Universities’ policies to tackle gender and sexual violences: The Catalan case study
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Since the last decades EU recommendation, public and educational institutes have established specific ‘egalitarian observatories’ to design and implement gender policies. As a result, higher educational institutions have, with pressure of feminist movements, taken measures to support equality, prevent and dealing with gender and sexual violences, violences often not even recognized in our academic context. Although slowly and in a very varied forms, universities have been implementing policies through the instrument of protocols to address sexual violence’s, which mostly recognize these kinds of acts as punishable behaviour. In our presentation, based in the preliminary results of the research-action project “Universities Supporting Victims of Sexual Violence: Training for Sustainable Services (UsvReact)”\(^2\), we critically compare the Catalan universities’ protocols and assess the impact of these policies. The main finding is that protocols often become dead letters because of the lack of specificity on how the law should be implemented. Furthermore, our informants make it clear that, in the resolution of sexual violences cases, universities tend to preserve the "institutional image" in detriment of the policies effectiveness and survivors’ needs and rights. Our results shown that in order to overcome the lack of effectiveness of gender mainstreaming politics in universities, in the future it’ll be necessary problematizing the use of protocols such as the "only" tools to take action and prevent sexual violences.

**Key words:** sexual violences, universities, protocols

**Introduction**

January 2017. A professor of the Seville University was sentenced to 7 years in prison for "harassed" three teachers for almost a decade. This is one of the hundreds of cases of violence that have places in Spanish universities, and not only, as we have learned from high profile cases in the US and in the UK. The difference is that, this

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time, the news comes out and has given rise to a deep public debate, things that in most cases doesn't happen. Although it tends to think that the higher educational level of the students is a sufficient factor of prevention and action against an eventual sexual assault, these take place in universities, as in any other environment of our society (Bodelón and Igareda, 2014). Even if there are very few studies on this topic in the Spanish context (see Bosh and Ferrer, 2000; Bodelon, Igareda and Casas, 2012; Bardina and Murillo, 2013), with very approximate data and often based on perceptions of the university community, all of them showed how such violences are much more diffused and deep-rooted problem than the universities want to recognize.

Same process has shaped the notions on sexual violence in Spain. In one hand, as we will see, the main frame continues to be the gender-based approach, which in many ways leaves out many forms of sexual violences, such as sexual violence against LGBTI people or some men. All the same, the perception on sexual violences remains limited to forms of aggression that make use of physical force and that happen usually between strangers. If general perception about gender violence is that it happens between people who share an affective bond, general perception about sexual violences is the opposite. This limits the perceptions on sexual violences to a very specific form of rape and leaves aside other types of imposition. Finally, sexual violences is usually understood in the frame of inter-personal behaviour, leaving aside the forms of violence that different institutions perpetrate, such as sexualisation through advertising or lack of regulations or mechanisms to address the issue. Feminism carry on that an effective response to this serious problem necessarily involves understanding the structural nature of this phenomenon, its relationship with the culture of rape, the gender stereotypes and the hierarchical power relations. So, we start from an interpretation based on a feminist understanding of sexual violences as a products of heteropatriarchal culture that “reflects and reinforces hierarchical and unjust power relations” (Toledo, Pineda, 2016: 8), and as a form of control over women and other subjects that are not sexually and/or gender normative. The majority of sexual violences are, as such, an expression of gender-related violence, understood as violence that “has its origin in stereotyped visions of gender and the power relations on which they are based” (Biglia, 2015: 29).

So we consider that in the university context there can be many forms of sexual violences such as harassment, bullying, other psychological abuse or emotional violence, voyeurism or peeping, coercion, unwanted sexual contact, and any kind of violence related to the sexist sexualisation perpetrated by companies or institutions, among others.

What we present here is the result of the critical analysis of the protocols and policies now in force in Catalan public universities, developed within the framework of the European project “Universities Supporting Victims of Sexual Violence:
Training for Sustainable Services (UsvReact), led by Brunel University London, includes 7 partners and more of 10 associate partners across 7 European countries.

To do this, in the first part we will briefly synthesize and analyse the political and legal framework for gender related violence in Spain, in the second part we will briefly present the Catalan university context and finally the results of our analysis.

