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Artículos Científicos

Violencia de género ante el confinamiento e intervención policial por causa de la covid-19 en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua

*Gender-Based Violence in the Face of Confinement and Police
Intervention Due to COVID-19 in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua*

*Violência de gênero em face do confinamento e intervenção policial
devido a covid-19 em Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua*

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Resumen

La violencia de género ha aumentado en el mundo en los últimos meses. En México, durante este periodo de aislamiento y de quedarse en casa ante la pandemia del coronavirus, las mujeres corren mayor riesgo de sufrir violencia familiar. En otras palabras, se encuentran en una situación todavía más vulnerable durante esta emergencia sanitaria. El objetivo de esta investigación fue conocer el impacto del confinamiento por la pandemia del SARS-CoV-2 en la dinámica de las familias en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. El enfoque es de carácter documental, por lo que se procedió a la indagación, recolección, organización, análisis e interpretación de información o datos en torno a la violencia contra la mujer en periódicos y bases de datos oficiales. Como parte de los resultados, se encontró que las denuncias por violencia familiar aumentaron cerca de 30 % durante los primeros meses de pandemia. A pesar de este incremento, sin embargo, los diferentes niveles de Gobierno no han tenido una estrategia clara para atenderla.

Palabras clave: COVID-19, intervención, mujeres, violencia familiar.



Abstract

Gender violence has increased in the world in recent months. In Mexico, during this period of isolation and staying at home in the face of the coronavirus pandemic, women are at greater risk of experiencing family violence. In other words, they are even more vulnerable during this health emergency. The objective of this research was to know the impact of confinement due to the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic on the dynamics of families in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. The approach is documentary in nature, which is why the investigation, collection, organization, analysis and interpretation of information or data on violence against women in official newspapers and databases were carried out. As part of the results, it was found that reports of family violence increased by about 30 % during the first months of the pandemic. Despite this increase, however, the different levels of government have not had a clear strategy to address it.

Keywords: COVID-19, intervention, women, family violence.

Resumo

A violência de gênero aumentou no mundo nos últimos meses. No México, durante esse período de isolamento e permanência em casa diante da pandemia do coronavírus, as mulheres correm maior risco de violência familiar. Em outras palavras, elas ficam ainda mais vulneráveis durante essa emergência de saúde. O objetivo desta pesquisa foi conhecer o impacto do confinamento devido à pandemia SARS-CoV-2 na dinâmica das famílias em Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. A abordagem é de natureza documental, razão pela qual foi realizada a investigação, coleta, organização, análise e interpretação de informações ou dados sobre violência contra a mulher em jornais oficiais e bancos de dados. Como parte dos resultados, constatou-se que os relatos de violência familiar aumentaram cerca de 30% durante os primeiros meses da pandemia. Apesar desse aumento, no entanto, os diferentes níveis de governo não tiveram uma estratégia clara para enfrentá-lo.

Palavras-chave: COVID-19, intervenção, mulheres, violência familiar.

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Introduction

According to Buchholz (April 22, 2020), gender-based violence increased in 2020 as a result of the confinement by covid-19. In general, when faced with situations of disease or some factor that entails or that competes with public health, the social inequalities implied in the socioeconomic and health systems are accentuated (Buchholz, April 22, 2020). It happened in previous pandemics, for example, the one caused by the Ebola virus, and it is happening in the current one, according to researchers from Columbia University (Buchholz, 22 de abril de 2020).

“The norms and gender roles that relegate women to the field of domestic work place them in the front line in times of crisis, which implies a greater risk of exposure; instead, they are excluded when acting responses are developed”, Terry McGovern, lead author of the study [published in the journal *Bioethics*] indicates in a press release. (Buchholz, 22 de abril de 2020, párr. 2).

