

Law No. 30364 in southern Peru: a comparative analysis of its application in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025



Original Article

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ABSTRACT

The application of Law No. 30364 presents territorial differences that can influence the protection of victims and the institutional response in front of the violence. The objective of this research was analyzed comparatively the application of this norm in the regions of Arequipa and Tacna during the 2021–2025 period. A quantitative, descriptive-comparative study was conducted, with a non-experimental and longitudinal design, based on official information from the Women's Emergency Centers (CEM), the Judiciary, the National Observatory of Violence, and the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI). The analysis evidenced common patterns in both regions, characterized by the predominance of psychological violence, the concentration of victims among the female population, and the persistence of femicides, attempted femicides, and protection measures as the main mechanisms of judicial response. Likewise, regional differences were identified in the magnitude of registered cases and in the behavior of protection mechanisms. It was concluded that Law No. 30364 has contributed to consolidating an institutional response to violence; however, challenges remain related to prevention, effective protection of victims, and articulation among the competent institutions.

Keywords: Law No. 30364; violence; judicial protection; Arequipa and Tacna.

La Ley N.º 30364 en el sur peruano: análisis comparativo de su aplicación en Arequipa y Tacna, 2021-2025

RESUMEN

La aplicación de la Ley N.º 30364 presenta diferencias territoriales que pueden influir en la protección de las víctimas y en la respuesta institucional frente a la violencia. El objetivo de esta investigación fue analizar comparativamente la aplicación de esta norma en las regiones de Arequipa y Tacna durante el periodo 2021-2025. Se desarrolló un estudio cuantitativo, descriptivo-comparativo, con diseño no experimental y longitudinal, basado en información oficial proveniente de los Centros Emergencia Mujer (CEM), el Poder Judicial, el Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia y el Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI). El análisis evidenció patrones comunes en ambas regiones, caracterizados por el predominio de la violencia psicológica, la concentración de víctimas en la población femenina y la persistencia de feminicidios, tentativas de feminicidio y medidas de protección como principal mecanismo de respuesta judicial. Asimismo, se identificaron diferencias regionales en la magnitud de los casos registrados y en el comportamiento de los mecanismos de protección. Se concluyó que la Ley N.º 30364 ha contribuido a consolidar una respuesta institucional frente a la violencia; sin embargo, subsisten desafíos vinculados a la prevención, la protección efectiva de las víctimas y la articulación entre las entidades competentes.

Palabras clave: Ley N.º30364; violencia; protección jurídica; Arequipa y Tacna.

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INTRODUCTION

During the last decades, violence against women ceased to be considered an issue confined to the private sphere and became a matter of public interest and human rights protection. This change resulted from the recognition that acts of aggression against women are expressions of historical relations of inequality. In this regard, Rico (1996) maintains that gender-based violence reflects asymmetric relationships between men and women, while Segato (2003) links it to hierarchical structures of power that organize social relations and reproduce mechanisms of domination. From another perspective, Lagarde y de los Ríos (2008) points out that making violence visible made it possible to incorporate it into debates on citizenship, democracy, and human rights. In the Peruvian context, Fernández Revoredo (2021) warns that the persistence of violence against women demonstrates the continued existence of discriminatory patterns that limit the effective exercise of their rights. This made it possible to understand violence as a complex social problem that requires sustained institutional responses.

Concern about this problem prompted the progressive development in Peru of legal and institutional mechanisms aimed at preventing, addressing, and punishing violence. However, the strengthening of regulations has not eliminated the gaps affecting various sectors of the population. Dador and Hernández (2022) maintain that, despite the expansion of public policies aimed at guaranteeing rights and reducing inequalities, structural conditions persist that continue to favor situations of violence against women. From the legal perspective, Huaroma Vásquez (2019) points out that family and gender-based violence constitutes a multidimensional phenomenon that requires coordinated responses from the justice system, protection institutions, and public policies. These considerations become relevant when linked to the State's response following the enactment of Law No. 30364.

Law No. 30364, enacted in 2015, represented a turning point in the fight to eradicate violence against women and members of the family group. Its design incorporated a comprehensive approach that articulates prevention, protection, assistance, and sanction actions, involving different entities within the justice and social protection systems. In this regard, Torres Flor et al. (2023) indicate that this law forms part of a broader set of legal instruments developed to strengthen the State's response to violence. In addition, Gayona Maccarcco and Castillo Cárdenas (2025) emphasize that one of the main contributions of the law was to broaden both the types of violence recognized and the persons protected, incorporating forms of physical, psychological, sexual, economic, and patrimonial violence. In this way, the law went beyond a restricted conception of domestic violence and sought to adapt legal protection to the diverse family dynamics present in Peruvian society.

