
¹ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, *List of Issues and Questions in Relation to the Ninth Periodic Report of Colombia*, (August 3, 2018), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/Q/9.

² Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, *Replies of Colombia to the List of Issues and Questions*, (November 9, 2018), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/Q/9/Add1 .

³ Comité para la Eliminación de la Discriminación contra la Mujer, *Observaciones Finales Sobre los Informes Periódicos séptimo y Octavo Combinados de Colombia*, (Octubre 18, 2013), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/7-8 2013.

⁴ Rashida Manjoo and Calleigh McRaith, *Gender-Based Violence and Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas*, 44 *Cornell International Law Journal* 1, 11-32 (2011). Also available online at

<http://www.lawschool.cornell.edu/research/ILJ/upload/Manjoo-McRaith-final.pdf> (accessed October 2, 2017);

Giulia La Mattia, *Civil Conflict, Domestic Violence and Intra-Household Bargaining in Post-Genocide Rwanda*. 124 *Journal of Development Economics* issue C, 168-198(2017). Also available online at

<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304387816300591?via%3DIihub> (accessed October 2, 2017);

Johannes, Rieckmann, *Violent Conflicts Increase the Risk of Domestic Violence in Colombia*. 4 *DIW Economic Bulletin*, DIW Berlin, German Institute for Economic Research 23, 23-26 (2014). Also available at

<https://ideas.repec.org/a/diw/diwdeb/2014-12-5.html> (Accessed February 10, 2019); Italo A. Gutierrez and Jose V.

Gallegos, , *The Effect of Civil Conflict on Domestic Violence: the Case of Peru*, (California: RAND Corporation, 2016). Also available at https://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/WR1168.html (Accessed February 10, 2019).

Jhumka Gupta, Elizabeth Reed, Jocelyn Kelly, Dan Stein, David Williams, *Exposure to Human Rights Violations and Relations with Perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence in South Africa*, 66 *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 10, 10-25 (2010). Also available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/21148138> (Accessed February 8, 2019) (A particularly important study, showing that regardless of one’s side of the South African conflict the mere exposure to human rights abuses or close ties to someone who suffered human rights abuses, results in increased domestic violence, with women and girls the prime victims).

⁵ Friedemann-Sánchez, Greta and Grieve, Margaret, *Research on the Implementation of Colombia’s Laws on Violence against Women: Comisarías de Familia, the Frontline Judicial Provider*. 2015-2017, University of Minnesota. Interview Data (from various interviews with Family Commissioners, their interdisciplinary teams, judges, prosecutors, civil servants, advocates, and women, victims of intimate partner violence from Bogota, Medellin, and a number of cities and towns throughout Colombia ranging in size from under 7,000 in population to more than 10 million, including towns in rural areas, controlled by or formerly controlled by FARC or paramilitaries) (collectively referred to as “Interview Data”) When data comes from Family Commissioners it is referred to as “Interview Data FCs”.

⁶ Interview Data, FCs Medellin, Bogota and throughout Colombia.

⁷ Interview Data, FCs, Medellin, Bogota.

⁸ Profamilia, *Resumen Ejecutivo Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud ENDS Colombia 2015*. (Bogotá: Colombia, Profamilia 2015) 82. Also available online at

<http://profamilia.org.co/docs/Libro%20RESUMEN%20EJECUTIVO.pdf> (accessed February 10, 2019).

⁹ Interview Data, FCs Bogota, Medellin, Boyaca.

¹⁰ Interview Data, FCs Bogota.

¹¹ Interview Data, FCs Bogota, Boyaca; Prosecutors Boyaca.

¹² Given the growth and diversity of criminal gangs instead of using the term “BACRIM” which the state coined to referred to the criminal enterprises formed by former AUC paramilitaries, they are now referring to this organizations as InSight Crime Venezuelan Investigative Unit: Colombia and Venezuela: Criminal Siamese Twins. *InSight Crime* 2018 <https://www.insightcrime.org/investigations/colombia-venezuela-criminal-siamese-twins/>.