1. Political and legal framework regarding GRV

Spain should be considered in relation to its own past of dictatorship and Catholicism that plays a role in what is understood as gender and the violence that emanates from its binary frame. The dictatorship that lasted up until 1975 opened a period of transition (known as “La Transición”) to a democratic system, a process that many consider still open in the sense that many institutions remained very attached to the previous regime in many ways: ideologically and politically as well as in their ways of organising their role both internally and in social life.

During the 70's and 80's most of what is known as Feminist movements and LGTB groups were created and started a wave of change that until now has remained constant in time, although quite variable in intensity. During the government of the socialist party (PSOE) in the years 1977 to 1996, some of points in the feminist agendas found a place in the institutions, which following the European trends started slowly developing gender equality policies (Bustelo & Lombardo, 2007). This translated into the creation of Woman's Institute (state-wide) in 1983, for example.

During an 8-year period of conservative-liberal government of Partido Popular, Feminist movements strongly campaigned against gender based violence (GBV), which had not been a clear priority for institutions so far. The murder of Ana Orantes, a woman who disclosed a life-span of abuse and macho violence in a popular TV show and was weeks after murdered by her ex-husband, set a milestone in the fight against GBV, resulting in massive protest (Bustelo, Lopez & Platero, 2007). Two organic laws were approved (LO 38/2002 and LO 11/2003) both addressed to tackle domestic violence, but limited in scope to a criminal approach and lacked of any reading on gender inequality as a source for domestic violence.

In 2004, with the socialist party back in the government, different laws passed that addressed different forms of violence from a gender perspective. The 2004 law remains the main frame for GBV in Spain, although it is often articulated with other legal regulations present in both state-wide and regional territories. Many feminist activists and scholars have argued that the 2004 law, which has a quite ambiguous definition, has helped shape a certain view on GBV that has limited its scope. The law starts with a preface that mentions gender inequality as a source for multiple forms of violence, but in the formulation of the definitions fails to name all this diversity of forms and limits itself to what was understood as domestic violence and
violence coming from a partner or ex-partner. This resulted on the impossibility of the application of the law in cases in which the affective bond was not present. To cite just an example, the murdering of sex-workers by clients has not been considered eligible to judge under the 2004 law.

The demands of many LGBTI groups were as well listened to and the same-sex marriage law was passed in 2005, which provoked, as some argue, the de-activation of the LGBTI groups that started mobilising less and less people. In 2007, the law that regulated the change of name in official registers was changed according to the needs of trans* people, although it did continue to present transsexuality as an illness and therefore demanding a medical certificate to access the change of name. The law for equality between men and women (3/2007) and sexual and reproductive health (2/2010) were as well approved, as well as other orders that derived from the application of the 2004 law. Once again, it is important to note that regional administrations passed laws about the issue, not necessarily at the same time as state-wide laws: Catalonia has a law on violencia machista (machoist violence) since 2008 and has since 2014 a law against homophobia, which Spain does not.

In the last years, since the liberal government of Partido Popular the recession in some areas of gender equality, such as sexual and reproductive rights (Biglia & Olivella-Quintana, 2014) has been clear. Moreover, the legal and social achievements have stalled, since many of the laws have not been reformed or changed according to the critics and recommendations of feminist activists and professionals.

2. The Catalan university system

The system comprises twelve universities that serve almost 240,000 students and offer over 500 qualifications. Of the 12 Catalan universities, 7 are public [(University of Barcelona (UB), Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), Technical University of Catalonia (UPC), Pompeu Fabra University (UPF), University of Lleida (UdL), University of Girona (UdG), Rovira i Virgili University (URV)], 4 are private [Ramon Llull University (URL), University of Vic - Central University of Catalonia (UVic-UCC), Universitat Internacional de Catalunya (UIC), Abat Oliba University -CEU (UAO)] and 1 distance-learning university (Open University of Catalonia (UOC)).

Publics, and some privates, Catalans Universities are members of different networks and national organizations dealing with gender equality. The two most important are: Xarxa Vives and the Commission for Women and Science.

