



**Republic of Colombia**  
**Stakeholder Report for the United Nations Universal Periodic Review**

**Submitted by The Advocates for Human Rights,**  
a non-governmental organization in special consultative status

for the 44th Session of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review  
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Founded in 1983, **The Advocates for Human Rights** (“The Advocates”) is a volunteer-based non-governmental organization committed to the impartial promotion and protection of international human rights standards and the rule of law. The Advocates conducts a range of programs to promote human rights in the United States and around the world, including monitoring and fact finding, direct legal representation, education and training, and publication. The Advocates is the primary provider of legal services to low-income asylum seekers in the Upper Midwest region of the United States.

## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. **For Colombia's women, the likelihood of experiencing violence at the hands of a partner or ex-partner remains high.** Prevalence rates of intimate partner violence are some of the highest in the world. In 2022, Colombia's National Institute of Legal and Forensic Medicine **reported 47,771 domestic violence/ intimate partner violence cases.**<sup>1</sup>
2. **Colombia must take further steps to prevent and protect women from violence and potential femicide.** Only in 2022, CSOs reported **six hundred nineteen femicides** in the country.<sup>2</sup>
3. **Colombia's response to violence against women is highly dependent upon the institution of the Family Commissioner office** (Comisarías de Familia). The country has aimed to legally amend the overburden and high responsibilities the Family Commissioner office endured with The Law 2126 of 2021. However, the **Colombian Government must provide further resources and capacity to implement the structural changes placed by this norm**, especially as some municipalities do not have enough resources to provide sufficient funding and personnel to the Family Commissioner's office.

**B31 Equality & non-discrimination, F12 Discrimination against women D29  
Domestic violence, F13 Violence against women**

### **Status of Implementation: Accepted, Partially Implemented**

4. During the 2018 Universal Periodic Review, Colombia received and accepted seven recommendations to take steps and measures on equality and non-discrimination. Recommendations included establishing disaggregated data collection for designing effective public policies<sup>3</sup> and implementing actions toward the elimination of all forms of discrimination.<sup>4</sup> On its third cycle, Colombia also received and accepted two key recommendations on domestic violence and sexual abuse, including strengthening prevention and sanction measures, such as improving the investigation and prosecution<sup>5</sup> and enhancing the legal framework to combat sexual violence and domestic violence.<sup>6</sup>
5. Colombia received and accepted twelve recommendations on violence against women. States recommended that Colombia strengthen its legislative, administrative, and institutional framework to combat sexual and gender-based violence and provide access to justice for the victims.<sup>7</sup> Colombia also received recommendations on supporting the victims of violence against women and domestic violence, such as medical and psychosocial services.<sup>8</sup>
6. Colombia still endures violence against women and based on gender. Domestic violence is still systemically impacting women in Colombia. According to governmental data by Colombia's National Institute of Legal and Forensic Medicine, in 2022, forty-seven thousand seven hundred seventy-one (**47,771**) **domestic violence cases were reported.**

The number of cases increased to seven thousand seven hundred thirteen (7,713) cases compared to 2021.<sup>9</sup>

7. Through its Ministry of Health and Social Protection, the Colombian Government has implemented the Integrated Information System on Gender-Based Violence (*Sistema Integrado de Información de Violencias de Género-SIVIGE*). The *SIVIGE* reported in 2021, **fifty-eight thousand six hundred fourteen (58,614) cases of physical violence, twenty-seven thousand five hundred eighty-five (27,585) cases of sexual violence, and ten thousand twenty-one (10,021) cases of physiological violence.**<sup>10</sup> Further, regarding gender-based violence, The National Ombudsman Office [*Defensoria del Pueblo*] in 2021 reported providing assistance to “[three thousand six hundred forty-six] 3,646 cases of gender-based violence, that is, [ten]10 cases of this phenomenon per day. Most of these cases were psychological violence, with [two thousand four hundred fifty-one] 2,451 records, followed by physical violence with [one thousand five hundred ninety-seven] 1,597 cases, economic violence with [one thousand one] 1,001 cases, sexual violence with [six hundred ninety-three] 693 cases and patrimonial violence, with **678 [six hundred and seventy-eight]** cases. In several cases, the women attended were victims of various types of gender-based violence.”<sup>11</sup>
8. Regarding the crime of femicide, NGOs like the *Observatorio Femicidios Colombia* have reported that in 2022, at least **six hundred nineteen femicides were committed in the country.**<sup>12</sup> The *Observatorio Femicidios Colombia* exhibited that in the last five years, **three thousand one hundred eleven cases of femicide have been reported in the country.**<sup>13</sup> According to the same reports, at least thirty-five percent of femicides were committed in rural areas compared to sixty-five percent in urban areas.<sup>14</sup> In this matter, domestic news outlets have observed that in Colombia, **“a woman is murdered every eight hours, and eight women are victims of domestic or sexual violence by the hour”**<sup>15</sup>
9. The data presented above demonstrates that Colombia still must undertake measures to prevent and alleviate violence against women and gender-based violence, as it continues to be present in the lives of many women in the country. Further, the Colombian Government needs to take deeper steps to dismantle the systemic discrimination against women and provide safe and free spaces to women and girls in the country.