Taking the above information as a starting point, the objective of this research was to know the impact of confinement due to the covid-19 pandemic on the dynamics of families in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. The concern, in terms of the research assumption, is that the possibilities of an increase in family violence are very high as a consequence of the reduced spaces and little awareness by the authorities in the border city in question. In fact, this is how the international trend shows. A clear example is that, in February 2020, during the quarantine applied in the province of Hubei, China, as a protection measure against the contagion of the covid-19 virus, the number of reports of domestic violence in the police station tripled of the town (Buchholz, April 22, 2020). Likewise, in Spain, there has been an increase. For example, in Andalusia there were cases of 44 women who were victims of gender violence and, therefore, 47 minors under their care were admitted during the first month of home confinement after the decree of the state of alarm in this country¹ And in the same Iberian territory, the Equality Unit of the University of Malaga underlines an increase in the probability of suffering aggression in the case of women due to gender violence due to the aforementioned health emergency measures (Buchholz, 22 de abril de 2020).

¹ En respuesta al número creciente de casos de COVID-19 durante la pandemia de 2020, el Gobierno español, en su sesión extraordinaria del sábado 14 de marzo de 2020, declaró el estado de alarma, lo que conllevó como principal medida la imposición de una cuarentena nacional. La medida, que entró en vigor a las 00:00 horas del domingo 15 de marzo, fue una de las medidas de emergencia para reducir el contagio.



Materials and Methods

Paradigms function as general frameworks in research to understand the approaches and their coherence with the objectives. Rodríguez (2013) determines that the scientific paradigm "can be understood as a set of beliefs and attitudes, as a vision of the world shared by a group of researchers, and that specifically implies a specific methodology in the practice of research" (p. 23). In this research article, the quantitative methodology was used, which, following Tamayo (2014), consists of the contrast of existing theories from a series of hypotheses, and for which it is necessary to obtain a sample, either in a random or discriminated way, but representative of a population or phenomenon under study (Rodríguez, 2013). In accordance with the objective set for this work and given the need to define the approach that should guide it, some of the attributes of the quantitative approach are exposed here. It is known that in order to delimit a research paradigm it is necessary to take into account the epistemological, ontological and methodological axes, since, as Guba and Lincoln (2000) did, these three elements serve to answer the underlying questions. In the case of the work that these two authors did, it helped frame five different approaches; hence it can be stated that the quantitative methodological approach follows the logic of the paradigm. According to Guba and Lincoln (2000), the positivist paradigm is a vision or belief system that serves as a guide for the researcher to define their methodology and their ontological and epistemological positions. Along these lines, King, Keohane and Verna (2000) define quantitative research in the following way:

The style that uses numbers and statistical methods. It is usually based on numerical measurements of certain aspects of the phenomena; starts from specific cases to arrive at a general description or to test causal hypotheses and looks for measurements and analyzes that other researchers can easily reproduce (p.14)

For this work, a review of bibliographic sources was carried out to reach an explanatory level, since, in it, it is possible to determine the causes of the phenomenon and find a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Hernández, Fernández and Baptista (2010) point out that the explanatory scope "is aimed at responding to the causes of physical or social events and phenomena" (p. 85). Furthermore, "as its name indicates, its interest is focused on explaining why a phenomenon occurs and under what conditions it manifests itself, or why two or more variables are related" (p. 84). So, this study will try to explain the relationship between



school culture and family culture to achieve health promotion (Hernández et al., 2010, p. 84). Therefore, we carry out a scientific analysis, a systematic process of inquiry, collection, organization, analysis and interpretation of information or data on the subject of violence against women in the confinement stage by SARS-CoV-2 , with the interest of leading to the construction of new knowledge (Morales, 2003). It should be noted that primary information sources requested from the Municipal Public Security Secretariat (SSPM) of Ciudad Juárez were consulted. Likewise, documents were used that “are the result of other investigations, of reflections by theorists, which represents the theoretical basis of the area under investigation, knowledge is built from their reading, analysis, reflection and interpretation of said documents ”(Morales, 2003, p. 20). No single meaning was pursued, but rather:

The very understanding of the phenomenon, the explanation of the reality to which reference is made, therefore, reading is, in this sense, an instrument of discovery, research, recreation and learning; therefore, it is essential for the development of projects (Morales, 2003, pp. 22).

