



AALBORG UNIVERSITY  
DENMARK

# ¿ESPAÑA, PAÍS MACHISTA?

A TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACH TO GENDER VIOLENCE IN SPAIN



(Source: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/machismo-kills.html>)

Master Thesis European Studies – Global Gender Studies

Aalborg University 2018

Minodora Palaghia

Supervisor: Lise Rolandsen Agustin

## Abstract

This paper seeks to shed light on the reasons why gender violence is still a perpetual phenomenon in Spain, despite its advancement in gender equality. In particular, the paper investigates how feminist theories can explain gender violence in Spain and what are the representations of gender violence at state level, at individual level, and at cultural level. In order to achieve this, Walby's patriarchy theory was employed, but focusing only on three structures out of six, which were considered to be most relevant when analyzing gender violence: the patriarchal state, male violence and the patriarchal culture. In order to perform the research, different types of methods and analytical tools have been used. The research focuses on a single case, the case of Spain, and uses a mixed method approach, as qualitative and quantitative data are relevant when analyzing gender violence. The paper starts with the provision of a theoretical context which paves the way to understand the reasons and the root causes that allow the Spanish society to be permissive towards male domination. The purpose of the paper is to provide theoretical perspectives that can explain the conditions behind women's social and cultural inferiority, that foster their vulnerability to gender violence. A closer look will be taken at how past and present political options together with cultural traditions, help this situation to be maintained nowadays. The paper seeks to offer new/different perspectives on the issue of gender violence in Spain, and in order to achieve this, will look at the matter from a transformative standpoint, shifting the attention to men and masculinities.

# Table of contents

1.	Introduction.....	3
1.1.	Problem formulation .....	5
1.2.	Literature review.....	6
2.	Methodology.....	8
2.1.	Research Methods .....	8
2.1.1.	Motivation .....	8
2.1.2.	Case selection.....	9
2.1.3.	Mixed methods research.....	9
2.1.4.	Sources .....	10
2.1.5.	Transformative approach .....	11
2.1.6.	Ontological and epistemological considerations .....	13
2.2.	Choice of theories .....	14
2.3.	Limitations .....	15
3.	Theoretical framework.....	16
3.1.	Gender, gender inequality and gender violence .....	16
3.2.	Walby's patriarchy theory.....	19
3.2.1.	Patriarchal state .....	21
3.2.2.	Male violence .....	22
3.2.3.	Patriarchal culture .....	22
3.2.4.	Criticism to Walby's patriarchy theory.....	23
4.	Analysis.....	24
4.1.	Gender violence - magnitude of the problem – international context .....	<b>¡Error! Marcador no definido.</b>
4.2.	Patriarchy in Spain – analyzing gender violence through 'patriarchal' lens.....	24
4.2.1.	The Spanish patriarchal state .....	25
4.2.2.	Male violence in Spain .....	30
4.2.3.	Patriarchal culture in Spain .....	37
5.	Conclusions.....	41
6.	Bibliography .....	43

# 1. Introduction

Violence against women is the most widespread violation of human rights that currently exists around the world, a phenomenon common and normalized in many societies. It crosses different social classes, ethnic groups and religions, and women suffer by the mere fact of their female sexual condition. Deeply rooted in women's unequal status, the unbalanced distribution of social, political and economic power among women and men in society, violence against women is a form of discrimination that usually results in physical, sexual, psychological or economic suffering for women (Istanbul Convention, 2011). As a consequence, women's fundamental rights, such as gender equality, dignity and access to justice are seriously undermined (EU FRA a, 2014).

Violence against women, especially in the form of domestic violence, has been seen for many years as a private matter, where the state had limited role. However, in the last decades, more and more countries started to recognize domestic violence as a human right violation, and as a major public issue. A matter in which state intervention is required in their commitment to protect the citizens.

In 2005, World Health Organization (WHO) performed a first study on domestic violence, interviewing more than 24 000 women from 10 countries. The study showed that the phenomenon of violence against women is widespread and with serious health consequences. According to WHO, violence in the couple is the most common form of violence in women's lives, much more than the aggressions or violations perpetrated by strangers or acquaintances. Serious consequences for the health and well-being of women all over the world are caused by physical, sexual violence or other types of violence exercised by the partners or ex-partners against women. Together with these worrying results, another important aspect reported by WHO was the degree of concealment that surround this type of violence, and how important it is to treat domestic violence as a serious public health problem (WHO, 2005).

At the European Union level, a first EU-wide survey was carried out in 2014 in order to identify the extent and nature of violence against women in all 28 EU Member States. The results of the survey showed that violence against women is "an extensive human rights abuse" happening all across Europe, with one in three women reporting some form of physical or sexual abuse since the age of 15 and about 8% suffering physical and/or sexual violence in the last 12 months (EU FRA a, 2014:9).

Among the European states, Spain is considered one of the most developed countries, and according to the previously mentioned EU-survey regarding violence against women, with one of the lowest percentages of violence against women in Europe (22% women who have experienced physical/sexual violence by any partner or non-partner since the age of 15) (EU FRA b, 2014:28). Listed as 26th (out of 189 countries) in 2017 UN Human Development Index and as 28th in GDP per capita by the World Bank, Spain is placed among the countries of very high human development, and is classified as a high income economy (UNDP, 2018; OECD, 2018).

With a population of 46,4 million persons, out of which almost 51% (23,9 million) women, Spain is also ranking high in indexes measuring gender based inequalities. Two of these indexes are Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII), which measure gender inequalities in achievement in basic dimensions of human development such as health, education, command over

economic resources (GDI), respectively reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity (GII). According to the 2018 UNDP report, Spain has a GDI value of 0.979, placing it into Group 1 of countries with the best results (alongside countries such as France or Italy), while GII has a value of 0.080, ranking it 15th out of 160 countries. To highlight some of the indicators, in Spain 38.6% of parliamentary seats are held by women, 72.2% of adult women have reached at least a secondary level of education compared to 77.6% of their male counterparts, and female participation in the labor market is 52.2 % compared to 63.8% for men (UNDP, 2018). Moreover, according to the 2017 Women, Peace, and Security Index, which measures indicators such as women's inclusion (economic, social, political); justice (formal laws and informal discrimination); and security (at the family, community, and societal levels), Spain is placed as the 5th out of 153 countries (WPSI, 2017). Worth mentioning, Spain is the first country in the world with more women in the government than men; in 2018, under the social democrat government leading the country, out of 17 ministries, 9 seats were taken by women (EIDiario, 2018).

Taking into consideration these aspects, Spain can be considered one of the safest countries for women to live in, where women suffer the least from gender violence, violations and sexual abuse. However, in spite of all these achievements in connection with women's equality, rights and security, and in spite of the low ranking in terms of violence against women (compared to other European countries and not only), male dominance and violence against women still represent a major issue in Spain. Spanish media reports almost daily situations of extreme violence, women killed by their partners or ex-partners, women victims of gender violence (in Spanish 'violencia de género' or 'violencia machista'). Spanish specialists in gender violence claim that Spain is a male-dominated country ('pais machista'), and that there is a contradiction between a "theoretical" message in favor of gender equality and another "deeper and practical" against it. "If you are a man, you must be arrogant and taxable, if you are a woman, you must be conciliatory, renounce certain things and be the object of desire" (HuffPost, 2014).

'Violence against women' is placed by the Spanish people among the three major problems in the country and as one of their main personal problems, according to surveys carried out by the Sociological Research Centre since the year 2000 (NatObsGV, 2011:41).

Huge feminist marches and strikes are organized yearly on International Woman's Day in all major cities, demanding zero tolerance against gender violence and true equality. In the words of Ada Colau, the mayor of Barcelona, the reasons for the protests are "The same reasons as last year [...]: we continue to suffer structural violence, they continue to kill us, they rape us, attack us, and discriminate against us" (CatalanNews, 2019). On the other side of the problem, Spanish government admits the reality of the gender violence and that the current measures are failing to protect the victims, and promises to improve the political and legislative framework in order to combat the phenomenon (El Pais, 2018).

But what are some of the facts regarding gender violence in Spain?

- The most recent national survey (realized in 2015 by the Government Office against Gender based Violence) shows that 24,2% of the total number of women aged 16 or older residing in Spain have suffered physical and/ or sexual violence by a partner or non-partner in their lifetime (GOGV, 2015)

- The European survey realized by Fundamental Rights Agency in 2014 showed that 22% of the women living in Spain have suffered physical and/or sexual violence by a partner or a non-partner since the age of 15 (EU FRA b, 2014:28)
- In 2018 Police registered a record number of 166.961 complaints of gender violence, the worst year in terms of cases of violence against women in Spain, since 2003, when these statistics started (CGPJ, 2018)
- Since 2013, the number of complaints against gender violence has been increasing year by year, according to data provided by The General Council of the Judiciary in Spain (the constitutional body that governs all the judiciary bodies of Spain) (CGPJ, 2018)
- In 2018, official records confirmed a number of 158.590 women victims of gender violence, while in 2017 there were 158.217 (CGPJ, 2018)
- In 2018, official records show that there were 47 women killed due gender violence, while in 2017 there were 51 women killed. The total number of women murdered in Spain in the period 2003-2018 reached 975 (GOGV, 2018)
- Unofficial statistics count more victims of gender violence, reaching more than 1000 victims, since the year 2010; their argument is that not all victims of gender violence are included in the official statistics, since forms of gender violence like non-intimate femicides, sexual violence, trafficking of women, female genital mutilation are not recognized by law as gender violence (Feminicidio.net, 2019)
- Not only women are victims of gender violence, children are as well; since 2013, when the statistics started in Spain, there were recorded 27 children being killed by a partner or ex-partner of the mother
- In 2014, 30% of people over 18 years old in Spain said they knew a woman within their circle of family and friends who had been a victim of gender violence (GOGV, 2014)
- 72% of the victims of human trafficking in Spain are female; between 2015-2016, it is estimated that there were 460 victims of human trafficking in Spain, out of which 331 were women (EU Home Affairs, 2018).

### 1.1. Problem formulation

Researchers consider that, despite its scale and social impact, gender violence is considered in general a problem largely under-reported and relatively under-researched in key areas (EU FRA b, 2014:7). Gender violence represents a major issue in all societies, and countries like Spain, with huge advancements in terms of gender equality, women's rights or security, are confronting too with this problem. Spanish researchers such as Patricia Villavicencio, Maria Bustelo and Carmen Valiente from Complutense University of Madrid consider that discrimination and violence against women are realities in Spain, even though nowadays they may be seen as politically or morally incorrect. In order to tackle this problem, they believe a more comprehensive and gendered perspective is needed, involving the whole society and especially the men, since the root of the problem is unequal gender relations (Bustelo et al, 2007:667).

With this problem in mind, as a woman living in Spain, I find it interesting to investigate the reasons why gender violence is a perpetual phenomenon despite advancement in gender equality and all measures taken against it. Therefore, in this master thesis, my aim is to analyze the phenomenon of gender violence

in Spain; to do so, I will start with the provision of a theoretical context which will pave the way to understand the reasons and the root causes that allow the Spanish society to be permissive towards male domination. The focus will be on providing theoretical perspectives that can explain the conditions behind women's social and cultural inferiority, that foster their vulnerability to gender violence. A closer look will be taken at how past and present political options together with cultural traditions, help this situation to be maintained nowadays.

Thus, this master thesis will answer the following research question:

**- How can feminist theories explain gender violence in Spain?**

Since this is a broad research question, that can result in various perspectives of research, I will narrow it down to the following three subquestions:

**- What are the representations of gender violence at state level?**

**- What are the representations of gender violence at individual level?**

**- What are the representations of gender violence at cultural level?**

In order to answer the problem formulation, I will look at the matter from a transformative standpoint, shifting the attention to men and masculinities, and to the political and cultural factors that allow male dominance and violence against women to happen.

By adopting a transformative approach in my research on the topic, I wish to raise awareness about gender inequality, which often leads to violence against women. This is a major issue affecting women everywhere, and developed countries like Spain are confronting with it too. I believe that new, more effective ways to combat this social plague and to restore the balance of power between men and women should be sought, and analyzing the problem from different angles and perspectives can be a first step in achieving this objective.

## **1.2. Literature review**

Most literature on gender-based violence in Spain addresses the issue of 'domestic violence' in an affective-sexual heterosexual relationship, and the term 'violencia de género' or 'violencia machista' is used to highlight the gender inequalities at the roots of violence against women. However Spanish researchers point out that even though gender violence –mainly understood therefore as domestic violence, or to be more accurate, violence against women within intimate relations- is an extremely hot issue in Spain, this hotness has not been totally reflected on the existence of a prolific literature in this area (Reglero et al, 2007:7).

For the purpose of my research, in order to understand how it is represented the situation of gender violence in Spain, I have decided to look into previous studies and academic articles that focus on public policies and on the institutional response to the problem. I present below the most relevant ones for my study, which I believe that help me understand the previous perspectives on the matter and situate my research from a new/different angle.

One important article that drew my attention is written by Celia Valiente (Department of Economic History and Institutions in University Carlos III of Madrid) in 1999: 'But where are the men? Central-state public policies to combat violence against women in post-authoritarian Spain (1975-1999)'. The study reveals the one-sided approach in dealing with gender violence, remarking that policies focused on violence

against women are directed at victims, that is, women, but not at male perpetrators of violence, who are the cause of the problem. Such policies have mainly been of two types: legal reforms, in order to declare violent actions against women as unlawful and punishable; and social services for victims of violence, for instance, shelters for abused women. In Spain, these policies have reached only partial achievements because of the implementation deficit which exists in this policy area. Measures were formulated but weakly implemented.

Another important study on the topic is a book published in 2001 by Raquel Osborne, Sociology Professor at the UNED University in Spain, 'Violence against women: social reality and public policies'. The author explores how the concept of gendered violence was created to point out a problem suffered by women just for the sake of being women. This change happened from the seventies onwards in response to the demands made by the feminist movement. Sexual aggressions were redefined and contextualized as the expression of male's control and abuse over women. As a consequence, the attention derived from the stigmatized 'victims' to the 'doers' and perpetrators of these violent acts. Initiatives were promoted to encourage women to report domestic aggressions emphasizing the problem as a public issue rather than a private matter to be dealt with, within the couple.

Another important study offering a different perspective on the matter is an article discussing the legal response to gender-based violence. Manuel García Calvo, professor in the Department of Criminal Law, Philosophy of Law and History of Law of university of Zaragoza, addresses this topic in an article written in 2005, 'Evolution in the face of the legal response to family gender violence'. According to him, the penal response had as objective the punishment of the perpetrators in order to prevent gender violence, while legal punishment pretended to increase public confidence by exposing the offenders. These men represent a symbol of social reproach and this can easily divert the attention away from the underpinnings and roots of gender based violence.

There are also reports of Amnesty International analyzing the legal response to gender violence in Spain. The role of Amnesty International in the fight against gender violence is crucial, as they release important reports on the response of the health system to women victims, and on how women actually use the policy resources at hand. One of their report, 'Beyond documents. Making real the protection and justice for women suffering gender violence in a family setting' issued in 2005, is based on the testimonies of women survivors of gender violence in family settings. The report shows the obstacles that stop these women from having real access to appropriate assistance, protection and justice in Spain.

Another important study regarding gender violence in Spain is written by Patricia Villavicencio, María Bustelo and Carmen Valiente in 2007, 'Domestic violence in Spain'. Published in The Encyclopedia of Domestic Violence, the article gives an overall assessment of the problem, based on sociological and statistical data, and discusses the evolution of cultural risk factors for domestic violence in Spain. The institutional response to domestic violence in Spain is also addressed, identifying the different policy instruments that have been used to tackle this issue.

To sum up the literature review, a large part of the existing literature on gender violence in Spain places the woman in the center of the study, as predominant victim, and reiterates that gender violence is one of the most extreme expressions of gender inequality, a violation of women's human rights and their fundamental freedoms. It is worth mentioning that, looking at the previous studies on violence against



women in Spain, the evolution of the traditionally named 'domestic violence' to 'gender violence' is an achievement in the development of gender policies and highlights the result of gender inequalities in 'violence'. Spain has nowadays an advanced position in this regard, compared to other European countries, and gender violence is clearly represented as a gendered issue, a public problem deriving from gender inequality (Lombardo, 2016:8)

In my thesis, I wish to provide with a different perspective on the matter, by placing the man and the masculinity in the center of the research, and focusing on the underlying, structural causes of the violence against women. For this, I will look at the patriarchal structures and their influence in gender violence, by applying Walby's patriarchy theory. Therefore, this paper builds upon previous research and it looks at the problematization of gender violence in the Spanish case, seeking to provide with a new, different representation of the problem.