**B51 Right to an effective Remedy, B52 Impunity; D51 Administration of justice & fair trial**

**Status of Implementation: Accepted, Partially Implemented**

10. Colombia received several recommendations on the right to an effective remedy and actions against impunity. Among the recommendations, Colombia received multiple recommendations to combat impunity in cases of violence against women,<sup>16</sup> sexual violence, and gender-based violence by prosecuting perpetrators and strengthening the effective implementation of the existing policies in this field.<sup>17</sup> Colombia also received a recommendation to “enhance relevant investigative and victim support expertise in the judicial system to increase prosecutions in cases of conflict-related sexual violence and

reduce the high impunity rate for such cases.”<sup>18</sup> The country supported all these recommendations.

11. Colombia has implemented multiple legislative measures to enhance the prevention and protection system for victims of domestic violence, such as Law 2126 of 2021.<sup>19</sup> With this law, Colombia has addressed multiple systemic failures in its prevention and protection system. As described in the above section of this report, the Law 2126 of 2021 continues the restriction of giving the mandate to the Family Commissioner offices to protect women under a ‘family focused’ lens. The Law 2126 establishes potential perpetrators of domestic violence as the former or current husbands, domestic partners; co-parents of their children; and **“persons with whom the victim has maintained a romantic relation, whether cohabitation or not, of a permanent nature, characterized by a clear and unequivocal vocation of stability,”** among others.<sup>20</sup> This last highlighted category imposes potential discriminatory requisites to women to obtain institutional support, access to justice, and remedy, as it establishes additional characteristics to the relationship: “the permanent nature and the clear and unequivocal vocation of stability” and leaves on the margin and unprotected women who suffered violence from other kinds of romantic partners, such as boyfriends and girlfriends. This understanding is also enshrined in the Colombian Criminal Code in its article 229 and by the interpretation of the Supreme Court of Justice of the country.<sup>21</sup>
12. CSOs have described the Colombia legal system as having “victims of first and second category,” explaining that “there is no crime of ‘violence against women’, so the criminal treatment of a case when people are married, live together or have children is different from the treatment of attacks by a boyfriend on his girlfriend, for example. This is because the first case can be reported for domestic violence, but in the second, only for personal injury, in which the penalty (when achieved) will depend on the disability that generates the blow and, in addition, it is a reconcilable offense, subject of claim withdraw, and that is not investigated ex officio.”<sup>22</sup>
13. Likewise, despite the implementation of the legal framework that advances the protection of women, such as the Law 1257 of 2008 and the Law 2126 of 2021,<sup>23</sup> the Colombian Government must implement further actions to prevent domestic violence and violence against women and to provide protection, justice, and remedy to victims. According to civil society organizations, the Colombian Government currently is implementing at least thirty-three laws that aim to prevent and protect women from violence.<sup>24</sup>
14. For example, the Law 2126 of 2021 developed a new structure and mandates for the Family Commissioner offices, the institution in charge of preventing violence against women and gender violence and protecting the victims of such.<sup>25</sup> This Law established that municipal (local) administrations should structure and provide the required professionals to the Family Commissioners Offices.<sup>26</sup>
15. The Office of the Delegated Attorney General for the Defense of the Rights of Children, Adolescents, the Family and Women (*Procuraduría delegada para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Infancia, la Adolescencia, la Familia y la Mujer*) reported that only fifty-two percent (52%) of six hundred and sixty-eight (668) Family Commissioners offices

have a completed team of professionals to support victims of domestic violence, and only forty percent (40%) count with spaces to provide intimate spaces to victims.<sup>27</sup> According to testimonies collected by national media, many victims are reluctant to request institutional support from the Family Commissioners Offices due to the lack of privacy due to the deficiency of installations.<sup>28</sup>