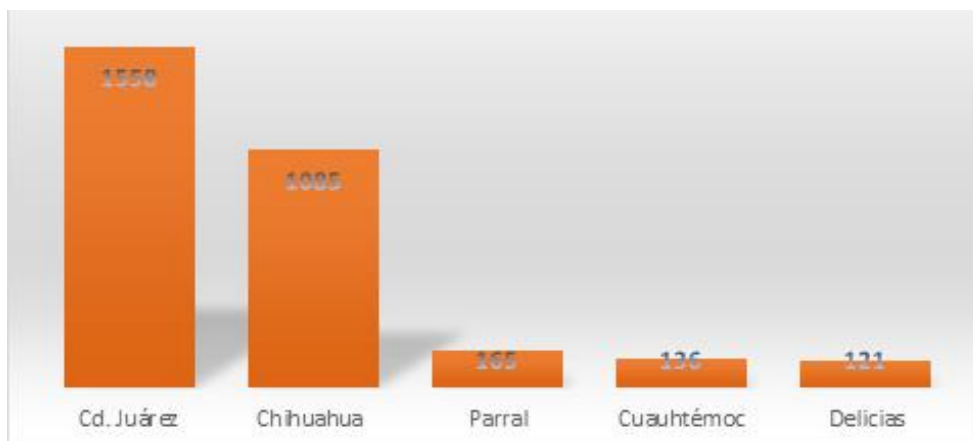
Results

Ciudad Juárez is no exception with respect to the increase in complaints of gender violence. During this period of isolation and staying home in the face of the coronavirus pandemic, women have been at increased risk of family violence. In other words, they are even more vulnerable during this health emergency. Verónica Corchado Espinoza, general director of the Municipal Institute of Women of Ciudad Juárez (IMM), mentioned that, according to journalistic information, in countries such as China, Italy and Spain the number of complaints of family violence increased by almost 30% due to isolation due to the coronavirus, "which puts us on alert to follow up on this issue in a very timely manner in Juárez with the Specialized Unit for Domestic Violence (Unevid)" (H. Ayuntamiento de Juárez, April 3, 2020). Continuing with journalistic data, the months with the highest number of calls for help were March and April, according to the reports received in C4 through the emergency number 911: the barrier of 2000 calls per month was exceeded (Miranda, May 21, 2020). Likewise, following the information collected month after month from the end of 2019 to April 2020, in December 2,210 calls of violence were registered, in January the number dropped to 2,069 calls, in February it increased again to 2,137, in March it reached 2402 and April closed with 2392. On average, by January 2020, about 67 calls were answered per day; for February it was 76 daily; in March, 77



and in April, the statistics of 80 complaints received daily to 911 were maintained. Below is a graph with the rates of complaints for family violence in the state of Chihuahua.

Figura 1. Municipios con mayor número de denuncias



Fuente: Fiscalía Especializada de la Mujer Chihuahua (2020)

This graph shows that Ciudad Juárez has the highest rate of complaints from January 1 to April 15. We understand that the confinement began in mid-March in Mexico and has lasted until at least December 1. To explain the crisis and gender violence we must start from a sociocultural approach. For Ritzer (2003), until recently the masculine had been taken as a reference point for studies of a social nature above the feminine. One of the causes of this fact is that the values and prejudices that previously benefited men and women subjected the latter to the canons of the home and rigorously to reproductive activity (the private) and not to the productive one (the public). In this same sense, Flores (2014) takes up Beauvoir and points out that the social difference between the sexes has several premises:

Reproduction (biological) is identified as the phenomenon of subjection to which women have anchored their history, in such a way that the female role was determined by the reproductive function, causing the exclusion of women from different activities that progressively became the most valued socially. Thus, the division of labor based on sex meant the assessment of the difference in tasks, which gradually became inequality between the sexes. (p. 17).

