

Discourse of Gender Violence in México and Spain: an analysis from the Mexican migration

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Abstract. The objective of this paper is to analyze the perception and representation of gender violence and the impact that changes in the socio-cultural context can have on it. The discourse is the main reflection of cultural and social beliefs and serves as a fundamental element to explore and understand the legitimacy of gender violence; the notion of social representation allows us to capture this collective dimension of social problems in their context and in moments of social transformation. The research process carried out semi-structured interviews with Mexican people living in Spain and living in Mexico, exploring four main dimensions: definitions of gender violence; the reactions and the intensity of this kind of violence; the causes of gender violence, as well as personal experiences. The results suggest that there is an impact on changing contexts in the social representation of gender violence, but the most relevant references are linked to the experience and trajectory of gender itself. Keywords: gender violence, social representations, content analysis, discourses, semi-structured interviews.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Writing about violence is always difficult because the words are full of images that emerge from painful experiences, and do not always manage to do justice for the acts that emerge from them, even more so if we are discussing to a problem that remains and does not seem to decrease. However, writers like Rivera Garza C. (2015), argue that to write about violence is a way of condoling – a way to grieve in collectivity- but also a way to react to it, where there is evidence of discourses, images and descriptions that are converted in protests and articulate possibilities.

Currently, crimes of gender violence remain a reality for many women in the world. According to the World Health Organization (2017), 35.6 percent of women around the world have experienced physical or sexual violence; while UN Women (2014) estimates that one of every three women around the world suffer physical or sexual violence from their intimate partner. In the European Union, 43 percent of women have suffered some form of psychological violence by a partner in some part of their lives (UNWOMEN, 2018). In the specific case of Mexico, seven women are murdered every day (Proceso, 2013) and, according to the latest report published by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) only in 2016, 2.383 women were murdered.

Nevertheless, statistics are not always fair with the reality, and although they allow an approximation of the situation of gender violence, behind these numbers there are faces and lives of many women of which few are known or are named. Segato (2017) explains how a law can materialize only if it proceeds from a persuasive speech, as if the law does not persuade, then is only an expression of the power of some people to pass laws. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the legislative frameworks are a step to encircle it.

Figures like these urges us to look at the situation of gender violence and to ask ourselves what is behind it and which are the discourses that construct and contain it. The ways in which we understand and represent social phenomena have an impact on our societies. In the case of gender-based violence, the notion we have of it, how we defined it, what behaviors are out of bounds, how we approach it and how to? we? demarcate it, will depend on how we have “processed” and standardized it socially. Identify the prevailing discourses that have an impact on the construction of the concept of gender violence in society crystallizes those elements that maintain and reinforce it. Unraveling meanings that people grand it, carries out at the same time an intervention conducted toward its conceptual roots that fertilize their reproduction, opening possibilities for its theoretical reconstruction and lines of action.

This research is not part of a specific concept of gender violence. On the contrary, it is an effort to explore new conceptual forms of understanding through discourses surrounding the concept. However, some theoretical elements allow us to position ourselves in the subject. Rodríguez et al. (2007), point out the importance of naming the violence against women as gender violence, in order to highlight that any kind of violence against women has its explanation in relations of power and domination by the subjects with hegemonic masculinities.

These relationships emerge when societies framed genders with rigid structures: the feminine perceived as weak while the male is perceived as the strong and powerful. This hierarchy of gender identities is constructed in a relational way through social practices, where the language is the principal means of expression, knowledge and approach to reality. Despite the fact that the identity tends to be thought as a monolithic manner, Pujal & Amigot (2009) point out that the identity(ies) is conditioned by the social and historical contexts and therefore, it contains the inequalities from where the violence upholds. In this sense, we are faced with the need to broaden the look and understand gender violence beyond the pre-established structures and expanding the listening of the discourses of social inequality and gender violence.

Presently, the problem that represents the gender violence, has managed to position itself in political and legal discussions and placing it in the public agendas of many countries; an example of this are the International Conventions whose goals are to guarantee a life free of violence for women. However, despite the work that has been required for the structuring of laws and agreements, the figures of the National Citizen Observatory on Femicide (2018) are discouraging. Is impossible not to question, what needs to be done to eradicate gender violence if the laws -even though they are a step to close its paths, have not been sufficient? To which discourses responds, what are the ideas, values, thoughts and behaviors of men and women, that legitimize and reproduce it?