## 2. Methodology

In this chapter I will define the process used to write the thesis. First of all, I will describe the research methods adopted to draft the paper, introducing the main topic and the case selected. Secondly, I will introduce the theoretical tools necessary to conduct the research. Lastly, the limitations of the research will be addressed, in order to present the general framework of the analysis.

### 2.1. Research Methods

In this section, I will explain the methodological considerations and the choices made throughout the research.

#### 2.1.1. Motivation

As a first consideration, it is important to state that in my opinion, gender inequality and as a consequence, gender violence, represents a complex and multidimensional problem embedded in all societies, which needs to be further investigated and fought against at all levels. Hence my decision to take gender violence as a topic for the master thesis. I am aware of the fact that there is already a vast literature on the subject, given the importance and social impact of this social phenomenon; but choosing a topic that truly reflects my interest, even if it may not guarantee good research questions or wise angles to look at the matter, makes it more likely to keep up the good work and develop new ideas (Bänsch, 1999:33). Going further, while searching for data on 'gender violence' or 'violence against women', I have found numerous books, studies, survey and articles, analyzing the matter from different perspectives, which made it difficult to narrow down my research to a specific aspect and a specific problem formulation. However, due to my particular interest in the country that I currently reside in, and because in Spain a special focus is given to gender violence, I have chosen to analyze this phenomenon in my master thesis. Spain is considered one of the most developed countries in Europe and in the world in terms of human rights, gender equality, and even women's security. Nevertheless, gender violence still occurs, and cases of extreme violence and death of women victims of gender violence are reported daily by the Spanish media. Gender violence is seen as a major problem, and women in Spain demand zero tolerance and better measures against it, in order to eradicate the phenomenon and achieve true gender

equality. As an outsider of the society, I see this situation also as a paradox, because, in contrast to Spain, in countries for example such as Romania (my birth country), that has higher rates of gender violence and major gaps in gender equality, there is no social or political movement against it.

Going further, another important consideration that I need to make here is related to the term gender violence. In my thesis, I will use the term 'gender violence' in the meaning of the Spanish term – *violencia de genero*, or *violencia machista*, which can be defined as “any act of violence (...) which, as a manifestation of discrimination, situation of inequality and the power relations of men over the women, is exercised over them by those who are or have been their spouses or of those who are or have been linked to them by similar relationships of affectivity, even without coexistence. (...) that has or may result in a physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering for women, as well as threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether they occur in public life as well as in private life” (InMujer, 2019). In the literature, the terms 'gendered violence', 'gender-based violence' and 'violence against women' are often used interchangeably. Violence against women, however, is not synonymous with the first two terms; rather, it is a subcategory under gendered violence as it focuses only on harm or suffering inflicted on women. While they are most commonly applied to look at violence that targets women, the terms 'gender-based violence' and 'gendered violence' also allow for consideration of violence directed towards men for failing to live up to society's masculine ideal, or gay men, for instance. Although my thesis focus exclusively on the violence directed towards women, I have opted to use the term 'gender violence' as it draws attention to how violence is rooted in gendered norms and power relations – and this is one of the key considerations of the research.

### **2.1.2. Case selection**

Since I have chosen to investigate gender violence only in the case of Spain, and not discussing the situation in general, or in other countries, the research can be considered to be a case study. A case study is a “detailed and intensive analysis of a single case [...] concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question” (Bryman, 2012:66). This means that the thesis will provide a thorough understanding of the situation and underlying assumptions behind gender violence in Spain. However, it also entails that the generalizability can be low, because it is uncertain whether one case is representative on a more general level due to a restricted external validity. This does not imply that the findings are insignificant, but it is important to be aware that the findings may only apply to the particular analyzed case, in this thesis, the case of Spain. However, similar situations are likely to be found in other Mediterranean or catholic countries, that also struggle with a perpetual violence against women.

### **2.1.3. Mixed methods research**

The fact that my research addresses only a single case also means that it is rather a qualitative study. As I will look into women's situation in Spain and the structural causes that allow male dominance and male violence, a qualitative approach is the best suited option. Quoting Susan Wyse “qualitative research is primarily exploratory research. It is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research” (Wyse, 2011, para. 3). By contrast, quantitative research “is used to quantify the problem by way of generating numerical data or data that can be transformed into usable statistics. It is

used to quantify attitudes, opinions, behaviors, and other defined variables” (Wyse 2011, para. 4). When analyzing official or unofficial reports regarding gender violence, articles, interviews and other documents concluded by national or international organizations, qualitative data will allow me to go in-depth, in order to understand the extent of the phenomenon, and also to extract the most relevant information for my study.

However, during my research, I have learnt that in understanding the phenomenon of physical or sexual violence against women, significant relevance is given by quantitative studies, which help identify the magnitude of the problem, factors and mechanisms underlying violence. Therefore, a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative with qualitative data methods and analysis, should offer better means of investigating the topic at hand. This is because qualitative research provides important insight into the subjective experience of violence and a greater understanding of the context and meanings associated with it, while the combination or integration of the two approaches, known as mixed methods research, offers perhaps the best and most thorough means of understanding violence against women (Murphy & O’Leary, 1994:219).

Also, according to researcher Glenn Bowen, previous studies on the topic create the framework/groundwork for further research as they are a great source of data. But it also requires “the researcher to rely on the description and interpretation of data rather than having the raw data as a basis for analysis” (Bowen, 2009:38). This method of data analysis is often supplemented with other sources of information to satisfy the principle of triangulation and increase trust in the validity of the study’s conclusions, and thus involves cross-checking multiple data sources, in order to evaluate the extent to which all evidence lead.

As previous studies on the topic are important to consider given the topic of my research, in order to satisfy the principle of triangulation (for confirming, reinforcing or rejecting different findings), I will use a mixed methods approach, integrating qualitative data with quantitative data.

However, I have to mention that for the purpose of my research I will not produce quantitative data, as I will not perform interviews or surveys in order to collect empirical data. Instead, I am relying on quantitative studies already performed, such as statistics provided by the World Health Organization, Spanish authorities, or other European organizations.

#### **2.1.4. Sources**

The empirical data collected in order to conduct the present research includes as primary data official reports published by World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations, Unicef, Amnesty International, the Fundamental Rights Agency of European Union (EU FRA), as they provide information on the extent of the gender violence in worldwide, in Europe and in Spain.

In order to analyze in detail the magnitude of the gender violence in Spain, I have used as primary data official reports and statistics provided by different official bodies that offer information on gender violence, such as The Institute of Women (an independent organization, attached to the Ministry of the Presidency, Relations with the Courts and Equality, which seeks to promote the conditions that allow social gender equality and the full participation of women in political, cultural, economic and social life), The Observatory against Domestic and Gender Violence (an institution currently integrated into the General

Council of the Judiciary; the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of the Presidency, Relations with the Cortes and Equality; the Ministry of the Interior; the State Prosecutor General; it analyzes data from the Judicial Administration, compiling data from judicial statistics: number of cases reported to the police, protection orders, judgments, victims, etc.), The Center for Sociological Research (performs studies on the perception of gender violence based on the analysis of samples) and The National Institute of Statistics (which offers annual data on the socio-demographic characteristics of the victims, with order of protection or precautionary measures issued, and of the persons reported in domestic violence or gender violence).

For the purpose of my research, I have also looked into judicial statistics, such as the number of cases reported to the police, protection orders, judgments, following especially the cases that lead to death of the women victims of the gender violence. Given the high number of such cases, I have chosen to narrow down the analysis, looking only at the cases that appeared in the media since 2003, the year when the statistics regarding victims of gender violence started in Spain.

Other primary sources are non-official statistics about victims of gender violence, such provided by the website *Feminicidio.net*. As stated in their website, *Feminicidio.net* is an observatory of organized civil society, with the aim to document and make visible a normalized crime in the Spanish society: femicide, the murder of women for being women. It is a non-profit project of the association *La Sur* created in 2016, providing reports, interviews, articles, special investigations and reports on femicide and gender violence in Spain and Latin America. It also contains *Geofeminicide*, a technological application, free to use and available to NGOs, public institutions and media that allows online documentation of femicides and murders of women (*Feminicidio.net*, 2019).

As secondary sources, I have used previous studies and articles published on the topic. In this regard, I mention the article written by Patricia Villavicencio, Maria Bustelo and Carmen Valiente, 'Domestic Violence in Spain', published in 2007 in the *Encyclopedia of Domestic Violence*. The article it is useful in my research as it presents the evolution of the risk factors for violence against women in Spain. In my thesis I will try to build upon this analysis, and explain the structural and systematic nature of the violence, linking it to societal norms within which masculinity exerts dominance and violence against women. Other secondary data was also collected, from books, reports, academic papers, newspaper articles and so on, that deal with the topic and provide relevant information on the matter.

### **2.1.5. Transformative approach**

Considering the topic of the thesis and the mixed methods approach, I felt compelled to adopt the transformative framework to guide the research and writing of the paper. One reason for this choice is that I am aware of the fact that by being a woman living in Spain and researching on a topic so complex and sensitive as gender violence, I cannot maintain a neutral tone, and that my cultural background, personal life history and experiences will influence the understanding, interpretation, acceptance and belief or non-acceptance of the sources and research findings. My positionality affects therefore my research. My personal view is that there is an unequal balance of power between men and women in all societies, and violence is a way for masculinity to exert and maintain the control and dominance over women. In Spain, women are more empowered than in many countries, but the reality is that violence

against women still exists, and it should be addressed as a major issue, that needs to be fought against at all levels.

In support of my choice to adopt the transformative approach, I mention here the concern that exists among social researchers regarding mixed method studies. According to Sweetman et al (2010), mixed methods studies are not interpretative enough and do not contain advocacy stances. Values are part of all research and the goals of investigation should be directed toward social justice and addressing the human condition in the society. More concrete, they argue that issues of power imbalances and the marginalization of underrepresented groups in our society should be addressed, the injustices that continue even today, and that researchers play an important role in examining these issues (Sweetman et al, 2010:441).

In order to adopt an advocacy stance, the transformative approach can be used, as it applies well to researches that address specific issues such as inequality, oppression, domination, suppression. This approach provides with 'a lens for looking at a problem recognizing the non-neutrality of knowledge, the pervasive influence of human interests, and issues such as power and social relationships' (Creswell, 2014:110).

The transformative approach has some key features which are important to be considered. First, it places central importance on the study of lives and experiences of diverse groups that have traditionally been marginalized. Of special interest for these diverse groups is how their lives have been constrained by oppressors and the strategies that they use to resist, challenge, and subvert these constraints. Second, in studying these diverse groups, the research focuses on inequities based on gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, or socioeconomic class that result in asymmetric power relationships. Lastly, the research in the transformative approach links political and social action to these inequities, and uses a program theory of beliefs about how a program works and why the problems of oppression, domination, and power relationships exist (Creswell, 2014:39).

It is important to mention that the transformative framework was developed by the distinguished scholar Donna Mertens in 2003, and that the framework has immediate applicability for the inclusion of an advocacy perspective in mixed methods studies. The framework has the assumptions that knowledge is not neutral and is influenced by human interests, knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and the purpose of knowledge construction is to aid people to improve society. Issues such as oppression and domination become therefore important to study (Sweetman et al, 2010:442).

The framework can be linked to the steps in the process of research, guiding the researcher through several criteria formulated as questions. To best position a mixed methods study within the transformative framework, in the opening passages of the study it should be stated that a transformative perspective is being used, related to a marginalized or underrepresented community, and that there are specific issues (e.g. oppression, power) that researchers need to address about this community (Sweetman et al, 2010:452). In the case of my thesis, I mentioned in the Problem formulation section that I will use a transformative approach in order to investigate gender violence in Spain, in an attempt to explain male dominance and violence against women through the feminist theories.

Furthermore, the framework should be used within a theoretical body of literature (Sweetman et al, 2010:452). In my case, I will use the transformative approach within the feminist research, and theories such as patriarchy theory will be applied in order to understand the influence of patriarchal structures on gender violence in Spain.

Another important element of the framework regards the introduction, that needs to identify the specific issue of the population under study and involve the community of concern in the process of research. Whether the researcher is a member of the marginalized group being studied is of great relevance, because in this way he is able to understand their issues at a deeper level. Going further, the research questions and purpose statements should use advocacy language that suggests that an issue exists (e.g., power relationships) that needs to be examined (Sweetman et al, 2010:452). In my situation, the fact that I am a woman residing in Spain, married to a Spanish man, and therefore living in a Spanish family, means that inevitably I am affected by the social implications of gender inequality and gender violence present in the society. Also, it means that I have the relevant insights to investigate and understand the issue at hand, as I am an insider, and in the same an outsider of the problem.

Finally, a transformative mixed methods study should end by advocating for change to help the population under study and the issue. This part in the research is critical, as it enables the researcher to be transformative, as opposed to reporting findings and moving on. This means that the mixed methods transformative researcher should not stop at simply describing a problem but should suggest solutions for how these problems might be overcome (Creswell, 2014:108).

The transformative framework will guide me in the process of research, and through my study I hope to provide with a different perspective on the matter, and to identify possible solutions that can be applied in the Spanish case.

#### **2.1.6. Ontological and epistemological considerations**

Regarding the research philosophy, I have taken into consideration ontological and epistemological dimensions. Ontology represents the way we see the reality and understand existence, while epistemology talks about knowledge and the way in which one can obtain it.

Within ontology one can take the Positivism approach, the reality being independent in regards with the observer, thus the researcher will have an objective epistemological standpoint. In the opposition situates the Interpretivism approach, where knowledge is relative to the observer, thus taking a subjective epistemological position.

Since my research focuses on concepts like gender, gender violence, gender equality, in this regard I want to point out that my approach follows Judith Butler's view on gender as socially constructed, and not biological (Butler, 1990:6). Therefore, within this research, the epistemological assumption is that *"knowledge claims are always socially situated"* (Harding, 1993:54), and the way we conceptualize things and what kind of standard of epistemic inquiry we use are socially and historically decided. This is also in line with the transformative approach adopted within my research, where the ontological assumption is that socially constructed realities are influenced by power and privilege (Mertens as quoted by Sweetman et al, 2010:451).

Moreover, the way of knowing is affected by researcher's gender, class and racial background. The gender identity of the researcher is a main social aspect of the investigation, therefore in my research I will take an interpretivist approach. This is as well supported by the transformative framework that guides my research, and means that my positionality, my cultural background, personal life history and experiences will influence the understanding, interpretation, acceptance and belief or non-acceptance of the research findings.

## **2.2. Choice of theories**

In order to develop the research on gender violence in the case of Spain, I have decided to adopt a deductive approach. This means that the theories, the way they are selected and used to guide the analysis are of great importance. I am aware of the fact that by working deductively there is the risk to miss important features in the data by focusing only aspects that are important in relation to the theory. Nevertheless, I will make an effort to avoid this by paying attention to all important aspects in terms of gender violence, and including them in the analysis and discussion.

Regarding my choice of theory, I thought it appropriate to focus on one representative theory in the field, that should provide a framework within which the social phenomenon of gender violence can be understood: the patriarchy theory. According to a report of the United Nations (UN Report, 2003:1), violence against women is deeply rooted in cultural and religious beliefs, and change is often vehemently resisted by the communities perpetrating the acts of aggression. "Violence against women is one of the key means through which male control over women's agency and sexuality is maintained". Gender violence is grounded in larger social structures of inequality rather than in the dynamics of interpersonal relationships, therefore it is important, if not crucial, to analyze the social structures that give rise to this problem. By applying the theory of patriarchy in the Spanish case, I hope to discover a new perspective on the matter, since the attention is shifted to men, masculinity and the social structures that allow men dominance and violence against women to happen.

Patriarchy is seen by scholars as a fundamental tool for the analysis of gender relations, a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Walby, 1990:20). From the six structures that constitute Walby's theory of patriarchy, in my thesis I will analyze the following three, that I consider more relevant to the problem investigated: the patriarchal state, male violence and the patriarchal culture.

The fact that I have selected for analysis only three structures from Walby's patriarchy theory means that I wish to investigate in depth those aspects related to gender violence, focusing on different perspectives – top-down- the state representation on gender violence, and bottom-up- the male violence level and the Spanish culture.

The other patriarchal structures are also important and can be used to explain gender inequalities (and to further extent, gender violence), however, given the constraints in terms of time and paper-length, in this research I will not focus on them.