Right there, gender is defined “as a system that guides the different representations of sex based on cultural demands” (Flores, 2014, p. 20). Furthermore, gender is an ideological system whose different methods situate the modeling of the specific social representation of the sexes; determines specific forms of behavior established according to biological

sex, and as a system of social regulation that guides a specific cognitive-social structuring, which is built from the biological that normalises the notions of what "is" masculine and feminine . This means that “nature assigns the ‘ biological data ’, but culture is what defines the modalities that the difference adopts” (Flores, 2014, p. 20). This is how the social representations of being a man and a woman and the roles assigned in a specific society have been created, objectified and anchored. For his part, Lamas (1995) mentions that gender is the set of beliefs, behaviors, obligations, but also rights that are socially constructed taking sexual difference as a basis. This social construct functions as a kind of cultural "filter" with which it is explained to the world, the way in which people's decisions and opportunities are specified depending on whether they have a woman's body or a man's body. Societies in the world classify how it should be "the proper" for women and "the proper" for men. From these cultural ideas, the social obligations of each sex are established with a series of symbolic prohibitions, but also symbolic permissions. However, unlike men, women have some cultural variants that can restrict the situation discussed above. Lamas (1995) suggests that societies establish social obligations that build barriers or limitations that prevent women from accessing preventions on her health. The concept of vulnerability, as indicated by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC] (2002), refers to the result of exposure to risks plus the inability to face them and the inability to actively adapt(p. 3).

There are differentiated vulnerabilities for men and women, many of which are a consequence of the process by which society dictates different patterns of behavior to each of the genders, as will be seen later. Here, however, we will speak specifically about those vulnerabilities that affect women, since we consider it important, in addition to making their specificity visible, to be able to identify some of the determinants of these vulnerabilities associated with belonging to the female sex and gender. Women's vulnerability has multiple faces: biological, epidemiological, social and cultural (Herrera y Campero, 2002, p. 5).

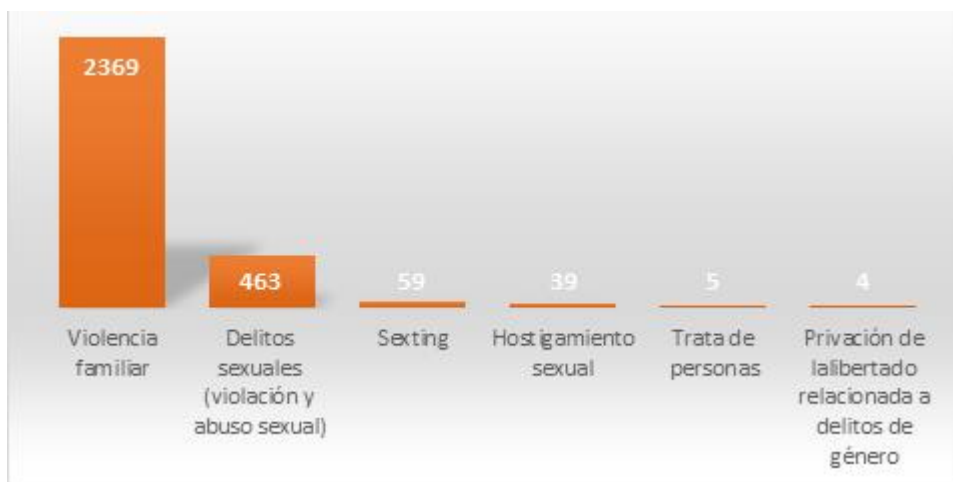
Tabla 1. Relación con el agresor

7 de cada 19 agresiones son cometidas por el esposo o pareja de la víctima.
En 2 de cada 10 casos el agresor es algún miembro de la familia.
1 de cada 10 ataques de género es cometido por una persona desconocida.

