



Femicide and the Politics of Representation
Media perpetuating and normalizing gender violence
in Mexico

A Research Paper presented by:

Sandra Milena Ramírez Carreño

(Colombia)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:

Human Rights, Development and Social Justice

(HDS)

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Rosalba Icaza Garza

Dr. Rachel Kurian

The Hague, The Netherlands

November 2012

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank my family for their support, especially to my mom for showing me that everything in life is possible and that barriers only exist in mind. I also would like to thank to Dr. Rosalba Icaza and Dr. Rachel Kurian for making me reflect on the goal of my research and for reminding me that women remain neglected and gender justice is needed. A special thanks to Dr. Dubravka Zarkov for opening the doors to the world of representation; it changed my perception of reality and my role as a journalist. Thanks to all my friends at the ISS for their patience, their critical contribution to my paper and for sharing with me what so far has been one of the best years of my life.

Finally, this paper is dedicated to the thousands of women that have been victims of femicide not just in Mexico but in the world.

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List of Acronyms

OCNF	National Citizen's Observatory of Femicide
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party
PAN	National Action Party
INEGI	National Institute of Statistics and Geography
OEM	Mexican Editorial Organization
MCA	Member Categorization Analysis
OAGSM	Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico
CONEVAL	National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy

Abstract

Femicide has been considered the most extreme form of gender violence and one of the worse human rights violations in Mexico. However, little academic attention has been given to cases different to Ciudad Juárez although the phenomenon has spread throughout the country, placing on the top the case of the State of Mexico. For this reason, this research considers the role of online media in the representation of victims of femicide in the State of Mexico during the year 2011, in four newspapers. A multi-dimensional approach that included concepts of gender violence, femicide, politics of representation and critical media theory were used in order to analyse the representation of the phenomenon. Further, “Member Categorization Analysis” and “Framing” were used as tools of discourse analysis. The first was applied to established how women victims of femicide are represented by the media, while was used to find the main frames that delineate the discourse of femicide. Findings revealed that online newspapers reinforce traditional gender stereotypes through the use of categories and stereotypes of women and men. In doing so the media normalizes and reinforce gender violence. Although the online newspapers selected has different editorial line, the politics of representation of females victims was the same.

Relevance to Development Studies

“Gender violence occurs throughout the world, but it takes quite different forms in different social contexts” (Merry, 2009:3). Femicide becomes one of the expressions of violence against women and but it has been somewhat neglected by feminists generating a failure to tackle this phenomenon (Radford, 2001:8-9) from an academic perspective. Although working on the topic may imply face the extremity of the phenomenon (Ibid., 9), academics and societies should confront this kind of violence in order to develop strategies directed to the improvement of women’s life and the achievement of gender justice.

Keywords

Femicide, Gender violence, Politics of Representation, Media, Power, Discourse, Mexico, Stereotyping, Categorization, Framing

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Statement of the problem

On 8 April 2011 the case of a 4 year old girl that was raped and beaten to death by two men in the State of Mexico, one of the 32 federal states of Mexico, became one of the stories reported by the online media in the country (Barrera, 2011; Venegas, 2011). The girl, according to *La Reforma*, died “because of contusions and suffocation” (Barrera, 2011). Later that month, on 19 April, *El Sol de Toluca* reported on the case of a 15 year old student who was sexually abused and murdered with a 20 kilogramme brick that was dropped on her face by her attacker. (Jaramillo,2011).

These cases form part of the phenomenon of femicide, described by Russell as “not simply the murder of females but the killings of females by men because they are female” (as cited in Sanford, 2008: 112). This phenomenon is related to gender violence and considered to be one of the more important human rights violations that Mexico faces (Fregoso, 2007:367). According to the Citizens's National Observatory on Femicide (Observatorio Ciudadano Nacional del Femicidio, OCNF), between January 2010 and June 2011 at least 2.192 females were victims of femicide in 23 of the 32 states of Mexico (OCNF, 2011:15). The state that presented the majority of cases was Estado de México (State of Mexico) with a number of 320 victims during that period.