### 2.3. Limitations

As mentioned before, the topic of gender violence, in the meaning of violence against women, is a complex one and the perspectives that can be looked upon are numerous. In order to maintain a clear line of research, I had to make some limitations, which I am presenting in the following paragraphs.

First limitation refers to the case analyzed in this thesis, which is the Spanish case. One may argue that the Spanish case is not representative, given the good ranking in gender equality indexes or the low results of the violence against women statistics, compared with other countries. However, I consider the case to be a paradox and worth investigating: in a highly developed country like Spain, male dominance and violence against women are still structural problems in the society, and the extent of the phenomenon may be greater than the what the official statistics present. Why the number of women reporting gender violence increase every year, and other aspects such as invisible victims, need to be investigated.

Another limitation is that I have chosen to look at gender violence, in the meaning of the term used in Spanish- *violencia de genero*. *Violencia de genero*, or gender violence in the Spanish context is understood to be all physical and psychological acts of violence (including attacks on sexual freedom, threats, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty) carried out against a woman by a man who is or has been her spouse, or who is or has been linked to her by a similar sentimental relationship even if without cohabitation. There are numerous studies and research that address intimate partner violence or domestic violence, which refer to violence that can be carried out by both a man or a woman. As a researcher, I do not claim that violence against men does not exist, or that is less important than violence against women. I believe that it is important to defeat violence regardless the victim's gender, sexuality, race, class or other criteria. However, it is generally accepted the fact that gender violence represents mainly violence against women, and that men are predominantly the perpetrators. Women can also perpetrate violence, and men and boys can be victims of violence at the hands of both sexes, but the overwhelming majority of the cases are violence against women (EU FRA b, 2014:7).

Moreover, when looking at gender violence, I have chosen not to analyze separately different forms of violence. Some of the sources used in this thesis provide data separately on type of violence, such as physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence, economic or material violence. For the purpose of my research, I will use the data on gender violence as a total, regardless of the type of violence referred to.

From a geographical point of view, I have chosen to analyze the phenomenon of gender violence at national level, and not separated by regions. Even though some of the sources I use in the analysis provide data separated by regions, I have chosen not to take them as such, as this is not the object of my research.

Another limitation is referring to the period of time for which data is provided by the statistics and official reports. According to the Spanish government, the statistics regarding gender violence started in 2003. Therefore, in order to narrow down the empirical sources, I will look mainly at cases that appeared in the media since 2003 onwards.



Another aspect that needs to be mentioned is that this thesis investigates the current situation of gender violence in Spain, by looking also at the legal measures and policies implemented by the state in response to it. However, in my study I will not perform a policy analysis, therefore I will not go into detail about the policies and the way they are constructed. I will use this analysis merely to position Spain's response in relation to the gender violence problem, to understand how this problem is represented by the government and to discover the vulnerabilities that allow male dominance and violence against women to happen.

### 3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter I will explain the theoretical framework which guided my research. As I investigate gender violence in the Spanish case, by shifting the attention to men and masculinity, it is important that concepts such as gender, gender inequality, gender violence to be discussed per theoretical understandings. Neither term has a universal definition and they are all key concepts used in gender studies. Ultimately how the concept of gender is perceived will impact upon the debates surrounding gender inequality and gender violence. In addition, violence against women is understood as a wider implication of societal gender inequality which means the concept of 'gender inequality' must also be discussed.

Furthermore, I will present the theory chosen to guide the research, which I thought to be the most appropriate one to explain gender violence in Spain – Walby's patriarchy theory.

#### 3.1. Gender, gender inequality and gender violence

When discussing **gender**, it is important to look at how the definitions of womanhood and manhood have evolved, from historical, cultural and situational point of view, at the relationship between men and women, and at the extent of their relative power and political status. The term gender was adopted by the feminist scholars in order to distinguish between the biological sexuality and the societal constructions of manhood and womanhood. A few years later, in 1975, the sex-gender system was proposed by the theorist Gayle Rubin (Glenn, 2000:5). With this term, a substantial shift of focus from 'women' to the concept of 'gender' was suggested, replacing the attention from the biological difference between sexes, to the social aspects of gender (Colclough, 2008:58).

Feminists such as Judith Butler and Alice Dreger argue that a significant distinction needs to be made between 'sex' and 'gender'. The term sex refers to the biological differences between men and women (Dreger, 1998:10), while gender refers to the social constructions of accepted values, behaviors, appearances and roles for men and women (Butler, 1990: 523). This distinction has been used to argue that 'gender' is not a naturally occurring reality which is universal to all men and women, but is socially constructed and taught within our societies, traditionally linked to cultural understandings of 'what is feminine' and 'what is masculine'. As Butler describes it, gender is a performative act, that becomes real based on the way it is presented: "It seems fair to say that certain kinds of acts are usually interpreted as expressive of a gender core or identity, and that these acts either conform to an expected gender identity or contest that expectation in some way. That expectation, in turn, is based upon the perception of sex (...)" (Butler, 1988:527-528).

Gender is a socially specific construct and understandings of gender change over time and location, based on the interaction with the institutions. Individuals influence the changes in gender, which leads to shaping the larger structure of gender (Butler, 1990: 523). Therefore, gender needs to be understood in historical and cultural context. As Butler (2004:10) concludes, "Terms such as 'masculine' and 'feminine' are notoriously changeable; there are social histories for each term; their meanings change radically depending upon geopolitical boundaries and cultural constraints on who is imagining whom and for what purpose."

Therefore, gender and sex are different, and sex does not define the gender. Gender is socially constructed by the environment and is influenced by other aspects, such as class, religion, sexuality, ethnicity, race. This means that gender as a social construction, consists of acts that the individuals learn by living in accordance with what is known as masculine and feminine in the society. This is referred to as gender stereotypes, which means that the characteristics of a group are generalized, based on their gender (Waylen et al, 2013:145).

Nowadays, it is undisputable the fact that belonging to a particular sex or gender group influences to some degree the individuals worldwide in regards to access to basic spheres of their everyday lives (safety, politics, freedom of expression, education, work, health). These social practices of gender are intrinsic of the specific social contexts, appearing often as natural and unproblematic, however, gender determines who is most vulnerable to violence and abuse in their own homes or in the relationship (Waylen et al, 2013:1).

Therefore, how the concept of gender is perceived impacts the way gender inequality and gender violence are understood.

When it comes to **gender inequality and gender violence**, feminist theories, despite their differences in approaches, are all dedicated in trying to identify and understand the root causes behind the inequality which exists between men and women. In addition, they aim to identify why in particular it is often women who are subject to oppression and subordination. Although feminists share common roots and assumptions, the different branches of feminism have different understandings of the core concerns behind gender inequality (Jackson & Jones, 1998). Whilst feminism makes a distinction between the terms 'sex' and 'gender,' different branches continue to view the term gender in different ways.

Liberal feminism, which continues to be heavily utilized within gender equality debates, is a theory influenced by the enlightenment period and primarily focuses its arguments on the need to identify women as 'human beings' entitled to the same natural rights as men (Donovan, 2000:5). As women have not been able to gain access to the same economic, educational and political opportunities as men, lead to their oppression and being unaware of their subordination, which has contributed towards creating the illusion that women are naturally inferior to men (Barriteau et al, 2000:116). Mary Wollstonecraft (1792), who remains an influential feminist thinker, argued that it is essential for women to become educated so that they can think critically about their social conditions and become aware of their oppression. Education will also allow women to gain access to the same economic opportunities which will grant them more independence and control over their own lives. Thus, due to this understanding of gender and the production of gender inequality, liberal feminists tend to argue that achieving gender equality

relies upon equally integrating women into the economic, political and educational spheres of society. However, whilst such views continue to hold a dominant position within gender equality discussion, liberal feminism tends to idealize the social values and meanings which are given to the gender of men (Barriteau et al, 2000:116). Liberal feminism does not challenge the values which are placed upon the roles and understandings of gender and why it is the values associated with the masculine which are considered superior. Whilst liberal feminism argues that men and women are the same and hold the same intellectual and moral core, they do undermine the importance of women's associated roles in society and promote that women should become more like men. When it comes to gender violence, liberal feminists hold that violence and the threat of violence violate women's dignity; violence makes women do what others want or reduces women's sphere of activity to avoiding harm. In some cases, violence fractures the self and takes from women their sense of self-respect (Brison, 1997), women being unfairly disempowered and limited (Cudd, 2006:85–118). The state must effectively protect women from violence, regardless of where that violence takes place (Cudd, 2006:209).

Thus, liberal feminism understands that gender equality should promote women's ability and access in to the realms traditionally dominated by men.

Feminist criticism to liberal feminists argues that it neglects power relations, by focus mainly on the distribution of benefits and burdens in society (Young, 1990:37) and the eroticization of domination and subordination, which define the gender system (MacKinnon, 1987; 1989).

Marxist feminism is another theoretical framework which further explores the oppressive dynamics of the patriarchal system. Marxist feminism has been developed from classical Marxism which failed to include issues of gender inequality within its explanations of the capitalist system (Barriteau et al, 2000:59). This is the reason why Marxist feminism has often been criticized since it has not been organically formed and therefore is not applicable for understanding women's oppression (Jackson & Jones, 1998). Marxist feminism attempts to explain how women's subordination is created and reinforced through the enforcement of the capitalist system. It explains that during the economic transition towards the capitalist system it was men who benefited from this development whilst women were increasingly assigned to the private realm and viewed as private property (Donovan, 2000). In consideration to the term gender, Marxist feminists do not necessarily seek to define how this concept has been constructed but argue that through the enforcement of the capitalist system, women have been increasingly marginalized and associated with reproductive labor. Thus, they argue that this system needs to be changed as it directly results in the inequality of women as deliberate processes and structures are built in to the society through capitalism creating inequality between men and women within both informal and formal arenas. Marxism has contributed towards understanding how the capitalism generates gender inequality and patriarchy; however, only the capitalism is seen as the main source of gender inequality, rather than patriarchy, which is considered only a consequence of the capitalist system (Bariteau et al, 2000:59).

In terms of gender violence, there is no definitive Marxist feminist statement on woman abuse. However, scholars argue that woman abuse is the specific result of capitalist economic conditions interacting with patriarchal social relations (Messerschmidt, 1986), while others have argued that only a transformation to a feminist, antiracist, and socialist society will end the victimization of women (Schechter, 1982).

This brief discussion of feminist theory illustrates that while all theories attempt to uncover and resolve the issues behind women's inequality, different theories contain different understandings of what 'gender' and 'gender inequality' encompass. However, as 'gender' is perceived as constructed and maintained through social processes and institutions, such constructions can also be subject to change (Barriteau et al, 2000:37).

In consideration to these influential theories, it is important to acknowledge the diverse nature of feminism. Each feminist theory 'relies on a unique assumption on the basis of women's subordination, provides different concepts about women's inequality, and provides different solutions' (Barriteau et al, 2000:53).

In consideration to my own research project, none of these theories are explicitly utilized to guide the research. However, the arguments highlighted by marxist feminism are most influential within my own approach towards understanding gender inequality. My theoretical approach suggests that patriarchy exists in all societies and is the fundamental source of gender inequality, and by extent, of gender violence. In this sense, this thesis argues that understanding the patriarchal structures existent in Spain is primarily important when fighting gender inequality and gender violence.

### **3.2. Walby's patriarchy theory**

In this section, I present the theory chosen as theoretical framework for my study. There are many current and relevant feminist theories emerging lately, within different areas of study and emphasizing different aspects of gender relations (Ackerly & True, 2010). Walby's patriarchy theory was selected based on the problem formulation and how it can shed light over the specific issue of male dominance and gender violence in Spain.

In the first instance I will expose the theory, together with a brief explanation of the main points; then, I will discuss more in detail the points which are most relevant to this study. As previously mentioned, the three patriarchal structures that will be analyzed in the case of Spain are the patriarchal state, male violence and the patriarchal culture.

The term 'patriarchy' refers to the rule of the father or the 'patriarch', and was originally used to describe a specific type of 'male-dominated family' – the large household of the patriarch which included women, junior men, children, slaves and domestic servants all under the rule of this dominant male. In the current societies it is used more generally "to refer to male domination, to the power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterize a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways" (Bhasin, 2006:3).

Patriarchy refers to a basic structure of social organization built around the male figure. The essence of patriarchy is the male authority as axis of power in the family, in the community, and in the social system. On the opposite side is the submission and subordination of women, which legitimizes the use of violence towards them, children, other men and others groups (Castells, 1998:159).

The concept of patriarchy is defined by different thinkers in different ways. According to Hartmann, patriarchy is the major social structure molding gender, the base from which our understanding of gender comes (Hartmann, 1981:41). Gerda Lerner (one of the most influential figure in the development of women's and gender history) defines patriarchy as the manifestation and institutionalization of male

dominance over women and children in the family, and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. It implies that “men hold power in all the important institutions of society” and that “women are deprived of access to such power”. However, it does not imply that “women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources”, but female pressure and demands shifted and changed the structure and function of patriarchy over time (Lerner 1989:239).

Spanish feminist Marta Fontenla describes patriarchy as “a system of sexual-political relations based in different public and private institutions and on the inter-class and inter-gender solidarity instituted by men, who, as a social group and acting individually and collectively, oppress women also on individual and collective ways, and appropriate of women’s productive and reproductive force, of their bodies and its products, with peaceful and coercive ways as well as through the use of violence” (Fontenla, 2009:260). She points to the family as one of the basic institutions of the patriarchal social order, but not the only one, since there are other institutions that allow the control of men over women.

Among scholars, patriarchy is seen as the main culprit in the existence and prevalence of gender violence, a representation of masculinity through dominance over women (Alberdi & Matas, 2002:24).

British sociologist Sylvia Walby explains patriarchy as a fundamental tool for the analysis of gender relations, “a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” (Walby, 1989:214). The term had been already broadly in use in various areas of gender studies to describe a wide vast of forms of oppression that women experience in different aspects of their lives, and its use had been criticized for being too vague (Acker, 1989). Walby rethought the concept, making it more effective as an analysis tool and divided it into six structures: the patriarchal mode of production; patriarchal relations in paid work; patriarchal state; male violence; patriarchal sexuality and patriarchal culture (Walby, 1989:214).

According to Walby, there are mainly two forms of patriarchy: private and public. The public form is based in public sites such as employment and the state. It does not relate necessarily to a total exclusion of women from the public sites but actually to women’s subordination and less advantageous public positions, as well as to restrictions in their public participation. It takes place collectively rather than individually. In the case of the private patriarchy, this takes places rather individually than collectively, and it is centered in the exclusion of women from most areas of social life in detriment to household work and the full dedication to the private sphere of the home. The change from private to public patriarchy involves a change in the relations between and within the structures; however, all the patriarchal structures remain, the main change being the dominant structure – employment and the state (public patriarchy) replacing household production (private patriarchy) (Walby, 1989:228).

As Argentinian sociologist Josefina Brown assertively put it: “public men, private women: the golden formula of modernity, which allowed to exclude naturally women from jobs, the exercise of authority; in a few words, from public matters” (Brown, 2004:116). This separation is fundamentally connected to all other structures of patriarchy and permeates all aspects of women’s subordination.

The first patriarchal structure in the Walby’s theory is the patriarchal mode of production. In this regards, Walby argues that patriarchy enables the work performed by women to be expropriated by their husbands, inside the marriage and the household relations. The domestic labor is performed in a greater

extension by women, and they are not rewarded monetarily for the performance of such duties (Walby, 1989:221). It is possible therefore to notice that the domestic division of work operates as a system of differentiation between men and women, and this can affect many other areas of the social relations and the different opportunities available, since it constitutes an inequality.

The second patriarchal structure, patriarchal relations in paid work, refers to both the systemic exclusion of women from the labor market as well as the occupational segregation existing within it. Consequences such as the devaluation of female labor, lower wages for women, among others, are linked to this structure (Walby, 1989:223). The occupational segregation is highlighted as the most important feature of the patriarchal relations in paid work, not only in the occupations within different areas, but also in the vertical hierarchy, with men occupying better positions in the different kinds of work institutions (Walby, 1989:223).