The existence of a specialized regulatory framework does not guarantee uniform results in all territories or an immediate reduction in the different types of violence. This statement makes it possible to understand that the implementation of a public policy depends on institutional, social, territorial, and other factors that may influence its scope and effectiveness. Therefore, various studies have identified difficulties related to interinstitutional coordination, the availability of resources, and the response capacity of the operators responsible for implementing protection measures. Gayona Maccarcco and Castillo Cárdenas (2025) identify that these factors continue to limit the effective protection of victims, even within a strengthened regulatory system. Therefore, the analysis of Law No. 30364 requires consideration of the regional particularities that condition both the dynamics of violence and the institutional capacity to address it.

Regarding the regional bibliographic analysis, in Arequipa, Ticona Mamani (2024) evaluated the effectiveness of Law No. 30364 in the First Family Court during 2021, while

Ramos Ramos (2023) examined its application from the judicial perspective. In Tacna, Orué Taco (2021) analyzed the protection measures granted to women victims of family violence, and Pacompia Apaza (2024) studied the prevention of psychological violence against members of the family group within the Tacna prosecutorial district. Likewise, Díaz Llana and Díaz Llana (2025) addressed the effectiveness of the law in the context of Huancayo. Although these studies provide relevant evidence on the implementation of the law, their analyses are confined to specific institutional or territorial settings. Therefore, there remains a gap regarding research that comparatively examines the application of Law No. 30364 in different regions based on official indicators of violence and institutional response observed over a continuous period.

This gap is relevant because territorial differences may influence both the dynamics of violence and the response capacity of the institutions responsible for preventing and addressing it. From this perspective, Arequipa and Tacna constitute pertinent case studies due to their differentiated demographic, social, and institutional characteristics. In view of this, the present research aims to comparatively analyze the application of Law No. 30364 in both regions during the 2021–2025 period, considering indicators related to registered cases of violence, forms of violence, characteristics of the affected population, protection measures granted, as well as cases of femicide and attempted femicide. Based on this comparison, the study seeks to identify trends, similarities, and differences that contribute to a better understanding of the scope and challenges of implementing the law in different regional contexts.

METHODOLOGY

The present research was developed under a quantitative approach and corresponds to an applied study, aimed at analyzing the evolution of various indicators related to the application of Law No. 30364 in the regions of Arequipa and Tacna during the 2021–2025 period. Likewise, it presents a descriptive-comparative level, since it characterizes the behavior of the main indicators while also contrasting their evolution between both regions. The design is non-experimental and longitudinal, since no variables were manipulated nor was any intervention carried out on the phenomena studied; rather, official statistical records corresponding to a continuous period of five years were analyzed.

The unit of analysis consisted of statistical records related to violence against women and members of the family group in Arequipa and Tacna during the study period. Information related to cases attended by the CEMs, the forms of violence recorded, the characteristics of the victims, femicides, attempted femicides, and protection measures granted within the framework of Law No. 30364 was considered.

The information used came from official publicly accessible sources. These included regional statistical bulletins from the National Program for the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Members of the Family Group—formerly known as Aurora and now Warmi Ñan—reports from the National Observatory on Violence against these groups, as well as records of protection measures from the Judiciary and demographic information prepared by INEI. The use of these sources made it possible to ensure the reliability, consistency, and comparability of the data used in the analysis.

For the study, the dimensions of analysis considered were recorded violence, forms of violence, affected population, institutional response, and extreme violence. Consequently, indicators referring to the number of cases attended by the CEMs, types of violence, the distribution of victims according to sex and age group, cases of femicide and attempted femicide, as well as protection measures granted and not granted in both regions, were examined.

The information collected was systematized in comparative matrices prepared for each year and region. Subsequently, the data were processed using descriptive statistical techniques, employing absolute frequencies to determine the magnitude of the phenomena observed and percentages to establish comparisons between categories and periods. The percentages were calculated based on the proportion represented by each category with respect to the total number of cases recorded in the corresponding year, using the following expression: $\text{percentage (\%)} = (\text{number of cases in the category} / \text{total number of cases recorded}) \times 100$. Likewise, in order to examine the temporal evolution of the indicators, percentage variations between the first and last year of the series were calculated using the following formula: $\text{percentage variation (\%)} = ((\text{final value} - \text{initial value}) / \text{initial value}) \times 100$.

Finally, the results were organized into comparative tables and analyzed longitudinally, with the purpose of identifying trends, changes, and differences between Arequipa and Tacna regarding violence against women and members of the family group.

RESULTS

The evolution of cases of violence addressed by the women’s emergency centers in arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

In Arequipa, according to the evolution of cases addressed by the CEM, the number of cases fluctuated between 14,932 and 17,226 annually. The highest value was recorded in 2023, with 17,226 cases, while the lowest corresponded to 2022, with 14,932. Toward the end of the period, the figures remained relatively stable, reaching 16,013 cases in 2025. In general terms, the region experienced an increase of 854 cases between 2021 and 2025, equivalent to an approximate growth of 5.6%.