¹³ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

¹⁴ Interview Data, FCs and others, Medellin, Boyaca.

¹⁵ Interview Data, FC Medellin phrasing what he is told by women, victims of a BACRIM partner.

¹⁶ Interview Data, FC Bogota.

¹⁷ Interview Data.

¹⁸ Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Guía Pedagógica para Comisarías de Familia sobre el procedimiento para el abordaje de la violencia intrafamiliar con enfoque de género (2014) 7

<http://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/GUIA%20DE%20PROCEDIMIENTOS%20PARA%20COMISARIAS%2>

[0DE%20FAMILIA%20PARA%20EL%20ABORDAJE%20DE%20LA%20VIOLENCIA%20INTRAFAMILIAR%20CON%20ENFOQUE%20EN%20GENERO.pdf](#) (Accessed February 10, 2019).

¹⁹ Ibid.; Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Justicia y Género. II Lineamientos Técnicos en las Violencias Basadas en Género Para las Comisarias de Familia (2012) <https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/CI%20CONECTA%20COMISAR%C3%8DAS/Doc/LintecVIBG.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

²⁰ Dana Harrington Conner, *Civil Protection Order Duration: Proof, Procedural Issues, and Policy Considerations*. 24 Temple Political & Civil Rights Law Review, 343 (2015); United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for the Advancement of Women, *Handbook for Legislation on Violence Against Women* (2010) U.N. Doc. ST/ESA/329. Also available online at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/handbook/Handbook%20for%20legislation%20on%20violence%20against%20women.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

²¹ Jane Stoeber, *Transforming domestic violence representation*, 101 University of Seattle University School of Law 483, 483-542 (2013).

²² TK Logan, Lisa Shannon, and Robert Walker, *Protective Orders in Rural and Urban Areas*, Violence against women 876, 876-911 (2005); Maria Jesus Cala Carrillo and Maria García Jiménez, *Las experiencias de mujeres que sufren violencia en la pareja y su tránsito por el sistema judicial: ¿Qué esperan y qué encuentran?*, 48 Universidad de Sevilla 81, 81-105 (2014).

²³ Sandra K. Cesario, Angeles Nava, Ann Bianchi, Judith McFarlane, and John Maddoux, *Functioning outcomes for abused immigrant women and their children 4 months after initiating intervention*, 35 Revista Panamericana de Salud Pública 08, 08-14 (2014).

²⁴ Article 11, Law 294 of 1996 (Law 294), Diario Oficial No. 42.836, de 22 de Julio de 1996. Also available online at <https://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?dt=S&i=5387> (accessed February 10, 2019).

²⁵ Article 12, Law 294. See also Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Guía Pedagógica para Comisarias de Familia sobre el procedimiento para el abordaje de la violencia intrafamiliar con enfoque de género. (2014) <http://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/GUIA%20DE%20PROCEDIMIENTOS%20PARA%20COMISARIAS%20DE%20FAMILIA%20PARA%20EL%20ABORDAJE%20DE%20LA%20VIOLENCIA%20INTRAFAMILIAR%20CON%20ENFOQUE%20EN%20GENERO.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019); Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Justicia y Género. II Lineamientos Técnicos en las Violencias Basadas en Género Para las Comisarias de Familia (2013) Available at <https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/CI%20CONECTA%20COMISAR%C3%8DAS/Doc/LintecVIBG.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

²⁶ Interview Data, Prosecutors.

²⁷ Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Guía Pedagógica para Comisarias de Familia sobre el procedimiento para el abordaje de la violencia intrafamiliar con enfoque de género. (2014) Available at <http://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/GUIA%20DE%20PROCEDIMIENTOS%20PARA%20COMISARIAS%20DE%20FAMILIA%20PARA%20EL%20ABORDAJE%20DE%20LA%20VIOLENCIA%20INTRAFAMILIAR%20CON%20ENFOQUE%20EN%20GENERO.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019).; Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Justicia y Género. II Lineamientos Técnicos en las Violencias Basadas en Género Para las Comisarias de Familia (2012). Available at <https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/CI%20CONECTA%20COMISAR%C3%8DAS/Doc/LintecVIBG.pdf> (Accessed February 20, 2019).

