



# Addressing gender-based violence in Peru: Citizenship and critical issues. The Women's Emergency Center (CEM) technicians' point of view\*

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## Abstract

**Objective:** To understand critical issues faced by the technical staff working in the Women's Emergency Centers (CEM) in Peru, when assisting women victims of gender violence.

**Originality/support:** Valuable information is provided on the assistance provided to women victims of gender-based violence in the MECs. This information is very useful for decision making, aimed at improving the work and effectiveness of the performance of the technicians in the centers. It highlights a situation that has been little studied and serves as a reference for other realities in the international Latin American context.

**Method:** A qualitative research approach was used to inform the proposed aims. Forty-one technicians from the Women's Emergency Centers (CEM) in Peru participated in the study. The results revealed that the critical issues perceived by the technical staff were working with material and travel limitations, work overload that made it difficult to care for victims, delays in the treatment of cases of gender-based violence and revictimization of the victim. In addition, dealing with a macho cultural framework that masks the situations and with religious and linguistic diversity.

**Conclusions:** It is concluded that it is necessary to view gender violence with a focus on citizenship and gender justice that under the principles of equality, respect for human rights and defense of cultural diversity, without incurring in a paternalistic action.

**Keywords:** *Gender violence; victim care; citizenship.*

## *Aproximación a la violencia de género en el Perú: Ciudadanía y temas críticos. la perspectiva del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia mujer (CEM)*

**Objetivo:** Develar nudos críticos que afronta el personal técnico, que laboran en los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM) del Perú, al momento de atender a las mujeres víctimas de violencia de género.

**Originalidad/aporte:** Se aporta información valiosa sobre la asistencia, en los CEM, a las mujeres víctimas de violencia de género. Esta información es de gran utilidad para la toma de decisiones, dirigidas a mejorar la labor y efectividad de la actuación de los técnicos/as en los centros. Se pone en evidencia una situación poco estudiada que sirve de referencia para otras realidades, en el ámbito internacional latinoamericano.

**Método:** Se desarrolló una investigación de campo, desde una aproximación cualitativa. Participaron en el estudio 41 técnicos/as de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM) del Perú. Los resultados revelaron que los nudos críticos, percibidos por el personal técnico, fueron: trabajar con limitaciones

materiales y de desplazamiento, la sobrecarga de trabajo que dificultaba la atención de las víctimas, las dilaciones en el tratamiento de los casos de violencia de género y la revictimización de la persona agredida. Además, lidiar con un marco cultural machista que enmascara las situaciones y con la diversidad religiosa y lingüística.

**Conclusiones:** Se concluye que es necesario hilar hacia una mirada de la violencia de género permeada por un enfoque de ciudadanía y justicia de género que vertebré la atención a la víctima, orientados bajo los principios de igualdad, respeto a los derechos humanos y defensa de la diversidad cultural, sin incurrir en una actuación paternalista.

**Palabras clave:** *Violencia de Género; atención a las víctimas; ciudadanía.*

## *Abordagem à violência baseada no gênero no Peru: Cidadania e questões críticas. a perspectiva do pessoal técnico dos Centros de Emergência para Mulheres (CEM)*

**Objetivo:** Revelar as questões críticas enfrentadas pelo pessoal técnico que trabalha nos Centros de Emergência para Mulheres (CEM) no Peru, ao prestar assistência às mulheres vítimas de violência baseada no gênero.

**Originalidade/apoio:** É fornecida informação valiosa sobre a assistência prestada às mulheres vítimas de violência baseada no gênero nos MECs. Esta informação é muito útil para a tomada de decisões, com vista a melhorar o trabalho e a eficácia das ações dos técnicos nos centros. Salienta uma situação que tem sido pouco estudada e serve de referência para outras realidades na esfera internacional da América Latina.

**Método:** A investigação de campo foi levada a cabo utilizando uma abordagem qualitativa. Quarenta e um técnicos dos Centros de Emergência para Mulheres (CEM) no Peru participaram no estudo. Os resultados revelaram que as questões críticas percebidas pelo pessoal técnico foram: o trabalho com limitações materiais e de viagem, uma sobrecarga de trabalho que dificultou o atendimento às vítimas, atrasos no tratamento dos casos de violência baseada no gênero e a re-victimização da pessoa agredida. Além disso, lidar com um quadro cultural machista que mascara as situações e com a diversidade religiosa e lingüística.

**Conclusões:** Conclui-se que é necessário avançar para uma visão da violência baseada no gênero permeada por um enfoque na cidadania e na justiça de gênero que estrutura a atenção à vítima, orientada sob os princípios da igualdade, respeito pelos direitos humanos e defesa da diversidade cultural, sem incorrer numa ação paternalista.

**Palavras-chave:** *Violência baseada no gênero; assistência às vítimas; cidadania.*



## Introduction

Approaching gender-based violence requires us to consider many things. One of those things is the issue of citizenship. We will be referring to citizenship in the sense that each citizen is immersed in a socioeconomic dynamic where a certain political and/or socio-cultural framework guides and limits their actions. In this dynamic, each citizen interconnects with his or her environment in a conscious and reflective manner. Therefore, citizens adhere to the rights and duties assigned to them to achieve personal success for their own development, without breaking the principles that govern the social order<sup>5</sup>. The right to a life of dignity, respect and freedom from all forms of violence is more than just a slogan. It is a feeling shared by men and women from all over the world, who call for a full life, without neglecting cultural diversity and tolerance. In order to achieve this, the definition of citizenship from the feminist perspective is crucial and cannot do without the gender factor. It is important to note that “only recently, the theory of citizenship has been permeated by the gender approach (...) this new conceptual basis should presage a future process of more effective female subjectivation”<sup>6</sup>. From a feminist perspective, the incorporation of citizenship as a transversal axis in gender studies has led to tremendous progress in the fight against the structural discrimination of women. When considering what it is like to be a citizen in contemporary societies one may conclude that female victims of gender-based violence are unable to fully exercise their rights as citizens. We are facing an absence of gender justice, a construct aimed at achieving “the end of inequalities between women and men, as well as taking measures to repair the disadvantages that lead to the subordination of women to men”<sup>7</sup>. This construct is a reminder that justice itself, in its “conception and administration, is very often gendered, responding to a patriarchal standard derived from the domestic area”<sup>8</sup>, an issue that can be evidenced in the care for female victims of violence.

Within the subject of gender violence, what has already been established provides the framework for exposing the violation of rights that, as citizens, each woman must respect. However, that respect is lost when women become victims of gender-based violence. It affects a considerable number of women, regardless of social stratum, race, religion or nationality. Attention to gender-based violence leads to the issue of citizenship because it is violated in all the victims. This is why Nussbaum’s<sup>9</sup> approach gains strength, as it incorpo-

5 Yanira Zúñiga, *Ciudadanía y género. Representaciones y conceptualizaciones en el pensamiento moderno y contemporáneo*. *Revista de Derecho Universidad Católica del Norte* Año 17 n°2(2010):133-163.

6 *Ibid*, 134.