For its part, Tacna presented a considerably lower volume of cases addressed, although with a more marked growth trend. The cases addressed increased from 2,597 in 2021 to 3,024 in 2025, representing an increase of approximately 16.4%. Unlike Arequipa, where the variations were more pronounced, Tacna showed a more gradual evolution, with a sustained increase during the last two years of the series.

The comparison between both regions shows that Arequipa systematically concentrated the largest number of cases addressed. During the period analyzed, the number of cases recorded in that region was between five and six times higher than that observed in Tacna. This difference reflects a significantly higher demand for specialized services for addressing victims of violence. However, despite the annual variations recorded, neither of the two regions showed a sustained reduction in the cases addressed. On the contrary, the levels of cases addressed remained high throughout the period, suggesting that the increase observed in Tacna and the stability of the figures in Arequipa indicate that violence against women continued to generate a constant demand for institutional intervention.

Table 1
Absolute cases addressed by the Women’s Emergency Centers in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

Año	Arequipa	Tacna
2021	15,159	2,597
2022	14,932	2,788
2023	17,226	2,698
2024	16,200	3,023
2025	16,013	3,024

Note. Adapted from *Regional Summary*, by National Program for the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Members of the Family Group—Warmi Ñan (2021a, 2022a, 2023a, 2024a, 2025a).

Typology of violence against women and members of the family group in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

With the purpose of identifying the main forms of violence recorded in both regions, the cases addressed by the CEMs were analyzed according to the forms of psychological, physical, sexual, and economic violence. Therefore, the percentages presented in Table 2 represent the proportion that each form accounts for with respect to the total number of cases addressed in each region and year.

Table 2
Cases and percentage distribution of the types of violence addressed by the Women’s Emergency Centers in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

Year	Region	Total cases	Psychological n (%)	Physical n (%)	Sexual n (%)	Economic n (%)
2021	Arequipa	15 159	8186 (54.0)	5033 (33.2)	1880 (12.4)	60 (0.4)
2021	Tacna	2597	1101 (42.4)	1005 (38.7)	478 (18.4)	13 (0.5)
2022	Arequipa	14 932	7332 (49.1)	5,194 (34.8)	2350 (15.7)	56 (0.4)
2022	Tacna	2788	1157 (41.5)	1134 (40.7)	484 (17.4)	13 (0.5)
2023	Arequipa	17 226	8920 (51.8)	5711 (33.2)	2531 (14.7)	64 (0.4)
2023	Tacna	2698	971 (36.0)	1143 (42.4)	570 (21.1)	14 (0.5)
2024	Arequipa	16 200	8118 (50.1)	5514 (34.0)	2511 (15.5)	57 (0.4)
2024	Tacna	3023	1324 (43.8)	1116 (36.9)	574 (19.0)	9 (0.3)
2025	Arequipa	16 013	8091 (50.5)	5399 (33.7)	2471 (15.4)	52 (0.3)
2025	Tacna	3024	1345 (44.5)	1126 (37.2)	539 (17.8)	14 (0.5)

Note. Adapted from *Regional Summary*, by National Program for the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Members of the Family Group—Warmi Nan (2021a, 2022a, 2023a, 2024a, 2025a).

The data show that psychological violence constituted the predominant form in both regions during the period analyzed. In Arequipa, this category represented approximately half of the cases addressed each year, reaching its highest proportion in 2021 at 54.0% (8,186 cases) and remaining above 49% throughout the series. Similarly, physical violence ranked second, accounting for approximately one third of the cases recorded, while sexual violence fluctuated between 12.4% and 15.7%. Economic violence, meanwhile, had a low incidence, with percentages below 1% in all the years analyzed.

Likewise, psychological violence also predominated in Tacna, although with a lower proportion than that observed in Arequipa. Between 2021 and 2025, this form represented between 36.0% and 44.5% of the cases addressed. Unlike Arequipa, physical violence maintained a proportion closer to that of psychological violence, even reaching its highest value in 2023, when it represented 42.4% of the cases recorded. Likewise, sexual violence showed a relatively higher proportion, exceeding 17% in all the years of the period studied.

The comparison between both regions evidenced differences in the composition of the types of violence recorded. While Arequipa concentrated a higher proportion of psychological violence, Tacna presented a more balanced distribution among psychological, physical, and sexual violence. This situation was consistently observed throughout the period analyzed. Therefore, the results indicate that the most frequent forms of violence during the 2021–2025 period were psychological and physical violence, although with a different relative proportion in each region.

Femicides and attempted femicides in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

In this section, in order to examine the most extreme manifestations of violence against women, cases with characteristics of femicide and attempted femicides recorded in Arequipa and Tacna during the 2021–2025 period were analyzed.