Discourses, gender and power. The approach to the discourses of every country around gender violence, allows us to understand the impact of the political, economic, and cultural context, which builds and structure the forms of organization and reproduction of gender violence, to undertake the paths for its eradication.

Nevertheless, the concept of gender has been one of the central axes of the feminist studies, affected by the processes of transformation according to which advances the theory throughout history. According to the feminist theories, the notion of gender seeks to understand the feminine and the masculine as a social and cultural construction. Curiel (2007) argues that identifying the different features of gender in society makes it possible to reflection and rupture of the gender roles as something innate.

Lagarde (1996^a), address gender as a social code based on the physical body/sex, from where it is determined the social role of each person within cultural contexts. However, it would be necessary to add the relevance of culture and geographical location in the gender categories. Both Lagarde (1996^b) as Juliano (2012) point out that the construction and understanding of gender is determined by the various worldviews developed in the cultures of each country or context. In this way, each society, village or region, has a different perception of gender, based on its own cultural practices, in the historical process, in the background of each society and in the construction of the nationalism of the place.

Categories of gender male/female are constructed through social arrangements, since the otherness builds us: we are men and women because the place that the other person occupies, positions us. In other words, gender is not determined by nature, but it is a social construction where interfere elements of power (Butler, 2015^b). Therefore, gender is an amphibious process that goes with the pace and the discursive cultural elements of societies: political, religious, economic, ethical and moral values, as well as the cultural rituals of each context.

Although is not always obvious, discourses and words have effects on the context where they have been heard by interfering in how we understand the world and social problems. However, those discourses that are a part of day to day become rituals, discourses are repeated in the media, in commercials, on the news, etc., cease to have a momentary effect and transcend in time (Butler, 2004). In other words, what we say or share have momentary effects which by being socialized and repeated in the community give meaning to the social world. The question lies in what are the discourses that transcend time, what does it take for a discourse to socialize or not, or how is that societies promote ideas, thoughts, and beliefs in the community that have an effect in the individuality of the people, while other discourses are rejected by the same context.

According to Van Dijk (1999), the effect of the discourses depends on its linkage with the position from which they are issued, with the understanding that the power per se is not a bad thing, the problem appears when you use the power to abuse, domination, manipulation and exploitation. That is, the discourses are powerful only if they are linked to a position of power, and become weapons of exploitation when used for the handling of societies.

There is a great deal of discourses with ideological loads but only those issued by agencies or -who had been legitimized- will have the ability to influence on people. For example, the academics discourse, the

ecclesiastical, political speeches, or those who occupy a privileged place in society, which are not necessarily negative, provided that, the use of power responds to the truth and equality of rights for the whole of society. These agencies or figures of power have the ability to deliver with more strength to the population and achieve that their discourse will be legitimized through the sustain that of its position in the context entails. In this way, societies - through time and social dynamics- legitimize discourses, beliefs or ideas, thoughts and values, whereby are organized.

These beliefs that exist in the social imaginary, lead societies to act in one way or another. This set of ideas, opinions, beliefs, is known in social sciences as social representations: the way in which people understand and represent the world, our reality, and communicate with the rest.

Social representations and gender violence. To refer to social representations is to refer to collective thinking, which emerge in societies as a group through the governing their behaviors. The social representations serve people as a way of processing the knowledge acquired in the socialization, to develop cognitively their experiences, and organize individually the social knowledge (Umaña, 2002). In response to the problems of society *as a group* and not as the fantasy of people in-connect, Butler (2015a) argues that the collective thought carries in itself discourses of power that are set in the individual psyche, and that by not being challenged - by the complexity implies- the individual assimilates the social discourse making its own.

If the analysis of the collective thinking allows to crystallize the social dynamics, analyzing the gender violence from the social representations allows access to the structuring of the ideas, behaviors, beliefs and values that reproduced it. Not only as a problem of oppression and domination, but also as a consequence of the language from where is articulated by providing codes and meanings that the legitimized.