Despite the fact that the number of victims has increased in the State of Mexico, both media and academic attention has been given primarily to Ciudad Juárez. It might be possible to attribute this finding to Ciudad Juárez’s geographical location – it is both a transit point and borders the United States. As a result incidents of femicide occurring in this city have been studied more as opposed to the case of the State of Mexico, even though it is widely known that since 2005 the number of victims of femicide in that region started increasing dramatically. For this reason and because of the importance of making the phenomenon more visible, I will analyze the role that media plays in the representation of women victims of femicide in the State of Mexico in 2011. This is due to the fact that, as mentioned above, it is the state that had the highest number of cases of femicide in the country over that period.

1.2 Research objective and questions

This research is concerned with violence against women in Mexico, and in particular with the phenomenon of femicide. More specifically the research aims to analyse how women victims of this kind of violence are represented in media (online newspapers). The reason why I have conducted this research is

because representation helps to construct reality. In this respect, I am largely in agreement with Meijer (1993) who states that the 'real world' is transmitted through the use of different discourses such as textual and visual representations. Thus "representation works much more indirectly, in a more mediated way, but at the same time at a fundamentally formative level. Representation constructs identities and subject-positions for its users" (Meijer, 1993:169). Through this research I would like to establish how media plays a role in the reinforcement of gender stereotypes through descriptions (textual representations) of the problem of femicide and its victims. Therefore, my research focus is to identify specific ways through which online newspapers have perpetuated gender violence through the representation of femicide in Mexico, and more specifically in the case of the State of Mexico. Based on my findings I understand "perpetuation" as the use of statements that normalizes femicide.

The principal research question is:

What is the role of online newspapers in the representation of victims of femicide in Mexico?

My sub-questions are:

(1) How do media produce and reproduce certain understandings of reality?

(2) What is femicide and how has it been explained in the case of Mexico? Which elements of the phenomenon in Ciudad Juarez can be applied to the State of Mexico and which are not addressed by the current analyses?

(3) How are women victims of femicide in Mexico represented by online newspapers? Which are the common views about victims of femicide that this form of media reports on?

(4) What are the social meanings that are constructed in the reproduction of specific stereotypes about femicide and its victims?

1.3 Background

1.3.1 Mexico: a political, cultural, economic and social review

Mexico is a country of high inequality. Corbacho and Schwartz (as cited in Esquivel, 2011: 155) have pointed out that its inequality "is significantly more pronounced than the Latin American average, which is the region with the

highest degree of inequality in the world”. According to the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (Consejo Nacional de la Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social, CONEVAL), 46.2% of the Mexican population lives in poverty, and 10.6% lives in conditions of extreme poverty (CONEVAL, 2011).

Consequently, previous research has shown that the inequality in the country increased since the opening to the market, through the reinforcement of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and that this particular situation exacerbated gender inequality through the demand of skilled labour (Juhn et al. 2012:2). Nonetheless, Hamilton (2011: 285) assesses that the role of women in Mexican society has changed since the economic crisis; they have gained more participation in the political arena and in decision-making processes. However, “patriarchy continues to exist, taking its most virulent form in crimes against women [...]” (Hamilton, 2011:286).

Additionally, politics in Mexico has been linked to corruption and clientelism, situations that were fostered during the 70 years that the government was under the rule of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI). In 2000, for the first time in seven decades the National Action Party (Partido de Acción Nacional, PAN) won the country’s national elections with Vicente Fox as a candidate. However, “the arrival to the Presidency of a different party from the PRI [...] also contributed to break the historical links established between authorities and drug trafficking, what generated imbalances between drug cartels” (Chabat, 2010:4)

During the presidency of Felipe Calderón, member of the PAN and elected in 2006, the war on drugs was reinforced in order to reduce drug trafficking and the violence that it was generating through the militarization of the country. However, the method used by Calderón has resulted in Mexico facing one of the most violent periods in its history (Gómez, 2011: 8). “At the same time the militarization of the drugs war has raised questions about the increased role of the military, the corruption of military personnel, and human rights abuses reported by national and international organizations” (Hamilton, 2011:288)