Table 3
Femicides and attempted femicides recorded in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

Year	Femicides Arequipa n (%)	Femicides Tacna n (%)	Attempted Arequipa n (%)	Attempted Tacna n (%)
2021	8 (12.7 %)	1 (6.7 %)	11 (20.4 %)	3 (13.0 %)
2022	12 (19.0 %)	2 (13.3 %)	9 (16.7 %)	6 (26.1 %)
2023	26 (41.3 %)	5 (33.3 %)	10 (18.5 %)	5 (21.7 %)
2024	6 (9.5 %)	3 (20.0 %)	10 (18.5 %)	5 (21.7 %)
2025	11 (17.5 %)	4 (26.7 %)	14 (25.9 %)	4 (17.4 %)
Total	63 (100.0 %)	15 (100.0 %)	54 (100.0 %)	23 (100.0 %)

Note. Adapted from *Cases with characteristics of femicide and Cases with characteristics of attempted femicide*, by the National Program for the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Members of the Family Group—Warmi Nan (2021b, 2021c, 2022b, 2022c, 2023b, 2023c, 2024b, 2024c, 2025b, 2025c).

Table 3 shows that femicides and attempted femicides were continuously present in both regions during the period analyzed. In Arequipa, cases with characteristics of femicide increased from 8 in 2021 to 11 in 2025, recording significant year-to-year fluctuations. The highest number of cases occurred in 2023, with 26 records, a figure that represented 41.3% of the total accumulated femicides in the region during the study period.

Considering the temporal evolution of the series, the percentage variation between 2021 and 2025 was 37.5%, calculated using the following expression: $((11 - 8) / 8) \times 100$. This result indicates an increase in cases when comparing the first and last year of the period analyzed.

Regarding attempted femicides, Arequipa presented relatively stable values between 2021 and 2024, with records ranging from 9 to 11 cases per year. In 2025, an increase was observed, reaching 14 cases, equivalent to 25.9% of the total accumulated attempted femicides. The percentage variation between 2021 and 2025 was 27.3%, reflecting a moderate increase compared with the beginning of the series.

In Tacna, an increase was also observed between 2021 and 2023. Femicides increased from 1 case in 2021 to 5 cases in 2023, a year that concentrated 33.3% of the accumulated regional total. Subsequently, the records decreased to 3 cases in 2024 and reached 4 cases in 2025. When comparing the first and last year of the series, the percentage variation was 300.0%, although it should be considered that this result is explained by the small number of cases recorded at the beginning of the period.

Attempted femicides in Tacna ranged between 3 and 6 cases per year. The highest value was recorded in 2022, with 6 cases, equivalent to 26.1% of the total accumulated attempted femicides in the region. Between 2021 and 2025, a percentage variation of 33.3% was observed, increasing from 3 to 4 cases.

The comparison between both regions evidences important differences in the magnitude of these events. During the 2021–2025 period, Arequipa accumulated 63 cases with characteristics of femicide and 54 attempted femicides, while Tacna recorded 15 femicides and 23 attempted femicides. Of the total number of femicides recorded in both regions (78 cases), Arequipa accounted for 80.8% and Tacna for 19.2%. Similarly, of the total number of attempted femicides (77 cases), Arequipa accounted for 70.1% and Tacna for 29.9%.

A relevant aspect is the behavior observed in 2023, the year that concentrated the highest number of femicides in both regions. Arequipa reached its highest value with 26 cases, while Tacna recorded 5 cases. Although the figures subsequently decreased, the records for 2024 and 2025 show that these extreme manifestations of violence continued to be present in both regions.

Specifically, the results show that, despite representing a small proportion of the total cases addressed by specialized services, femicides and attempted femicides maintained a constant presence throughout the study period. Likewise, the percentage variations calculated between the first and last year of the series show that these events did not disappear and, on the contrary, recorded increases in both regions, constituting one of the most serious expressions of violence against women in Arequipa and Tacna.

Characteristics of the affected population according to sex and age group in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

According to the study methodology, information on sex and age group was systematized in comparative matrices by year and region and subsequently processed.

