, 2016). For example, in El Salvador, Female Sex Workers (FSWs) reported experiencing violence in sex work settings, health care centres and hospitals, and police stations (Evens et al., 2019). In Guatemala City, 86% of transgender women reported receiving money for sex within the past 12 months, with transgender women sex workers two to three times more likely to experience compared to cisgender male sex workers (Miller et al., 2020).

Covid-19 containment and mitigation measures have left sex workers with no safe place to work and/or no opportunity for earning money; this is the case in Colombia, Ecuador and El Salvador where brothels, bars, and massage parlours have been closed, as well as crackdowns in areas known for sex work (NSWP, 2020).

4.8 Older women

In Latin America, the prevalence of elder abuse has been documented as higher among women than men, with elderly women (aged 60 and above) potentially experiencing more barriers to support and less awareness of the support that is available (Curcio et al., 2019). A study comparing domestic violence in older people (aged 65-74) between two cities in Brazil and

² Country and regional reports available on OAS website: <https://www.oas.org/en/cim/hiv-rights.asp>

Colombia found an overall higher prevalence of psychological violence in older women than men, with the perpetrators most likely being a partner in Brazil and a family member in Colombia (Guedes et al., 2015). Across four countries (El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Peru), women below age 40 had significantly lower odds of having ever experienced intimate partner violence than older women, although this could be due to older women having more years of cumulative exposure to the risk of IPV than younger women (Bott et al., 2012).

4.9 Activists and Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRD)

Women human rights defenders in Latin America face specific risks and attacks as their work challenges the cultural, religious and social norms of the predominantly patriarchal culture of the region (Ferreyra, 2016). This means women human rights defenders experience more stigmatisation, hostility, repression and violence than men in the same role (Ferreyra, 2016). Attacks against women human rights defenders also reinforce the discriminatory stereotypes against them, locally eroding respect for their work and their protection, which ultimately enables the conditions for more violent attacks (Ferreyra, 2016).

Women human rights defenders who experience the most attacks were those who work and campaign to protect land and territory, followed by those who support survivors of violence, though there is an increasing number of attacks targeting those who fight for the rights of LGBTTTI¹⁸ groups (Ferreyra, 2016). The study observed an increase in attacks against women human rights defenders in the region between 2012-2014: in El Salvador the attacks increased by 7.8%, in Guatemala by 148%, and Mexico by 161% (Ferreyra, 2016). A report by the Mesoamerican Initiative for Women Human Rights Defenders (DDHH) states the most common types of attack against women human rights defenders are intimidation and psychological harassment (21%), threats and ultimatums (16%), defamation and smear campaigns (9%), excessive use of force (6%), criminalisation and illegal detention (8%).

Where initiatives have been taken to increase the protection of women human rights defenders, there has often been a failure in implementing these measures. For example, in Colombia the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights had granted precautionary measures to women human rights defenders in response to incidents of sexual violence, physical assaults and death threats, but by 2011 the Commission stated that Colombia had failed to realise this (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

The increased risks of violence and restrictions on movement due to Covid-19 have affected the safety of women leaders and human rights defenders, who have to endure more threats, greater criminalisation and greater risk of femicide (UN Women, 2020).

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Annex 1: Methodology

This rapid research query has been conducted as systematically as possible, under tight time constraints.

Step 1: Search - Studies were identified primarily through existing evidence reviews on violence against women and girls in the Latin America region. In addition, searches were conducted using Google and relevant electronic databases using key search terms including: 'violence', 'violence against women', 'GBV', 'intimate partner violence', 'domestic violence', 'CRSV', 'sexual violence', 'SEA', 'SEAH', 'harassment', 'online violence', 'trafficking' AND Latin America (including all countries).

Step 2: Inclusion - To be eligible for inclusion in this rapid mapping, reports had to fulfil the following criteria:

- Focus: Forms, drivers and most vulnerable populations for violence against women and girls across the Latin America region.
- Time period: From January 2010 to present.
- Language: English, Spanish and Portuguese.
- Publication status: Publicly available – in almost all cases published online
- Format: Peer-reviewed journal articles, systematic reviews, evaluation reports, grey literature
- Study design: All study types, designs, and methodologies including primary and secondary studies

In total, 80+ documents have been used for this report.

Limitations:

Despite an increase in rigorous national-level data on intimate partner violence, data is not always comparable across countries, over time or published in full (Bott et al., 2019). There is more limited data for other types of violence against women and girls, including online violence, school-related gender-based violence, and sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment. Much of the regional data includes the Caribbean, making it challenging to identify consistently measured regional trends across Latin America.

References

- ¹ Femicide is the murder of a woman motivated by gender
- ² The WHO (2021) estimates do not disaggregate between Latin America and the Caribbean.
- ³ Proportion of women age 15+ years experiencing sexual violence perpetrated by someone other than an intimate partner at least once in their lifetime. Source: El Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INMUJERES) y el Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI). Encuesta Nacional sobre la Dinámica de las Relaciones en los Hogares, 2016.
- ⁴ Femicide is the murder of a woman motivated by gender. It is expressed in a continuum of manifestations of gender-based violence that can culminate in femicide, feminicide or the violent gender-related killing of women and girls. This set of behaviours involving misogyny, impunity and social and State tolerance, which can end in murder and other forms of violent death (ECLAC, 2021).
- ⁵ 17 Latin American countries have made femicide a crime (ECLAC, 2021). See also: <https://theglobalamericans.org/reports/femicide-international-womens-rights/>
- ⁶ The Netflix documentary film follows the story of a mother's fight to jail her 16-year old daughter's murderer
- ⁷ The Listen Up! Barometer was used to collect data with women and girls who are survivors of violence in seven municipalities: Ayutuxtepeque, Ciudad Arce, Izalco, San Antonio Masahuat, San Pedro Masahuat, San Salvador and Zaragoza.
- ⁸ Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Nicaragua
- ⁹ Bolivia, Cuba, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic.
- ¹⁰ Analysis of 4,731 surveys carried out with young women and men aged 15–25 in 2017 across Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Dominican Republic.
- ¹¹ Colombia and Suriname have ratified the Convention, but not signed it.
- ¹² The Gender, Alcohol, and Culture: An International Study (GENACIS) examined gender-related and cultural influences on alcohol use and alcohol-related problems of women and men. Participating Latin American countries included Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica and Mexico.
- ¹³ For example, harmful social norms that condone violent discipline, support gender inequality and limit reporting of violence (Kenny & Cislighi, 2019).
- ¹⁴ Mestizo (masc.) and mestiza (fem.) is an ethnic and racial reference to a person of combined European and Indigenous American ancestry.
- ¹⁵ Note that this report uses the same terminology specified in the original sources cited, aiming to accurately reflect the populations on which the research focused, therefore a variation of terminology will appear here
- ¹⁶ A unique and persistent stress caused by status as a member of a stigmatised minority group (Carvahlo et al., 2011).
- ¹⁷ Acronym used to refer to Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, Gender Expression and Sex Characteristics.
- ¹⁸ LGBTTTI stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Transsexual, Transvestite, Intersex, and is a term used in Latin America.

About Helpdesk reports: The Ending Violence Helpdesk is funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), contracted through the Ending Violence Team. This helpdesk report is based on up to 9 days of desk-based research and is designed to provide a brief overview of the key issues and expert thinking.

For any further request or enquiry, contact enquiries@vawghelpdesk.org.

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