7 Anne Marie Goetz. “Conceptos fundamentales, debates centrales y nuevas directrices para la investigación”, en *Justicia de género, ciudadanía y desarrollo*, editado por Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay y Navsharan Singh (Ottawa: Centro Internacional de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo –IDRC, 2007), 26.

8 *Ibid*, 26.

9 Martha Nussbaum. *Las mujeres y el desarrollo humano. El enfoque de las capacidades*. Versión español Robert Vernet. Barcelona:Herbet S.A., 2002.



rates empowerment when referring to citizenship. The reason for this is that it can be an important factor in regaining control over one's life and reducing the consequences of abuse and gender-based violence. However, there are still weakness in the application of laws, in the procedures followed for the care of the victim, in the guarantee of their privacy as a result of a lack of training among the staff, and in the coordination between the entities that deal with the care and follow-up on the cases<sup>10</sup>. Similarly, "in many countries, female victims of gender-based violence do not have appropriate criminal laws because domestic violence is not considered a crime. Sometimes complaints are not successful, and the process generally ends with the freedom of the aggressor"<sup>11</sup>.

Gender-based violence is a complex issue to address as it involves individual, relational, communal and societal factors. Identifying the elements associated with aggression against women is essential in establishing a framework of action that can successfully fight against it. The factors associated with gender-based violence is a controversial subject. Marcano y Palacios<sup>12</sup> believe that violent actions towards women are generated by the socialization process in which the individual develops. That is, through the adoption of certain patterns that are regarded as normal behaviors transmitted from parents to children, which reveals that the family dynamic is one of the primary elements that shapes both the behavior of the perpetrator and victim of aggression. It is also important to consider that these behaviours may also be influenced by the socio-cultural context, the region or geographical territory, and ethnic or religious characteristics. For the purposes of our investigation, we start by considering that it is necessary to debunk the myths that have been developed around the factors that intervene in gender-based violence. Regarding the causes of gender-based violence, Matud, Padilla, y Gutierrez<sup>13</sup> determined that for the aggressors, alcohol is not a condition for such aberration. The authors dispel some myths about gender-based violence, such as the fact that the abuse of women is the result of some kind of mental illness; or that the consumption of alcohol and drugs is the cause of violent behavior; or that the abuse of women only occurs at low economic and educational levels; or the saying that "who truly loves you will make you cry."

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## Attention to gender-based violence in the Peruvian reality

In order to protect the rights of every man and woman, the work carried out by various local, regional and local agencies, such as the Women's Emergency Center (CEM) in Peru, is of great importance. Because of the nature of these centers, they have technical staff who are trained to deal with victims of gender-based violence. In this regard, it is considered

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- 10 Raquel, Rivas. *Personalidad, genero y salud física/psicológica: Estudio comparativo entre mujeres chilenas y españolas víctimas de violencia de género*. Tesis Doctoral Universidad. Madrid, Facultad de Psicología, 2014.
  - 11 Yanira Zúñiga, Ciudadanía y género. Representaciones y conceptualizaciones en el pensamiento moderno y contemporáneo. *Revista de Derecho Universidad Católica del Norte* Año 17 n°2, (2010):157.
  - 12 Anaid, Marcano y Yrali Palacios. Violencia de género en Venezuela. Categorización, causas y consecuencias. *Comunidad y Salud* 15 n°1, 2017:73-85.
  - 13 Maria-Pilar Matud,, Vanesa Padilla y Ana Belén Gutiérrez. *Mujeres maltratadas por su pareja. Guía de tratamiento psicológico*. (Madrid: Ed. Minerva, 2005).

extremely important to study gender-based violence and citizenship from the perspective of the CEM staff. These professionals ensure that gender-based violence victims who come to these care centers are recognized as citizens. This action is carried out through an unbiased assumption of citizenship (in terms of gender equality), communication with the institutions that provide help to gender-based violence victims, and with the rejection of situations of violence. All of these actions are always carried out under the principle of compliance with the rights of gender-based violence victims.

This article utilizes both a feminist and gender-based approach, therefore it presents two challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century: gender equality and the eradication of gender-based violence. The study focuses on Peru, under the development cooperation project Social and Legal Impact of Andalusian Development Cooperation interventions on gender-based violence in the Women's Emergency Centers in Peru (2014 DEC001), financed by Agencia Andaluza de Cooperación al Desarrollo (Andalusian Agency for Development Cooperation).

This project allowed for the opportunity to visit and study the Women's Emergency Center (CEM),

*“specialized and free public services of integral and multidisciplinary attention, for victims of family and sexual violence, in which legal orientation, judicial defense and psychological counseling are provided. Recovery of damage incurred is sought and social assistance is provided. Prevention activities are also carried out through trainings, communication campaigns, training of community agents and mobilization of organizations”* (<https://www.mimp.gob.pe/homemimp/centro-emergencia-mujer.php>).

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This project also allowed for the opportunity to live on the front lines during the first few months of Spanish law implementation: *Ley N° 30364 Ley para prevenir, sancionar y erradicar la violencia de género contra las mujeres y los integrantes del grupo familiar* (Law 30364, Law to prevent, punish and eradicate gender-based violence against women and family members). Although this law makes a greater effort to focus on the case of violence against women, this type of violence is concentrated within the family dynamic. Peru does not have specific legislation for violence against women<sup>14,15,16</sup>. The current figures on gender-based violence and femicide in Peru make this study very timely. According to the National Sexual Violence Resource Center (NSVRC) of the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) of Peru, in 2019, 168 victims of gender-based violence were registered. This is the highest figure recorded within the last ten years, increasing with the impact of the coronavirus. One can only imagine the occurrence of gender-based violence across the rest of the world.

14 Indira Puerta. "Violencia familiar: evolución normativa en el Perú", en *Indicadores de violencia de género en el Perú. La percepción del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM)*. Editado por María José Del Pino Del Pino, Rafael Tigreiro y Karina Torres. (Madrid: Anthorpos grupo siglo XXI, 2017), 43-56.

15 Juan, Marrero. "La intervención psicológica y jurídica en violencia contra las mujeres: experiencia comparada España-El Perú", en *Indicadores de violencia de género en el Perú. La percepción del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM)*. Editado por María José Del Pino, Rafael Tigreiro y Karina Torres. (Madrid: Anthorpos grupo siglo XXI, 2017), 57-70.

16 María-José Del Pino, Rafael Tigreiro y Karina Torres. *Indicadores de violencia de género en el Perú. La percepción del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM)*. (Madrid: Anthorpos grupo siglo XXI, 2017), 201.

After a deeper study on gender-based violence in Peru<sup>17</sup>, a map of gender-based violence indicators, from the point of view of the Women's Emergency Center (CEM) staff, was designed. Utilizing the findings from a previous study<sup>18</sup> and the map of indicators proposed by the authors, this article analyses the opinions and beliefs of the technical staff with the purpose of revealing the critical issues in the care of gender-based violence victims in Peru. Two groups of indicators were considered, as in the study conducted by Del Pino, Triguero & Torres<sup>19</sup>: those related to the role played by the Peruvian State Administration, which are:

- judicial compliance (by Peruvian authorities in dealing with gender-based violence),
- fiscal compliance (by Peruvian authorities in dealing with gender-based violence),
- the repetition of testimonies (revictimization or secondary victimization) of the victims of gender-based violence (throughout the process of the denunciation),
- (rootedness of) malechauvinism in Peru.