²⁸ Article 2, Law 294; Interview Data, FCs.

²⁹ Interview Data, FC Bogota January 2019.

³⁰ Interview Data, FCs.

³¹ Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho and Consejería Presidencial para la Equidad de la Mujer, *Instrumentos para la atención y prevención de la violencia de género* (Bogotá, D.C., Colombia 2015). Available at <http://www.minjusticia.gov.co/SaladePrensa/Publicaciones,Informeseinvestigaciones/TabId/722/PID/5151/evl/0/CategorID/25/Default.aspx?CategoryName=PRODUCCIONES-ACAD%C3%89MICAS-DEL-MINISTERIO-DE-JUSTICIA-Comisarios> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

³² Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia. For example, the standard document creating an internal procedure for processing a request for a protective order assumes that the Family Commissioner not only has a full interdisciplinary team, but also has additional psychologists, social workers, and a process server, while in reality

(approximately 97% of Colombia's municipalities, by law, can escape staffing their Family Commissioner office with a basic interdisciplinary and many of them do (see Chart 2, Annexes).

³³ Paragraph 3, Article 5, Law 294; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for the Advancement of Women, *Handbook for Legislation on Violence Against Women* (2010) U.N. Doc. ST/ESA/329. Available at

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/handbook/Handbook%20for%20legislation%20on%20violence%20against%20women.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

³⁴ Paragraph 3, Article 5, Law 294; Interview Data, FCs, Prosecutors.

³⁵ Article 299 (Crime of Domestic Violence), Law 599 of 2000: Diario Oficial No. 44.097 de 24 de julio del 2000 (Colombia's Penal Code) <https://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Normal.jsp?i=6388&dt=S#> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

³⁶ Interview Data, FCs, Prosecutors.

³⁷ Interview Data, FCs, Prosecutors.

³⁸ Interview Data, FC Medellin.

³⁹ Interview Data, Boyaca, FCs, FC Interdisciplinary Teams, Prosecutors.

⁴⁰ Interview Data, Boyaca, Social Worker.

⁴¹ Interview Data, Bogota, Psychologist.

⁴² Interview Data, Boyaca, Psychologist, Social Worker.

⁴³ Procuraduría General de la Nación, *Comisariías de la Familia, Línea de Base Nacional* Revista Procurando la Equidad 6, 40 (2011). Available at

https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/file/portal_doc_interes//69_Informe%20Comisarias%20Flia.pdf

Procuraduría General de la Nación, *Comisariías de la Familia, Línea de Base Nacional* Revista Procurando la Equidad 7, 40 (2011). Available online at

https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/file/portal_doc_interes//69_Informe%20Comisarias%20Flia.pdf (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁴⁴ Law 575 of 2000 (Law 575), Diario Oficial No 43.889, de 11 de febrero de 2000. Available at <http://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/scripts/doc.php?file=fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2008/6494> (Accessed on February 10, 2019).

⁴⁵ Decreto Ley 2737 de 1989, Código del Menor, Artículo 29. Available at

https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2008/6503.pdfhttps://www.icbf.gov.co/cargues/avance/docs/codigo_menor.htm (Accessed on February 10, 2019); Law 1098.

⁴⁶ Articles 83, 84, 86, Law 1098; See also, Decree 4840 of 2007 (Decree 4840), Diario Oficial No. 46,846 de 18 de diciembre de 2007. Available at https://www.icbf.gov.co/cargues/avance/docs/decreto_4840_2007.htm (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁴⁷ Article 83, Law 1098; IBCF's Technical Guidance to Family Commissioners (Technical Guidance to Family Commissioners), 2010. Available at <https://www.scribd.com/document/119108151/Lineamiento-tecnico-para-las-comisarias-de-familia> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁴⁸ Article 86, Law 1098; Article 7, paragraph 2, Decree 4840. Percentages were based determined on the official number of municipalities by Colombia's Contaduria de la Nacion in 2016 and then identifying municipalities where ICBF has offices with Family Defenders. In approximately 12% of Colombia's municipalities, Family Commissioner act solely as Family Commissioners, while in the remaining approximately 88% of Colombian municipalities, Family Commissioners also must discharge the full-time role of Family Defender within Colombia's Child Welfare System.