Table 4
Distribution of victims according to sex and age group in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2025

Year	Region	Women n (%)	Men n (%)	0-17 year n (%)	18-59 year n (%)	60 years and older n (%)
2021	Arequipa	12 329 (81.3 %)	2830 (18.7 %)	5623 (37.1 %)	8314 (54.8 %)	1222 (8.1 %)
2021	Tacna	2307 (88.8 %)	290 (11.2 %)	680 (26.2 %)	1744 (67.2 %)	173 (6.7 %)
2022	Arequipa	12 303 (82.4 %)	2629 (17.6 %)	5991 (40.1 %)	7833 (52.5 %)	1108 (7.4 %)
2022	Tacna	2466 (88.5 %)	322 (11.5 %)	849 (30.5 %)	1784 (64.0 %)	155 (5.6 %)
2023	Arequipa	13 870 (80.5 %)	3356 (19.5 %)	6958 (40.4 %)	9050 (52.5 %)	1218 (7.1%)
2023	Tacna	2380 (88.2 %)	318 (11.8 %)	838 (31.1 %)	1664 (61.7 %)	196 (7.3%)
2024	Arequipa	12 986 (80.2 %)	3214 (19.8 %)	6615 (40.8 %)	8383 (51.7 %)	1202 (7.4%)
2024	Tacna	2556 (84.6 %)	467 (15.4 %)	1097 (36.3 %)	1,732 (57,3%)	194 (6.4%)
2025	Arequipa	12 806 (80.0 %)	3207 (20.0 %)	6454 (40.3 %)	8316 (51.9 %)	1243 (7.8%)
2025	Tacna	2513 (83.1 %)	511 (16.9 %)	1107 (36.6 %)	1715 (56.7 %)	202 (6.7%)

Note. Adapted from *Regional Summary*, by the National Program for the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Members of the Family Group—Warmi Nan (2021a, 2022a, 2023a, 2024a, 2025a).

The data obtained in Table 4 show that women constituted the majority group of victims addressed in both regions throughout the period analyzed. Therefore, considering the percentages calculated based on the annual total number of cases in each region, in Arequipa, women represented between 80.0% and 82.4% of the recorded victims, while in Tacna, their share ranged from 83.1% to 88.8%. In contrast, men accounted for considerably lower proportions, although their presence remained constant throughout the five years studied.

On the other hand, the regional comparison also shows that Tacna presented a higher proportion of women victims than Arequipa during most of the period analyzed. Although both regions recorded a high proportion of female victims, the percentages observed in Tacna were consistently higher, particularly between 2021 and 2023. Regarding the age of the victims, the group aged 18–59 years accounted for the largest number of cases in both regions throughout the study period. Thus, in Arequipa, this group recorded between 7,833 and 9,050 victims annually, representing between 51.7% and 54.8% of the total number of cases. In Tacna, the figures fluctuated between 1,664 and 1,784 cases, equivalent to proportions ranging from 56.7% to 67.2%. These results show that the adult population continued to be the most affected by the different manifestations of violence recorded by specialized services.

However, the data also show a significant participation of girls, boys, and adolescents. In Arequipa, victims aged 0–17 years exceeded 5,600 cases annually throughout the period,

reaching a maximum of 6,958 records in 2023. In relative terms, this group represented between 37.1% and 40.8% of the victims. In Tacna, the records increased from 680 cases in 2021 to 1,107 in 2025, increasing their share from 26.2% to 36.6% of the annual total. Likewise, the variation observed between 2021 and 2025 shows a significant increase in Tacna, where records involving minors increased by approximately 62.8%, while in Arequipa the increase was approximately 14.8% during the same period.

For their part, persons aged 60 years and older constituted the group with the lowest number of records in both regions. In Arequipa, the cases ranged from 1,108 to 1,243 victims annually, representing between 7.1% and 8.1% of the total. In Tacna, the records fluctuated between 155 and 202 cases, equivalent to proportions ranging from 5.6% to 7.3%. Although this group represented a small proportion of the total number of cases, its constant presence throughout the period shows that violence also continuously affects the older adult population.

Therefore, the results show that the violence recorded during the 2021–2025 period primarily affected women and adults in both regions. However, the percentage comparison between categories and years also reveals a significant participation of girls, boys, and adolescents, particularly in Arequipa and with an increasing trend in Tacna.

Protection measures granted and not granted in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2024

Protection measures constitute one of the main institutional response mechanisms provided for by Law No. 30364 in response to situations of violence affecting vulnerable groups. Unlike the records of cases addressed by the CEMs, which correspond to the specialized care setting, protection measures belong to the judicial circuit. Therefore, both sources should not be interpreted as directly proportional series; that is, not every case addressed by a CEM necessarily generates a request for a protection measure, nor does every protection measure arise from a case previously recorded by these services. In this section, protection measures are analyzed as a complementary indicator of the State’s response to violence.

This clarification is necessary because Law No. 30364 articulates different levels of institutional intervention. Reports on the implementation of the law indicate that protection measures are intended to reduce or eliminate the risk to the person reporting threats or acts of violence and must be granted in a timely manner to neutralize or minimize the effects of the aggression. Likewise, the National Specialized Justice System for the Protection and Punishment of Violence against Women and Members of the Family Group intervenes both in the issuance and implementation of these measures and in proceedings aimed at the criminal punishment of the aggressor.