And indicators relating to gender-based violence in Peru through the Women's Emergency Center:

- CEM care for women and men,
- victim-witness coordination CEM,
- cultural diversity CEM and
- religious diversity CEM

It is important to clarify that structural equations were used in the study conducted by Del Pino, Triguero & Torres<sup>20</sup>, and the approximation was quantitative. In this study, the data is developed from a qualitative approach. To this end, the qualitative information has been analysed following the mapping scheme of the indicators mentioned. The main objective is to correlate this map of indicators with the gender-based violence comments made by 41 workers at the Women's Emergency Centers in Peru. Their testimonies were collected through structured interviews conducted in the mountain, jungle and coastal areas as well as in the capital, Lima.

It is important to note once again that the Women's Emergency Centers (CEM) are

*“specialized and free public services, of integral and multidisciplinary attention, for victims of family and sexual violence, in which legal orientation, judicial defence and psychological counselling is provided. It seeks to recover the damage suffered and provides social assistance. Prevention activities are also carried out through training, communication campaigns, training of community agents and mobilization of organizations”* (<https://www.mimp.gob.pe/homemimp/centro-emergencia-mujer.php>)

17 María-José Del Pino, Rafael Tigrero y Karina Torres. *Indicadores de violencia de género en el Perú. La percepción del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM)*. (Madrid: Anthorpos grupo siglo XXI, 2017)

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*





According to the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP)<sup>21</sup>, “CEMs are organized into professional areas available to victims of domestic and sexual violence who require specialized attention. They have the following areas of attention: Admission, Psychology, Legal and Social.”

In the Admission area: *Its purpose is to identify the reason for consultation and, if it corresponds to domestic or sexual violence, open the case recording form. If they present other problems not related to violence, they are referred to other institutions in the area.*

In the Psychology area: *Its purpose is to contribute to psychological recovery through a set of services that range from the first interview, psychological assessment, emotional support, psychological counselling and referral (depending on the level of damage) to a specialized health center for recovery. In this area, containment actions are carried out in the face of emotional crisis. Likewise, the “psychological support” is carried out.*

In the Legal area: *It evaluates the case presented, proposes alternative approaches, provides guidance, becomes part of the legal process and sponsors it until a sentence is obtained. Sponsorship of the case involves representing and advising the victim legally in the police, prosecutor and judicial instances.*

In the Social area: *In this service, risk is categorized as “mild, moderate or severe”. Together with the other services, it proposes the protection and security measures that are necessary to avoid new acts of violence. It also carries out social management and referrals to complementary social support services*

## The importance of Inter-Institutional Coordination

According to the MIMP<sup>22</sup>, “the CEMs coordinate permanently with authorities and operators in health, justice, education and interior sectors, as well as with the Public Prosecutor’s Office and the Judicial Branch in order to guarantee timely, effective and quality intervention. They coordinate and articulate through the services of the National Programme against Family and Sexual Violence. They receive referrals from the free telephone counselling service “Línea 100”, which operates 24 hours a day.”

## Law on Family and Sexual Violence in Peru

At the beginning of the project in 2014, and at our first interviews in Lima in July 2015, Peru was regulated by *Act No. 26260, the Protection against Family Violence Act* (MIMP, 2015), dated June 25, 1997. The importance of this act in the Peruvian legislative framework

21 Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables (MIMP). Qué son los Centros Emergencia Mujer. Perú: MIMP, 2014.

22 Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables (MIMP). Qué son los Centros Emergencia Mujer. Perú: MIMP, 2014.



is explained by Puerta<sup>23</sup>, who discusses how the Constitution does not adequately address domestic violence (Article 2, 1993).

On November 23, 2015, Peru promulgated Act No. 30364 “on the prevention, punishment and eradication of violence against women and members of the family.” This change took place at the same time as the implementation of the second stage of interviews in April 2016. Many of the strategies that were not consolidated by this new law are reflected in the testimonies of CEM staff. Although “this law expands the scope of action to the prevention, eradication and punishment of all forms of violence produced in the public or private sphere against women because of their condition”<sup>24</sup>, a feminist approach should still be taken when considering all members of the family unit.

The first fieldwork was carried out by two volunteers from the University of Seville during July 2015. The interviews were designed during the period of Act No. 26260 on *Protection against Domestic Violence*<sup>25</sup>. During the second part of the fieldwork, which was carried out March 2016, the need to investigate the benefits of the new law from a feminist and gender perspective emerged. Questions concerning imbalances among familial and sexual violence laws in Peru also arose. All this, as mentioned previously, was being brought to light by the CEM staff. These imbalances are explained by William Ogburn's Lag:

“the adoption of certain material elements leads in the long run to a change in people's ways of life and mentality. Often the diffusion of material elements (...) is prior and more intense than the iterative elements, which leads to deep conflicts...”<sup>26</sup>

## Materials and Methods

The field research design was developed from a qualitative approach. Structured interviews were utilized to gather the CEM technical staff's perspectives. For the participant selection, interviewees were personally contacted and provided informed consent if they expressed interest in participating in the study. A total of 41 interviews were conducted. The field work was carried out in two phases: the first phase in July-August 2015 and the second phase in April-May 2016. The survey team was made up of volunteers cooperating on the Social and Legal Impact of Andalusian Development Cooperation intervention projects against gender violence in the Women's Emergency Centers CEM Peru (2014 DEC001). The survey team also included two volunteers from the University of Seville and four volunteers from

- 23 Indira, Puerta. *Violencia familiar: evolución normativa en el Perú*. En María-José Del Pino, Rafael Tigrero y Karina Torres. *Indicadores de violencia de género en el Perú. La percepción del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM)*. (Madrid: Anthropolos grupo siglo XXI, 2017)
- 24 Puerta, Indira. “Violencia familiar: evolución normativa en el Perú”, en *Indicadores de violencia de género en el Perú. La percepción del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM)*. En María José Del Pino Del Pino, Rafael Tigrero y Karina Torres. (Madrid: Anthropolos grupo siglo XXI, 2017): 46.
- 25 Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables (23/11/2015). *Ley N° 30364: Ley para prevenir, sancionar y erradicar la violencia contra las mujeres y los integrantes del grupo familiar*. Lima: MIMP, 2015.
- 26 José Jiménez-Blanco, Pedro González-Blasco; Manuel García-Ferrando y Rafael López-Pintor (Colaboración). *Sociología*. Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales, patrocinada por las cajas de ahorro confederadas. (Madrid: UNED, 1976).



the University Pablo de Olavide UPO in Seville. The project coordinator travelled to Peru with the second team.

Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Groups (MIMP) and, more particularly Peruvian National Program against Family and Sexual Violence (PNCVFS) guided the research team in Peru. The International Association of Jurists INTER IURIS provided the research team with an action plan from Seville, which was then presented to MIMP and PNCVFS. With the proposed action plan, CEM Peru's coordinator helped the research team by facilitating permits to enter CEMs, allowing for a person of reference in each CEM, and creating interview appointments.

Table 1 presents the CEM facility where the interviews took place, the participant's age, and the participant's position within the company. Most of the interviews are done in Arequipa and Trujillo (14 interviews in Arequipa, and 13 interviews in Trujillo) and the surrounding districts. Five interviews were conducted in Lima and surrounding districts. Another five interviews were conducted in Cusco and surrounding districts. In the Peruvian jungle, 4 interviews are done in Tarapoto and surrounding districts.

**Table 1: Interviews with CEM Peru staff**

LIMA & surrounding districts	EL AGUSTINO	Woman	38	Promoter
	RIMAC	Man	42	Lawyer
	VILLA EL SALVADOR	Woman	57	Lawyer
	SAN JUAN DE MIRAFLORES	Woman	38	Psychologist
CUSCO & surrounding districts	CALCA	Man	28	Promoter
	CALCA	Woman	42	Lawyer
	SICUANI	Man	40	Social worker
	PAUCARTAMBO	Woman	32	Lawyer
	ANTA	Man	38	Promoter
TRUJILLO & surrounding districts	TRUJILLO	Woman	56	Promoter
	LA ESPERANZA	Woman	34	Lawyer
	LA ESPERANZA	Woman	42	Promoter
	EL PORVENIR	Woman	53	Promoter
	CHOCOPE	Woman	57	Social worker
	PACASMAYO	Woman	39	Lawyer
	PACASMAYO	Woman	27	Promoter
	VIRÚ	Woman	36	Promoter
	CHIMBOTE	Woman	45	Social worker
	TUMBES	Woman	37	Promoter
	CHEPÉN	Woman	33	Social worker
	MEIGAR	Man	42	Lawyer

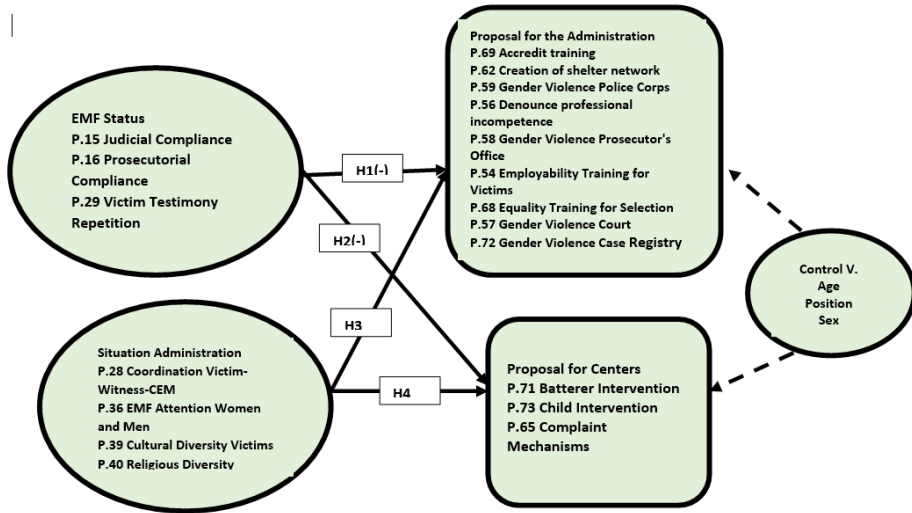
	ILAVE	Woman	38	Promoter
AREQUIPA y surrounding districts	TARATA	Man	31	Promoter
	JULIACA	Woman	48	Psychologist
	TACNA	Woman	44	Promoter
	CAMANÁ	Woman	45	Promoter (Training Social Worker)
	CASTILLA	Man	60	Lawyer
	CHIVAY	Woman	44	Promoter
	LAMPA	Man	35	Lawyer
	GENERAL SANCHEZ CERRO	Man	33	Lawyer
	ISLAY	Woman	29	Psychologist
	AREQUIPA	Woman	53	Lawyer
	AREQUIPA	Man	46	Psychologist
	ILO	Woman	36	Promoter
	ILO	Woman	51	Psychologist
	MIRAFLORES	Woman	55	Social worker
TARAPOTO y surrounding districts	MOYOBAMBA	Woman	37	Communications specialist
	RIOJA	Man	47	Coordinator and responsible for the area of prevention and promotion
	LAMAS	Woman	39	Lawyer
	TARAPOTO	Woman	60	Promoter

Source: Research data.

It is important to note each interviewer's position within CEM because they involved different scenarios. Although one of the objectives was to gather the participant's perception of working with the victims, another objective was to see if there were any differences regarding position or area of work within CEM.

The script of the interviews was structured in several blocks, being conformed in the following way: Block I socio-demographic data, where information is collected on: gender, age, position held, experience and years of service; Block II Critical issues according to the perception of the technicians, regarding the situation of the Administration and the situation of the CEM; and Block III Proposals for solutions suggested by the technicians. For the purposes of this article, only the speeches of Blocks I and II are analyzed. In order to structure the analysis, the route drawn in the map of indicators, mentioned above, is followed, which is presented below.

Figure 1: Map of gender-based violence indicators in Peru



Source: del Pino, Triguero & Torres (2017)

In relation to Block II, the most outstanding problems related to the problem of gender violence in Peru are highlighted, according to the perception of the CEM technical staff, with respect to the Administration and the CEM themselves. This second block is structured in two parts: in the first part, their perception is asked, according to the situation of the Administration; in the second part, according to the situation of the CEMs themselves. The questions asked in both parts of this Block II are set out below.

**Block II. Part 1: Status of the Administration, they are asked:**

- Do you believe that the Peruvian judicial authorities are complying with their obligations in treating gender violence?
- Do you think that the Peruvian prosecuting authorities are complying with their obligations in treating GBV?
- Do you think that the continuous repetition of the history of aggressions by the victim, facing different instances and authorities, affects women negatively?
- Do you think that male chauvinism is deeply rooted in Peruvian society?

**Block II. Part2: Situation of the CEM. They are asked:**

- Do you think that it is necessary to improve the coordination between the Admissions area to Victims and Witnesses and the CEM?
- Is the attention offered to men and women in the CEM?
- Does the attention offered in the CEM take into account the cultural diversity of the person that requires assistance?

- Does the attention offered at CEM take into account the religious diversity of the person that requires assistance?

## Results And Discussion

The reality is then disclosed, through the discourse according to the set of indicators that are explored in each of the parts of the indicated blocks. In order to display the results, the comments shared by CEM staff in each of the questions are presented, regarding the critical nodes or problems that the Peruvian Administration has to deal with. With respect to the first part of Block II, inquiring about Do you think that the Peruvian judicial authorities are complying with their obligations in treating GBV?