⁴⁹ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

⁵⁰ Articles 83, 84, Law 1098; see also Decree 4840; Interview Data FCs.

⁵¹ Articles 86, 98, 111, 190, Law 1098.

⁵² Articles 31, 21, Law 640 of 2001 (Law 640), Diario Oficial 44,303 del 24 de enero de 2001. Available at <http://secretariageneral.gov.co/transparencia/marco-legal/normatividad/ley-640-2001> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁵³ Article 86, Law 1098. Articles 86, 190, Law 1098. Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia, except for Bogota.

⁵⁴ Articles 86, 190, Law 1098. Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia, except for Bogota.

⁵⁵ Article 31, paragraph 4, Law 1620 de 2014: Diario Oficial 49522 del 25 de mayo de 2015. Available at <https://www.mineduacion.gov.co/1759/w3> (Accessed February 10, 2019). Decree 1965 of 2013, Diario Oficial No. 48,910 del 11 de septiembre de 2013. Available at <http://www.suin-juriscol.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?ruta=Decretos/1378136> (Accessed February 10, 2019); See also ESAP-Escuela

Superior de Administración Pública, *Estudio Técnico de Análisis Normativo e Institucional de las Comisarías de Familia. Producto 2. Análisis del Marco Normativo e Institucional y Propuestas Alternativas de Ajustes* (DNP Study) (Antioquia: Escuela Superior de Administración Pública, 2013) 30; Interview Data, FCs.

⁵⁶ Article 190, Law 1098; Interview Data, Boyaca FCs.

⁵⁷ Decree 79 of 2012, Diario Oficial No. 48, 910 de enero 18 de 2012. Available at <http://www.suin-juriscol.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?ruta=Decretos/1017588> (Accessed February 10, 2019); Law 1543 of 2011, Diario Oficial 48,110 de junio de 2011. Available at; Interview Data FCs.

⁵⁸ Articles 86, 106, Law 1098; Interview Data, FCs, particularly in smaller municipalities throughout Colombia, often located in rural areas of ex-FARC/ paramilitary control or controlled by BACRIM.

⁵⁹ Interview Data, FC Medellín.

⁶⁰ Article 98, Law 1098; See Law 1257. See endnote 47 for an explanation of the calculation of the percentages.

⁶¹ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia in municipalities levels 2-6.

⁶² DNP Study, 303.

⁶³ Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho, *Las Comisarías de Familia están asumiendo competencias que no deberían tener* (Bogotá: MinJusticia, 2016).

⁶⁴ Ministerio de Justicia, *Informe de la Comisión Accidental para la evaluación de Comisarias de Familia de 22 de diciembre de 2015 dirigido al Señor Presidente de la Comisión Primera de Cámara, Sr Miquel Angel Pinto* (Bogotá: MinJusticia, 2015-2016). This report originally was accessed on a government website but has subsequently been taken down and we have been unable to find an online version. Please contact Margaret Grieve (griev007@umn.edu) for a copy.

⁶⁵ Interview Data, FCs in urban and rural municipalities.

⁶⁶ Article 84, Law 1098; Articles 3, 4, 5, Decree 4840.

⁶⁷ Interview Data, FCs.

⁶⁸ Interview Data, FCs.

⁶⁹ Fundación Ideas para la Paz, *Análisis de la violencia de pareja 2017 casos*, included in , Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses, *Forensis 2017: Datos para la Vida*. (Bogotá: Colombia, Instituto Nacional De Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses, 2018), 545-547. Available at <http://www.medicinalegal.gov.co/cifras-estadisticas/forensis> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁷⁰ Article 84, Law 1098.