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3 We follow the trend of naming trans* people with an asterisk at the end to make visible the multiplicity of experiences usually contained under the term "transexual". We follow the advice of many trans* activists and scholars; in Spain Lucas Platero opened this debate and proposed the use of the asterisk in the book "Trans*sexualidades: acompañamiento, factores de salud y recursos educativos".


The Vives Network is a non-profit institution that represents and coordinates the joint action in higher education, research and culture of 21 universities from 4 different European countries. Since 1994 it offers a platform leader in services for universities, public and private organizations and the society. Its working groups (GT) are teams of specific character and centre to carry out the due actions in the frame of a field of performance or to develop a concrete project. One of the working group is on Gender Equality, composed for the Rector’s Delegate for Gender Equality Policies of each university. For the other hand, the Woman and Science Commission of the Interuniversity Council of Catalonia, is composed for one representative of each Catalan universities and this institution has driven the development of Equality plans in the universities.

The Catalan public universities have attained in the last five years the balance in the recruitment of women as a personnel docent and researcher (PDI). Specifically, almost 50% (49.25%) of the new incorporations of PDI have been women. This data represented as only 34.5% does more than 20 years. The feminine prominence between the university Catalans students sustains in the diverse phases of the researcher career, taken out of the indicator of postdoctoral researchers. Regarding the diverse fields of knowledge, the data shows a more highlighted presence of women in health sciences (68.7% of the students; 47.5% of the PDI), arts (63.8% of the students; 45.1% of the PDI) and social and law sciences (60.7% of the students; 46% of the PDI). The feminine preferences diminish in the areas of engineering and architecture (24.9% of the students; 21.8% of the PDI) and sciences (50.7% of the students; 34.3% of the PDI)\(^6\).

3. Universities Protocols and Policies against sexual violencies in Catalonia

Catalan universities aim to convey the fundamental civic and social values inherent to a democratic society (art .3 of the Universities Act of Catalonia) and be role models in real and effective respect for fundamental rights. The department responsible for universities and universities should promote actions to achieve equal opportunities between men and women, and consequently eliminate potential form of discriminations, in all university areas (Eighth additional provision of the Universities Act of Catalonia).

Most of the Universities Protocols are based on Government of Catalonia:

- Protocol framework for coordinated action against gender violence (2009): This protocol includes a wide range of questions concerning the struggle against gender violence in Catalonia like the legal framework against GV, the existing instruments of coordination, monitoring and evaluation of the policies against GV; the principles, definition, objectives and stages in the elaboration of the protocol; the configuration of territorial circuits of intervention and the role of each and every administrative section; the service standards of the different responses against GV.

• Protocol for the prevention, detection, action and resolution of situations of sexual harassment on grounds of sex, sexual orientation and/or gender identity in the Government Administration (2015): includes actions to prevent, detect and resolve situations of psychological harassment and other workplace discrimination in the Catalan Government Administration and determines the actions and responsibilities of the bodies that should intervene in the resolution of these situations.

The reflections presented here are the result of a content analysis of the Catalan public universities protocols on sexual violences in force in June 2017 and of eleven semi-structured interviews with key professionals and experts from 6 different Catalan universities carried out between May and October 2016.

All Catalan public universities, except the University of Girona (Udg), have one or more protocols that specify the procedures and actions in cases of sexual violence. They all include an internal investigation phase and, if there are any evidence of possible liability, the proceeding may be initiated for a possible expedient, in accordance with Article 62 of the Ley Orgánica 3/2007, de 22 de marzo, para la Igualdad efectiva entre Mujeres y Hombres (Organic Law 3/2007, of 22 March, for effective Equality between Women and Men). The same law, in its Title IV (Principle of Equality in Public Employment), deals with the right to work in an equal opportunities environment and includes, among labour rights, protection against sexual harassment and on grounds of sex. More recent is the Ley 11/2014, de 10 de octubre, para garantizar los derechos de lesbianas, gays, bisexuales, transgéneros e intersexuales y para erradicar la homofobia, la bifobia y la transfobia del parlamento de Catalunya (Law 11/2014, of 10 October, guarantees the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersexual people and to eradicate homophobia, biphobia and transphobia of the Catalan Parliament), that in its Article 13 force Catalan universities to promote support and protective measures for the visibility of LGBTI people, the development of measures for non-discrimination and the development of a specifics protocols.