There is a before and after in relation to this question because of the change in the legislation and although the majority do see an improvement, the voices of the lack of means and resources for displacement are also heard. However, it is noticeable that the discourse does not highlight the incorporation of this improvement with the change in the legislation, specifically in the figure of the promoter, since they have more contact with the population in their training.

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees	
Fulfilment of duties in the treatment of gender violence by the judicial authorities.	Against	In favour
	<p>"I think there's too much procedural burden. I think they comply with it, but that they do not comply with it in the required time (...) they need more trained professionals in the area" (Promoter, 42).</p> <p>"Yes, and besides this they don't have stationary, they even lack paper... the victims themselves are the ones who say... that they find this lack when it comes to processing their case." (Promoter, 42).</p> <p>"...there are people who have (allegedly) assaulted and raped, and they still come and go as if they were at home. When the police don't offer any protection, I simply can't keep them for more than 24 hours, so I let them go (...) What the Women's Emergency Center does... sometimes there are ...many obstacles, a lot of delay, (...), so that's the problem. And, obviously, people, sometimes, like, don't believe anymore)" (Promoter, 42).</p>	<p>"Now they are complying with the new law (...), if they do not deal with the violence within 72 hours, they will be fined ..." (Lawyer, 42).</p> <p>"Legally, I can't complain, the deadlines are met and everything" (Lawyer, 32).</p> <p>"Yes, the 30/364, they are also empowering themselves and I see that they are complying..." (Promoter, 42).</p> <p>"It has improved a lot, they have more concrete deadlines and obligations" (Lawyer, 34).</p> <p>"With this act yes, with the other one there was a little delay, especially in the matter of confirmation of the protection measures." (Attorney, 39).</p> <p>"Yes, to process the complaint... Okay, okay, okay." (Lawyer, 42).</p>

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees	
	<p>“...is a space (...) to work and look after people who (...) do not have access, do not have resources, do not know and need (...) this place. How to take them, how to see their case if (...) they do not know, do not know their rights, are afraid of (...) these issues, that there is a pronouncement (...) no? And unfortunately, that is a flaw, suddenly the laws are given..., everything is in documents but in practice... that is the problem (...), we are institutions that (...) do not have resources, we are not executors, right? (...) I see the discontent in the population when there is no training. (Coordinator, 47)</p>	<p>“Now with the new law it’s better, cases are shortening in time, from one month now to one week no more.” (Promoter, 53).</p> <p>(Promoter, 53) “Now with the new law of November 25, they are complying, putting the complaint in from one day to the next, taking out the notifications and complying with the 48-hour deadline. At least here in Chimbote.” (Social worker, 45).</p>

It is important to note that, among the responses to the question, the most positive comments came from professionals in the field of law. This position reveals that the lawyers have a different perception than the rest of the technical personnel at the CEMs with respect to the judicial authorities’ compliance with their obligations in dealing with gender-based violence. This may reveal the need to deepen the analysis of the situation of gender-based violence by focusing on the citizenry and gender justice.<sup>27</sup>

In response to the question: “Do you think that the Peruvian tax authorities are complying with their obligations in treating gender-based violence?” “. Although with the change in the law the Public Prosecutor’s Office no longer takes on all cases of GBV, the opinion of the CEM staff is important. We recall that the interviews in Lima are done before the change in the law (in the summer of 2015) and the rest of the interviews are done right after the new law came out (in March 2016). It is also worth remembering that some cases still reach the Prosecutor’s Office as mentioned by one of the CEM lawyers or in the case of minors.

27 Anne Marie, Goetz. “Conceptos fundamentales, debates centrales y nuevas directrices para la investigación”, en *Justicia de género, ciudadanía y desarrollo*, editado por Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay y Navsharan Singh (Ottawa: Centro Internacional de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo –IDRC, 2007).

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
Compliance of Peruvian tax authorities with their obligations in dealing with gender-based violence	<p>“Look, as far as the tax authorities are concerned, everything ... is complicated with the new act, so practically ... they intervene when the case is criminalized, right? When it’s most serious. (...) Of course! They are complying... they do everything according to their possibilities.”(Lawyer, 42)</p> <p>“There we also have a little bit of problems now, because with this new act, let’s say first the complaint is made to the police, then it goes to the court and then to the prosecutor’s office.” (Psychologist, 51).</p> <p>“The prosecutor’s office sees everything that regards adolescence and childhood. Because before they saw what the criminal part was, yes 4” (quite agree). (Specialist, 37).</p> <p>(Specialist, 37). “The prosecutor’s office is no longer dealing with these issues with the change to the new act” (Social Worker, 40).</p> <p>“Likewise, with many delays.” (Promoter, 37).</p>

In the previous law, the most serious problem, from the legal point of view, was the delay in the deadlines. However, we believe that this depends on the area and the Prosecutor’s Office itself and its circumstances.

If we analyse it from a social point of view, male chauvinism continues to be a social scourge and CEM staff also perceive it this way, even among the prosecutors in their region. This, together with corruption, another of the country’s serious problems, gives a worrying picture of the Prosecutor’s Office, depending on the area. Another of the problems that come to light is the lack of close treatment of the victim. Also, the overload of work of the Attorney General’s Office makes other crimes to be prioritized over the crimes of gender violence. In other words, domestic violence crimes are no longer given priority, leaving the female victim in a state of legal neglect<sup>28</sup>, which aggravates the victim’s condition. This is accompanied by problems perceived by technical staff in the coordination and training of personnel who provide assistance and follow-up<sup>29</sup>. This reality revealed by interviewees highlights the serious situation experienced by women who are victims of gender-based violence.

The following table includes the expressions of the technicians in this regard, as it is considered relevant.

28 Yanira, Zúñiga. Ciudadanía y género. Representaciones y conceptualizaciones en el pensamiento moderno y contemporáneo. *Revista de Derecho Universidad Católica del Norte* Año 17 n°2(2010).

29 Raquel, Rivas. *Personalidad, género y salud física/psicológica: Estudio comparativo entre mujeres chilenas y españolas víctimas de violencia de género*. Tesis Doctoral Universidad. Madrid, Facultad de Psicología, 2014.