⁷¹ Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses, *Forensis 2016: Datos para la Vida*. (Bogotá: Colombia, Instituto Nacional De Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses, June 2017) 307. Available at <http://www.medicinalegal.gov.co/documents/20143/49526/Forensis+2016.+Datos+para+la+vida.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019). The population (and hence categorization) of the municipalities identified by Medicina Legal as having the highest incidence of IPV were determined based on the Contaduría de la Nación's classification of municipalities. Of the 5 cities identified by Medicina Legal as having the highest incidence of IPV, 4 were the largest cities where fewer FCs are required than in the next smallest city.

⁷² Article 84, Law 1098; See also ICBF Technical Guidance for Family Commissioners; The percentage was determined by comparing the number of cities per the Contaduría de la Nación's classification of cities in levels 2-6 (which can escape the requirement for complete interdisciplinary team) to the number of total municipalities in Colombia.

⁷³ Interview Data, FCs.

⁷⁴ Article 13, Law 575

⁷⁵ Procuraduría General de la Nación, *Comisarías de la Familia, Línea de Base Nacional* Revista Procurando la Equidad 6 (2011). Available at [https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/file/Procurando%206%20ene%2012-12\(2\).pdf](https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/file/Procurando%206%20ene%2012-12(2).pdf) (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁷⁶ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

⁷⁷ Interview Data, FCs, Bolivar, Boyaca, Casnare, Cundiamarca and Narino in cities levels 2-6.

⁷⁸ Interview Data, FC, Medellín.

⁷⁹ Interview Data, FCs Boyaca.

⁸⁰ Interview Data, Municipal Officials.

⁸¹ Richard Bird, *Fiscal decentralization in Colombia: A work (still) in progress*. International Center for Public Policy Working Paper Series 12 (2012) 12-23. J. Bonet, Pérez V., Javier Gerson J, Ayala, Jhorland: Contexto histórico y evolución del SGP en Colombia Documentos de Trabajo Sobre Economía Regional, Banco de la

República 2014, 205. Sebastián Nieto Parraí and Mauricio Olivera, *Making reform happen in Colombia: the process of regional transfer reform*. OECD Development Centre Working Paper ; DNP Study.

⁸² DNP Study.

⁸³ Interview Data, Bogota and Medellin Municipal Officials.

⁸⁴ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia outside of Bogota and Medellin.

⁸⁵ Interview Data, FCs Bogota and Medellin.

⁸⁶ Interview Data, FC Medellin.

⁸⁷ Procuraduría General de la Nación, *Comisarías de la Familia, Línea de Base Nacional Revista Procurando la Equidad 6* (2011). Available at [https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/file/Procurando%206%20ene%2012-12\(2\).pdf](https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/file/Procurando%206%20ene%2012-12(2).pdf) (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁸⁸ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

⁸⁹ Interview Data, FCs outside of Bogota and Medellin, but throughout Colombia.

⁹⁰ El Nuevo Siglo, “*Insisten en mejor pago a defensores de familia*” May 20, 2017. Also available online at <http://www.elnuevosiglo.com.co/articulos/05-2017-insisten-en-pedir-mejorar-pago-a-defensores-de-familia> (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁹¹ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

⁹² Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

⁹³ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia; Law 294.

⁹⁴ Interview Data, FCs and FC Interdisciplinary Teams; Our review of laws and regulations.

⁹⁵ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia. See also Law 294 and Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Guía Pedagógica para Comisarías de Familia sobre el procedimiento para el abordaje de la violencia intrafamiliar con enfoque de género. (2014) Available at

<http://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/GUIA%20DE%20PROCEDIMIENTOS%20PARA%20COMISARIAS%20DE%20FAMILIA%20PARA%20EL%20ABORDAJE%20DE%20LA%20VIOLENCIA%20INTRAFAMILIAR%20CON%20ENFOQUE%20EN%20GENERO.pdf> (Accessed February 10, 2019).; Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: Justicia y Género. II Lineamientos Técnicos en las Violencias Basadas en Género Para las Comisarias de Familia (2012). Available at <https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Portals/0/CI%20CONECTA%20COMISAR%C3%8DAS/Doc/LintecVIBG.pdf> (Accessed February 20, 2019).