16. In this same matter, the organization *SISMA Mujer* has reported that Family Commissioners Offices with “roofs have partially collapsed and continue to collapse, as well Family Commissioner offices with humidity in the walls and with parts of the floors affected.”<sup>29</sup> Most of these offices are placed in rural zones outside of the country capital Bogotá, in municipalities like *San Martín, Cubarral and Puerto López in Meta*.<sup>30</sup> In their report, *SISMA Mujer* also observed that the Family Commissioner offices “have great limitations and needs regarding equipment and technological tools. They do not have sufficient availability of the main tools they need for their work, which are computers and printers, and in the cases where they do exist, they are usually in fair or poor condition.”<sup>31</sup>
17. In the case of implementing the protection order for women experiencing violence, under the Law 1258 of 2008, practitioners have found that women are impacted by a lack of personnel on the Family Commissioner Offices compared to the number of requests that the offices receive.<sup>32</sup> Same studies also identified the lack of permanent personnel with a training on gender as a barrier for providing effective protection to women victims of domestic violence/ intimate partner violence<sup>33</sup>
18. **The barriers women endure while accessing justice because of the lack of gender lens in the analysis of family matters was noted by the Constitutional Court on the rule T-028-23.** In the rule, the Court observed that all judges in the country must incorporate a gender lens into the case under their revision and acknowledge the systemic discrimination women endure as a marginalized group.<sup>34</sup> The Constitutional Court ruled that the “Superior Council of the Judiciary [*Consejo Superior de la Judicatura*] must require mandatory attendance of all family jurisdiction judges in the country to the gender training offered by the Rodrigo Lara Bonilla Judicial School and the Gender Commission of the Judicial Branch.”<sup>35</sup>
19. **Regarding femicides, reported cases could be and are higher, as in many cases, families of the victims have denounced that judicial authorities neglect to investigate crimes against women as femicides.** Instead, judicial authorities categorize them as suicides, ignoring the voices and perspectives of the families of the victims. In many of these cases, justice has been delayed and even absent.<sup>36</sup>

## II. RECOMMENDATIONS

20. This stakeholder report suggests the following recommendations for the Government of Colombia:

- Provide the maximum available resources to fund Family Commissioners Offices and allocating sufficient resources to municipalities in charge of structuring such Offices, especially those in rural areas.
- Take steps and provide all the maximum available resources to ensure that victims have access to specialized assistance and services that fulfill the specific needs of women victims of violence.
- Increase funding to Municipal Family Commissioners Offices to ensure they have all the specialized and interdisciplinary team required to support victims.
- Continue implementing the Law 2126 of 2021 and supporting municipalities and Family Commissioners Offices in their financial and technical needs, especially in their awareness-raising campaigns on discrimination and violence against women and gender-based violence, as well on gender stereotypes.
- Take steps to remove the stigma and barriers to accessing institutional protection and the right to justice for victims of domestic violence and violence against women and based on gender.
- Strengthen judicial mechanisms to ensure trauma-based, victim-based, and gender-based lenses to the investigation and sanctions of violence against women such as the crimes of femicide and domestic violence.
- Take all necessary steps to implement the Constitutional Court order to the *Consejo Superior de la Judicatura* that establishes that all Colombian family judges must participate on trainings on gender-based violence and a gender lens to justice.
- Intensify efforts to prevent and address femicides in the country and take all necessary steps to provide justice to the victims.
- Revise and Amend the Colombian Legislation —such as the article 5 of Law 2126 of 2021, the article 229 of the Colombian Criminal Code and the article 1 Law 1959 of 2019—that restricts the access to justice and protection of victims of **intimate partner violence to include and protect victims in romantic relationships that might not fulfill the requirement of permanent character and unequivocal vocation for stability.**