Indicador	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
<p>Compliance of Peruvian tax authorities with their obligations in dealing with gender-based violence</p>	<p>“...Depending on the region, in Cusco there is a high rate of male chauvinism, there is still the idea that women have to be less than men. I see that in the work we have been doing, both in rural and urban areas, we do not respect the female gender. I see that the prosecutors are not prepared to deal with these victims. (Promoter, 38).</p> <p>“I had problems with a particular prosecutor because he didn’t want to take on duties that were his.” (Advocate, 34)</p> <p>“Exactly the same. We talk about the prosecutors... although there is also a little bit of corruption (...), we have them placed in other defence offices because it is not fair that they take advantage. ...” (Social Worker, 57).</p> <p>“Whether or not they comply with the gender issue, I think that (...), there is a lot of lack of awareness. So when a person is sensitized, I think that they are empowered, I think that they know and obviously can understand the problem of gender violence, (...) they have to know, they have to be trained and they have to be sensitized, (...) a public prosecutor’s office or, in other words, (...) they already have this mentality, this very vertical training...” (Coordinator, 47)</p> <p>“They prioritize other crimes (unintelligible), cases of attempted femicide, (...) they consider other crimes to be stronger than psychological violence, right? (...)” (Lawyer, 39).</p> <p>“The criminal prosecutor’s office now does investigate crimes, but now with the new law, cases of violence go directly to the judiciary, they no longer go to the prosecutor’s office. When it is psychological violence, it goes to forensic medicine and even the psychological reports here from the psychologist and the social worker were worthless, now they are with the new law...”. (Promoter, 53).</p> <p>“Yes, well, they comply as far as they can, because they always complain about the procedural burden, ...” (Promoter, 42).</p> <p>“With the new law they do try to do better. It’s getting pretty good.” (Promoter, 36)</p>

At the time of the interviews, the law still lacked regulation, which appeared in the testimonies of the technical personnel interviewed. This new law highlights many of the reports that had been made and shows positive views, as shown in the table above.

When asked about Do you think that the continuous repetition of the history of aggressions by the victim, before the different instances and authorities, affects women negatively?

Although there are teams that fight against the secondary victimization of victims, including inter-institutional coordination that tries to minimize it, the majority opinion is that it does happen, that the victim must tell her story of aggressions up to eight times. Although it is not the object of our study, minors are an issue that CEM personnel are very concerned about, the fact that a minor victim must tell her problem of aggression so many times is considered as an additional damage to the one she is carrying.

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
<p>Negative effect on women victims of the continuous repetition of the history of aggressions before the different instances and authorities</p>	<p>“They used to be repeated, revictimized, but not anymore” (Promoter, 28).</p> <p>“Of course, (...) one has a good relationship with the prosecutor’s office and tries not to re-victimize. (...) they even talked to the prosecutor (...) even the psychologist himself so that he would be present at the deposition and so on. It’s about not re-victimizing, but it’s not like it’s 100% because here in the province there is only one forensic psychologist and the burden is not only for family violence, but for everything and it’s very big (Lawyer, 39).</p> <p>(Lawyer, 39) “Especially when they are minors, adolescents. Tell them again: tell me...” (Promoter, 27).</p> <p>“It is very tiring for the victims to have to repeat their stories, there is revictimization. There are many areas of different institutions and they must tell the same story in all of them” (Promoter, 36).</p> <p>(Promoter, 36) “It affects them a lot” (Social Worker, 45).</p> <p>“It generates fatigue in the users. CEM is working on this aspect to avoid re-victimization” (Promoter, 45).</p> <p>“Yes, they are re-victimized, right?” (Promoter, 36).</p> <p>“We do try... sometimes the women already come with the complaint and bring the document. And in the document there is already the story. So what do I do? I just look around, right? (Psychologist, 51).</p> <p>“Yes, because they don’t even know where to go, because first they arrive at the police, apart from which they are re-victimized, because she tells her story there, from there they tell her to go to the Forensic Medical Institute, again they are telling her story from there she has to go again, this morning she has to go to the Court, look she already went first through the CEM, police, Institute of Legal Medicine, goes to the Court, from the Court it goes to the Public Prosecutor’s Office, from the Public Prosecutor’s Office they suddenly refer it to another Peace Court, then it has already happened, from there it goes to Victims and Witnesses, it has already gone through eight institutions, it is more than eight that I remember because from there again, through eight institutions already. (Lawyer, 39).</p>

When addressing the second group of indicators referring to gender-based violence in Peru and the reality of the situation of the Women's Emergency Centers in this regard, it was possible to gather that with respect to the question: Do you think male chauvinism is deeply rooted in Peruvian society? The majority stated that this is indeed a problem that is deeply rooted in Peru. From their speeches, the need to educate in equality from childhood emerged. The figure of the mother in the life process of the people interviewed reminds us of the family as the central axis of the Peruvian social structure. Because of this integral consideration of violence within the family, the man, the head of the family, is treated, although to a lesser extent than the female victim. They also take into consideration the geographical area to

emphasize that some areas of Peru are more sexist than others. Of all the indicators discussed, it is male chauvinism in Peruvian society on which most testimonies are collected. It was possible to see that a great debate was generated when relevant issues such as: alcoholism, micro-chauvinism, the greater rootedness of male chauvinism in rural areas, patriarchy and the role of the mother for the survival of patriarchy in Peruvian society were discussed. From the perspective of citizenship and social justice, this reality reveals the existence of a problem where traditional patriarchal norms derived from family relations restrict the rights of women so that the role of women is restricted to raising children and housework<sup>30</sup>, which reveals unequal treatment and restricted rights as citizens. In other words, from a gender justice perspective, this reality compromises women's dignity, personal autonomy and rights to physical integrity, as well as their ability to choose how to live their own lives, as they do<sup>31</sup>.

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
<p>The roots of male chauvinism in Peruvian society</p>	<p>“Yeah. And lately there’s this... he’s in disguise, right? Because we are in the midst of this process... of seeking equal opportunities, equality for all... Last year we had the opportunity in Tacna, to work in the Third Cavalry Brigade, we worked on a process called “Building New Masculinities”, right? (Promoter, 44).</p> <p>(Promoter, 44) “Peru, clearly 60-70% is macho, for the same reason that men do not have to cry. The mothers themselves are sexist and say: you can’t cry, you’re a little man. Education is like that and it is difficult to break because you have to re-educate not only the man, but also the mother. And where do you have to start? From the children” (Promoter, 28).</p> <p>“...in the house they have a macho father or women or mothers who have macho attitudes, like the one where the child arrives early but cannot be served lunch because the first one is the father, the man of the house. I think that with those little things, there is still a lack” (Lawyer, 39).</p> <p>“...There is still what we call micro-chauvinism, which is hidden male chauvinism, right? ... Yes, it also has to do with the way of upbringing because when I have been contrasting with reality and everything, I have seen that it is the way of upbringing... how the child has been raised ... then... that has repercussions when they are older, in the way of being with their partner...” (Lawyer, 42).</p> <p>“...They, cover up, cover up the violence the same women who are victims of violence by their partners, cover up the violence. So we have to get to them, right? We make campaigns like this to prevent... to inform them... We have to inform them about everything... Where to go, the operators, right? And we also inform them about Line 100 so they can report any act of family violence.” (Promoter, 36).</p>

30 Anne Marie, Goetz. “Conceptos fundamentales, debates centrales y nuevas directrices para la investigación”, en *Justicia de género, ciudadanía y desarrollo*, editado por Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay y Navsharan Singh (Ottawa: Centro Internacional de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo –IDRC, 2007).