Another patriarchal structure in Walby's theory is the sexuality. Specifically, she refers to heterosexuality as compulsory in patriarchy, and the uneven relations happening in heterosexual sexual practices (Walby, 1989:225). Carla Lonzi (1972) was among the first feminists to acknowledge the role of the mandatory heterosexuality for the existence of the patriarchal order. The mandate of obligatory heterosexuality also implies the mandate of the mandatory motherhood, which presupposes the functionalist idea of the female body as "a body for the others, submitted to the patriarchal domain" (Brown, 2004: 119). Brown explains patriarchy in light of the control exercised by men over the bodies of women, through the control over sexuality and human reproduction, which consequently also means the control of the reproductive work performed by women.

In the next subchapters I discuss more in detail the three patriarchal structures relevant for my study of gender violence in Spain: the patriarchal state, male violence and the patriarchal culture.

### **3.2.1. Patriarchal state**

The patriarchal state refers to the nature of the state, in which women are excluded from accessing important state resources and power. According to Walby, the state is engaged with gendered political forces, its actions have gendered differentiated effects and its structure is highly gendered (Walby, 1990:150). This means that men's interests have priority in the patriarchal state, often in the detriment of women's interests. The state affects gender relations and shapes the existing rules which impact women as well, such as employment, marriage, divorce, contraception, abortion, etc. (Walby, 1989:224). American scientist Wendy Brown suggested that one important dimension of the patriarchal state power is represented by the juridical-legislative system, involving constitutional or legal aspects (Brown, 1992:7). According to feminist Criminal Law professor Julia Di Corleto, the legal framework of a country is frequently not gender neutral, and it can reproduce and reinforce patriarchal practices. Among the reasons as to why important issues are left outside the legal framework of many countries, Di Corleto points to the separation of the public and the private sphere. The belief that private matters should not be meddled by the state lead to toleration and crystallization of many forms of oppression against women (Di Corleto, 2011:91).

Another important dimension of the patriarchal state, according to Brown, is the prerogative dimension reflecting state's ability to define what policies are in the national interest and its legitimate monopoly regarding the use of force by the police and the military. As she sees it, 'its multiple dimensions make state power difficult to circumscribe and nearly impossible to injure' (Brown, 1992:7).

Connell suggests that each state has 'a well-marked gender regime' (2002:103), represented under the form of a set of structures 'involving a gendered division of labour, power and cathexis, related to the wider gender order in that society' (1994:151). Franzway et al (1989:18) highlight that the patriarchal character of the state is reflected in its priorities, which are the basis for social and economic policies. The state is seen as 'part of the dispersed apparatus of social control which works as much through the production of dominant 'discourses', i.e. ways of symbolising and talking about the world, as it does through naked force'.

### 3.2.2. Male violence

Regarding male violence as a patriarchal structure, Walby argues that often violence is perceived and studied at the individual level, not considering the social structural nature of such events. Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung (1996) agrees with this approach and exposes patriarchy as "an institutionalization of male dominance in vertical structures", highly correlated with gender and position, "legitimized by culture and often emerging as direct violence with males as subjects and females as objects". According to him, through patriarchy, direct, structural, and cultural violence are combined in a vicious triangle, reinforcing each other in cycles. The structure becomes therefore very durable, given that direct violence (such as sexual violence) has the role to intimidate and repress, structural violence has an institutionalizing role, and cultural violence internalizes that relation (Galtung, 1996:40).

Violence may be used by men as a way of power over women, shaping women's actions and expectations. There are consequences coming from this patriarchal structure, since women may adjust their behavior and reactions because of the threat of male violence, through a training of silence. They keep the violence experienced as an individual problem, that should be solved on their own (Di Corleto, 2011:91). An important aspect regarding this issue is that in many countries the possibility of male violence as a domination tool is guaranteed by the absence of a legal apparatus that deals with it (Walby, 1989:225; Di Corleto 2011:91).

Male violence is considered to have causal power and can take various forms such as rape, wife-beating, sexual assault, sexual harassment (Walby, 1989:225). The fact that the state does not intervene male violence against women, but only in the most severe cases, gives it a certain legitimacy, making violent men part of the state apparatus. However, according to Walby, this contradicts and renders false the conventional belief that the state has monopoly over legitimate coercion in a certain territory (Weber, 1947), since the state is sociologically seen as a centralized agency (Walby, 1989:225).

### 3.2.3. Patriarchal culture

Patriarchal culture as a patriarchal structure is composed of a wide set of patriarchal **practices and discourses** which are rooted in the patriarchal institutional, and shape gender subjectivity. There are many factors influencing the discourses on femininity and masculinity, such as age, class and ethnicity in particular (Walby, 1989:227). In the patriarchal model, men and women are expected to act socially.

Through gender stereotypes, it is determined how men and women "should be", so each one is taught how to behave according to predetermined roles. In the patriarchal culture, women are expected to be mothers and wives, while men are expected to be responsible for economic, social and sexual power. Men "correspond" to science, reason and logic, therefore they are educated for security, strength, autonomy, aggression and courage, while women "correspond" to aesthetics, sensitivity and intuition, and for that, they are educated in weakness, dependence, tenderness and insecurity. As a consequence of this construction of gender, the model of social relationship is based on men- domination men, women-submission; hence this model justifies violence against women (Lameiras et al, 2009:123-125).

Religion plays an important role in the patriarchal culture, given the presumptions and dogmas related to the expected behavior of women and men (Walby, 1989:227). Woman's traditional domestic and reproductive role is legitimized and regulated by many religions, while religious influences on cultural norms often lead to unequal treatment, such as genital mutilation or punishments for sexual transgressions. Religion is seen by feminists as a patriarchal structure that reflects and perpetuates gender inequality, legitimizing female subordination (Attoh, 2017:161).

The educational system plays another important role in the patriarchal culture, differentiating between men and women and giving **men more credentials**, often under the expression of 'merituous achievement' (Walby, 1989:227).

Patriarchal culture also institutionalizes the discourses on expected gender roles through **media, which alongside religion and education**, can offer representations of gendered subjectivity, and reinforce the idea of masculinity being more valuable than the femininity (Walby, 1990:104).

#### 3.2.4. Criticism to Walby's patriarchy theory

It is important to note that there has been substantial criticism of the notion of patriarchy, as illustrated in Walby's theoretical approach. This section provides an overview of the critiques of Walby's theory, brought by postmodern feminists and other critics, and it discusses my position regarding these critics. Patriarchy theory has been criticized by postmodern feminists because it is mainly describing certain concepts pertaining to the situation of women, rather than providing a relevant explanation of the causes. This means that Walby's patriarchy theory denies the essential role of individual agency, indicating that such a critical approach is represented in the view that women are broadly perceived as victims (Nicholson, 1989). Women are described as unable to escape their predetermined conditions, which is particularly valid in conservative regimes. According to Muravyeva and Toivo (2012), the concept of patriarchy reflects a system through which women are not given the chance to exploit their potential and are always rendered passive. These authors argued that patriarchy highlights male repressive power and fails to explain male-female relationships. Hence, Walby's theory was criticized because it views patriarchy as a universal and static or fixed system based on male domination and female subordination. However, in the postmodern feminist critique of Walby's theory, the notion of patriarchy implies that gender relations are fluid. Such fluidity was illustrated by the example of changing family structures through which common male and female roles are persistently challenged. For instance, the role of fathers has been questioned and enhanced in order to include them actively in the process of raising their children (Walby, 1989).



Sociologist Anna Pollert also criticized Walby's theory, referring to it as is merely descriptive, rather than explanatory. But this weakness is seen in the same time as the main reason for its success: because of its "ambiguity and slipperiness between description and attempted explanation", the theory could be used for a wide range of scholars to analyze different situations to which women are subjugated (Pollert, 1996:18). However, Pollert believed that patriarchy is a dangerous concept that should be labelled "handle with care" (Pollert, 1996: 24), because although it might be useful as a tool of description to point out male dominance, it does not work as a proper theory. According to her, the way patriarchy is theorized allows for a perpetuation of the term, deeply rooted in abstract structuralism, and therefore not grasping its evolution and also the continuing tensions between agency and structure. She explains that with agency being absent from the theory, the actors are usually men, while women are viewed as primarily victims (Pollert, 1996:13).

As a universal theory, Walby's model of patriarchy has certain limitations. One limitation pointed out by critics is related to the inability to provide an appropriate explanation of the differential experiences of diverse groups of women around the world. Hence, the notion of patriarchy has been somewhat denigrated as a solid foundation for understanding social relations.

However, as Walby pointed out, this theory can be applied in most Western societies, therefore I believe that it can be used to understand the representations of gender violence within the patriarchal structures, particularly in the case of Spain.

## 4. Analysis

In this chapter I will analyze the representations of gender violence within the patriarchal system in Spain, by applying Walby's patriarchy theory. The three patriarchal structures will be discussed, illustrating how gender violence is represented at the level of each structure: the patriarchal state, male violence, and the patriarchal culture. With this, I hope to bring new perspectives on the matter, and to identify possible solutions that can be applied in the Spanish case.

### 4.1. Patriarchy in Spain – analyzing gender violence through 'patriarchal' lens

A study of the Secretary General of United Nations published in 2006 highlighted that violence against women is deeply rooted in the historical inequality of the power relations between men and women, fueled by the patriarchal construction of the societies, through discriminatory cultural norms and economic inequalities. This has led to denying women's rights as human beings and to perpetuating violence against them, in the attempt of men to maintain their superiority, control over the capacity for action and sexuality of women (UN, 2006).

The fact that violence against women is a result of patriarchal social structures and ideologies is commonly agreed between scholars, and that such systems of male dominance contribute significantly to gender inequalities and gender violence (Hunnicut, 2009:567).

In order to analyze gender inequality, and, by extent, gender violence, according to Walby, it is indispensable to use the patriarchy theory, as its constituent elements apply well to contemporary Western societies and their recent histories (Walby, 1990:1).

In my analysis on gender violence in the Spanish case, I will apply therefore Walby's theory, looking in detail at three structures that I consider relevant for my research: the patriarchal state, the male violence and the patriarchal culture.

#### **4.1.1. The Spanish patriarchal state**

According to Walby, when analyzing the patriarchal nature of the state, it is important to look at state policies towards gender relations (Walby, 1990:161). Therefore, in the case of Spain, I will consider aspects which impact women's interests, such as employment, divorce, welfare, education, sexuality and, more importantly, how is gender violence represented at state level. However, given the particular history of Spain in terms of political and social progress, and the fact that major changes happened only few decades ago, I consider important to include these aspects in my analysis; therefore, I will start the analysis of the Spanish patriarchal state in the 20th century.

When it comes to gender equality, it is to be noted that Spain had a long history of oppression against women, through a repressive society impregnated with traditional values. Women were seen as inferior human beings compared to men: 'In itself, the woman, it is not like the man, a complete being; it is only the instrument of reproduction, destined to perpetuate the species; while the man is in charge of her progress, the generator of intelligence, (...) creator of the social world' (LaVanguardia, 1889).

Between the years 1931-1936, also known as the Second Republic, the state led a democratic policy, giving Spanish women many rights and access to public and political life; especially important was the right to vote, which made them citizens, in fact and in law (Ruiz, 2007). Other rights included the equality of rights between men and women, access to public office, civil marriage based on equality between spouses, obligations of parents towards children, female suffrage, divorce law, legalization of abortion. Women had access to university, to different professions and to public work positions that before they did not exercise or that were not allowed in the past (Ruíz, 2007).

In terms of violence, crimes like parricide, murder, homicide or injuries were considered 'crimes of passion', in which the passionate motive was love, jealousy, fidelity or any other aspect of heterosexual relationships. Crimes for honor were very common as well, crimes in which the honor of the woman or of the family was revenged (Cases Sola, 2013). However, the democratic government ruling at that time wanted to push for gender equality in the legal system, therefore the famous article 438 from the Penal Code, which absolved or attenuated the husband's crime in cases of uxoricide or violence due to adultery was abolished during the democratic regime (Penal Code, 1932).

In the following years, state's policy in regards to gender and development has changed substantially. Franco's nationalist catholic dictatorial regime (1936 -1975) and the Civil War (1936-1939) were associated with a regression toward more traditional gender roles, including the abrogation of progress in gender equality that had already been attained; a regression of the human rights in general (Threlfall,1985).

According to López (2003) in the Franco era, legislation on family and woman had major setbacks. The legislation regulated the role of the man as head of the family over common property and wife, the need for husband's permission "marital license", and the inability of women to manage their assets.

In terms of employment, there were numerous restrictions, both of a protective nature (for example the night work was prohibited) and a patriarchal nature (a husband's consent was required before a married woman could sign a work contract) (Threlfall, 1985:67).

Gender equality policies elaborated during the Second Republic were dismantled by the regime policymakers, as Franco's dictatorship intensively pursued women's subordination. Motherhood was defined as women's main obligation toward the state and society. The role of mothering was perceived as incompatible with other activities, such as waged work (Valiente, 2007:266).

In terms of gender violence, the Civil Code established the *iure corrigendi*, which legalized the violence of the husband towards his wife inside the family; the only thing that was prosecuted were deaths or serious injuries. Also the Penal Code reintroduced the excusable uxoricide in case of adultery, or in case of fathers killing daughters minor of 23; these crimes were punished only with the penalty of exile, drastically less than the penalty that corresponded in a homicide or parricide case; on the other side, the woman who killed her husband, caught in adultery, was punished with the death penalty for committing a crime of willful homicide with premeditation (Ñunez, 1994:167).

As Criminal Law Professor Brage Cendán (Universidad Santiago de Compostela) mentions, the entire legal system in Spain reinforced the idea that the husband was the caregiver, the person in charge, the representative, of his wife. The criminal law was not seen an instrument to punish violence against women, but mainly to limit it. It is easy to understand that violence against the wife, including murder, it was not uncommon, but quite the opposite, the state recognized the husband's right to physically punish the wife (Brage Cendán, 2012:10). The situation was aggravated by a traditional inhibition of the police to prosecute these crimes and the reluctance of the judicial powers to take them seriously. It can be said therefore that the final message was that the husband was at home the state's representation of power, and private violence was not as serious as public violence (Brage Cendán, 2012:11).

After Franco's death (1975), Spain started the process of transition towards democracy, a difficult period characterized by many political and social changes. The first democratic government was elected in 1977 (Unión de Centro Democrático, led by Adolfo Suarez), and among the major achievements in terms of human rights and gender equality there was the approval of the Spanish Constitution. In 1982 the first social democrat government was elected, under the leadership of Felipe Gonzalez, and the country developed rapidly, growing as a modern society. In 1986, under the second mandate of Felipe Gonzalez, Spain entered the European Union, which brought significant economic and social progress.

In the democratic years, after the transition period, Spain alternated between social democrat governments (PSOE) and conservative ones (Partido Popular PP). This explains the variations in progress Spain had, in terms of gender equality and gender violence (PSOE pushed forward for changes and recognition of gender inequalities and gender violence, while the PP pushed for regression or leaving out social policies, focusing on the economic progress).

In the last decades, Spain achieved huge advancements in what concerns gender equality and women's rights. Discrimination based on sex and gender equality was primarily regulated through the Spanish Constitution from 1978 (still valid with minor changes), which foresees that all discrimination because of birth, race, sex, religion, opinion is prohibited (article 14). Also, the Constitution established the obligation of public authorities to promote conditions for the equality of the individual and of the groups to which

they belong to be real and effective (article 9.2). Also, it incorporates the right of everyone to life and physical and moral integrity, without under any circumstances being subjected to torture or to inhuman treatment or punishment or degrading (article 15) (Constitution, 2019).

When it comes to public policies on gender equality, the state started to institutionalize gender equality in 1983, with the creation of the Institute of Women (Lombardo, 2016:7). This institution is an autonomous organism dependent on the Spanish Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, with the aim to promote and foster gender equality and the participation of women in the political, cultural, economic and social life. The Institute of Women developed throughout the years several Equality Plans, in order to combat discriminations against women. The first Equality Plan was developed in 1987, but only the Third Equality Plan between Men and Women (1997) included a specific section dealing with violence. This plan was influenced by the IV World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) and, in this sense, included the principle of gender mainstreaming in all policies and dealt specifically with violence against women. The Fourth Equality Plan, elaborated in 2003, introduced the promotion of equality in civil life, and aimed at developing active policies for eradicating violence against women in all its forms (women traffic, domestic violence, genital mutilation, etc.) (InMujer website, 2019).

In terms of gender violence, the state created the Special Government Delegation against violence against women, which was created in 2004 with the aim to formulate the public policies with relation to gender violence (Lombardo, 2016). As a result, several Action Plans against Domestic Violence were issued as well. The first action plan (1998-2000) addressed the problem of family abuse from the perspective of the security model, while the second action plan (2001-2004), used the concept of 'domestic violence', to address violence against women. The plan contained several contradictions, because, although it spoke about social inequality between men and women, and of the origin of violence against women, the measures adopted didn't have the character of a truly social intervention (Moreno Cuerva, 2016).