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<sup>1</sup> Procuraduría General de la Nación, Boletín 280-23: 3mujeres cada hora, 128 al día y 47 mil en el 2017, fueron víctimas de violencia intrafamiliar (6 March 2023), Also available online at <https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/Pages/3-mujeres-cada-hora-128-al-dia-y-47-mil-en-2022-fueron-victimas-de-violencia-intrafamiliar-procuraduria.aspx>

<sup>2</sup> Observatorio Femicidios Colombia. *Informe Annual 202: Vivas nos queremos*. Red Feminista Antimilitarista. (November 2022) p.1. Also available online at <https://observatoriofemicidioscolombia.org/attachments/article/512/Informe%202023-1.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶ 120.25 Establish mechanisms to obtain disaggregated data on ethnicity, disability, gender,

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sexual orientation and gender identity, making it possible to design effective public policies that are non-discriminatory and meet the needs of marginalized population groups (Mexico).

<sup>4</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.19 Continue implementing actions to contribute to the elimination of all forms of discrimination and exclusion (Cuba).

<sup>5</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.144 Ensure access to justice for victims of the armed conflict, particularly women and indigenous people, and guarantee their right to truth and comprehensive reparation (Philippines).

<sup>6</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.146 Further strengthen its legal framework to protect women's rights, in particular to combat sexual violence and domestic violence (Singapore).

<sup>7</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.123, ¶129 Strengthen its legislative and institutional framework to effectively combat sexual and gender-based violence (Côte d'Ivoire); ¶120.35 Better combat sexual and gender-based violence and ensure access to justice for victims (France); ¶120.139 Intensify efforts to address violence against women and continue to work to ensure full application of the laws against the perpetrators of such violence (Ireland); 120.149 Continue measures to effectively combat sexual and gender-based violence (Nepal).

<sup>8</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.143 Continue taking effective measures to prevent sexual violence against women, and ensure that all cases of sexual violence are investigated and perpetrators are brought to justice in a timely manner and victims are provided with support, including medical and psychosocial services (Malaysia).

<sup>9</sup> Procuraduría General de la Nación, Boletín 280-23: 3mujeres cada hora, 128 al día y 47 mil en el 2017, fueron víctimas de violencia intrafamiliar (6 March 2023), Also available online at <https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/Pages/3-mujeres-cada-hora-128-al-dia-y-47-mil-en-2022-fueron-victimas-de-violencia-intrafamiliar-procuraduria.aspx>

<sup>10</sup> Sistema Integrado de Información de Violencias de Género-SIVIGE, *Casos de Violencia de Género atendidos en el Sistema de Salud reportados al Sistema de Vigilancia en Salud Pública, SIVIGILA*. (Sourced February 2023), also available at: <https://www.sispro.gov.co/observatorios/onviolenciasgenero/Paginas/home.aspx>

<sup>11</sup> Defensoría del Pueblo . En 2021 Defensoría del Pueblo atendió diariamente 10 casos de violencia de género. (8 de marzo de 2022), Also available online at <https://www.defensoria.gov.co/es/nube/comunicados/10791/En-2021-Defensor%20del-Pueblo-atendi%20diariamente-10-casos-de-violencia-de-g%C3%A9nero-D%20de-la-Mujer-8M-Defensor%20del-Pueblo-atendi%20diariamente-10-casos-de-violencia-de-g%C3%A9nero.htm>; González, Ana Maria Anichiarico Gonzalez, et al. *Avances y obstáculos para el cumplimiento de las medidas de protección de la Ley 1257 de 2008 en Colombia durante el año 2021. Una visión multidisciplinaria a debates contemporáneos en Ciencias Sociales*, 15. Also available online at [https://www.uniautonoma.edu.co/sites/default/files/publicacion/libro\\_uniautonoma\\_2022\\_vf\\_compressed.pdf#page=15](https://www.uniautonoma.edu.co/sites/default/files/publicacion/libro_uniautonoma_2022_vf_compressed.pdf#page=15)