31 *Ibid.*

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
	<p>“...In this area there is a lot of male chauvinism” (Lawyer, 42).</p> <p>“Especially in the high Andean communities it is very noticeable.” (Lawyer, 32).</p> <p>“Yes, quite a lot, and especially here in Ilo. Because Ilo is one of the ports where you have a lot of immigrants from all over the world... we have a mixture from the mountains, the coast, the north... and we also have many cases of foreigners. What Moquegua doesn't have, what Sánchez Cerro doesn't have, which is... Ilo has quite a lot of migrants. And those who come from Aymara areas who come with their own customs, their beliefs... with their idiosyncrasy... and they condemn violence... and generally come from areas like Ilave, Puno... and they settle in areas like Sta. Rosa... in the different towns that are here...” (Promoter, 36).</p> <p>“Of course!” (Promoter, 56).</p> <p>“100% sure” (Social worker, 57).</p> <p>“It's something you see every day” (Promoter, 36).</p> <p>“Oh yes, that's something we won't be able to change” (laughs). “(Psychologist, 51).</p> <p>“Any society unfortunately.” (Specialist, 37).</p> <p>“Ohhh. The theme of male chauvinism... Here in the Province it is practically very worrying... because I... when I go down to the Districts, to the Communities, then... For example, once they meet in their communal meetings, when everything is over at 4 or 5 in the afternoon they start to drink liquor... they start to... drink in an uncontrolled way. So this also... has a huge impact on this case, doesn't it? People who think... in their attitude, because they act... aggressively against... anything or also against the family.” (Lawyer, 42 years old)</p> <p>“In Peru we need more help from the media regarding gender violence.” (Lawyer, 39)</p> <p>“Obvious, totally. Yes, we were just talking, there is a lot missing, that the State invests a little money there, more money because it does, well the Women's Ministry does, with the 100 line campaign, to denounce, but there is more missing.” (Lawyer, 39)</p> <p>“Oh enough! Now that I'm on the subject of masculinity, the mayor had to bring them by the hand to come, but in the end they thanked me: is it over? Oh yes, go on. It was because they were ashamed that the others told them: there you go to the group of effeminate, have you taught them to cook, to iron?” (Promoter, 53).</p>



Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
	<p>(Promoter, 53) “Yes, yes, yes, quite a lot, mainly in the areas, this one, look in the rural areas obviously, just uh, there are still, whether we want to or not, all that glitters is not gold, and that is in all the countries that you can see, (...) then that is what happens in Peruvian society, mainly in the rural areas, both on the coast, in the mountains and in the jungle, right? So I think that the issue of male chauvinism is very deep-rooted in the rural areas (unintelligible) mainly because of the training, because of the socio-cultural patterns, that this is being transmitted from generation to generation (?) and that is well rooted in the military training, both police and military, air force, navy, both of the army, male chauvinism is quite deep-rooted. (Coordinator, 47).</p> <p>“... people who are aggressive are in their 20s and 30s, but not the 40s, men and women (...) We are the last generation who have seen daddy at work and mommy at home (...) we have grown up with an authority from mommies, who had responsibility, who had a command role. So, (...) we are aware of the fact that women have to work, have to study, have to progress... and we know that we have to progress together, and we have no problems”. (Lawyer, 42).</p> <p>“Yes, she still has a cultural presence in the country, although there are some changes, but she still maintains it” (Social Worker, 45).</p>

Another issue that comes up is the intake of alcohol and how it can become an excuse to attack, an issue that has been clearly dismantled in studies by Matud et. al<sup>32</sup> as one of the many myths that have been woven around the causes of intimate partner violence. At the same time, they seek solutions to their problems of institutional male chauvinism that leave it in the hands of the media. Although they value all the efforts of the MIMP with “Línea 100” and ask for more state investment.

While doing the field work, several comments were collected stating that when the MIMPs were created they were only for women. Later it was opened for men as well, but the name stopped them from using this service: Women’s Emergency Center, and this is reflected in some of the comments. CEM staff also appreciate male chauvinism in the institutions. The male chauvinism family reflects their male chauvinism in their workplace as well. Although one of the indicators of gender-based violence in Peru<sup>33</sup> is male chauvinism, this is not the perception for all age cohorts of CEM staff.

Regarding the second part of the block II, which refers to the situation of CEM. They were asked: “Do you think it is necessary to improve the coordination between the Offices of Attention to Victims and Witnesses and the CEM”, and the following opinions were obtained What is most striking is the incipient model of social welfare, which depends on personal relationships for its proper functioning. This is very similar to the model of the Mediterranean welfare state However, inter-institutional coordination is essential, as the

32 María-Pilar Matud, Vanesa Padilla y Ana Belén Gutiérrez. *Mujeres maltratadas por su pareja. Guía de tratamiento psicológico*. (Madrid: Ed. Minerva, 2005).

33 María-José Del Pino, Rafael Tigrero y Karina Torres. *Indicadores de violencia de género en el Perú. La percepción del personal técnico de los Centros de Emergencia Mujer (CEM)*. (Madrid: Anthropos grupo siglo XXI, 2017):59.

persons interviewed say, to improve the problem of secondary victimization<sup>34</sup> of victims. It is observed that in order to coordinate well between institutions, it is important to have a relationship of friendship or kinship and stable institutional channels that are not available at the time of the study.

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
Need to improve coordination between Victim and Witness Protection Offices and CEMS	<p>"...we are already quite coordinated" (Promoter, 28).</p> <p>"Here we already communicate enough" (Advocate, 42).</p> <p>"So as not to re-victimize. The same user sometimes comes to the CEM, they go there and again she has to tell her stories and that does not benefit" (Promoter, 38).</p> <p>(Promoter, 38) "For example, from the CEM Trujillo has already managed to make visible the work they do and coordinate with the office, but there is still a lot of work to be done because not everyone is like that" (Attorney, 34).</p> <p>"I think there should be an exchange. Because they have their own way of working according to their institution and we are another institution, but we are related. I coordinated this with a friend in Chiclayo who worked in the Office of Victims and Witnesses and, for example, the social worker said to me: 'They give me support and mobility and I, apart from my work, do social work on my own</p> <p>"There is no such office in the area. They try to do the functions that would correspond to them, but they cannot" (Promoter, 36).</p> <p>"Of course, we have to work in coordination." (Promoter, 36).</p> <p>"We maintain constant communication." (Psychologist, 51).</p> <p>(Psychologist, 51) "Well, at the moment we have good relations because they are related, right? The husband works and it's like they work in coordination. But... in general, no." (Specialist, 37).</p>

When the field work was carried out, it was observed that many CEMs were very well coordinated with all the institutions, but we also know and can verify with the testimonies of CEM personnel throughout the country, that it is not a generalizable appreciation, that there is a need for improvement with inter-institutional coordination. Coordination is very important for the eradication of secondary victimization. It also highlights the lack of resources and the vulnerabilities with which CEM staff are affected, such as inclement weather when appropriate mobility is not available to carry out their work.

In reference to the question of whether the care offered in CEM is performed for men and women, CEM staff do not comment much on this, they value it as normal. They do not mention the need for a change of focus from feminism and gender, an issue that would give a strong contribution to the fight against the degradation of the citizenship status of women victims of gender violence and could reinforce the progress towards gender justice.