The effects of words lie in the power they have on people, the pain of what lies in the linguistic expressions, and in the discourses that precede the acts. Xenophobic and/or misogynist ideas and behaviors produce something painful. In this way, the act becomes a consequence of the language that carries a load of historical, cultural, social, as Zemelman (2001) point out, these are not simple isolated categories, but part of the preconceived schemes that we have and that are loaded with contents. In other words, there is no reality unrelated to language.

The discourses phrase around gender violence, those who reproduced it as well as those who try to understand it, carry along items whose symbols and meanings that penetrate societies and act on it, both for its reproduction as well to eradicate it.

Those discourses that overwhelm constantly societies through positions of power influence the perception of reality in the contexts. The discourses on gender violence are issued from scenarios of greater influence in the society. In summary, these linguistic processes and the ways in which society communicates are part of the process by which knows and translates the world. The social representation of gender violence involves not only a name - which in many cases already represents a step forward through recognizing its existence - but also how it is named and which elements interfere in this conceptualization.

Gender violence, social representations, and contexts. As described earlier, the social representations are ways to understand social reality; therefore, it is undeniable that this translation of reality is grounded in the values and patterns of each context. However, this emphasis to make these differences, especially between countries, has two edges. On the one hand, a sense of identity to recognize a way of belonging and, on the other hand, a way to legitimacy of the differences. This idea influence on the social subjectivities, from which we learn to reject what resembles to us building hierarchies of power among the people. In other words, the constant duality is not coincidental: women-men, white-black, rich-poor, foreign and local, etc., instated is the result of the socialization of discourses of rejection and domination (Juliano, 2012).

Hence the importance of analyzing gender violence from the discursive differences in social contexts, so are its implications in the (re)construction of social representations of a problem so ingrained as gender violence. According to Galtung (2003) when a problem has such deep roots, the solution seems slow and produces an unbearable feeling, therefore, on many occasions, societies in this context prefer to ignore it and deny it.

In this text, the cultural elements of the contexts discussed are relevant to understand part of the construction of the Social Representations of Gender Violence. In the case of the Mexican population, it is necessary to bear in mind the drag of the colonization and the impact it has on current practices. Formerly, the Mexican State is built on scaffoldings of the colonization, a State that continues to be structured on the basis of the figure of colonizer man: powerful and patriarchal (Segato, 2017).

For example, Belausteguigoitia (2007) address the case of *La Malinche* as a historical background essential for understanding the situation of Mexican women from history, which in addition is still held in the social imaginary of Mexican society. As explained by Anzaldúa (2016), the word *malinche* stands in Mexican society to describe the life of the Mexican women who leave the country, who are recriminate by an alleged abandonment to the country of origin, and blemish of *malinchistas, rajadas or treacherous*, for feeling that they

betray their role of women in this context and adopt another which, from that perspective, it is not accurate to them.

In response to these considerations, both Butler (2015a) as Van Dijk (1999) point out how the identities of the peoples historically oppressed have internalized the discourses of power turning them into their own, making it difficult to be perceived as a problem. This also holds true for gender violence; meaning that people has historically lived gender violence as a cultural expression.

The hegemonic discourses around gender violence are modified according to the changes of social context; however, there are discourses that maintain the violence and which are intrinsically rooted to the cultures in a crosscutting manner. Therefore, the importance of the approach to the stories of communities from people's own voice.

On the other hand, the human experience plays an important role in how they perceive the social phenomena. Experiences can go through the body of those who live it and place it in the collective world as something common, something that is shared. In these sense, when experiencing, people live a series of feelings which are given a meaning according to the context in which they live, that experience has an impact on the construction of how the world is perceived and understood (Vivero, 2012).

By changing social context, everything acquires a greater complexity, where the discourses that people face are different and cause effects that force to question their own identity (affected by the socialization of the hegemonic discourses and spaces that give meaning to each group depending on their characteristics). The discourses of each person are intrinsic to social representation of its context and its origin.