Subsequently, in 2004, the 'Plan of Urgent Measures for the Prevention of Gender-based Violence' was created, which addressed again the problem of violence against women from the state 'security' perspective (Moreno Cuerva, 2016).

In relation to these plans, Spanish Law Professor Encarna Bodelón (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona) affirmed that they did not speak of the elimination of the violent culture against women, but of prevention of violent acts; nor of social sanction of violence against women, but of penal sanction of the conducts; neither of the development of women's rights, but of helping the victims. In addition, the state intervention was thought from the perspective of "assistentialism" and there was a lack of clear public policy on gender violence. She also argued that the measures proposed referred especially to police and services that depend on the Ministry of Justice, and that the main contribution of this plan is represented by the changes in the penal legislation (Bodelón, 2005).

In another sense, in 2006 the Spanish government created the State Observatory on Violence against Women, an inter-ministerial organ belonging to the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, responsible for assessing, evaluating, collaborating with institutions, elaborating studies and reports and action proposals on the field of gender violence. The Observatory gathers information from public and private

institutions on the social, health, education, judicial and police fields involved in the fight against gender violence with a view to analyze the scope of the phenomenon and its evolution.

In 2007 the Special Government Delegation against violence against women created a telephone service helpline for the victims of domestic violence, 016 - New Confidential Telephone Helpline in Spain. With this service, victims of gender violence receive free assistance and legal advice 24 hours a day, 365 days a year (GOB website, 2019).

More recently, in 2017, the state ratified the State's Pact against Gender Violence. This Pact united a large number of institutions, organizations and experts in the formulation of more than 200 measures for the eradication of violence against women. Among the few measures 'urgent' implemented until this date, one of the most important refers to the situations of gender violence which can be accredited (not only by a protection order in favor of the victim) also through reports of social services, specialized services, or reception services for victims of gender violence of the competent Public Administration (BOE, 2018). However, more than 80% of the measures from this pact are still not implemented until the date, this being among the problems denounced by feminist organizations in their fight against gender violence (25N, 2018).

In the same direction, the laws on gender equality have been changed significantly since 1975. Several aspects worth mentioning: the legalization of contraceptives, abortion, divorce, family planning centers; questioning the heterosexual norm; reporting of cases of violence gender; aggressions and violations are treated as crime; shelters for battered women and their children (Brancas, 2007).

Successive reforms of criminal laws regarding violence against women introduced for the first time in 2003 concrete measures in matters of citizen security, domestic violence and social integration, and established penalty in all crimes of violence against women. Also, provisions regarding the protection orders for the victims of domestic violence were introduced (Moreno Cuerva, 2016).

However, these laws and policies on gender violence are a clear example that the treatment of violence against women was carried out from a perspective that prioritized the criminal response and that violence against women was a problem of security and not of social inequalities between men and women. In this sense, Law professor Encarna Bodelón affirmed that "In the measure that the majority of resources and initiatives focus on criminal changes, it is likely that a true change of perspective will not be achieved" (Bodelón, 2005:54).

The equality laws and the open debate in Spanish society about gender violence have been more prominent since 2004, under the social democrat government led by Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero. Then, the socialist Prime Minister announced a commitment to make laws on gender equality and gender violence a priority and described Spain's domestic violence record as the country's "worst shame" and an "unacceptable evil" (BBC, 2004).

In 2004 an important law was issued: the Organic Law 1/2004, of Integral Protection Measures against Gender Violence. The law is significant, because it includes the gender discourse: it assumes the aggression against a woman is a structural violence based on norms and social values, as source of inequality of power between men and women. Also, it adopts a comprehensive and multidisciplinary perspective of gender violence, and it incorporates awareness, prevention and detection measures in the field educational, health and media. In addition, the integral nature in the drafting of this law is very

positive because, since, apart from the criminal reforms which includes, allows facing violence against women with legal assistance, health and social measures. The law defines diverse rights of women victims of gender violence, in the scope of legal, social, health, labor and economic care. However, in order to enjoy these rights, it was necessary for the victims to file a complaint and to obtain a protection order against the aggressor (Moreno Cuerva, 2016). This is considered by specialist in law to be a wrong legislative requirement, since it may cause situations in which victims of gender violence cannot benefit from the rights contemplated in the Law if they don't file a complaint or if a protection order is not released (Ortubay, 2015).

This requirement is also contrary to the Istanbul Convention on violence against women, which establish that attention to victims of this type of violence should not depend on the prior filing of a complaint (Istanbul Convention, 2011:14). As Bodelón affirms, the recognition of rights for women in Spain is incomplete since it is linked and conditioned by the complaint or by the request for an order of protection. Taking into account that the statistics show that the majority of women that suffer gender violence have never denounced it, the conclusion is that most women victims of gender violence do not have access to the rights recognized and listed in the Law (Bodelón, 2008:275-300).

In 2007, a new equality law was created in the country, for the effective equality of women and men. The law has as purpose to make effective the right to equal treatment and opportunities between women and men, through the elimination of discrimination of woman, in the political, civil, labor, economic, social and cultural spheres. As Pedro Zerolo (secretary of Social Movements and Relations with NGOs of the PSOE) stated, the equality law in Spain was promoted by "the first government that develops policies with gender perspectives and acts in favor of parity" (EuropaPress, 2007).

In 2015, a new law was enforced, including minor children as victims with women, in cases of gender violence, and establishing the need for judges to rule on measures to protect children from the aggressor. or alleged aggressor (BOE, 2015).

It is worth mentioning that Spain has received in 2014 an honorable mention of the Prize Future Policy Award, for the achievement of legislating a specific law against gender violence. The international organizations consider that the Spanish legislation, specifically the Organic Law 1/2004 of Measures of Integral Protection against Gender Violence, is one of the most important and effective worldwide norms to combat and eradicate the sexist violence-one of the most widespread forms of abuse against human rights (EuropaPress, 2015).

However, Spanish analysts argue that the legislative framework in Spain has focused its attention especially on the criminal sphere and, in concrete, on the mistreatment suffered by women in the couple, and didn't take into account the concept of gender violence included in international conventions and treaties, or in European legislation, where gender violence covers different areas of society, not exclusively violence at the hands of the partner (Ortubay, 2015:13).

Another interpretation for state's focusing only on the violence in the couple is that due to its patriarchal structure, the state itself has placed the woman in a secondary social plan, and situated her in the domestic space, that is governed by the male power and control (Ortubay, 2015:14). In this sense, Bodelón affirms that since 1989, the regulation of gender violence in Spain, against the requests of Spanish feminists, was focused on the paradigm of security and the concept of citizenship, so it was built

from the concept of family and not from that of woman. The Organic Law 1/2004 breaks that tradition of security, however, it does not include all types of violence women suffer (Bodelón, 2008: 276-286).

Likewise, it is generally admitted the enormous difficulty for a woman to publicly acknowledge the status of victim of gender violence. As studies showed, in general, it takes years for the women to make the decision to denounce the aggressor. There is the fear she will not be believed, and that after the denunciation, the violence increases, a common reaction when the aggressor knows that a complaint is made against him (Ortubay, 2015:20). With these patriarchal practices, it can be argued that the state reinforces gender violence, making it difficult for the women to break the pattern.

Moreover, it is possible to conclude that, through its political and legislative measures, the Spanish state denotes its patriarchal nature; its political and legislative is not gender neutral, but reflects the discrimination that persists in society (Bodelón, 2008). Moreover, the state has taken advantage of the social concern against gender violence by adding a different interest to the problem, an interest that predominates over the people it seeks to protect: "the state's interest in reducing domestic and gender violence" (Faraldo Cabana, 2008:154).

To sum up, in this subchapter I have discussed the patriarchal character of the Spanish state. As Walby points out, in the 19th-20th centuries, many Western societies shifted from a system of 'private patriarchy', which excluded women from the public sphere as a result of the prevailing concept of patriarchal domination, towards a form of 'public patriarchy', that predominates the social landscape in the twentieth century (Walby, 1990:24).

In the case of Spain, during the democratic regime from the beginning of the 20th century, the state shifted towards a public form of patriarchy, where women were not excluded anymore from society, from political or public life; the dominant structure switched to being the state, and not the husband.

The political changes brought by the Franco's dictatorship led towards a private patriarchy, where women were excluded from the public life, living under the husband's domination and authority. Only at the end of the 20th century when Spain became a democratic state, women in Spain experienced huge changes in terms of access to the public worlds of work, the state, and civil society. This amounted to a shift towards the public form of patriarchy.

Moreover, I have shown that the patriarchal state's representations of gender violence include only violence in the couples, leaving out different forms of violence against women, such as non-partner crimes, crimes committed in the family, prostitution, trafficking, female genital mutilation. Also, the state's response to gender violence denotes that this is a matter of security and not of gender inequality, which should be solved mainly through criminal response. The state's legislative system is not gender neutral, and through patriarchal practices, reinforces gender violence.

#### **4.1.2. Male violence in Spain**

When it comes to analyzing male violence, Walby claims that this is a patriarchal structure of social nature, that cannot be understood outside the patriarchal system (Walby,1990:128). Furthermore, according to her, the main focus should be on the extent of gender violence, in order to identify the extent and distribution of male violence, and on the low level of state intervention to discourage violence.

### **The extent of male violence in Spain**

In order to identify the extent of gender violence in the case of Spain, available data show that the situation here is not more encouraging than in many other places in the world. Therefore, it is important to make visible the dimension, incidence and magnitude of this phenomenon, as well as to guide future actions or measures for the medium or long term.

In Spain, violence against women was first brought up as a social problem in 1997, after the media presented the case of Ana Orantes. She was among the first women in Spain who broke the pact of silence surrounding violence against women, and because of this 'rebellion', was brutally murdered by her ex-husband, who burnt her alive in the front of her house. From this case, the first official records of abuse and murder of women were created and, some years later, in 2002, were included in the statistics the mistreatments committed within couples or former couples (EIPais, 2017).

Currently, as a result of public gender policies carried out in Spain, the official reports can reveal the dimension of the problem, even though clearly underestimating its extent. According to data provided by the Judicial Administration, between January 2008 and December of 2018 there were recorded a total number of 1.531.258 complaints against gender violence in Spain. The annual average could be established to around 139.205 complaints, which would translate into approximately 11.600 monthly and 387 daily. In this period of time, there is an increase in the number of complaints yearly recorded, with the maximum number of complaints registered in 2018, 166.961. The majority of these complaints come from police reports and in a significant number, the complaint is made by the victim.

There is also a significant number of complaints withdrawn, and the statistics show that, since 2008, the average number of yearly withdrawals is around 16.000; therefore, a percentage of around 11% withdrawals, as an average value, relation to the complaints made.

From 2008 to 2018, a total number of 265.984 protection orders for cases of gender violence have been issued, representing 65% of those requested. The trend in the analyzed period indicates a significant yearly increase in protection orders requested and issued. The protection orders requested with respect to the total number of registered complaints is estimated at approximately 25%; the protection orders are predominantly requested by women who had an affective relationship, rather than those who had spouses. The rate of women victims of gender violence in Spain, for every 10,000 women over 14 years, from 2008 to 2018, rises to 66,56% as an average value, while Spanish nationality of the victims is a constant with values above 50%, in the analysis of the complaints and protection orders (CGPJ, 2018). Furthermore, according to data provided by the Ministry of Equality, from 2003 to 2018 the number of femicides in Spain reached 975. Within this period of time, 2008 is the year in which more women died (76), while last year, in 2018, 47 women have been killed.

In a detailed analysis of the year 2018, we can extract the following information of interest: only 29.8% of the victims had previously filed a complaint and still less, only 19% had protective measures in place; 64% of the women were of Spanish nationality; the age groups with the highest incidence were between 31 and 40 years and 41 and 50 years old; most of the women murdered lived with their aggressor (60%), of which the majority (63.80%) were in a relationship of couple and 36.2% were in the phase of rupture or they were separated.



Since 2013, there are also statistics on children victims of gender violence; statistics show that a total of 230 minors have been orphaned because of gender violence in Spain, while 27 children were murdered by a partner or ex-partner in revenge of the mother (GOGV, 2018).

The macro-surveys on gender violence, carried out by The Institute of Women since 1999, also provide important information on the magnitude of gender violence in Spain.

The last macro-survey was conducted in 2015, in partnership with the Center for Sociological Research, and interviewed face to face 10.171 women aged 16 or above, representative of the female population residing in Spain. The results obtained showed that 12.5% of the women over the age of 16 have suffered physical and/or sexual violence at some time in life, by their partners or ex-partners, and in percentages higher than 80% have occurred on more than one occasion. Psychological, emotional and/or economic violence has also been reported by 25.4%, 21.9% and respectively 10.8% of women interviewed (InMujer, 2015: 9-12).

Based on the data on female population in Spain, these results translate into approximately 3 million women suffering from physical and/or sexual violence at some time in their life, more than 5 million women being subjected to psychological and/or emotional violence, and more than 2.5 million suffering economic violence by their partners.

The report also shows that 13% of the total of women living in Spain have felt fear in some moment of their life from the partners (InMujer, 2015:11). Seven out of ten women did not denounce (73,2%), and almost half of them (44.6%) did not value serious enough what happened, followed by fear and shame as main causes stated not to interpose this measure. In a high number of cases (78%), it was the victim herself who reported these facts to the police, resulting in withdrawal of the complaint in a number considerable (20.9%). More than 65% said they ended their relationship because of violence suffered (InMujer, 2015:16-19).

The report also provides data on the violence women suffer caused by non-partners. In this sense, the data shows that 15,9% of the interviewed women, of age 16 and older, residing in Spain, have suffered physical or sexual violence before and after the age of 15, by somebody other than their partner.

For non-partner lifetime physical violence, 58.8% of the perpetrators were men. When considering only severe physical violence, the percentage of men perpetrators increases up to 72%. By type of perpetrator, the most frequent are fathers or partners of the mother, representing 18.8% of the total perpetrators, male strangers 14.2%, other male relatives apart from the father 10.3%.

In the cases of sexual violence suffered during their lives, at least 97.5% of the perpetrators have been men. By type of perpetrator, the most frequent in cases of rapes are male friends or acquaintances, representing 46.43% of the perpetrators, followed by 'other male relatives' (any relative except for the father), 20%, and male strangers, 18.57% (InMujer, 2015:38;48).

To sum up the data provided in the national survey in 2015 in Spain, in total, 24.2% of the women residing in Spain aged 16 years or over, have suffered lifetime physical and/or sexual violence by a partner (current/former) or a non-partner, while 25.4% of the women residing in Spain 16 years old or older have ever suffered controlling behaviors, 21.9% emotional abuse, and 10.8% economic violence from a current or former partner. This translates into almost a quarter of the women living in Spain suffering from male violence during their lifetime.

These results are in line with the results of the survey conducted at European level by EU FRA in 2014, which showed that 22% of women in Spain experienced physical and/or sexual violence by current and/or previous partner, or by any other person since the age of 15, while 26%, 23% and respectively 9% of women in Spain have experienced psychological abuse which involved controlling behavior, abusive behavior and economic violence by a partner since the age of 15 (EU FRA b:28;74).

The information provided in the official reports allows for a better understanding of the reality and the violence women suffer in Spain. It also indicates that, despite the regulatory framework, the of awareness-raising campaigns and educational measures, the figures for mistreatment and fatalities remain high. Silence is considered a main accomplice of gender violence, and official statistics are insufficient to measure this problem which tends to be underestimated (GOGV, 2015:3).

Spanish researchers on gender violence have been denouncing for years that the recorded cases of gender violence are nothing more than the tip of the iceberg of a phenomenon that exists to a much greater extent (Alberdi, 2005). In support this argument, the activist-run site *Feminicio.net* compiles unofficial count of femicide in Spain, murders not exclusive to romantic partnerships. According to their data, the number of women killed since 2004 as a result of gender violence is closer to 1,500, and not below 1000 as governments reports show. For example, for the year of 2018, the site *Feminicio.net* reports that 98 women have been killed, as opposed to a number of 47 recognized by the government reports (*Feminicidio.net*, 2019).

Among the victims not included in the official reports, there are those in case of crimes committed by non-partners, crimes committed by family members, or crimes committed against female prostitutes.