These laws have influenced the development of prevention and action protocols against sexual violences in Catalan universities.

Table 1: Protocols of the Catalan public universities (in brackets the year of the first version, in bold the analysed protocols)

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7 Article 62. Protocol for handling cases of sexual harassment or harassment on the grounds of sex.

The central, regional and local governments and workers’ legal representatives will negotiate a protocol to prevent sexual harassment and harassment on the grounds of sex, which will include at least the following principles:

a) Commitment on the part of the Central Government and its associated or subordinate public bodies to prevent and institute zero tolerance of sexual harassment and harassment on the grounds of sex.

b) Conveyance to the entire staff of their duty to respect human dignity and the right to privacy, as well as equal treatment for women and men.

c) Confidential treatment of reports of events that may be considered to constitute sexual harassment or harassment on the grounds of sex, without prejudice to disciplinary provisions.

d) Identification of the persons with whom complaints or accusations in this regard are to be lodged.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV)</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Protocol d’actuació en cas de possible assetjament (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universitat de Barcelona (UB)</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Protocol de la Universitat de Barcelona per a la prevenció, la detecció i l’actuació contra les situacions d’assetjament sexual i per raó de sexe o d’orientació sexual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universitat de Lleida (UdL)</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Reglament d’actuació en cas de violència de gènere a la Universitat de Lleida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB)</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Instruments per a garantir un entorn lliure d’assetjament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Protocol d’actuació contra l’assetjament sexual i l’assetjament per raó de sexe, d’orientació sexual, d’identitat de gènere o d’expressió de gènere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (UPC)</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Protocol d’actuació i prevenció de l’assetjament sexual i/o per raó de sexe, orientació sexual, identitat de gènere o expressió de gènere (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF)</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Protocol per a la prevenció, la detecció i l’actuació contra la violència masclista que afecti a estudiants de la UPf (2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Protocol per prevenir i solucionar conflictes en matèria de conductes violentes, discriminatòries o d’assetjament</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 1, many universities (UAB, U-VIC, UPF) have approved and modified their protocols at least twice to adapt them to legal obligations or to make necessary changes (URV). At the present time, most universities (UB, UAB, U-Vic, UPC) have a protocol for mobbing and harassment in the workplace and another for sexual harassment and harassment grounds on sex, sexual orientation, gender identity and/or gender expression recognizing, in this way, the different types of structural inequalities that characterize the latter, while a few have not yet included the demands of Law 11/2014 (UdL, URV, UPF). On the other hand, we want to highlight that the design of these protocols has sometimes been entrusted to offices or units not specialized in gender issues and that most of the times they aren’t the result of participatory processes based on the real needs of the university community. Moreover, according to the experts interviewed, the approval and modification processes of these policies have been generally long and sometimes troubled, especially for the different interests and perspectives of the people involved in its design and approval. This slowness explains the reluctance to modify or approve new documents and policies of some universities at the moment.

In our analysis, we decided that when they are present, we would analyse protocols specifically aimed at sexual harassment, grounds on sex, sexual orientation, gender identity and/or gender expression. However, in cases when they aren’t, we have analysed other types of procedures: in the case of the URV the protocol for mobbing and harassment in the workplace, and in the case of UPF, we have analysed the two protocols since each one protects a specific group (students and PDI/MAS).
In the following table we present the general aim of each protocol, specifying the groups that can start the procedure, the types of violence recognized and the offices/units responsible for their writing and/or application.