II. METHODOLOGY

The aim of this research is to analyze the social representations of gender violence, which are built from the social interaction between people (the meaning and value that bring to social phenomena). The paradigm of symbolic interactionism as a focus of interpretation "provides a series of indicators that allow the reconstruction of the content of the social representations" (Umaña, 2002:49) giving access to the realities of the people and how to structure their concepts in a process of interaction and not as something static.

According to Blumer (1982), symbolic interactionism explains the acts of individuals and their communication as a result of the ways to interpret the social world that surrounds them, a way to learn and translate the symbols through the meaning given to them in the interaction.

The research process entail semi-structured interview since this technique allows to carefully analyze the discourses of people openly and without specific questions to limit their answers. The fieldwork was carried out in two different countries: Mexico and Spain, for the comparative analysis of the perception of gender violence and the differential impact on the construction of discourses. The choice of both countries as locations for study responds to that there is no research that holds the objective of the study where a qualitative approach is apply, or where the concept of gender is analyzed beyond the perspective of couple relationships.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to 16 Mexican nationals, 8 living in Spain (4 men and 4 women), and 8 living in the city of Guadalajara, Mexico (4 men and 4 women). The socio-economic status (middle-high) and the level of studies (bachelor's degree) was defined by the sample of the Mexican people that reside in Spain. In the case of the interviews in Mexico, these took place in the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara, Mexico. The profiles of the people interviewed in Mexico respond to those of Spain, with the objective that economic and social characteristics were not a matter of variations in the discourses, and the analysis would allow a real and accurate comparison.

The analysis of the results was conducted in two levels: In the first level of analysis Atlas ti Software was used to identify the words most frequently and less utilized in the discourses of both populations. With the objective of identifying the most evident variations in the content of the discourses. For the second level, utilized a critical analysis of the discourse in which they were created five categories to identify the elements that build the social representations of gender violence. Within these five categories of analysis, three were previously established in the interviews (I, II and III) and the last two categories (IV and V) emerged during the development of the analysis. At both levels of analysis was conducted a segregation by gender and country of residence.

III. RESULTS

In the first level of analysis, there were some differences in the words most frequently used in each country, in the case of the interviews in Mexico the most mentioned word was *violence* (195) while in Spain the most mentioned word was *Mexico* (218). This reflects that the persons interviewed in Mexico see no need to mention the country because the interview was conducted within the same country, however for those who are outside the country the reference of the Mexican context becomes necessary.

Once identified the words of all interviews by country of residence, a count was conducted dividing the interviews of men and women in both countries of residence. Here the differences were much more striking, for

example, in the case of the word more referred to in all the interviews applied to women the pronoun *He* was the most appointed word with 241 repetitions, while for men, the most referred word was *Violence* (231).

On the other hand, in both countries the people interviewed made reference to women but in a different manner, in the interviews in Spain the word used is *They (Ellas)* (157) while in Mexico the word *Women* was explicitly mentioned (147). In Spain the word *Violence* (155) was in third place, while in Mexico *Violence* appears in the first place (195). Both in Mexico and in Spain men appears in third place: In Mexico directly with the word *Men* (108) and in Spain with the word *Him* (138).

The most relevant differences were related to the levels of violence in Mexico; the people make use of words that denote or describe acts of physical violence (hanging, rape, mutilation, murder and death) that do not appear in the interviews carried out in Spain. The same happened with words that make reference to religion (religion, catholic, Baptism, Bible and church) were mentioned in the interviews in Mexico but not in Spain.

One remarkable difference was that in the case of women, the word *house* was the third most mentioned (139) while in the interviews with men this word did not obtained the same relevance (40 times). That is to say, women mentioned the word *house* more than twice as often as men. The same occurs with words like *son* (94) or *mother* (94) mentioned by women while men only named *mother* (11) and *son* (25) occasionally.

The reference to women was a constant in all cases. However, it is important to note that in the interviews carried out to women there was a tendency to use the plural *Women* (130) instead of the *woman* in singular (119), while men used more the singular *woman* (150) than *Women* in plural (126). As to the words least mentioned that may have a direct conceptual relationship with gender violence, men and women agreed: *rape* was used by women and men 18 times and by men 11 times, in the same way that harassment was mentioned six times by women and nine by men.