Table 5
Protection measures granted and not granted in Arequipa and Tacna, 2021–2024

Year	Region	Measures granted	Measures not granted	Total resolutions	% Granted
2021	Arequipa	17 333	1702	19 035	91.1 %
2021	Tacna	3305	695	4000	82.6 %
2022	Arequipa	19 160	2419	21 579	88.8 %
2022	Tacna	3158	1011	4169	75.7 %
2023	Arequipa	20 134	2968	23 102	87.2 %
2023	Tacna	2778	1546	4324	64.2 %
2024	Arequipa	17 416	4210	21 626	80.5 %
2024	Tacna	2449	941	3390	72.2 %

The records obtained from the statistical report of the Judiciary prepared by the National Observatory on Violence against Women and Members of the Family Group (2024), presented in Table 5, show that Arequipa concentrated a significantly higher volume of protection measures granted throughout the entire period. In 2021, 17,333 measures granted were recorded, a figure that increased to 19,160 in 2022 and reached its highest value in 2023, with 20,134 measures. In 2024, a reduction to 17,416 measures granted was observed; however, this figure remained above the values recorded in Tacna during all the years analyzed.

In Tacna, the protection measures granted followed a downward trend. In 2021, 3,305 measures granted were recorded, while in 2024 the figure decreased to 2,449. Unlike Arequipa, where the highest volume was reached in 2023, Tacna presented a progressive reduction in the measures granted throughout the period.

The behavior of the measures not granted shows a relevant pattern. In Arequipa, these increased from 1702 in 2021 to 4210 in 2024, evidencing a sustained increase in the resolutions that did not grant the requested measure. In Tacna, an increase was also observed between 2021 and 2023, rising from 695 to 1546 measures not granted, although in 2024 a reduction to 941 was recorded.

The percentage granted makes it possible to observe more clearly the relationship between measures granted and not granted within the judicial record itself. In Arequipa, the proportion of measures granted decreased from 91.1% in 2021 to 80.5% in 2024. In Tacna, the percentage granted was lower throughout the period, with a marked decline from 82.6% in 2021 to 64.2% in 2023, followed by a partial recovery to 72.2% in 2024.

Finally, the data show that protection measures continued to be predominantly granted in both regions; however, they also reveal a relative increase in measures not granted, particularly in Arequipa toward 2024 and in Tacna during 2023. This behavior is relevant because it makes it possible to observe not only the number of measures issued, but also the response capacity of the judicial circuit to protection requests submitted within the framework of Law No. 30364.

DISCUSSION

The results obtained are consistent with the findings reported by Dador and Hernández (2022), who maintain that the regulatory and institutional advances developed in the country have not succeeded in eliminating the structural inequalities underlying violence against women. From this perspective, the persistence of high levels of violence in both regions suggests that the existence of specialized mechanisms for care and protection is not sufficient to immediately modify historically constructed social dynamics. Along the same lines, Pesantes Shimajuko (2025), when analyzing family violence and violence against women in Lima Norte, concludes that the persistence of these acts evidences the need to strengthen prevention strategies and institutional response capacity. In addition, Gayona Maccarcco and Castillo Cárdenas (2025) point out that, despite the advances incorporated by Law No. 30364, limitations persist regarding the availability of resources, interinstitutional coordination, and the operational capacity of the entities responsible for addressing victims.

Consistently, in the study by Zapata de la Cruz (2023), which examined the application of Law No. 30364 in the judicial district of Tacna, it was concluded that the regulation had not succeeded in significantly reducing cases of family violence and that difficulties persisted regarding victim care and the functioning of the justice system. For their part, Díaz Llana and Díaz Llana (2025) identified problems in Huancayo related to institutional

coordination, the supervision of protection measures, and the availability of resources to guarantee effective protection. These findings make it possible to observe that the challenges identified in Arequipa and Tacna do not constitute isolated situations, but rather reflect a deeper structural challenge.

Consequently, the application of Law No. 30364 should be evaluated beyond its formal existence and should consider the institutional capacities necessary to materialize its objectives, since the results suggest that regulatory advances need to be complemented by sustained and effective mechanisms for prevention, care, and institutional coordination in order to strengthen the effective protection of victims.

Predominance of psychological violence in Arequipa and Tacna

One of the most relevant findings of the present research was the sustained predominance of psychological violence in both regions throughout the period analyzed. In Arequipa, this form represented approximately half of the cases recorded by the CEMs, while in Tacna it also ranked first, although with a more balanced distribution in relation to physical and sexual violence.

Thus, the results obtained are consistent with those reported by Gayona Maccarcco and Castillo Cárdenas (2025), who emphasize that Law No. 30364 expanded the legal recognition of the different manifestations of violence, expressly incorporating psychological violence as a form of aggression that violates fundamental rights and generates long-term consequences for victims. From this perspective, these results show that forms of violence affecting the emotional integrity, self-esteem, and psychological well-being of victims constitute one of the main expressions of violence against these vulnerable groups.