Table 2: Some characteristics of protocols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protocol</th>
<th>General aim of the protocols</th>
<th>People who can start the procedure</th>
<th>Types of violence recognized</th>
<th>Offices in charge of writing the draft</th>
<th>Offices/Persons responsible for receiving complaints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>URV</td>
<td>Achieve a healthy, productive, safe and respectful work environment</td>
<td>Students (not between students), PDI and MAS</td>
<td>Harassment (mobbing, sexual and on grounds of sex, sexual orientation, psychological, racist, religious etc).</td>
<td>Occupational hazard prevention service</td>
<td>Protocol Reference Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UB</td>
<td>Eradication of gender-based violence in universities.</td>
<td>Students, PDI and MAS, external company personnel 8</td>
<td>Sexual harassment and harassment on grounds of sex, sexual orientation</td>
<td>Equality Unit / Equality Commissions</td>
<td>Equality Unit / Equality Commissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UdL</td>
<td>Commitment of rejection, persecution and eradication of any violent or harassing behaviour</td>
<td>Students, PDI and MAS</td>
<td>Sexual harassment and machoist violence</td>
<td>Centre Dolors Piera - Equality Unit</td>
<td>Centre Dolors Piera - Equality Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAB</td>
<td>Design and implement a comprehensive proposal to eradicate gender-based violence and abusive relationships</td>
<td>Students, PDI and MAS, external company personnel, other users</td>
<td>Sexual harassment, on grounds of sex, sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression</td>
<td>Equality Unit</td>
<td>Chancellor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U-Vic</td>
<td>Commitment to the eradication of gender-based violence in universities</td>
<td>Students, PDI and MAS, external company personnel</td>
<td>Sexual harassment, on grounds of sex, sexual orientation,</td>
<td>Equality Unit</td>
<td>Protocol Reference Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPC</td>
<td>Eradicate harassment behaviour</td>
<td>Students, PDI and MAS, external company personnel</td>
<td>Sexual harassment, on grounds of sex, sexual orientation,</td>
<td>Equality Unit</td>
<td>Protocol Reference Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPF 2015</td>
<td>Make social responsibility effective in the fight against gender violence</td>
<td>Students, PDI and MAS, external company personnel</td>
<td>Sexual harassment and machoist violence</td>
<td>Equality Unit</td>
<td>Equality Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPF 2016</td>
<td>Prevent the occurrence of exclusionary, humiliating, degrading or offensive behaviour</td>
<td>PDI and MAS, external company personnel</td>
<td>Harassment, violent conduct, discriminatory conduct, sexual harassment</td>
<td>Technical Office for the Prevention of Occupational Hazards</td>
<td>Technical Office for the Prevention of Occupational Hazards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Universities have put in place heterogeneous procedures, which, however, agree in

8 When a person hired by an outside company is involved in a situation of violence in campus, the business coordination mechanisms are applied in accordance with the current regulations. There must be a reciprocal communication between the University and the company.
recognizing protocols as a deterrent, and at the same time, a preventive and a response measures in front of possible cases.

Another common element is that protocols (excluding the URV's) are also valid in spaces outside the University during a recognized university activity. Special case is the UPF 2015, since the protocol is valid in cases that occur outside the university facilities, provided that the events take place within the framework of an activity or a service organized by the UPF.

Differentiating element are the objectives pursued, as an effect of the different reading of the reality and of the problem. Above all, we can highlight two different kind of approaches: a minority one, on work safety (URV, UPF 2016) and one more structural (in all other protocols). Coherently with each approach, some protocols consider only harassment in the field of labour relations (URV, UPF 2016); others act in case of gender-based violence (UDL), machoist violence (UPF 2015) or, through a broader view, in cases of sexual harassment, harassment on grounds of sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression (UB, UPC, U-VIC). In both cases where the optics used are strictly labour-intensive, protocols cannot be applied in cases of violences between students.

If, for one side, the existence of protocols in Catalan universities can be a valuable element, for the other side, in our opinion, also have clear limitations.

First of all, the universities’ choice to address and solve sexual violences through action protocols, that means define formal procedures forward possible cases rather than designing organic intervention plans and policies, circumscribes the area of intervention and no promote a cultural change to uproot the problem. So, it’s not surprising that the preventive and training measures in these policies are scarce.

Another problem is that, protocols are documents that focus on intervention forward very specific situations of harassment: they give just few details regarding preventive, corrective and punitive measures that would be taken during and after de investigation process. One consequence is that often people who have to take decisions regarding the application of the protocol are confused: there’s not guidelines and they don’t know exactly when and how they can intervene. The fact that all protocols are based on administrative law doesn’t increase their flexibility and enforceability. In addition, the application of the procedures seems to be very related to the political lines that the different chancellors’ teams (maximum leaders of the protocols) assume in relation to the problem.