Among other findings, there is the difference with the word *jealousy*, which although was not found among the most mentioned in the interviews, men used (15) much more than women (1). Something similar happened with the word compliment (*piropo*), men used it 7 times, while women did not mention. Finally, the word femicide was mentioned four times in the interviews with men, while in the discourses of women was not mentioned at any time.

In a second level of analysis the first category **I. Notions of gender violence**, attempts to respond to the limits in the construction of gender violence. Both in Mexico and in Spain, there is a noticeable social change in all forms of exercise, understand and positioning before the gender violence. And although the idea that something is changing is perceived, there are differences between whether these changes are positive or negative. The men interviewed expressed that there is a decrease in the violence and greater *opportunities* for women. On the other hand, women claim a negative change, since they perceive new forms of exercise that are even more difficult to perceive because they tend to be more standardized.

That is to say, that for women- although they have reached new social spaces (such as labor or the politician) the social vision of equality continues to be hierarchical, and as a result have emerged new forms of violence.

Alan: *more often now people are viewing women as well as men, they are not being taking less into account as it was customary, (Guadalajara, Mexico).*

Patricia: *everyday there are deaths of women. Everyday. The media have normalized [...]* (Navarra, Spain).

In addition, as can be seen in the earlier quotes, in both countries the largest reference was to the physical violence of a man toward a woman. In particular, the men interviewed perceive the gender violence as a problem of partner relationships, whose first references were physical attacks.

Nevertheless, there were also mentions towards street harassment but not all them recognize it as gender violence. For the majority, this is a behavior associated to people *without education*, a compliment (*piropo*) or an act of courtship. However, this results problematic if we compare it with the perception that women have with respect to the harassment in the streets, since for all the women interviewed this was uncomfortable and violent. Having to develop coping strategies, such as the election of their clothing, the places of transit, and seek to do so accompanied.

Enrique: *I don't think is violence... depends on how you say it, to whom you say, from where..." how pretty you are- ¿Is that violence? I do not believe that is wrong (Guadalajara, Mexico).*

Karina: *for me to walk on the streets of Mexico is very uncomfortable, in the days of warm weather I wish I could go out in a little dress without sleeves, right? But this decision depends on where you are going (Guadalajara, Mexico).*

For their part, the women interviewed identified gender violence as a social issue and identify the street harassment, social mandates, misogynist attitudes, economic and labor violence, as forms of gender violence. In the case of the interviews carried out in Spain, most people agreed that gender violence in Spain was not as alarming. However, there were several interviews in which people said that this was a wrong perception based on a cultural tendency to maintain the problems in private (precluding to easily identify if the Mexican women residing in Spain could be living violence) meaning that, this do not respond to latent decrease but to a greater dissimulation.

A noticeable difference between the two countries was that in the case of the interviews in Mexico the people interviewed made reference to degrees of physical gender violence much more extreme. This is consistent with the results of the count of words in both countries (the first level of analysis) where words such as hanging, murdering and raping appeared in the speeches of Mexico with special relevance.

Natalia: do you know about the dolls? I can't believe it, they are selling mutilated persons, such as sex toys, they are women to whom limbs are cut, sometimes completely, hands and feet and sewing their mouths or cut off their tongues... so they do what they want with them. (Guadalajara, Mexico)

In the second category **II. Reactions towards violence**, the reactions of people interviewed in both countries –regarding people who lives or sees it - are only of surprise. And at the same time they affirm the non-intervention, which can be caused by the fear of receiving attacks; in other cases, they referred never raised question to intervene in the situation because it seemed to them to be part of daily life. Finally, the reactions of those who had lived gender violence expressed that by being within the situation, to react was very complicated, sometimes out of shame or fear of rejection in their social circles. Men and women in both countries of residence stated that gender violence has been standardized and is part of everyday life, therefore the people do not question themselves when it is visible, and on the contrary, they make an attempt to look the other way.

The reactions to gender violence are intrinsically linked to the constraint that each person has on gender violence. As seen before, men perceived street harassment as a cultural practice, which they legitimize and reproduce. While the reaction of women, hold anguish, anger or fear, for which they have had to develop coping and restraining mechanisms.