Fuente: Fiscalía Especializada de la Mujer Chihuahua (2020)

Power relations on issues of gender violence in our culture have been prevalent so that they continue to have high figures in crime behaviors. Alonso and Castellanos (2006) mention that gender violence includes all violence against women, not only violence against women in the family environment, one of the most frequent expressions of gender violence. In the couple not only violence against women occurs, but also violence against the male partner and we can also find violence between same-sex couples. Thus, violence against women in the partner is one of the subtypes of gender violence. The asymmetric power relations that predominate in couples favor the submission and economic dependence of women to men, which frequently limits or causes them not to have access to another option other than suffering or enduring the different types of gender violence (Alonso and Castellanos, 2006). Below is a graph on the behavior of crimes in the state of Chihuahua.

Figura 2. Comportamiento de delitos



Fuente: Fiscalía Especializada de la Mujer Chihuahua (2020)

In relation to the concepts of gender violence and feminicidal violence, it seems necessary to us to make a description of the referential framework of this crime (violence) to take into account the dimension and understand the objective of the intervention of the Police Protocol of Attention to Women Victims of Gender Violence [hereinafter Police Protocol] (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017) as a measure that allows to prevent and combat the differences and dominations that gender constructions provoke.

As gender violence becomes part of the international and national political agenda as a significant problem to be solved, a particular discursive record has been generated contained in a large number of declarations and conventions (United Nations [UN], Organization of the American States [OAS] and the European Union [EU], among other international entities), as well as governmental and parliamentary measures. In fact, it has been defined by the UN as “the most widespread, tolerated and unpunished crime against humanity and the leading cause of death or disability of women between 15 and 44 years of age worldwide” (Torres and Antón, 2010, cited in González, 2012, p. 32). In Mexico, gender violence is conceptualized as physical or psychological violence exercised against women because they are women. According to data from the census carried out by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Inegi) in 2015, 119,938,473 people lived in Mexico, of which 51.4% were women (Pérez, 2016) Now, according to the National Survey on the Dynamics of Household Relationships (Endireh) 2016, 66.1% of women over 18 years of age had suffered some type of physical, psychological or sexual assault; that is, 66 out of 100 women. And only 9.45% made a complaint about it. The UN classifies the country among the 20 worst nations with problems of this nature, which makes it and Central America the most violent region in the world for women outside of a war zone, according to the Political Animal Editorial Office. (22 de noviembre de 2017).

Violence against women was carried out mainly in schools (25.3%), work (27%) and community (38.7%), through harassment and sexual abuse (offensive phrases, lewd looks, threats of rape, fondling or exhibitionism), harassment, humiliation and intimidation, stalking (being followed on the street), discrimination due to pregnancy, beatings and murders, to name a few (Inegi, 2016) Violence against women has continued to increase in recent years. In 2019 2,173 women were murdered. According to data from the Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System [SESNSP] (August 25, 2019), from January to July 2019, 563 femicides were registered and there were 1,610 women victims of intentional homicide. In addition, following the statistics of this administrative body, in the month of April 2019, Ciudad Juárez ranked first in feminicides at the national level. In June of the same year, this municipality ranked first with 12 femicides. According to official figures from the Red Mesa de Mujeres organization (Gamboa, 2019), with 100 women murdered from January to July 2019, Ciudad Juárez became one of the municipalities in the country with the most registered femicides. Official figures from the Red Mesa de Mujeres detail that in June of that year, 16 women were murdered, in May and April 15, in March 10, in February 9 and in January 15. The group with the most murdered women is the one that it corresponds to the range of 15 to