34 Inter Iuris-Asociación Internacional de Juristas. *Manuales para el Abordaje Profesional Integral de la Violencia contra las Mujeres*. 2015.

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
Care offered in CEM to men and women	<p>“All those whose rights have been violated are attended to” (Promoter, 45).</p> <p>“And to girls, boys... elderly people...” (Psychologist, 51).</p> <p>“Yes, to all” (Social Worker, 55).</p>

To learn about the issue of considering cultural diversity when caring for victims, they were asked: Does the care offered at the CEM take into account the cultural diversity of the person being cared for?

It is important to note that cultural diversity is also linked to diversity in terms of the victim's formal education or illiteracy, including not speaking Spanish but only their native language. It is also linked to the disconnection with the principles of equality that is pursued in Peruvian society, of respect for human rights. In this defence of cultural diversity, CEM's technical personnel must work in a more paternal manner, if they believe they must protect the victim, or give the victim more autonomy if they consider her more capable of making her decisions.

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
Consideration of cultural diversity of the person served	<p>“Yes, because there are people who come from the mountains and have a different way of thinking, then, suddenly, we have a slightly different treatment in the sense that they can grasp it, be more thorough, be more specific, more directive, because with these people you have to be more directive than with a person who is more educated, with a different cultural level, with a different socioeconomic position, the ideal is not to be so directive, but to give them things so that the person himself can analyze them and make his own decisions.” (Psychologist, 38).</p> <p>(Psychologist, 38). “Yes, because, for example, people come who speak Quechua and are spoken to by Quechua (Lawyer, 42).</p> <p>“Yes, it's a principle of the Emergency Centres.” (Promoter, 56).</p> <p>“Yes, fair is one of the approaches we work with” (Promoter, 42).</p> <p>“Obviously not. The staff must always be attentive to the interculturality of the people, respecting their customs... whatever they want. And to take it into account because from locality to locality, from community to community...” (Lawyer, 42).</p> <p>“Here, for example, there are people from different places. There are people who are from Puno.” (Psychologist, 51).</p> <p>“I totally agree. Because it is a requirement that they ask of you, because your care guidance is under the principle of gender and interculturality, that is, no matter how old you are, no matter what culture you are, no matter what ethics you have, but they ask of you that” (Specialist, 37).</p> <p>“Yes, that is why in the call they always ask for Quechua speakers to be able to reach them (Lawyer, 32).</p> <p>“It should, but we still need it if I'm honest.” (Promoter, 27).</p>

As could be seen in the previous table, although it is a basic and fundamental principle since the creation of the CEMs, the consideration of cultural diversity, there are also CEMs where this consideration of cultural diversity does not work or where it does not work



as they would like it to. In the majority of the CEMs visited there seemed to be a person with a command of this language, however, it was not easy to find an CEM with several Quechua speakers.

Similarly, when asked if the care offered at the CEM takes into account the religious diversity of the person served, most confirmed respect for religious diversity within the CEM. They even reminded us that being a Quechua speaker is usually a merit to consider when accessing work at CEM. There is also a disparity in rural areas where many women are only Quechua speakers and cannot communicate in Spanish. Another issue they raise is the case of immigrant women from Israel in the south of the country.

Indicator	Discursive expressions of the interviewees
Consideration of the religious diversity of the person served	<p>"Besides, the Peruvian is very religious, everything is the Pachamama and very traditionalist" (Promoter, 28).</p> <p>"Also, we respect all the principles." (Social Worker, 45).</p> <p>"Only in the provinces, not in the zone." (Social Worker, 33).</p> <p>"Yes, indeed. For the religion to which you refer... we serve you equally." (Lawyer, 42).</p> <p>"Also, everyone is welcome, right? (Promoter, 44).</p> <p>"Zero exclusion" (Promoter, 45).</p> <p>"Mmmm ... Most ... Of everything we have attended here, right? Even the Israelites who come here dressed as the Virgin Mary with her veeelo down. Covered up, they don't cut their hair, all kinds of people (Psychologist, 51).</p> <p>"I mean, we don't consider it, but we attend to everyone." (Social Worker, 55).</p> <p>"Yes, also. There is no distinction there, as to whether or not what religion everyone is welcome to. Here it does not matter what creed you profess, simply respect and here the CEM attends to all types of people without distinction of creed. (Coordinator, 47).</p> <p>"...some who because of their religion go to talk to the pastor and with the prayers, when the violence has calmed it down. It is because of her religion; she went to the pastor and tells him to go pray and so stop the violence. Or the pastor goes to talk to the man and out of shame he pretends to be repentant and after a few months, the coup follows and everything follows" (Social Worker, 57).</p>

Care must also be taken not to separate the victim from the aggressor, because in the CEM conciliation is prohibited and this prohibition is protected by law. On the other hand, although the act of conciliation between victim and aggressor is prohibited by law, unfortunately it does occur in some cases.

## Conclusions

The most active debate of the indicators presented throughout the article is the male chauvinism of Peruvian society. From here, many problems arise that are placed in the starting box for the incorporation of victims of gender violence as full citizens. One of these problems is how it is permeated by the patriarchal and macho vision of judges, prosecutors, and police. This fact makes attention to the importance of education and socialization in equality and strengthens the feminist approach to bring out distorted manifestations of women's citizenship rights and their consequences on gender justice.

The humble and realistic position of technical personnel, about who they are, first as persons and then as professionals, reaffirms that personal values are reflected in the exercise of the profession. This reality also affects the public prosecutor or judge, who are also subject to a macho and patriarchal vision, which undoubtedly biases the vision that is built on women, violating their citizen's rights and undermining gender justice.

There is practically no discussion within the technical staff on the issue of accepting abused men in the CEM, although during the field work no male users were seen in any of the CEMs visited. This could be related to the cultural values that dominate the Peruvian society marked by male chauvinism.

There is concern about the racism that exists in Peruvian society, taking into account the present religious and linguistic diversity. On this subject, it is missing that the technical staff did not provide more details on how the support to victims with linguistic diversity is organized in each CEM. The comments were limited to recognizing that this aspect is contemplated in the regulations. But how the treatment of these cases is carried out did not come up. The vulnerability of so many Kechua and Aymara-speaking women and their unfavourable conditions to carry out the fight for full citizenship in a country of extremes, where there are great differences not only in climate, but also in race, creed and economy, is striking.

This reality reveals deep weaknesses and the need to spin towards an approach of gender violence permeated by the vision of citizenship and gender justice, always guided by the principles of equality, respect for human rights, defence of cultural diversity, which is pursued in Peruvian society, without undermining the action when, the victim is attended to, towards a paternalistic attention.

The inquiry into the aspects or knots that hinder the process of care for victims of gender violence is particularly relevant, taking into account that the study allowed the voices of those who are immersed in the drama of the victims to be heard, as subjects who channel the difficult path that the case must follow in the procedural framework officially established in Peruvian law. Listening to the technical personnel meant for them the possibility of being heard and being able to reflect on their reality in the performance before the victims. To look at their weaknesses or limitations and potentialities.

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The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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