⁹⁶ See, e.g., Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, Law 1257 of 2008 (Law 1257). Diario Oficial No. 47,193 de diciembre de 2008. Available at https://www.icbf.gov.co/cargues/avance/docs/ley_1257_2008.htm (Accessed February 10, 2019).

⁹⁷ Article 17, Law 1257; Article 5, Law 294.

⁹⁸ Ibid., See also, Articles 12, 13, 19, Law 1257.

⁹⁹ Interview Data, FCs and FC Interdisciplinary Teams throughout Colombia.

¹⁰⁰ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia. Article 19, Law 1257 established the Ministry of Health obligations.

¹⁰¹ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

¹⁰² Interview Data, FCs in rural areas of Colombia.

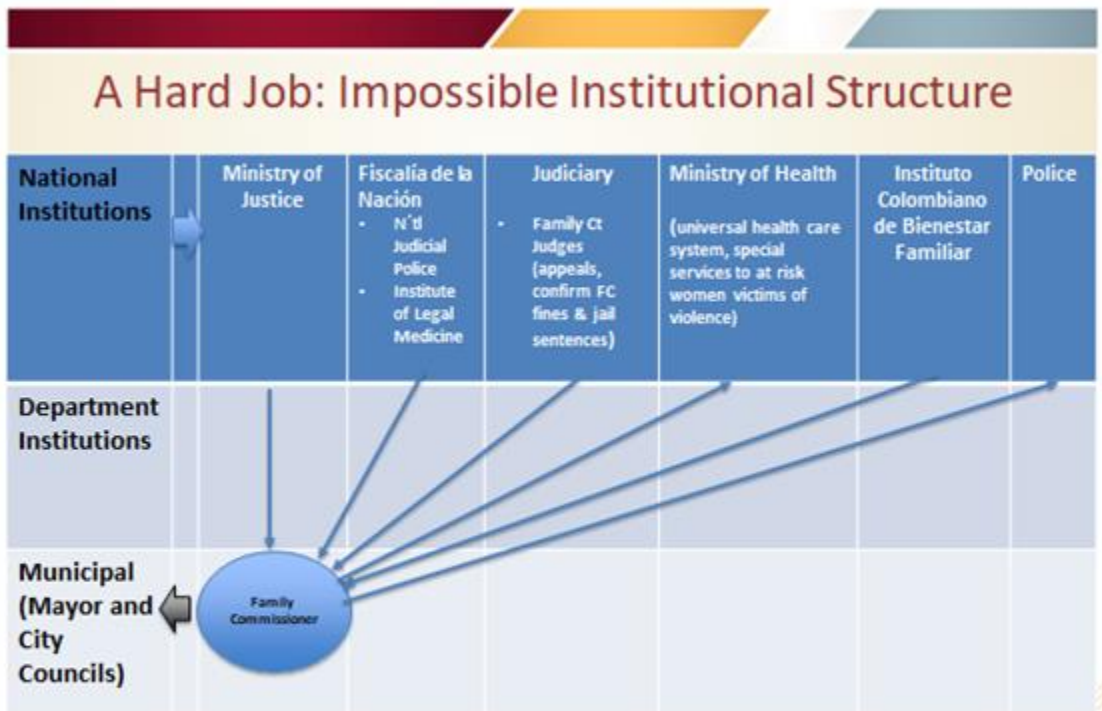
¹⁰³ Interview Data, FCs and Prosecutors throughout Colombia.

¹⁰⁴ Interview Data, FCs throughout Colombia.

¹⁰⁵ Interview Data, FCs in rural Colombia report issues with internet accessibility and where there is access, lack of ability to access the municipal computer where there is such access, which is controlled by the mayor.