29 years, with 29 victims; then the 30 to 50 year old, with 26 women murdered, and six under the age of 14 had been murdered in mid-2019. Regarding the causes, it was revealed that 59 cases women were killed with a firearm, 14 with a sharp object, nine for blows and five for suffocation. Of the rest, the cause of death is unknown so far. The areas of the town with the highest incidence are El Granjero, Felipe Ángeles, Senderos de San Isidro, Altavista, Anáhuac, Granjas de Chapultepec, La Cuesta, Manuel J. Clouthier, Obrera, Sierra Vista and Tierra Nueva. The problem of violence against women has been one that has endured within Mexican society; It was not until recent years, however, that the understanding of violence against women has radically changed. This scenario occurs especially since violence against women went from the private sphere to become a problem in the public sphere. This new perspective has been essential to understand the actions that have been taken by both States and international organizations and civil society organizations, hence there is more participation in initiatives that seek to improve combat and prevention of crime and violence, regarding the National Contest of Police Best Practices based on Evidence (Pérez, 2016). The following paragraphs take as a source of information the material published by the Ministry of the Interior (Segob), the National Institute of Women (Inmujeres) and UN Women, Femicidal violence in Mexico, approaches and trends 1985-2016 (Segob, Inmujeres y UN Women, 2017). Said work:

It constitutes an update of two previous publications made by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, UN Women, the Special Commission for the Monitoring of Femicides and Inmujeres: Femicide in Mexico: Approach, Trends and changes 1985-2009 and Femicidal Violence in Mexico. Characteristics, trends and new expressions in the states, 1985-2010, these publications have had the technical contribution of El Colegio de México and in this new edition the Segob is added, which presides over the National System of Prevention, Care, Sanction and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Segob, Inmujeres y ONU Mujeres, 2017, p. 10)

It is considered relevant to show the figures and trends presented in said study in order to outline and highlight the importance of the role that public institutions should take to focus on interrupting this process of victimization and preventing future violent episodes. “[It is a] necessity (...) that the State and its agents intervene more actively in the prevention and eradication of violence against women” (p. 12). It is also the responsibility of the State and its public servants to "ensure and guarantee the exercise of women's



human rights and in particular their right to a life free of violence" (p. 12). And it distinguishes "different types of violence (physical, sexual and psychological) and areas of occurrence (family, the workplace, the school environment and the community); types and areas that should be addressed by public policies "(p. 12). It is vitally important to prevent violent behaviors from being reported only after multiple episodes of mistreatment and abuse in its different forms and for violence to reach such a point of its ultimate expression: femicide, which is why we insist on the relevance of having actions by the police institutions that specialize in the adequate attention to gender violence, so that the service they provide can combat and prevent this social situation efficiently and effectively. In the analysis of the aforementioned research, the terms femicide / feminicide are defined according to the Latin American Protocol Model for the investigation of violent deaths of women due to gender:

The violent death of women for reasons of gender, whether it takes place within the family, domestic unit or in any other interpersonal relationship, in the community, by any person, or is perpetrated or tolerated by the State and its agents, by action or omission (p. 12).

The foregoing refers indirectly to the classification of femicide as an autonomous crime in the Mexican Federal Criminal Code (Segob, 24 de enero de 2020):

Anyone who deprives a woman of her life for gender reasons commits the crime of femicide. It is considered that there are gender reasons when any of the following circumstances concur:

- I. The victim shows signs of sexual violence of any kind;
- II. The victim has been inflicted infamous or degrading injuries or mutilations, before or after the deprivation of life or acts of necrophilia;
- III. There is a history or data of any type of violence in the family, work or school environment, of the active subject against the victim;
- IV. There has been a sentimental, emotional or trust relationship between the asset and the victim;
- V. There are data that establish that there were threats related to the criminal act, harassment or injuries of the active subject against the victim;
- VI. The victim has been held incommunicado, whatever the time prior to the deprivation of life;