The third category of analysis, **III. Experiences with gender violence**, was crucial during the analysis, due to the differences between men and women in both countries of residence. The majority of people interviewed had experienced gender violence directly or indirectly, in the case of the interviews in Spain, they all occurred within a partner relationship and used physical, psychological and economic violence, also there were two cases in particular where there was an abuse of power by the legal status in the country of residence. The persons who shared their experiences with gender violence mentioned that while they were going through it, it was difficult to detect, and today it remains difficult to talk about it.

Blanca: when he said to me: -¡Go back to your fucking country! ¡Leave to your fucking country! - I couldn't say anything, not even to my mother or my brothers being so far, little could they do [...] I still don't know why I put up with so much abuse, (Navarra, Spain).

Unlike the case of Spain, in Mexico, the majority of the persons reported had seen or experience gender violence in the public sphere (highlighting the street harassment). However, for women who had experienced violence in the street and at home, they reported that the one that became from their partners had been more painful and difficult to overcome.

As we have pointed out above, an element that gives account of the experiential intensity is that the persons interviewed - in both countries- refer to maintain the latent memories through images, objects, sounds, or places that still produce pain and anguish. In this sense, it is irrefutable how the experiences, have been a determining factor for the construction of a concept of gender violence. For example, the individuals who had gone through an experience of gender violence indicated that it had been a watershed moment for their life projects, their careers and their relationship with other people.

Carmen: I had the prejudice all the time and said: - those women who get hit it's because they are stupid. Because if you get hit it's for pendeja, ¿how could he ever hit me? But I have lived gender violence... and had a career, a job ... I didn't saw it (Guadalajara, Mexico).

Instead, the majority of men expressed not having a close experience with gender violence and showed greater difficulty when attempting to describe any situation of violence that they could recall.

The category **IV. Typologies of gender**, was one of the first to arise during the analysis by the reiteration in all interviews conducted. In this category, the people interviewed commented that there are types of women and men with characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors that place people in different ways in the face of gender violence and from where they are attributed to a greater or lesser responsibility before the violence.

The typologies that emerged were: 1. Divorced women, 2. Women in a family, 3. Women responsible for gender violence, 4. Feminist women, 5. Protective men and 6. Men who execute gender violence.

1. *Divorced women*: appeared exclusively in the interviews of women, both in Mexico and in Spain, where the marital status of women as a social factor through which women violated. The interviewed reported that divorced women, are women who have gone through a process of divorce, (in some cases they are mothers and do not have a sentimental partner), these women are treated by the family and society with rejection, they are judged whether frequenting places of entertainment, and are perceived as needy women. In none of the interviews conducted to men appeared factors around the marital status as a cause of gender violence.

2. *Women in a family: mothers, wives or daughters*. In this typology, the persons interviewed described women who are mothers, sisters, wives, or part of a heterosexual family and carry out traditional tasks that are expected of women as taking care of the family, or marriage, among others. They were not given any responsibility for gender violence, on the contrary, gave them a different value in relation to other women. This typology appeared exclusively in the interviews with men, women on the other hand, did not commented on any occasion a difference between women who are mothers or wives to those who are not.

Jorge: a neighbor who got married, she was a daughter, she was mom but she was a daughter of a good family, you could say a great woman and she was raped... (Navarra, Spain)

3. *Women responsible for gender violence*: this typology was described by men and women in both countries of residence. The persons interviewed claim that there are women responsible for the gender violence, both inflicted to themselves and to other women. It was possible to identify two lines of responsibility: on the one hand, as women who incite violence through their clothing or their behavior in relation to their sexuality and, on the other hand, for being unable to put limits on gender violence.

4. *Feminist Women*: it was mentioned in both countries and by all persons. These are women who seek to eradicate gender violence, which do not adopt the traditional role of women and support women who have experienced gender violence. In the interviews with women this typology was perceived in a positive manner, while men claimed that these were exaggerated, extremist women, who are against gender violence but that look at the men as enemy, responsible for the violence.