As example of one of these cases, that caused a huge media and social media reaction, is the case of Laura Luelmo, a 26 years old female teacher from the south of Spain. She was assassinated in December 2018, after a failed rape attempt, by a man living in the house across the street from her. She was found by the authorities, face down and half naked, and the autopsy report revealed that she presented marks of 'extreme violence', and that she has a long painful death as a result of severe injuries to her head. The killer, who admitted the rape attempt and that he had left her there to die, had a long criminal record, being released from prison few months before the incident. He had been imprisoned for almost 20 years in total, for crimes like robbery, assault of another woman, and killing of an octogenarian woman (EIPais, 2018).

However, this case was not included by the authorities on the list of official victims of gender violence, as it is not a case of violence in the couple or ex-couple. Another example is the case of Diana Quer, an 18-year-old from Madrid who went missing in August 2016 while being on holidays with her family in north of Spain. In January 2018, the Civil Guard found the body in a well and later on arrested the killer, a local man who confessed having strangled her. The autopsy revealed that she was also sexually abused before being killed (LaVanguardia, 2018; Antena3, 2019).

These victims of gender violence remain invisible to the state, which doesn't include them in the official statistics. Based on the Organic Law 1/2004, the definition of what constitutes gender violence is limited and inadequate, reducing it to violence perpetrated on women by partners or ex-partners, or those with emotional ties to the victim even without coexistence. Meaning that other forms of gender violence, such as non-intimate femicides or sexual violence, trafficking, female genital mutilation, gang rape, missing

women, stalking are not recognized by law. As Walby noted, "The public discourse [n.a. in the patriarchal state] is a form of control over women in its own right" (Walby, 1990:140).

**When it comes to why gender violence happens** in Spain, a 2009 report issued by the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality mentioned as structural causes the patriarchy and the economic inequalities between men and women. The patriarchy causes relations of domination and subordination that affect women, together with the cultural customs, sexist traditions and religious values, while the economic inequalities, which is another causal factor, not independent and neutral to patriarchy, affects women reducing their capacity to act and make decisions, and increases their vulnerability to violence. The report also mentions as causal factors of structural type the use of violence in the resolution of conflicts, the legal system regarding the privacy of the home and the family, and the insufficient action of the State (GOB, 2009:33-34).

Based on previous investigations on gender violence in Spain, psychologist Luis Bonino makes an interesting analysis of the men that are predisposed to gender violence, based on their reaction to women's changes from the last decades. He concludes that at least three profiles can be distinguished among men:

- Men in favor of equality: In this category an important variety has been found: the defenders of equality from personal experiences; those who delegate initiatives to women, reversing traditional roles and abandoning male behaviors; those who benefit from the change of women without reciprocity, accepting that they assume "male roles" but not the other way around, and those who define themselves in favor of change, more positive in ideas than in practices and not considering themselves participants in this fight.

- Men opposed to women's changes: They are mostly over 55 years old (and currently increasing among those under 21), or with intermediate education, in relationship with women who only perform domestic chores, unemployed, unskilled workers or who live in small cities. They present an androcentric, macho and paternalistic discourse, denying that there is such an inequality, since they consider that men and women are equal in the difference. They feel attacked in their roles, they understand the demand for equality as attempts to dominate them or break the social order. They do not usually express these ideas in public.

- Men ambivalent before the change of women: Men in this group predominate between 35 and 55 years, in relationships with women who work, or divorced, and with children. They mostly feel disoriented, misunderstood and disconcerted by the changes of women whom they can no longer (and often wish) control. They see these changes as a loss of role and feel displaced as belonging to a group that was hegemonic. Some remain with strong sexist ideas, but do not dare to manifest themselves. Usually they fear that women "win" them in various fields, and see these changes as a loss of privileges and comforts. They know how not to behave, but not how to do otherwise, and as a compromise solution, they often behave in a restrictive, pragmatic-accommodative way in their behavior, but devoid of reflective content. They feel somewhat tired of women's demands, of what they are required to assume and change, that their adaptation efforts are not valued, of not seeing how far women will go. Some exaggerate their changes and expect great applause for "their sacrifices". Some feel very dislocated and may enter into

a muted crisis, in which they sometimes become depressed. Some few decide to request psychotherapy (usually at the initiative of their partners (Bonino, 2008:35-38).

His analysis comes to confirm the data collected by the last Macro-survey on gender violence in 2015, which provided important data on the socio-demographic characteristics of the perpetrators in Spain. The conclusions were that all forms of violence have higher incidence among men aged between 35 and 55 years, although with slight differences with other age groups. It should be noted that the psychological violence increases significantly as age decreases, finding the highest representation in the population sector of 16 to 24 years. In terms of nationality, the proportion of gender violence among couples born abroad is always higher than those born in Spain. In relation to the level of studies, the prevalence of gender violence decreases progressively as the level of studies increases, almost to half, between those who finished primary and those who did not finish (InMujer, 2015:238-245).

Based on Bonino's analysis, we can conclude that disagreement between gender roles represents a relevant risk factor in gender violence in Spain. Given that Spain has been through many social and political changes in a fairly brief period of time (since 1978 onwards), women have experienced many improvements in their social status, such as access to education, access to public life, to employment. This was the path to their emancipation, which also reflected in changes in their traditional roles as wives and mothers. These changes also impacted men, who needed to adapt to the new concepts of masculinity and femininity and new gender roles. Neacceptance or rejection of such changes backlash often in situations of gender violence in the couple, as a means to maintain male dominance.

### **Violence and the state**

Given the extent and seriousness of gender violence in Spain, it is surprising the low level of state intervention in such cases. Looking at the data provided by the Judicial Administration, the number of convictions in cases of gender violence reached 173.962 in the period 2008 to 2018 which represents an average of 77.80% over the total prosecutions. The conviction sentences have experienced an increase since 2013, after a continued decline during the previous years (CGPJ, 2018). If it is to compare with the total number of complaints of gender violence in the same period, the prosecution rate is approximately 14,60%, while the conviction rate is approximately 11,36%.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that these numbers are only referring to cases of gender violence in the spirit of the Organic Law 1/2004, which sees gender violence only in the family ambit, in the couples or ex-couples. Other cases, like those previously mentioned (non-partner crimes and sexual violence, prostitution), are not included in such statistics.

Another important aspect is related to the fact that according to the statistics presented before, there are women who do not report cases of gender violence. This can be correlated to the fact that the authorities have unrealistic expectations of the appropriate behavior of a victim of gender violence, and if she doesn't conform to it, it is used to discredit her complaint. The authorities use higher standards of evidence than are required by the law, such as resisting and bearing the marks of violence. According to Walby, "they have a conception of situational logic where the issue of a woman's active consent has no place. This is compounded by a conception of male sexuality as having overriding needs (Walby, 1990:141).

The gender biased character of justice in Spain and the need to bring a gender perspective was revealed in a case of sexual violence happened in 2016, called 'La Manada' (in English: The Wolf Pack). Briefly

describing it, five men gang raped an 18-year-old girl in a building hallway in the city centre of Pamplona. According to the police report, the five men surrounded the woman, removed her clothes and had unprotected sex, while the victim maintained a "passive or neutral" attitude throughout the scene, keeping her eyes closed at all times. Based on this report and on the videos one of the abusers made, the regional court of justice cleared them of sexual aggression (rape), and found them only guilty of sexual abuse (under Spanish law, the charge of sexual abuse doesn't involve violence or intimidation, as it is in case of rape). One of the three men magistrates voted for the acquittal of all charges, except stealing the woman's phone, on the basis that there was no abuse or intimidation (BBC, 2018).

The treatment of the victim during the trial and the qualification of the crime - whether it was abuse, without violence or intimidation, or rape, with abuse or intimidation, resulting in a sentence for sexual abuse for the five men, led to demonstrations and protests in the streets, in social networks, in the media and, even, at a political and international level (ThinkSpain, 2018). Feminists rejected the court's decision on the case, highlighting that there is a problem with the legal definition of the crime, that places the responsibility on the behavior of the victim, when it should be based on mere sexual consent. As lawyer Aintzane Márquez stated "it must be borne in mind that laws traditionally have been written by and for men" and, therefore, in many cases "does not take into account the circumstances of violence" that women live in. "What we recognize as violence, intimidation and violation is not interpreted by the courts in the same way" (EuropaPress, 2018). The five men remained free until a final sentence was to be pronounced, based on the fact that the personal, family and work circumstances of the defendants "have not changed" and have "met punctually" their legal obligations (EIDiario, 2019). Two of the men accused were working for the authorities, one as Civil Guard, and one in the Spanish army.

Similar cases happen in the Spanish justice system. Another example is a case from 2015, when a man accused of abusing his daughter in a public bus was absolved because the girl was not "disturbed or disturbed". In 2018, the same judge panel in charge of "La Manada" case convicted another man of 'occasional mistreatment' after considering it proved that "he attempted to kill her with a knife and by strangulation while she struggled for life, with their young children watching, but eventually giving up" (EIPublico, 2018).

An important point is to analyze here is also related to the political answer in cases of gender violence. The feminist interpretation is that Spanish politicians want to take the opportunity to use the public commotion to strengthen the repressive instruments of the State and the prison system. They intend to install the idea that violence against women can be solved by giving more power to the State and strengthening a racist and class prison system that reproduces and multiplies the violence in all its forms. They argue that if the state focuses its solutions to gender violence in harsher penalties for the aggressors, this will lead to a legitimization of this apparatus of domination, while creating the illusion that with individual punishments one can end oppression towards women (LalzquierdaDiario, 2018).

Amnesty International also denounced the problems faced by the victims of gender violence in the Spanish justice system. The obstacles that women find in the courts (lack of information about their rights, lack of diligence in the judicial investigation, difficulty in demonstrating psychological violence, or prejudice and disrespectful treatment in obtaining the testimony of the victims), the lack of protection for the victims of sexual violence, which face institutional violence, prejudices and stereotypes, together with

the invisible victims of gender violence, are just some of the problems in Spain related to gender violence (Amnesty, 2019).

As Walby points out, given the ways that the legal system treats women, it is not surprising the low number of convicted perpetrators. Even though the state publicly condemns gender violence, the practice is to condone such situations, except in exceptional and extreme violence (Walby, 1990:142).

In the following subchapter I will analyze the Spanish patriarchal culture in terms of gender equality and gender violence, by looking at the patriarchal practices and discourses and the influence of the Catholic Church, the schools and the media.

#### **4.1.3. Patriarchal culture in Spain**

According to Walby, patriarchal culture is composed by a wide set of patriarchal practices and discourses, institutionally-rooted and related to all other structures of patriarchy. Patriarchal culture institutionalizes the discourses on expected gender roles mainly through patriarchal sites such as religion, education and the media which reinforce the idea of masculinity being more valuable than the femininity (Walby, 1989:227).

In Spain, for decades, the state has pushed for traditional gender roles, which attributed tasks within the home to women, and those relating to the public arena and professional development to men. This discourse was especially visible under the Franco dictatorship, which actively undermined women's rights and status (Valiente, 2015:12). Gender violence had been normalized by the Spanish society, the media spoke of crimes of passion, and even humorous sketches were made about this issue. Families kept the silence, assuming it more like a private matter, while the victims assumed and hid it (EIPais, 2019).

In the last decades, the discourse regarding gender equality and gender violence has changed, and real progress was made in creating equal opportunities for women and men. New models for gender relations slowly emerged, and the political commitment towards equality while social awareness of gender discrimination is developing swiftly, especially since the enactment in 2007 of the Law on Effective Equal Opportunities for Women and Men.

Spanish psychologist Luis Bonino claims that, in the light of the recent social changes, it might be believed that masculine identity, and its models, are changing too; however, by analyzing the practices of men (and not only their discourses), he concludes that male identities, their configuration, continuity and transmission remain strongly stable; traditional masculinity is still the predominant structure, legitimized as a reference for the construction of masculine identities (Bonino, 2002:7).

In Spain, the traditional masculinity is expressed through the term 'machismo', which translates as attitude of arrogance of men with respect to women; a form of discrimination characterized by the prevalence of men (RAE, 2019). Machismo is a behavior deeply embedded in the Spanish culture. Ángeles Sepúlveda, the founder of AMUVI, an association that assists victims of sexual assault in Andalusia, claimed that "Machismo is not only a word, it is a way of acting and thinking in the world, which favors inequality and goes beyond". Susana Martínez Nobo, the president of the Commission for the Investigation of ill-treatment of Women, also argues that even though progress has been made in terms of equal opportunities, there are still inequalities in all areas: labor, economic, educational. Nobo

brings up the fact that many women in Spain are not occupying higher positions in large companies even though they are technically not prohibited from doing so (HuffPost, 2014). This can be related to the cultural belief that women are not seen capable of handling these positions as well as a man. According to Spanish National Institute of Statistics, in 2018 the percentage of women in managerial positions is only half compared to the men in the same positions (men 8,5% as Director of small company, department or branch and 0,9% as Director of a large or medium company, compared to 4.9% respectively 0.3% women) (INE a, 2018).

Spanish psychologist Luis Bonino argues that even though in the last years there has been a delegitimization of 'machismo' and of the gender violence, there still are however multiple practices of violence and masculine domination in everyday life, some considered normal, some invisible and others legitimated (Bonino, 1995:1). Bonino coins the term 'micromachismo', which describes the "invisible" behavior of violence and domination of men in the couple. This behavior is a reflection of the practices of masculine domination in everyday life, which do not seem harmful; however, they lead imbalances and dysfunctions in the relationship, as well as the deterioration in female self-esteem and autonomy (Bonino, 1995:191-208).

Micromachismo is expressed through behaviors like not participation in domestic work (man is the provider of the family, therefore the house and children are woman's responsibility), intimidation, control of family finances, emotional control, leading to imbalance of power in relationships.

Through micromachismos, machismo survives also in Spain, perpetuating male dominance and male violence. In this regard, studies show that women continue to devote more than twice as much time to domestic activities, whatever their labor situation and also continue taking greater responsibility for informal care. According to the National Statistics Institute, in 2018 the highest percentage of women workers (43.3%) who perform domestic and kitchen tasks dedicate two hours a day to these tasks, while the highest percentage of working men (42.5%) spend one hour a day on these same tasks. In 2017, 14,100 men and 263,900 women worked part-time due to informal care for dependent persons (children, adults), that is, 94.9% were women (INE b, 2018).

Religion plays an important part in the patriarchal culture, and particularly in the case of Spain. Historically, the Catholic Church supported state's discourse on the traditional gender roles and on the subordination of the woman in the family. With financial support received from the state, the Church represented an economic, cultural and educational power in Spain, 'instructing and forming' people in all areas (Lombardo, 2006:2). Catholicism was the official religion in the country until 1978, and Catholic marriage was mandatory, with very few exceptions. In all primary and secondary schools, the religious teaching and religious practices were mandatory, and education had to conform to the teachings of the Catholic Church (Valiente, 2015:17).

The Church's discourse on gender violence was more focused on the indissolubility of Catholic marriage, rather than on the defense of women's integrity and life. Violence against women was not considered a justified reason for the annulment of the marriage, and only 'severe' physical abuse could legitimize separation. The Catholic Church used the same discourse as the state, and placed violence against women only in the family ambit, using more neutral terms like 'domestic violence' or 'family violence', that don't imply clear definition of roles for the perpetrators and victims. With this approach, the Church

leaved out of the discussion the gender dimension of the problem and omitted the patriarchal structure of violence and the male dominated society, as responsible for legitimizing these violent actions (Lombardo, 2006:7). The Church persistently avoided to recognize 'machismo' as cause for the domestic violence, and preferred instead to point out a whole range of causes which have more to do with women's emancipation, such as distorted gender roles, as a result of sexual revolution, or divorce, since separated and divorced couples were the main cases of violence (Lombardo, 2006:9).

The Church had also an indirect influence on political decisions concerning the issue of domestic violence, through members of the conservative party or members of Opus Dei (theologically conservative organization which recruits well-educated persons with access to political power and socio-cultural influence, in order to promote traditional doctrinal values in Church and society) (Lombardo, 2006:9). An example in this sense is the representative of the General Council of the Judicial Power (CGPJ), member of Opus Dei, who in 2004 wrote a negative report on the Organic Law 1/2004, rejecting the proposal to create specific courts on gender violence, and opposing to the definition of 'gender violence' employed to describe power relations of men over women (EIPaís, 2004).