VII. The body of the victim is exposed or exhibited in a public place²

Discussion

This section details the methodology for preparing the Police Protocol, the information of which has been taken directly from the legal document that authorizes the issuance of the protocol itself (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017). The institutions that coordinated the process of preparing the Police Protocol were the Social Security Directorate of the SSPM, the IMM and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). The Police Protocol was drafted by the Institute for Security and Democracy (Insyde) and the NDI. In order to carry out the Police Protocol, it was considered important to create a space for dialogue in which the different visions related to the problems of gender violence and security could converge. To this end, working groups were held in which federal, state and municipal public servants participated, police officers from the Specialized Unit in Domestic Violence of the Municipal Police of Ciudad Juárez (Unevid), representatives of the main civil society organizations and the academic sector of Ciudad Juárez that works on the subject. Between the months of April and June 2016, five work tables were organized in which, through a work methodology based on active listening and note-taking subject to review and critical re-elaboration, they were generated, through argumentative discussion between the participating actors, the consensus regarding the main points to be included in the Police Protocol (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017). The general objective of the Police Protocol is to establish homologous and efficient criteria that guide the actions of the police of the municipality of Juárez in the attention of cases of gender violence against women, in order to standardize this police practice in the context of the adversarial penal system and the new constitutional human rights regime. In addition, it is established that the police function of attention to women victims of gender violence consists of stopping the risk or harm suffered by the victims, materially stopping the violent behavior that causes them harm. This function involves a set of movements that seek to stop any violent behavior on the part of an aggressor through the immediate application of a wide range of force that extends from mere presence (with the psychological pressure that this implies) to

² Artículo 325 del Código Penal Federal, última reforma publicada en el *Diario Oficial de la Federación* (DOF). Actualmente, los 32 códigos penales de las entidades federativas (CPEF) del país han tipificado el delito de feminicidio. Cabe destacar que no todas las definiciones en los CPEF están armonizadas con el Código Penal Federal; en este sentido, es necesaria su revisión y armonización en todo el territorio nacional.



physical force. in its various degrees (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017). The Police Protocol has three transversal principles of operation in the care of women victims of gender violence. The first of these is the pro-person principle, which is aimed at privileging, selecting and favoring the application of the legal norm that best protects the fundamental rights of the human being.

In this sense, the rule that will prevail is the one that best protects or least restricts the human being in the exercise of their fundamental rights (...), since the important thing is to ensure the exercise and guarantee of human rights, preserve dignity and encourage the development of people (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017, p. 2).

The second principle is the gender perspective. This is understood as a tool that identifies and recognizes the social differences between women, men and intersex people to establish actions aimed at promoting situations of equity. By incorporating this approach, discrimination, inequality and exclusion of women, which have traditionally been justified by biological differences, can be identified, questioned and valued.

It also allows evaluating the differentiated impacts of the concrete application of the law between men and women, given the assignment of social roles by virtue of sex, social stereotypes, patterns of discrimination and violence exercised and suffered by women based on gender (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017, p. 2).

The third principle is police transparency:

By which the development of open police management is promoted and subjected to public scrutiny (...). Police activity must be public and subject to the scrutiny of the population, and be available for citizen observation, monitoring and evaluation (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017, p. 2).

These three principles are the ones that govern all police action in the care of women victims of gender violence and must be taken into account in both ordinary and extraordinary situations. The Police Protocol establishes four phases in the care process: planning, execution, custody and transfer and communication. In each of them, actions are established that are aimed at the detection, identification, intervention, care, protection and prevention of situations or behaviors that are violent against women for gender reasons. These phases mark procedures that provide legal certainty to the police and guarantee adequate action. We consider it necessary to mention that the stage of execution of the process of care for women victims of gender violence corresponding to the



intervention is available in article 34 of the protocol in question (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017). However, it is necessary to highlight the intervention of Unevid in order to illustrate the actions it has with the victim as the responsible unit in charge in the first interaction with it.

- Unevid operational personnel trained in gender perspective care, whose interventions are attached to the manual of police procedures, carry out preventive patrols and respond to calls to 911 in the different districts, attending the largest number of pages family violence, neglect of care, rape, sexual abuse and harassment, so that each unit of the districts can address different preventive strategies that affect their sector. In addition, support is provided to the different family courts in the recovery of minors, separation of people, deposit of people and notifications.

- Within the folios attended, the victims are also transferred to the different institutions with which they are in coordination to deal with their complaints when there is no flagrante delicto for a provision or for their medical or psychological care (Presidencia Municipal Juárez, Chihuahua, 2017).