In this regard, the findings are related to the research conducted by Pacompia Apaza (2024) in Tacna, who concluded that the application of Law No. 30364 presents limitations in effectively preventing psychological violence within the family group. This approach is relevant due to its constant presence during the five years studied, without showing sustained reductions. Similarly, Torres Flor et al. (2023) indicate that the regulatory advances introduced by Law No. 30364 do not always translate into an immediate reduction in the different forms of violence. This observation is consistent with the results obtained, since the persistence of high percentages of psychological violence in both regions indicates that the existence of specialized legal instruments does not automatically eliminate the dynamics of aggression present within the family sphere. On the contrary, the continuity of these records evidences the need to strengthen preventive strategies, early intervention programs, and actions aimed at modifying behavioral patterns that tend to remain invisible due to the absence of visible physical aggression.

Consequently, the results suggest that, although psychological violence has achieved greater institutional and legal recognition, its persistence continues to represent one of the main challenges for the prevention mechanisms established by the law.

Women as the main victims and the participation of girls, boys, and adolescents

The results show that women constituted the majority group of victims addressed in both regions throughout the 2021–2025 period. In Arequipa, their share remained between 80.0 and 82.4% of the cases recorded, while in Tacna it ranged from 83.1 to 88.8%. These data show that the violence recorded by specialized services continues to primarily affect the female population. However, the results also reveal a significant participation of girls, boys, and adolescents, who represented between 37.1 and 40.8% of the victims in Arequipa and

between 26.2 and 36.6% in Tacna. Likewise, in the latter region, an increase in records involving minors was observed between 2021 and 2025, evidencing a growing presence of this group within the affected population.

The predominance of women among the victims is consistent with the position of Rico (1996), who maintains that gender-based violence constitutes an expression of historically unequal relationships between men and women. Similarly, Lagarde y de los Ríos (2008) points out that violence against women represents a violation of human rights that transcends the private sphere and becomes relevant as a social and political problem. From this perspective, the high proportion of female victims observed in both regions is consistent with the persistence of patterns of violence that affect women differently.

For her part, Segato (2003) argues that violence against women cannot be understood solely as a sum of individual acts, but rather as a manifestation of power relations that are reproduced in different social settings. This interpretation is consistent with the findings of the present research, in which the female population remained widely predominant throughout the study period in both Arequipa and Tacna. This suggests that the stability of these percentages confirms that violence continues to primarily affect women, regardless of the annual variations observed in the total number of cases.

Finally, the significant presence of girls, boys, and adolescents made it possible to observe that the problem analyzed is not exclusively limited to violence against adult women. The results show that a considerable proportion of victims consists of underage members of the family group, a situation that is particularly relevant in Tacna due to the increase recorded during the period studied.

Femicides and attempted femicides in Arequipa and Tacna

In Arequipa, 63 cases with characteristics of femicide and 54 attempted femicides were recorded during the period studied, while in Tacna, 15 femicides and 23 attempted femicides were recorded. Likewise, both regions reached their highest number of femicides in 2023, a year that concentrated a significant proportion of the cases accumulated throughout the series.

These results are consistent with the position of Lagarde y de los Ríos (2008), who maintains that femicide constitutes the most extreme expression of violence against women and represents a serious violation of their fundamental rights. From this perspective, the persistence of femicides and attempted femicides observed in both regions shows that the most severe forms of violence continue to be present even when regulatory and institutional mechanisms aimed at their prevention and punishment exist.

Similarly, Segato (2003) points out that extreme acts of aggression against women should not be understood solely as isolated or individual acts, but rather as manifestations of power relations that are reproduced in different social settings. This interpretation is relevant to the results obtained, since femicides and attempted femicides do not disappear throughout the period analyzed, but rather maintain a constant presence in both Arequipa and Tacna. Likewise, the findings are consistent with Rico (1996), who warns that gender-based violence responds to structural factors that cannot be addressed exclusively through punitive measures or isolated interventions. Therefore, the persistence of femicides observed in both regions suggests that preventing the most extreme forms of violence requires the coordination of protection, care, punishment, and prevention mechanisms capable of addressing different factors associated with the phenomenon in order to seek to protect the victim's life.

Ultimately, the results of the present research show that violence against women and members of the family group maintained a sustained presence in Arequipa and Tacna during the 2021–2025 period. The persistence of high levels of cases addressed by the CEMs, the predominance of psychological violence, the high proportion of women among the victims, the significant presence of girls, boys, and adolescents, as well as the continued occurrence of femicides and attempted femicides, show that this problem continues to significantly affect both regions. Although the records show differences in magnitude and behavior between Arequipa and Tacna, the general patterns observed make it possible to identify common challenges related to violence prevention and the protection of affected persons.