In the recent years, the Catholic Church has lost part of its great influence in Spain. The total number of parish priests shrank from 24,300 in 1975 to 18,164 in 2019 (Conferencia Episcopal, 2019). According to a study performed by the Eurobarometer in 2015, only 3% of the Spaniards consider religion among their three most important values, even lower than the 5% European average (Eurobarometer, 2015:56). Another study performed by the Centre of Sociological Investigations in 2018 showed that about 66% of Spaniards self-identify as Catholic Christians, but most of them do not participate regularly in religious worship: 60% almost never attend the mass, 15% attend mass a few times a year, 9.0% a few times per month, 13.5% almost every Sunday, and 2% multiple times per week (CIS, 2018:21). By contrast, some expressions of popular religiosity still thrive, often linked to local festivals and major holidays, like Easter week. Worth mentioning that the Church still receives support from the population, annually around 335 million euro in donations (RTVE, 2018).

Education is another crucial element of influence on cultural aspects of gender equality and gender violence. In Spain, the Catholic Church historically had a strong presence in the educational system, with priests teaching in schools and universities. At present, according to the official website of the Conferencia Episcopal Española, the Church coordinates 2.591 catholic educational centers with 1.484.378 students, 16 universities with more than 87.000 students, and has a number of 102.474 teaching personnel (Conferencia Episcopal, 2019).

Today, the Catholic Church still has the power to influence patriarchal discourses and practices in Spain, through direct or indirect actions, old and new media, property of the Church (radio stations such as Cope, TV stations such as 13TV). The Church is not seen as a neutral and independent institution in political and social aspects of the state, and it is generally aligned with the opinion and politics of the conservative party, in aspects such are traditional gender norms, gender equality, gender violence, sexuality, abortion, contraception.

Mass media is another patriarchal institution that can be used to influence the patriarchal culture. When it comes to gender violence, media plays a dual role, as a means to disseminate information, creating



awareness about the problem, but also as a tool to shape public opinion with regard to victims and perpetrators, depending on the representation of the problem (Wolf, 2012:202).

Spanish media started after the 90's to report under the term gender violence (*violencia machista*) cases of violence against women, as a public issue affecting the whole society, due to the high number of women murdered by men (around 100 each year, according to the Spanish Committee of Investigation of Violence Against Women) (Lombardo, 2006:7). The first case that received special media attention was the case of the girls of Alcàsser (1995), however at that time it went rather unnoticed as a situation of gender violence. In 1997, the case of Ana Orantes, murdered by her husband after speaking on the television about the continued abuse she had suffered during the marriage, triggered a huge reaction from the people.

In the following years, gender violence has become one of the most represented issues in the Spanish media, and in this was media had a huge role in causing reactions and opening debates on the problem. In particular, cases of extreme violence leading to death of the victims were highly mediatized, in a sensationalistic and dramatic way. Cases of femicide like Laura Luelmo, Diana Quer, which caused strong reactions among the Spanish people, were intensely debated on social networks (Facebook Twitter), where hasthags like #NosQueremosVivas, #NiUnaMenos, #TodasSomosLaura reflected the solidarity of Spanish men and women against cases of gender violence (LalzquierdaDiario, 2018).

Media also plays an important role through the campaigns against gender violence. One campaign that had a great influence and survived over time has been the slogan 'Cuidado, el machismo mata' (Careful, discrimination kills) created by the Spanish feminist Ángeles Álvarez. The slogan warns about violence and places the problem in the discriminatory action, not on the woman victim of gender violence. However, media in Spain also has the potential for reinforcing traditional gender roles and normalizing representations of gender violence. In this regard, the documentary realized by Spanish film director Isabel Coixet in 2010 "La mujer, cosa de hombres" (The woman, a man's thing), illustrates the longstanding tradition of representation of sexist advertising related to gender violence (Wolf, 2013:202).

On another side of the problem, the book 'Cásate y sé sumisa', written by the Italian journalist Constanza Miriano and published by the Archbishop of Granada editure house in 2013, caused outrage among civil society civil in Spain. The book speaks about "loyal and generous obedience the submission", and sends the message of 'male supremacy over women'. Feminists asked its immediate withdrawal, given the patriarchal discourse on male dominance and the contradictions with the laws on equality and gender violence in Spain, Constitution itself and Human Rights. However, it seems that the book was appreciated by the readers in Spain. According to the news articles, is was considered a best-seller in 2013 (EIMundo, 2013).

A powerful tool in shaping the gender discourse is the language, through the meanings and the terms used. In this sense, the Royal Spanish Academy, the official linguistic institution in Spain was forced recently to review in the dictionary bias definitions of terms, revealing sexist discrimination towards women. One example is the word 'fácil', that was used to describe a woman's tendency to maintain sexual relations.

As I have shown in this subchapter, the patriarchal institutions play an important role in shaping the discourses and maintaining the traditional gender roles. These aspects, together with the practices of traditional masculinity, continue to exert a powerful negative influence on social recognition for women in Spain (Garcia-Calvente et al. 2004).

## 5. Conclusions

The aim of my thesis was to investigate the particular case of Spain: one of the most developed countries in terms of gender equality, that still confronts with a perpetual problem, gender violence. More specific, my aim was to discover how can this phenomenon be explained by the feminist theories, and what are the representations of gender violence at different levels: state level, at individual level, and in the Spanish culture. In order to achieve this, I have adopted a transformative approach, and shifted the attention towards men and masculinity, towards the structural causes that allow male dominance and male violence to happen. With this consideration, I have selected Walby's patriarchy theory, which, combined with a mixed methods approach, I consider it helps answer the problem formulation.

From the six structures that constitute Walby's theory of patriarchy, in my thesis I analyzed only three structures, that I considered more relevant to the problem investigated: the patriarchal state, male violence and the patriarchal culture. By choosing only these three structures means that got to investigate in depth those aspects related to gender violence, focusing on different perspectives – top-down- the state representation on gender violence, and bottom-up- the male violence level and the Spanish culture.

The first structure analyzed was the patriarchal state. In this part, I have shown that throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, the state went through huge political and social changes. This amounted to a shift in the form of patriarchy, first towards a private form, which completely excluded women from the public life and eliminated women's rights as citizens, and in the last decades, towards a public form of patriarchy, where women achieved a certain level of gender equality and gender violence is recognized as a major issue. However, the state's manner to represent gender violence in the policy and legal response denotes its patriarchal nature, as the measures taken address the problem from the security perspective, and not from women's perspective. The definition of the gender violence in the laws and policies is incomplete, which means that the state does not recognize many forms of violence as gender and official reports do not include the victims into statistics.

Furthermore, analyzing male violence structure in the case of Spain, I have looked primarily at the extent on gender violence, taking into consideration also the invisible victims. In this sense, besides the official statistics provided by the state's created organizations, I have also used un-official statistics on victims of gender violence which include physical and sexual violence happening outside couples or crimes committed by family members.

As causes of gender violence, I highlighted one official report issued by Spanish experts, which points out as structural causes the patriarchal system in Spain and the economic inequalities between men and women. There are also some risk factors that may lead to increase gender violence. In the Spanish case the most relevant I find to be one suggested by the Spanish psychologist Luis Bonino; disagreements between gender roles in the couples. This is because of the many social and political changes that Spain

has been through in only few decades, which led to having the ideology of gender equality accepted as a norm. However, in practice, at individual level, the traditional masculinity was still preserved, and backlashes in gender violence when the authority is being contested.

The low level of state's intervention in gender violence reflects in the number of prosecutions and convictions in cases of gender violence. Besides this, I have also shown that the justice system is a gender biased patriarchal structure, in need of restructuring, in order to incorporate a gendered view on issues like sexual and psychological violence, women's rights. Institutional violence, prejudices and stereotypes are just some of the problems in the justice system in Spain related to gender violence.

Moving on to the patriarchal culture in Spain, I have shown that even though the idea of gender equality is accepted as a norm, the discourses and the practices still reflect the traditional gender roles. In this sense, machismo is a concept of traditional masculinity deeply embedded in cultural institutions of the state, and in the society. Nowadays obvious and extreme forms of machismo and gender violence have been delegitimized, but there still are however multiple practices of male domination in everyday life, some considered normal, some invisible and others legitimated. The micromachismos maintain a situation of imbalance of power within couple, leading ultimately to gender violence.

Among the patriarchal institutions in Spain that preserve a conservative view on the gender roles and male dominance is the Catholic Church, historically exerting a great influence through its economic, cultural and educational power. Even though nowadays the Church has lost part of its influence upon the state's political decisions, still has the means to spread its ideology through the educational system, through media like TV and radio stations, property of the Church, and also through books and articles. Other institutions deeply patriarchized, playing important role in shaping the discourses and practices on gender roles are the media and the Spanish Royal Academy (RAE). In the case of Spain, media played a positive role, by disseminating information on cases of gender violence and creating awareness, through campaigns, advertisements or movies. RAE had to revise some definitions of terms in the dictionary, as they were denoting discriminatory attitudes towards women.

As general conclusions to my study, I can say that despite the advancements in terms of human rights and gender equality, discrimination against women with the most brutal manifestation – gender violence, is a statistically verified reality in Spain. In the fight against gender violence there is a struggle against the patriarchal model, the social order that has substantially influenced the perception of men and women in today's society.

Through patriarchal structures, men are prepared to play a dominant role and, if they do not succeed, they try to obtain it by force; so they use violence as a means of controlling women. Thus, when women do not respond to expectations, conflicts can lead to the use of violence by men, as a means to obtain the satisfaction of the expectations they have on the behavior of women.

In this direction and in line with the transformative approach that guided my research, I believe that it is essential to continue fighting to eradicate inequalities between men and women, to end negative sexist topics and to raise society's awareness of the importance of education, in families, schools and media, to learn to reject negative social roles and stereotypes and be able to break the patterns in which force and violence are present.

Among the solutions that I can suggest possible to solve this problem in Spain are the following:

- The legal framework in Spain needs to be amended by broadening the definition of gender-based violence, complying with the ratification of the Istanbul Convention in 2014. That is, gender violence to include violence against women outside the family life, for example sexual, labor, institutional violence, prostitution
- The justice system in Spain should include a gendered perspective when dealing with cases of violence against women, in order to obtain an effective judicial protection victims of gender violence.
- The state should include a gendered perspective in the political and legislative response to gender violence, and should allocate human and material resources to eradicate gender inequalities and gender violence.

## 6. Bibliography

- Acker, J., (1989): The problem with patriarchy, *Sociology*, vol. 23, n. 2: 235-240.
- Ackerly, B. and True, J., (2010), Back to the future: Feminist theory, activism, and doing feminist research in an age of globalization, in *Women's Studies International Forum*, 33 (5), 464-472.
- Alberdi, I., (2005) "Como reconocer y como erradicar la violencia contra las mujeres. Violencia: Tolerancia cero", Obra social Fundación "La Caixa"
- Alberdi I., Matas, N., (2002), La violencia doméstica. Informe sobre los malos tratos a mujeres en España. Fundación "La Caixa", 2002
- (Amnesty, 2016) Amnesty International Report 2015/16, The State Of The World's Human Rights, Available at <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/POL1025522016ENGLISH.PDF>
- (Amnesty, 2019), Violencia contra las mujeres, <https://www.es.amnesty.org/en-que-estamos/espana/violencia-contra-las-mujeres/>
- Attoh, F. (2017). Gender, Religion And Patriarchy: A Sociological Analysis Of Catholicism And Pentecostalism In Nigeria. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 4(14) 158-170.
- Bhasin, K. 2006. What Is Patriarchy. *Women Unlimited: New Delhi*
- Barriteau et al., (2000). Barriteau, V.E., Connelly, M.P., Parpart, J.L., *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*. Canada: International Development Research.
- Bänsch, A., (1999), *Scientific work, Seminar and diploma theses*, 7th ed. Munich, Oldenbourg
- (BOE, 2015), Ley 26/2015, de 28 de julio, de modificación del sistema de protección a la infancia y a la adolescencia. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/pdf/2015/BOE-A-2015-8470-consolidado.pdf>
- Bodelón González, E., (2005), "Les politiques publiques contra la violencia de gènere", en GETE-ALONSO, Carmen (coord.), *Dona i violencia*, Barcelona: Càlamo, pp. 37-55
- Bodelón González, Encarna (2008), "La Violencia Contra Las Mujeres Y El Derecho No Androcéntrico: Pérdidas en la traducción jurídica del feminismo", Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, pp.275-299.

- Bonino, L., (1995), "Los micromachismos en la vida conyugal", en CORSI, J. Violencia masculina en la pareja, Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, pp. 190-199.
- Bonino, L., (2002), Masculinidad Hegemónica E Identidad Masculina
- Bonino, L., (2008), Hombres Y Violencia De Genero. Mas Alla De Los Maltratadores Y De Los Factores De Riesgo
- Bowen, G.A., (2009), Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method, published in Qualitative Research Journal, vol. 9, no. 2, 2009, 27-40
- Brage Cendán, S.B., (2012), La Violencia Machista: Análisis Del Conflicto, Estudios Penales y Criminológicos, vol. XXXII (2012). ISSN 1137-7550: 7-37
- Brisson, S., (1997), 'Outliving Oneself: Trauma, Memory and Personal Identity.' In Meyers (1997): 12–39.
- Brown, J. L. (2004): Derechos, ciudadanía y mujeres en Argentina, Política y Cultura, n. 21, p. 111-125.
- Brown, W. (1992) 'Finding the Man in the State', Feminist Studies, 18,1: 7-35
- Bryman, A., (2012), Social Research Methods, 4th ed. Published in the United States by Oxford University Press Inc., New York
- Bustelo et al, 2007, Encyclopedia of Domestic violence, Domestic violence in Spain, pag 660-669
- Butler, J., (1988), Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. Theatre Journal, 40 (4), 519-531
- Butler, J., (1990), Gender Trouble. New York: Routledge
- Butler, J., (2004), Undoing gender, New York: Routledge
- Cases Sola, A., (2013), Gender violence during the Second Republic, HISPANIA NOVA. Revista de Historia Contemporánea. Número 11 (2013) <http://hispanianova.rediris.es>
- Castells, M., (1998), La era de la información. Siglo XXI. México
- (CIS, 2018), Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Barómetro De Noviembre 2018, Estudio N° 3231 [http://datos.cis.es/pdf/Es3231mar\\_A.pdf](http://datos.cis.es/pdf/Es3231mar_A.pdf)
- (CGPJ, 2018), Series Anuales En Los Procesos De Violencia De Género, Sección De Estadística Judicial, Informe Trimestral Sobre Violencia De Género, Año 2018 , Available at <http://www.poderjudicial.es/cgpj/en/Subjects/Judicial-Statistics/Studies-and-reports/Violence-against-Women/>
- (Conferencia Episcopal, 2019), <https://www.conferenciaepiscopal.es/datos-generales-la-iglesia-espana/>
- Colclough, C., (2008), Global gender goals and the construction of equality. In: Shailaja Fennell & Madeleine Arnotet (Eds) Gender Education and Equality in a Global Context: Conceptual Frameworks and Policy Perspectives. London: Routledge.
- Connell, R.W. (2002), Gender. Cambridge: Polity Press, in association with Blackwell.
- (Constitution, 2019) <https://www.boe.es/legislacion/documentos/ConstitucionCASTELLANO.pdf>
- Creswell, J.W., (2014), Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches — 4th ed., Sage Publications