According to Corchado (cited in Miranda, May 21, 2020), from the sanitary measures implemented by the federal and state governments, through which they restricted economic activity, both parents were confined to their homes and they left their work centers, some of them with a lower percentage of salary due to the closure of industry, companies and commerce in the city. Faced with this situation, the tension and stress of the family members triggered acts of family violence, before which, usually, the victim (woman) is afraid to report, because the aggressor is with them all the time, the director of the IMM, Verónica Corchado Espinoza, agreed.

It seems to me that in this confinement as the aggressors are generally there, that on the one hand and on the other the women are so overwhelmed with work or school that they are multiplied now as teachers and also by the same housework they have children and what it does is that it aggravates the situation of violence (Corchado, citada en Miranda, 21 de mayo de 2020, párr. 6).

In addition, it is added that, if the courts are closed, the victims have no other way to face this situation. For this reason, dialogues have been opened with women both privately and with groups of five women, virtual consultancies that help a lot to face this moment and give them support, in addition to monitoring with some women the situation that is prevailing in their homes. Corchado Espinoza (quoted in Miranda, May 21, 2020) reported that, compared to last year, they have an increase of 15% this year in cases that



the municipal agency dealt with in terms of domestic violence. She herself indicated that one of the reasons why women do not make the decision to report an assault is because the assailant is permanently with her; Another cause is the triple shift, which results in women being disabled to make decisions, and a third reason is that the conditions are not right in the city to go out. According to Miranda's note (May 21, 2020), the coordinator of the Center of Justice for Women of the State Government (Cejum) affirmed that they support women victims of violence to file a legal complaint. It was stated that there is also coordination with the Unevid of the SSPM, that is, when when asking for help, the aggressor cannot be arrested at the time the events occur and those affected are transferred to Cejum to file their complaint. Finally, she expressed that, unfortunately, due to the contingency issue, there is no way that the victims can leave easily, because their attacker is most of the time with them. Faced with this situation of insecurity, the recommendations issued are that, if it were the case in which they manage to do so, the first thing they should remember is to ask for help to be able to give them the support they need, they can be channeled to a shelter, give them empowerment that they need and prevent them from returning to the aggressor (Corchado, 21 de mayo de 2020).

Conclusions

It is extremely important that the municipal, state and federal governments have measures so that this violence does not worsen, since we must take into account that the most critical part of this contingency is still missing. Several outbreaks have been experienced in several countries and the threat of this health emergency must be recognized: Governments have to protect vulnerable groups. Finally, there are some points to discuss on this topic. The first of them is to improve the gender perspective in all the responses given by the Government to the contingency of the coronavirus, taking into account the different contexts that potentiate violence. It is also essential to ensure the participation of women in decision-making positions, as well as the strengthening of response services to family and sexual violence in the context of confinement, that is, the traditional mechanisms of response to a situation of violence. It is also essential that the capacity of security agents and justice actors be strengthened, as well as sanctions for family violence; offer differentiated care (according to their real context) to women who suffer some type of violence, guarantee the availability and continuity of sexual and reproductive health services, as well as the promotion of a mental health policy. Within future lines of research, it remains to address the effects of training on the issue of gender



perspective in public officials, especially in municipal police. In addition, to generate new forms of social intervention in an integral way, that is, to develop social interventions with women and men. This scientific document did not manage to address these issues, firstly because of time, and secondly, because the different areas of the municipality are required to open their doors to start interviews to measure the impact of the actions that have been taken with a gender perspective , something extremely relevant to continue developing this theme.

Future lines of research

After the study carried out, it is clear that the confinement due to the Covid-19 pandemic increased the number of telephone calls due to domestic violence in the municipality of Ciudad Juárez, so an action protocol is urgently needed to monitor the calls to 911, requires a multidisciplinary intervention, psychologists, social workers, sociologists and doctors to follow up in a timely manner to the cases. What remains pending is to know the factors that determine gender violence in the domestic sphere through the design of statistical scales with the interest of general public policies that prevent violence, however, adequate health conditions are needed to start with these new lines of research.

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