Another issue is that protocols recognize and prioritize more the possibility that the claims submitted are false than the impact of possible retaliation against those

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9 In the concept of services would by enter the university residences and various types of events and activities recognized by the university, etc.
10 Encarna Bodelón (2014) write about the myth of false complains, as a tool to minimize, naturalize or deny the same violence. As acknowledged by the same State Attorney General of the 129,292 complaints filed in 2015 for gender violence, 18 cases have been processed for false report, which is only 0.014% of the total.
who have reported harassment.

All these elements, together with the generic unawareness of protocols by the university community and the few information that universities spread about who are the persons or offices in charge of advisory and advocacy tasks, entails that such procedures have been started in very few cases or never (UAB, UdL, UB), a fact that doesn’t allow to evaluate their performance properly. The URV case need a special mention because its protocols can be started by students that considers to have suffered harassment by university staff member, however, the names and contacts of the persons of reference of the protocol (2 PDI and 2 MAS) are accessible and known only by staff. Farther the unawareness of persons or offices responsible in advisory and advocacy tasks, who are often no trained, and the scarce performance of network among the people/offices involved doesn’t help in improving the situation. In addition, Equality Units - mainly responsible for Universities Equality Plans 11 - are generally under-funded, a fact that doesn’t facilitate the development of awareness-raising activities or training of specific universities profiles and / or the entire university community

Finally highlight, that the experts consulted have agreed that the procedures have been often slow, opaque and scarcely empathic with the complainant, which doesn’t not help the diffusion of these mechanisms. The case of the URV is exemplary, since on May 9, 2017 the boards and committees of the workers of the URV (both PDI and MAS) showed in statement how the lack of precautionary measures has reverted in prejudices to who made a complaint. So, they strongly advise that in case of need, it’s better present criminal complaint instead of started the protocol.

Conclusions

If to all the elements evidenced previously we add an institutional and organizational culture that tends to be conservative and self-restraining, and an unshared view on Universities’ obligations and responsibilities forward possible cases of sexual violences in their communities, we can conclude that the mere fact of having policies and procedures is not sufficient to determine the commitment of the institutions to tackle this problem.

Actually, it seems to us that protocols end up acting as measures that allow the institutions to not take too much responsibility for the problem. Their existence allows universities to shield themselves from criticism through compliance with the legal obligation without considering the actual effectiveness of that kind of policies. Similarly, the poor implementation of university procedures in case of harassments, far from being read as a limitation thereof, allows them to not intervene more than the necessary. As evidenced in many of the interviews, remains a certain

11 The companies’ equality plans, are compulsory for those with more than 250 workers, are an orderly set of measures aimed at achieving equal treatment and opportunities for women and men in the company and to eliminate discrimination on grounds of sex (art .46 LO 3/2007).
institutional reluctance to acknowledge the existence of the phenomenon because this could damage the institutional image and make bad publicity. We consider, therefore, that protocols are necessary, but not sufficient tools to fight against sexual violences within universities. Firstly, because they focused on sanctioning and procedural measures without, at the same time, contemplating care and support needed by the survivors, which could be covered by, for example, train the university community and/or create specific services. Secondly because they don’t explicitly take into account the hierarchies or the gender power relationships (among others) present in the universities. Omitting this reality implies emphasizing it and perpetuating it in time and space in order to maintain the established order (Cantillo & Rocha, 2007). It also leads not carrying out an integral approach to the problem as soon as they don’t make visible its roots. Finally, the non-recognition of the power of agency at assaulted and harassed survivors, who cannot intervene in decisions once the procedure started, together with poor or inadequate universities’ practices, can produce secondary victimization. This can become a form of institutional violence when universities those actions or omissions develop new forms of violence as well as those actions that show a discrimination or obstruction for the harassed survivors to exercise their rights (Bodelón, 2014). These elements, in a context laden with myths and stereotypes about sexual violences and gendered sexuality, which tend to mask the experiences of abuse and violence, imply that these processes often bring to disqualification, discredit, lack of empathy, the imposition of rhythms and/or actions, which bring on revictimization (Calle, 2004). Our last impression is that the demands of the feminist’s movements were cached by the universities through the approval of ineffective policies and very rigid procedures that have neutralized them.

Bibliography