<sup>12</sup> Observatorio Femicidios Colombia. *Informe Annual 2022: Vivas nos queremos..* Red Feminista Antimilitarista. (November 2022) p.1. Also available online at <https://observatoriofemicidioscolombia.org/attachments/article/512/Informe%202023-1.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> Observatorio Femicidios Colombia. *Informe Annual 2022: Vivas nos queremos..* Red Feminista Antimilitarista. (November 2022) p.1 Also available online at <https://observatoriofemicidioscolombia.org/attachments/article/512/Informe%202023-1.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> Observatorio Femicidios Colombia. *Boletín Mensual de Femicidios Colombia. Noviembre 2022*. Red Feminista Antimilitarista. (November 2022) p.9. Also available online at <https://observatoriofemicidioscolombia.org/attachments/article/507/Bolet%20n%20Vivas%20nos%20quemos%20Colombia%20noviembre%202022.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> Maria Isabel Ortiz & Mauricio Roa Muñoz, *En Promedio, cada ocho horas es asesinada una mujer en Colombia* (27 November 2022). Also available online at <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/investigacion/violencia-contra-la-mujer-en-colombia-una-mujer-es-asesinada-cada-8-horas-721041>

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- <sup>16</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.48
- <sup>17</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.130
- <sup>18</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Colombia* (July 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/39/6 ¶120.49
- <sup>19</sup> Colombian Congress, Law 2126 of 2021, *Por La Cual Se Regula La Creación, Conformación Y Funcionamiento De Las Comisarías De Familia, Se Establece El Órgano Rector Y Se Dictan Otras Disposiciones*, (August 4 2021), Also available online at <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=168066>
- <sup>20</sup> Colombian Congress, Law 2126 of 2021, *Por La Cual Se Regula La Creación, Conformación Y Funcionamiento De Las Comisarías De Familia, Se Establece El Órgano Rector Y Se Dictan Otras Disposiciones*, (August 4 2021), Art.5. Also available online at <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=168066>
- <sup>21</sup> Jorge Rafael Vaca Espinosa, *El supuesto cambio en la interpretación del tipo penal de violencia intrafamiliar*, *Ambito Juridico*, (21 February 2023), Also available online at <https://www.ambitojuridico.com/noticias/analisis/el-supuesto-cambio-en-la-interpretacion-del-tipo-penal-de-violencia-intrafamiliar>
- <sup>22</sup> Maria Isabel Ortiz & Mauricio Roa Muñoz, *En Promedio, cada ocho horas es asesinada una mujer en Colombia* (27 November 2022), Also available online at <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/investigacion/violencia-contra-la-mujer-en-colombia-una-mujer-es-asesinada-cada-8-horas-721041>
- <sup>23</sup> Colombian Congress, *Law 1257 of 2008 which rules are issued for awareness, prevention and punishment of forms of violence and discrimination against women, the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, Law 294 of 1996 and other provisions are amended*, (4 December 2008), Also available online at <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=34054>
- <sup>24</sup> Maria Isabel Ortiz & Mauricio Roa Muñoz, *En Promedio, cada ocho horas es asesinada una mujer en Colombia* (27 November 2022), Also available online at <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/investigacion/violencia-contra-la-mujer-en-colombia-una-mujer-es-asesinada-cada-8-horas-721041>
- <sup>25</sup> Colombian Congress, Law 2126 of 2021, *Por La Cual Se Regula La Creación, Conformación Y Funcionamiento De Las Comisarías De Familia, Se Establece El Órgano Rector Y Se Dictan Otras Disposiciones*, (August 4 2021), Art., Also available online at <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=168066>
- <sup>26</sup> *Ambito Juridico*, *Corresponde A Los Municipios Consolidar La Institucionalidad De La Comisaría De Familia*, (15 September 2022), Also available online at <https://www.ambitojuridico.com/noticias/administrativo/corresponde-los-municipios-consolidar-la-institucionalidad-de-la-comisaria>
- <sup>27</sup> Procuraduría General de la Nación, *Comisarias de Familia. Verificación del avance y fortalecimiento de infraestructura, equipo interdisciplinario y salud ocupacional* (2021), Also available online at <https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/docs/ComisariasdeFamiliaVerificaciondelavance2021.pdf>; *EL TIEMPO: Redacción Justicia, La Falta de plata que tiene en jaque a las Comisarias de Familia*, (4 November 2022), Also available online at <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/investigacion/procuraduria-pide-ayuda-a-alcaldes-para-fortalecer-comisarias-de-familia-715058>
- <sup>28</sup> Procuraduría General de la Nación, *Comisarias de Familia. Verificación del avance y fortalecimiento de infraestructura, equipo interdisciplinario y salud ocupacional* (2021) Also available online at <https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/docs/ComisariasdeFamiliaVerificaciondelavance2021.pdf>; *EL TIEMPO: Redacción Justicia, La Falta de plata que tiene en jaque a las Comisarias de Familia*, (4 November 2022), Also available online at <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/investigacion/procuraduria-pide-ayuda-a-alcaldes-para-fortalecer-comisarias-de-familia-715058>
- <sup>29</sup> Corporación Sisma Mujer, *Diagnostico Participativo. Comisarias de Familia de 12 municipios del Departamento del Meta*, (2022) P.51. Also available online at <https://www.sismamujer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/A.-1.5.-I-Documento-diagnostico-participativo.pdf>