5. *Protective Men*: appears exclusively in the interviews conducted to men in both countries of residence. It is a type of men that act against gender violence, protecting women in a situation of gender violence. According to the interviews, they are characterized by being brave and defend women from those who violent them. They make use of physical force to intervene, but is also mentioned the presence and verbal warning as strategies of protection to women.

Finally, the typology 6. *Men who executed gender violence*: was mentioned by both men and women, described as faceless men, separated from the community. That is to say, that does not form part of their social circles, men who have a disease or condition that distinguishes them and separates them from the men who live in society.

The second category that emerged during the analysis, is **V. Causes of gender violence**, where the persons interviewed mentioned that there are specific causes of gender violence. Women in both countries expressed as the main reason, the cultural customs and the inheritance of social and family values that are transmitted from generation to generation where a gender role with certain tasks, attitudes, characteristics of identity of men and women, where violence against women is normal and part of daily life.

Unlike what has been indicated by women, in the interviews with men, the causes of gender violence are the absence of an education and economic resources. The men interviewed claim that vocational training has an impact on the conduct of those who exercised the gender violence, stating that men who carry out macho or violent acts toward women, are those of low income or who do not have a formal education.

However, these was not the totality of all cases, other interviewees named elements as the consumption of harmful substances (drugs and alcohol) and psychopathology as possible causes of gender violence. In addition, it is argued that men who commit violence or sexual abuse are different individuals or special cases that suffer from a disease that distinguishes them from the rest of men. Finally, in concrete acts as sexual violence, it was recognized that it is serious problem now days but they expressed not knowing what causes it.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, the concept of gender violence is crossed by the understanding of gender and social and cultural practices, values and ideas of societies themselves. The analysis shows that the differences of the social representations of gender violence from context to context, are found, fundamentally, in the expressions of violence. Specifically, in contrast with the Spanish context, in the discourses of the people who reside in Mexico it outstands the expressions of gender violence by a logic of intensity very different from the Mexican persons interviewed in Spain, where words such as kidnappings, rapes, mutilations and hangings appeared. The details of the brutality take a relevant role in the construction of the notions of gender violence in each context

that could respond to the very high degrees of aggressiveness, disappearances and murders of women in the last decade.

In this way the reaction to the gender violence in the interviews in Mexico was determined by the degree or intensity of the act and not by the mere fact of being violent. Where sexual harassment on the streets, intimate partner violence, violence at work and the economic violence take degrees of minimum reactions in relation to the rape, abductions and mutilations, that is to say, acts of violence - are placed on a level of importance in relation to the cruelty of the act committed. The body of the women, as Segato (2013) points out, it has become a currency in the Mexican context.

Questions are raised, such as if there is a chance to talk about persons not as violent within acts of murder, and if it is possible to say that women were murdered with little violence. Talk about non-violent murders is an oxymoron, since death is a culminating event, as in the case of the femicides. However, this premise surrounds the contexts where quick deaths, the deaths without pain, the deaths without torture, are preferred. Thus, not to say that under any circumstances there are murders of one kind or another, but the seriousness of violence against women in some contexts must be reviewed from the social representations in intrinsic relation with reality.

The people interviewed in the Spanish context, unlike the ones interviewed in the Mexican context, have greater knowledge of the legal processes and protection toward women victims of gender violence, an issue which has an impact on the delimitation of gender violence, that is to say, that they recognized the gender violence as a crime.

However, the experiences of gender violence for Mexican women living in Spain represents a major failure, because on the one hand, social support networks can be smaller and on the other, the emigration to Spain represents for them and their social circle a success where the image of gender violence has no place. It is important to emphasize that the people interviewed in Spain perceive that in the Spanish context the problems tend to hide out of shame. Meaning that if a woman lives gender violence, she prefers not to talk about it with anyone and take it on her own. Although this factor was not explored in depth – while it was not part of the aim of the study - it is considered a vulnerability factor to all women who live in Spain.

With regard to direct or indirect experiences with gender violence it is evident that it becomes a central element that influences in a relevant way in the construction of the notion of gender violence, on the basis of which ideas and perceptions of violence are rebuilt and modify. In addition, it is necessary to emphasize that the majority of the direct experiences were narrated by women.