Protection measures and institutional response in Arequipa and Tacna

Protection measures constitute one of the main response mechanisms provided for by Law No. 30364 to safeguard the integrity of victims in situations of violence. The results obtained show that, during the 2021–2024 period, most of the requests submitted in both regions resulted in the granting of protection measures. In Arequipa, the percentage granted decreased from 91.1% in 2021 to 80.5% in 2024, while in Tacna it decreased from 82.6 to 72.2% during the same period, even reaching a low of 64.2% in 2023. Although the measures granted continued to represent the majority of the resolutions issued, the results show a relative increase in measures not granted, particularly in the last years of the series analyzed.

These findings are related to the statements made by Calvo Daza (2025), who states that the protection measures provided for by Law No. 30364 are essentially preventive and urgent in nature, aimed at neutralizing immediate risks to the victim through timely intervention by the justice system. This interpretation is consistent with that proposed by Calisaya Yapuchura (2018), who maintains that protection measures constitute fundamental instruments for the immediate protection of victims, although their effectiveness depends on factors subsequent to their issuance, such as institutional follow-up and effective compliance with the provisions ordered by the competent authority. From this perspective, the high number of protection measures granted recorded in both regions constitutes a relevant indicator of the State response, although by itself it does not make it possible to determine the level of protection effectively achieved.

The results also coincide with the research conducted by Orué Taco (2021) in Tacna, where limitations associated with police follow-up and the actions of the operators responsible for implementing protection measures were identified. Similarly, Ticona Mamani (2024), when evaluating the effectiveness of Law No. 30364 in the First Family Court of Arequipa, concluded that the application of the regulation reached a medium level of effectiveness. Both antecedents suggest that the existence of protection mechanisms constitutes an important advance within the victim care system, although challenges related to their implementation and supervision persist.

In this regard, Díaz Llana and Díaz Llana (2025) identified problems related to institutional coordination, supervision of protection measures, and the availability of resources to guarantee their effective compliance. Along similar lines, Zapata de la Cruz (2023) pointed out that the difficulties observed in the application of Law No. 30364 are not limited to the regulatory sphere, but also involve operational aspects related to victim care and the functioning of the justice system. These observations are relevant when considering that, in both regions studied, the percentage of measures granted showed a downward trend during part of the period analyzed.

Nevertheless, the results of the present research should be interpreted with caution. As indicated in the results section, protection measures and cases addressed by the CEMs correspond to different institutional circuits and do not maintain a directly proportional

relationship. Consequently, a greater number of measures granted does not necessarily imply a higher incidence of violence, just as a reduction in the percentages granted cannot automatically be interpreted as a deterioration in institutional protection. What the data make it possible to observe is the evolution of the judicial response to requests submitted within the framework of Law No. 30364.

CONCLUSIONS

The comparison between Arequipa and Tacna evidenced the persistence of violence against women and members of the family group during the 2021–2025 period. Although Arequipa concentrated a considerably higher volume of cases addressed by the CEMs, both regions recorded increases when comparing the beginning and end of the series, demonstrating the continuity of the phenomenon in the two territorial settings analyzed.

Psychological violence constituted the main form of violence recorded in both regions throughout the study period. In Arequipa, it represented approximately half of the cases addressed, while in Tacna it maintained the highest relative share compared with physical and sexual violence. The stability of this behavior confirms the importance of emotional and psychological harm within the dynamics of violence recorded by specialized services.

Women accounted for the highest proportion of victims in Arequipa and Tacna; however, the results also showed a significant participation of girls, boys, and adolescents. This group reached percentages close to 40% of the cases in Arequipa and showed sustained growth in Tacna, making it possible to observe that the violence recorded extends beyond the sphere of intimate partner violence and affects other members of the family group protected by Law No. 30364.

Protection measures represented the main judicial response mechanism to situations of violence in both regions. Nevertheless, the analysis of the resolutions issued showed a decrease in the percentages granted during the period studied, from 91.1 to 80.5% in Arequipa and from 82.6 to 72.2% in Tacna, accompanied by an increase in measures not granted.

Femicides and attempted femicides maintained a constant presence in both regions throughout the period analyzed. Arequipa concentrated the highest number of accumulated cases, while 2023 recorded the highest values for femicide in both Arequipa and Tacna, constituting the most critical point in the series studied.

Ultimately, the evidence collected shows that the application of Law No. 30364 in Arequipa and Tacna took place in a context characterized by the persistence of high levels of violence, the predominance of psychological violence, and the continuity of the most severe forms of aggression against women. The regional comparison made it possible to identify differences in the magnitude of cases and in the behavior of protection mechanisms, thereby providing empirical evidence on the evolution of violence and the institutional response in two regional contexts in southern Peru during the 2021–2025 period.

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The author declares that he has no conflict of interest

Data availability

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