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<sup>30</sup> Corporación Sisma Mujer, *Diagnostico Participativo. Comisarias de Familia de 12 municipios del Departamento del Meta*, (2022) P.51, P.50. Also available online at <https://www.sismamujer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/A.-1.5.-I-Documento-diagnostico-participativo.pdf>

<sup>31</sup> Corporación Sisma Mujer, *Diagnostico Participativo. Comisarias de Familia de 12 municipios del Departamento del Meta*, (2022) P.51, P.55. Also available online at <https://www.sismamujer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/A.-1.5.-I-Documento-diagnostico-participativo.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> Erika Beatriz Cubillos Quintero, *Representaciones Sociales sobre la Violencia Intrafamiliar–De Pareja: ¿Violencia Institucional? Una Mirada Desde La Atención E Implementación De Las Medidas De Protección De La Ley 1257 De 2008. Estudio De Caso: Comisarias De Familia De La Localidad De Suba* [Master Tesis], Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, (2020) P. 62, Also available online at <https://repository.javeriana.edu.co/handle/10554/50576>.

<sup>33</sup> Erika Beatriz Cubillos Quintero, *Representaciones Sociales sobre la Violencia Intrafamiliar–De Pareja: ¿Violencia Institucional? Una Mirada Desde La Atención E Implementación De Las Medidas De Protección De La Ley 1257 De 2008. Estudio De Caso: Comisarias De Familia De La Localidad De Suba* [Master Tesis], Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, (2020) P. 62, Also available online at <https://repository.javeriana.edu.co/handle/10554/50576>.

<sup>34</sup> Colombian Constitutional Court, Press Release, *Jueces de familia deben asistir a las capacitaciones sobre género de la Escuela Judicial Rodrigo Lara Bonilla y la Comisión de Género de la Rama Judicial*, (27 March 2023). Also available online at <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/noticia.php?Jueces-de-familia-deben-asistir-a-las-capacitaciones-sobre-genero-de-la-Escuela-Judicial-Rodrigo-Lara-Bonilla-y-la-Comision-de-Genero-de-la-Rama-Judicial-9484>

<sup>35</sup> Colombian Constitutional Court, Press Release, *Jueces de familia deben asistir a las capacitaciones sobre género de la Escuela Judicial Rodrigo Lara Bonilla y la Comisión de Género de la Rama Judicial*, (27 March 2023). Also available online at <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/noticia.php?Jueces-de-familia-deben-asistir-a-las-capacitaciones-sobre-genero-de-la-Escuela-Judicial-Rodrigo-Lara-Bonilla-y-la-Comision-de-Genero-de-la-Rama-Judicial-9484>

<sup>36</sup> Vanguardia, *Tras un año de la misteriosa muerte de Paula Andrea Martínez, el caso sigue sin resolverse*, (18 de February de 2022), Also available online at <https://www.vanguardia.com/judicial/tras-un-ano-de-la-misteriosa-muerte-de-paula-andrea-martinez-el-caso-sigue-sin-resolverse-FN4870520>; Semana, *Con #JusticiaPorPaulaAndrea quieren saber qué pasó con la estudiante de Medicina*, (5 March 2021). Also available online at <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/con-justiciaporpaulaandrea-quieren-saber-que-paso-con-la-estudiante-de-medicina/202157/>