Nevertheless, this should not be surprising, the reality is that the results found in regard to the difference of the experiences between men and women reflects again the intention to highlight and point out these. It is important to note that, these differences are only a result of the hierarchization of equality, where, as already reported by Segato (2017), the bodies of the women have suffered the consequences in a country confronted by the abyss of economic inequality, and flogged permanently by the growth of capitalism, where, as Rosen, J. D., & Martínez, R. Z. (2015) point out, it seems that governments have not been able to cope with the situation and does not guarantee basic Human Rights such as life and freedom.

Hence, the results of this research suggest that when we are trying to understand how the social representations of gender violence are constructed, the trajectory of gender is an element of greater relevance than the own context. Such as the concept of gender violence of women, which has been broken by the hegemony of discourses, has gone beyond what the laws stipulate, and of what the media exposed. Women who have experienced gender violence constructed differently the concept of gender violence, but this does not mean that they are exempt from living it again. These are discourses from the singularity that, by inevitably going through the experience and by being analyzed with the rest of interviews break the lines of individuality and are linked with those of other women.

Therefore, that a lot of women perceive gender violence as a social problem exercised within and outside sentimental relationships, but also by managers, co-workers and people in their circles, being the street harassment the most referred to in all the interviews. These is not a knowledge we can learn about at schools, the struggle for life and freedom have become part of everyday life for women in Mexico influence their ways of understanding and living in society. As we have seen earlier, this is not the case with the social representations of gender violence of men, from which we may assume that in the absence of experiences of gender violence, these follow more the discourses of the media or the legislative frameworks, where gender violence is portrayed as a problem in the private sphere.

On the other hand, regarding the typologies that constructed the discourses, emerge a clear blaming of the victims mainly in the social representations of men in the *typology of women responsible*. While there is a difficulty for both men and women to conceive the aggressor within social circles of people including their own social context, this are alienated human beings, faceless human beings, whom are granted with non-human characteristics and are named as crazy persons, monsters, plague, and demonic beings. Hence, in the absence of

a clear identification of the origin of the problematic, people are faced with an impossibility of eradicating the behaviors and discourse that sustain and reproduce gender violence.

However, this "impossibility" to identify persons who exercise violence seems more as a resistance to recognize us as violent, than to the ignorance of whom exercise the gender violence. Also, the permanent ambivalence of the discourse in some of the interviews responds moments of social changes. Such as, to responding with conflicting ideas, resorting to silences or absences when trying to describe the causes of gender violence, where in the same interview persons could argue that it was due to a pathology suffered by the aggressors, and at the same time, due the absence of an academic education, or claiming that there is more respect towards women, and then argue that violence is increasing.

According to the theory of Moscovici (2000), the social representations have in common the fact of emerging in times of crisis and conflict, as a response to the needs of people to understand painful events, justify the behavior of other groups and be able to make the difference between them. According to this and the findings in the interviews, we can argue that currently a social restructuring is emerging from the different concepts related with the identities that place men and women in society, and as a result emerge new ways of understanding and representing the social phenomena.

In other words, the ambivalence and the contradictions in the individuality of the discourses respond to collective phenomena of all interviews - face by current societies - where the traditional discourses have been altered by the questioning of the new ways of thinking. Thus, a change of context creates a change in the construction of the social representations of gender violence? It clearly does, however, they respond only to the forms and the extent of the intensity of the violence. In summary, due a change of social context the construction of social representations of gender violence are modified but there are elements that have a greater impact on the perception of gender violence, such as the experiences lived and the gender trajectory. On the other hand, research suggests that changes in perceptions about gender violence between a context and another could be more evident depending on the social situation in the country of analysis.

The study points to the importance of making research that goes beyond the figures offer by the surveys on gender violence; that the numbers that appear in the statistics may not correspond to the reality of gender violence. But also to continue to build, and conducting research and work to raise awareness of gender violence, which only will no longer be necessary when societies are able to create and reproduce a culture of peace, understanding and the feeling of the other person, only then will we be able to eradicate gender violence.

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