ANNEX 2: Charts

CHART 1. ILLUSTRATING THE ISOLATION OF FCs AND THEIR DEPENDENCE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT



Source: Our Analysis; Interview Data

CHART 2. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS PREDICT CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND OTHER DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Population Characteristic	What profile tells Family Commissioners, Family Commissioners also acting as Family Defenders About the Cases They Will Receive
Armed Conflict Related	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demobilized paramilitary and guerilla in urban settings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High density/self-help/public housing • Violence is the standard conflict resolution tactic • Vicious IPV • IPV with death threats to victim/kin • Severe child abuse • Serial relationships
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BACRIM in urban areas and some rural areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High substance use • Parallel justice system • With BACRIM, reluctance to denounce IPV or child maltreatment • Invisible barriers • Threats/intimidation to FC teams • Danger and difficulty may be involved in providing required due process
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displaced in both rural and urban areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High density/self-help/public housing • Over crowding • Child victims simultaneously child abusers • Serial relationships/single mothers • Teen mothers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural areas in conflict zones 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remote areas, difficult access made worse by FARC destruction of transportation infrastructure • IPV and child maltreatment is managed via parallel justice system • Pregnant child soldiers • Child soldiers and minors • Lack of kin network • FCs must participate in government drug raids where there might be children • Danger to FCs • Challenges with due process notification delivery
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mining paramilitary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western Boyacá • Brutal forms of IPV • Sex trafficking of minors, sex tourism • Brutal forms of child maltreatment
2. Social Strata	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Strata 0</i> in urban areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homelessness and destitution • Difficulty in locating aggressor/contacting victim, effecting due process notifications • Food and income insecurity • Men and women employed only in lowest jobs of informal economy, many survive as illegal street vendors • Serial relationships • Economic dependence of women • Child maltreatment • High return to abusers, abandonment of IPV cases if started
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Strata 1-4</i> in urban and rural areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High density/self-help/public housing (<i>strata 1-2</i>) • Economic dependence of women • High return to abusers and abandonment of IPV cases • IPV and other reported domestic violence is physical

Population Characteristic	What profile tells Family Commissioners, Family Commissioners also acting as Family Defenders About the Cases They Will Receive
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High recidivism • High use of FC for all types of family matters • <i>Strata</i> 1 both men and women employed only in lowest jobs of the informal economy; many survive as illegal street vendors • Child maltreatment, particularly in <i>strata</i> 1,2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Strata</i> 5-6 in urban areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IPV stigmatized • Harder to prove psychological and economic violence • Use of lawyers by both parties • Cases go on for multiple hearings • Need for extensive knowledge of procedural law
3. Five Universals	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alcohol and Substance use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triggers and intensifies conflict and violence • Growing abuse, particularly of drugs by minors. For Family Commissioner/Family Defenders, re-establishments of rights for child addict Family Commissioners/Family Defenders incredibly difficult, time-consuming due to lack of health/social service support
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Untreated mental illness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mental illness of a family member trigger for conflict within family, that can escalate into violence • Because there are no services for mentally ill, sorting out the issues when someone mentally ill becomes involved in any matter of IPV, child domestic violence, other child maltreatment before the Family Commissioner or Family Commissioner-Family Defender difficult and time-consuming
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty of income, of education of employment, of housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High density/self-help/public housing • Illegal housing, barrios de invasion, areas of the city where city services do not arrive, streets are unmarked, • Intense overcrowding with generations living together • Time consuming education of women explaining what their rights are
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normalization of violence in family life and society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceptance of IPV as part of the marriage contract and what is to be expected in exchange for economic dependence • Failure in women to recognize IPV • Often time consuming • Acceptance of child rearing practices involving physical violence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affective and other ties that result in women returning to their aggressors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's economic dependence

Source: Our Analysis; Interview Data

CHART 3. The Real Story: Comparison of Colombian Municipalities and How Interdisciplinary Team Requirements are Fulfilled or Unfulfilled