- Cudd, A., (2006), *Analyzing Oppression*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Di Corleto, J. (2011), Como la cigarra: Notas sobre violencia sexual, jurisprudencia y derechos humanos. *Revista jurídica de la Universidad de Palermo*, 12: 89-110.
- Donovan, J., (2000), *Feminist Theory: the Intellectual Traditions*. New York: Continuum.
- Dreger, A., (1998), *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex*. MS, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- (EU FRA a, 2014), *Violence against women: an EU-wide survey, Results at a glance*, Available at [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-at-a-glance-oct14\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-at-a-glance-oct14_en.pdf)
- (EU FRA b, 2014), *Violence against women: an EU-wide survey, Main results*, Available at [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14_en.pdf)
- (EU Home Affairs, 2018), *Data collection on trafficking in human beings in the EU, 2018*, Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-security/20181204\\_data-collection-study.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-security/20181204_data-collection-study.pdf)
- (Eurobarometer, 2015), *Standard Eurobarometer 83 Spring 2015, European Citizenship Report*, [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm)
- Faraldo Cabana, P., (2008), *Las prohibiciones de residencia, aproximación y comunicación en el Derecho Penal*. Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch
- (Femicidio.net, 2019), <https://femicidio.net/>
- Franzway, S, Court, D. and Connell, RW (1989) *Staking a Claim; Feminism, Bureaucracy and the State*. Australia: Allen and Unwin
- Fontenla, M.A., (2009): *Patriarcado*. In: *Diccionario de estudios de género y feminismos* (Ed.) Gamba, S.B. Biblos: Buenos Aires.
- Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful Means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute; London: Sage.
- Garcia-Calvente M., Hidalgo Ruzzante, N., Rio-Lozano, M., Marcos Marcos, J., Martinez-Morante, E., Maroto-Navarro, G., Mateo-Rodriguez, I. and Gil-Garcia, E., 2012, *Exhausted women, tough men: a qualitative study on gender differences in health, vulnerability and coping with illness in Spain*, *Sociology of Health & Illness* Vol. 34 No. 6 2012 ISSN 0141-9889, pp. 911-926
- Glenn, N., (2000), *The social construction and Institutionalization of Gender and Race*. Published in the book *Revisioning gender*, Ed. Altamira Press
- (GOB, 2009), *Violencia De Género En Los Pequeños Municipios Del Estado Español*, [http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/pdf/libro6\\_VG\\_municipios.pdf](http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/pdf/libro6_VG_municipios.pdf)
- (GOGV, 2014), *Government Office against Gender based Violence (2014). Percepción social de la violencia de género*. Available at [http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/pdf/Percepcion\\_Social\\_VG\\_web.pdf](http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/pdf/Percepcion_Social_VG_web.pdf)
- (GOGV, 2015), *Government Office against Gender based Violence, Survey On Violence Against Women 2015 - Main Results*, Available at

- [http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/en/violenciaEnCifras/macroencuesta2015/pdf/SPAIN\\_SURVEY\\_ON\\_VAW\\_2015.pdf](http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/en/violenciaEnCifras/macroencuesta2015/pdf/SPAIN_SURVEY_ON_VAW_2015.pdf)
- (GOGV, 2018) Government Office against Gender based Violence, Data sheets on female deaths – Women sheets/Children sheets  
<http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/en/violenciaEnCifras/victimasmortales/home.htm>
- Harding, S., (1993), *Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology, What is Strong Objectivity, Feminist Epistemologies*, ed. Linda Alcoff, Elizabeth Potter, Routledge, New York and London.
- Hartmann, H.I., (1987), *The Family as the Locus of Gender, Class, and Political Struggle: The Example of Housework*. In: *Feminism and Methodology* (Ed.) Harding, S. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hunnicut, G. (2009), *Varieties of Patriarchy and Violence Against Women Resurrecting “Patriarchy” as a Theoretical Tool*, *Violence Against Women* Vol. 15 N. 5, 553-573 2009 Sage Publications
- INE a, 2018. Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Ocupados por tipo de puesto laboral, sexo y grupo de edad. Valores absolutos y porcentajes respecto al total de cada grupo de edad,  
<https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=5125>
- (INE b, 2018) Tasas de empleo según grupos de edad. Brecha de género  
[https://www.ine.es/ss/Satellite?L=es\\_ES&c=INESeccion\\_C&cid=1259925463013&p=1254735110672&pagename=ProductosYServicios%2FPYSLayout&param1=PYSDetalle&param3=1259924822888](https://www.ine.es/ss/Satellite?L=es_ES&c=INESeccion_C&cid=1259925463013&p=1254735110672&pagename=ProductosYServicios%2FPYSLayout&param1=PYSDetalle&param3=1259924822888)
- (InMujer, 2015), Institute of Women, Macro-survey of violence against women 2015, available at  
<http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/macroencuesta2015/home.htm>
- (InMujer, 2019), Definición de Violencia de Género  
[http://www.inmujer.gob.es/servRecursos/formacion/Pymes/docs/Introduccion/02\\_Definicion\\_de\\_violencia\\_de\\_genero.pdf](http://www.inmujer.gob.es/servRecursos/formacion/Pymes/docs/Introduccion/02_Definicion_de_violencia_de_genero.pdf)
- (InMujer website, 2019), Institute of Women,  
<http://www.inmujer.gob.es/en/elInstituto/historia/home.htm>
- (Istanbul Convention, 2011), Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence , Available at <https://rm.coe.int/168046031c>
- Jackson, S., and Jones, J., (1998). *Contemporary Feminist Theories*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Lameiras et al, 2009. Lameiras, F.M., Carrera Fernández, M.V., Rodríguez Castro Y., (2009), “Violencia De Género: Ideología Patriarcal Y Actitudes Sexistas” En Iglesias Canle Ines Y Lameiras Fernández, María (Coord.), *Violencia De Género: Perspectiva Jurídica Y Psicosocial*, Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch, Pp.117-152.
- Lerner, G., (1989), *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford University Press: New York
- Lombardo, E., (2006), *The Influence of the Catholic Church on Spanish Political Debates on Gender Policy (1996-2004)*, Published in: *Gender, Religion, Human Rights in Europe*, eds. Kari Elisabeth Borresen y Sara Cabibbo Roma, Herder 2006
- Lombardo, E., (2016). *Gender equality policies in Spain - update*. European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses>

- Lonzi, C., (1972), *Sputiamo su Hegel e altri scritti. Rivolta Femminile*. Milan.
- López Sánchez, F., (2003). *Las mujeres en el siglo XX: cambios referidos a la sexualidad y a las relaciones interpersonales*. En J. Cuesta Bustillo (dir.) *Historia de las mujeres en España*, pp. 105-142 (tomo IV). Siglo XX. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.
- MacKinnon, C., (1987). *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Messerschmidt, J.W, (1986), *Capitalism, Patriarchy and Crime: Towards a Socialist Feminist Criminology*. Totawa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield
- Moreno Cuerva, L.P., (2016), *La Distancia Entre La Legislación Vigente En Materia De Violencia De Género Y Su Aplicación*, Departamento de Ciencia Política y Derecho Público, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona
- Muravyeva. M. and Toivo, R.M. (2012). *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge
- Murphy, C. M., O’Leary, K. D., (1994), *Research paradigms, values, and spouse abuse*. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 9, 207-223, Sage Publications
- (NatObsGV, 2011), *IV Annual Report of the National Observatory On Violence Against Women, 2011*, [http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/pdf/libro\\_14\\_IV\\_InformeAnual\\_Ingles.pdf](http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/pdf/libro_14_IV_InformeAnual_Ingles.pdf)
- Nicholson, L. (1989). *Feminism postmodernism (thinking gender)*. London: Routledge.
- Ñuñez R. A., (1994), *El Parricidio En La Legislación Española*, *Boletín Dé la Facultad De Derecho*, Núm. 5, 1993/1994
- (OECD, 2018), *OECD Data, Gross domestic product (GDP)*, Available at <https://data.oecd.org/gdp/gross-domestic-product-gdp.htm>
- Ortubay Fuentes, M., (2015), *Diez años de “Ley Integral contra la violencia de género”: Luces y sombras, en Sistema Penal y Violencia de Género*, monográfico, Ed. Consejo Nacional de la Judicatura de El Salvador, pp. 127-168.
- Penal Code (1932), *Agenda Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, Gaceta de Madrid – Num. 310* <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1932/310/A00818-00856.pdf>
- Pollert, A., (1996), *Gender and Class Revisited: Or, The Poverty Of ‘Patriarchy’*, *Sociology* Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 639 – 659, November 1996.
- (RAE, 2019) <https://dle.rae.es/?id=NnO8B9D>
- Reglero et al, 2007. Reglero, M., Bustelo, M., López, S., and Platero, R. (2007): *State of the Art and Mapping of Competences Report: Spain, QUING Project*, Vienna: Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Available at [http://www.quing.eu/files/results/soa\\_spain.pdf](http://www.quing.eu/files/results/soa_spain.pdf).
- Ruíz, M.C. (2007). *Género, masculinidad y nuevo movimiento bajo el franquismo*. En J. Babiano (ed.), *Del hogar a la huelga. Trabajo, género y movimiento obrero durante el franquismo*, pp. 245-276. Madrid: Libros de la Catarata.
- Schechter S., (1982), *Women and Male Violence*. Boston: South End Press.



- Schwartzman, L., (2010), *Challenging Liberalism: Feminism as Political Critique*. College Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Sweetman et al, (2010). Sweetman, D., Badiee, M., Creswell, J.W., Use of the Transformative Framework in Mixed Methods Studies, published in *Qualitative Inquiry* 16(6) 441 –454, Sage Publications
- Threlfall, M., (1985), *The Women's Movement in Spain*, published in *New Left Review*, 1/151, 1985
- (UN, 2006), *Ending violence against women: from words to action, Study of the Secretary-General*, Available at <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/launch/english/v.a.w-exeE-use.pdf>
- (UN Report, 2003), United Nations. "Executive Summary." In *Ending Violence against Women: From Words to Action; Study of the Secretary General*. A/61/122/Add.1, 2006.
- (UNDP, 2018), *Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2018 Statistical Update*, Available at [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr\\_theme/country-notes/ESP.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/ESP.pdf)
- (UNODC, 2016), *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016*: 7, 28.
- Valiente, C., (2015), Age and feminist activism: The feminist protest within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain. *Social Movement Studies* 14 (4):473-92. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2014.947252>
- Walby, S., (1989), *Theorizing patriarchy*, *Sociology* Vol. 23, No.2, 213-234, 1989
- Walby, S., (1990), *Theorizing patriarchy*, Printed in Great Britain by T.J. Press Ltd., Cornwall
- Waylen et al, (2013). Waylen, G., Celis, K., Kantola, J. & Weldon, S. L., *The Oxford handbook of gender and politics*. Oxford University Press, 2013.
- (WHO, 2005), World Health Organization, *WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women*, 2005
- (WHO, 2011), *World health statistics 2011*, accessible at [https://www.who.int/whosis/whostat/EN\\_WHS2011\\_Full.pdf?ua=1](https://www.who.int/whosis/whostat/EN_WHS2011_Full.pdf?ua=1)
- (WHO, 2013), *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence*, Available at [https://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2013/violence\\_against\\_women\\_20130620/en/](https://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2013/violence_against_women_20130620/en/)
- Wolf, B., (2012), Gender-based violence and the challenge of visual representation, *Comunicació : Revista de Recerca i d'Anàlisi [Societat Catalana de Comunicació]* <http://revistes.iec.cat/index.php/TC>.
- (WPSI, 2017), Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, Available at <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/country/spain/>
- Wyse, S., (2011), "What is the Difference between Qualitative Research and Quantitative Research?" <http://www.snapsurveys.com/blog/what-is-the-difference-between-qualitative-research-and-quantitative-research/>
- Young, I., (1990), *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

### Newspaper articles

- (25N, 2018), "Ni Una Menos", manifiesto del Área de la Mujer de IU para el 25N, <http://izquierda-unida.es/node/17448>
- (Antena3, 2019), Un nuevo informe detalla que el asesinato de Diana Quer fue un crimen sexual, 15.03.2019, [https://www.antena3.com/noticias/sociedad/diana-quer-crimen-sexual-nuevo-informe\\_201903155c8b7cbb0cf2bb98bdd094d5.html](https://www.antena3.com/noticias/sociedad/diana-quer-crimen-sexual-nuevo-informe_201903155c8b7cbb0cf2bb98bdd094d5.html)
- (BBC, 2004), New man tackles Spanish machismo, 27/04/2004, Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3661117.stm>
- (BBC, 2018), Spain 'wolf pack' case: Thousands protest over rape ruling, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43915551>
- (CatalanNews, 2019), Feminist strike: protest that transformed Spanish politics set for new International Women's Day, 07/03/2019, Available at <http://www.catalannews.com/society-science/item/feminist-strike-protest-that-transformed-spanish-politics-set-for-new-international-women-s-day>
- (EIDiario, 2018), España se convierte en el país con más ministras del mundo, por encima de Suecia o Islandia, 07/06/2018. Available at [https://www.eldiario.es/politica/gabinete-Sanchez-convierte-Espana-ministras\\_0\\_779722099.html](https://www.eldiario.es/politica/gabinete-Sanchez-convierte-Espana-ministras_0_779722099.html)
- (EIDiario, 2019), La Audiencia de Navarra mantiene la libertad provisional para 'la manada', [https://www.eldiario.es/norte/navarra/ultima\\_hora/Audiencia-Navarra-mantiene-provisional-Manada\\_0\\_853214711.html](https://www.eldiario.es/norte/navarra/ultima_hora/Audiencia-Navarra-mantiene-provisional-Manada_0_853214711.html)
- (EIMundo, 2013), <https://www.elmundo.es/cultura/2013/11/27/529625440ab740b4618b4582.html>
- (EIPais, 2004), El Poder Judicial rechaza por diez votos a nueve el anteproyecto del Gobierno, [https://elpais.com/diario/2004/06/25/sociedad/1088114402\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/2004/06/25/sociedad/1088114402_850215.html)
- (EIPais, 2017), Ana Orantes y 1.000 asesinadas más, 25/11/2017, Available at [https://elpais.com/politica/2017/11/24/actualidad/1511548723\\_149638.html](https://elpais.com/politica/2017/11/24/actualidad/1511548723_149638.html)
- (EIPais, 2018), Killer of Laura Luelmo: "I took her clothes off and I tried to rape her", 20/12/2018, [https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/12/19/inenglish/1545206585\\_688271.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/12/19/inenglish/1545206585_688271.html)
- (EIPais, 2018), Spanish justice system admits it is failing victims of gender violence, 28/09/2018 [https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/09/28/inenglish/1538128575\\_682750.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/09/28/inenglish/1538128575_682750.html)
- (EIPublico, 2018), El juez del voto particular de 'La Manada' absolvió a un padre acusado de abusar de su hija menor al no mostrarse "incómoda", <https://www.publico.es/sociedad/manada-juez-voto-particular-manada-absolvio-padre-acusado-abusar-hija-menor-no-mostrarse-incomoda.html>
- Los jueces de 'La Manada' condenan sólo por "maltrato ocasional" a un hombre que acuchilló y trató de asfixiar a su mujer, <https://www.publico.es/espana/violencia-machista-jueces-manada-sentencian-acuchillar-tratar-axfixiar-mujer-maltrato-ocasional.html>
- (EuropaPress, 2015), La Ley Integral contra la Violencia de Género, premiada por ONU Mujeres, World Future Council y Unión Interpalamentaria, 02/07/2015, Available at <https://www.europapress.es/epsocial/igualdad/noticia-ley-integral-contra-violencia-genero-premiada-onu-mujeres-world-future-council-union-interpalamentaria-20141014190927.html>
- (EuropaPress, 2007), Zerolo: "Quien no reconozca que sigue existiendo machismo en España es que no ve la realidad", 27/03/2007, Available at <https://www.europapress.es/sociedad/noticia-zerolo-quien-no-reconozca-sigue-existiendo-machismo-espana-no-ve-realidad-20070326222738.html>

(EuropaPress, 2018), 05/12/2018, <https://www.europapress.es/epsocial/igualdad/noticia-feministas-rechazan-sentencia-manada-mas-respetuosa-abre-puerta-condena-violacion-20181205164450.html>

(HuffPost, 2014), ¿Es España un país machista?, 22/08/2014, Available at [https://www.huffingtonpost.es/2014/08/22/espana-machista\\_n\\_5698864.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.es/2014/08/22/espana-machista_n_5698864.html)

(LalzquierdaDiario, 2018), <https://www.laizquierdadiario.com/Estado-espanol-el-femicidio-de-Laura-Luelmo-y-las-violencias-del-capitalismo-patriarcal>

(LaRazon, 2018), El machismo en la RAE, <https://www.larazon.es/blogs/tv-y-comunicacion/academia-de-pel/el-machismo-en-la-rae-NN17921590>

(LaVanguardia, 1889), Pompeu Gener, escritor catalán: Sufragismo y feminismo: la lucha por los derechos de las mujeres), Available at <http://www.historiasiglo20.org/sufragismo/femespana2.htm>

(LaVanguardia, 2018), <https://www.lavanguardia.com/sucesos/20180103/434043256131/diana-quer-fotos-caso.html>

(RTVE, 2018), La Iglesia católica en España recibe 335 millones de euros en donativos de los fieles cada año, <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20180614/iglesia-catolica-espana-recibe-335-millones-euros-donativos-fieles-cada-ano/1750780.shtml>

(ThinkSpain,2018), Hollywood hits out at gang-rape acquittal: Jessica Chastain and Rose McGowan condemn 'lenient' sentence, <https://www.thinkspain.com/news-spain/30449/hollywood-hits-out-at-gang-rape-acquittal-jess>