Law 1098 Municipal Population Classification	Family Commissioner also the Family Defender	Law 1098 Requires Inter disciplinary Team	Fulfills Law 1098 Inter disciplinary Team Requirement	Interdisciplinary Team Composition
Large (Special) Bogotá	No	Yes	Yes	All have full interdisciplinary teams, but to deal with volume and demand, typically a FC office has multiple psychologists, social workers, a process server, secretaries/administrative assistants. Many FC offices have multiple Family Commissioners working different shifts. Unique innovative model.
Large (Special) Medellín	No	Yes	Yes	1-3 secretaries, psychologist, social worker, administrative assistant serves process. Has a varied history, after strike, and then with current administration has stabilized model, contracts are still intermittent.
Large (Level 1) Capital of a Department, between 100,001 and 500,000	No	Yes	No	Different teams have different compositions; one lacks a social worker, but has an assistant contract, another lacks a psychologist and has no assistant lawyer. They depend on law and psychology interns from local universities interns, . Interns last for 3 months (Interviews 75,76).
Large (Level 1) between 100,001 and 500,001	No	Yes	Yes	Psychologist, social worker, secretary, interns periods of 2.5 months, 3 days a week, 2 in psychology and 3 in legal support (Interview 81).
Large (Level 1) between 100,001 and 500,000	No	Yes	Yes	Psychologist, social worker, secretary intern (Interview 84).
Large (Level 1) between 100,001 and 500,000. Law 1098 but only a Level 5 due to low institutionality per Contaduría	No	Yes	Yes	Psychologist, social worker, secretary, assistant lawyer (Interview 127).
Medium (Level 2) between 50,001 and 100,000	Yes	No	Yes	1 office is in the urban center, the other in the rural area; administrative (assistant/secretary); psychologist; social worker; person with psychology and education background performs monitoring; assistant lawyer (Interview 21).
Medium (Level 2) between 50,001 and 100,000 but only a Level 5 due to low institutionality per Contaduría	No	No	Yes	2 psychologists; social worker; secretary; technical administrative assistant (Interview 88).
Medium (Level 2) between 50,001 and 100,000	No	No	No	Auxiliary assistant, social worker, no secretary (the mayor told the FC "no le merces una secretaria, solamente hay para personas importantes") (Interview 94)..
Small (Level 3) between 30,001 and 50,000	Yes	No	No	Psychologist; social worker, secretary, theologian (presumably a volunteer). Theologian appears counter to separation of state and church in Colombia (Interview 102).
Small (Level 3), between 30,001 and 50,000, (Level 4) between 15,001 and 30,000, Level 5 between 7,000 and 15,000	Yes	No	No	Psychologist; secretary (Interviews 85, 102, 103).

Law 1098 Municipal Population Classification	Family Commissioner also the Family Defender	Law 1098 Requires Inter disciplinary Team	Fulfills Law 1098 Inter disciplinary Team Requirement	Interdisciplinary Team Composition
Small (Level 4) between 15,001 and 30,000	Yes	No	No	Psychologist, shared secretary (Interview 125).
Small (Level 4) between 15,001 and 30,000	Yes	No	Yes	2 psychologists, but one is dedicated full time to drugs in the schools and generally unavailable to FC; social worker; secretary; 1 judicante (a law student getting practical experience) (Interview 97).
Small (Level 5) between 7,000 and 15,000	Yes	No	No	2 psychologists, but one dedicated full time to providing services to victims of armed conflict and unavailable to assist FC, secretary (Interview 85)
Small (Level 6) under 7,000	Yes	No	No	Part-time psychologist and for the first time a part-time social worker. Part-time means 2.5 days a week (Interview 95)
Small (Level 6) under 7,000	Yes	No	No	Part-time psychologist (Interview 79)
Small (Level 6) under 7,000	Yes	No	No	Psychologist, per the FC "la secretaria soy yo" (Interview 85)
Small (Level 6) under 7,000	Yes	No	No	None (Interview 106)

Sources: Our Analysis; Interview Data; Law 1098 Classification of Municipalities by Population;. References to Interview numbers are reference to numbers we assigned to individual interviews within our analytical database. to protect confidentiality of interviewees.