Thus, in addition to the problems of inequality and poverty in the country, there has also been a penetration of criminal organizations into the political and economic structures that has created an ongoing spiral of violence (Buscaglia, 2010:95). According to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, INEGI), 27.199 homicides were committed in Mexico during 2011, 5.5% more than the number of cases reported in 2010 in which the number of homicides committed was 25.757. Thus, during 2011 the proportion of homicides was 24 for every 100.000 inhabitants. Further, the state with the highest number of incidents was Chihuahua with 4.502 homicides, followed by the State of Mexico with 2.613, Guerrero with 2.425, Nuevo León with 2.177 , Sinaloa with 1.998, Jalisco with 1.524, Tamaulipas with 1.075, Durango with 1.066, and

Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave with 1.005 homicides. (INEGI, 2012). Apart from this particular situation, the phenomenon of femicide is also taking place. However, it does not necessarily mean that there is a correlation between the war on drugs and the women that have been murdered because the phenomenon of femicide started taking place at the beginning of the 1990's.

1.3.2 Femicide, a social phenomenon throughout Mexico

Femicide constitutes an important human rights violation in Mexico. In 1993 bodies of dead girls and women started appearing in Ciudad Juárez (Chihuahua), a border city in the north of the country. In the majority of the cases, the victims were “young, they [were] slender, they [were] dark haired, they [were] mixed race and they [have] been subjected to sexual violence including rape, torture, and strangulation” (Fregoso, 2007:367). Furthermore, “their bodies were discarded in remote, sparsely populated areas of the city” (Fregoso and Bejarano, 2010:6). Another key characteristic is that in the majority of the cases of femicide women are “murdered someone known to them or related through work, family or romantic involvement” (Olivera, 2006:105).

Nonetheless, scholars such as Lagarde (2006b:4) have mentioned that this is the stereotype of the victims that was created but that there are cases of women with different characteristics that have suffered femicide and that have been ignored. “The media and the human rights activists who monitor this cases have assumed that the killings of young girls were a phenomenon defined by the Juárez border mentality, its transient and economically deprived population, and a burgeoning drug culture” (Guillermoprieto, 2003).

Therefore, it can be argued as Radford claims, that femicide is a measure of control, but also a way of domination, and even extinction, if it is taken into account that what is expected to be eliminated is women not fulfilling their roles as socially expected (as cited in Berlanga, 2010). Lagarde points out that in majority of the cases femicides are committed by men that are in social, economic, political, sexual and ideological supremacy while women are in conditions of inequality, subordination, exploitation and, particularly, in exclusion (2006a: 221). Hence, as Lagarde mentions, “in many cases, these forms of gender violence are tolerated by society and the state [...] Impunity that stems from inaction, insufficiency, or complicity of state institutions with gender equality contributes to femicidal violence[...].” (Lagarde, 2010: xxi).

Although Mexico has signed and ratified different international treaties that make the state responsible to protect, fulfill and reinforce women's rights, reduce inequality, discrimination, and provide justice – such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women, known as the Convention of Belém do Pará- the crimes spread from Ciudad Juárez to the rest of the country.

This was shown in the first report conducted about femicide in Mexico in 2006, commissioned by the Special Commission to know and follow up on investigations relating to femicides in Mexico (Comisión Especial para Conocer y Dar Seguimiento a las Investigaciones Relacionadas con los Femicidios en la República Mexicana y a la Procuración de Justicia Vinculada). The report showed the situation of 10 states in 2004: Estado de México, Veracruz, Chiapas, Guerrero, Distrito Federal, Chihuahua, Oaxaca, Sonora, Baja California y Morelos. Thus, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography, in 2004, 1,205 women were murdered, with an average of 4 women per day (Lagarde, 2006a:218).

In addition, the final report of the OCNF¹ was published in 2011, a year in which the objective was to analyse femicide in 23 states of the country in order to have more information at a national level. That year, according to the OCNF, the number of women murdered was 2,192. However, just 15 Offices of the Attorney General of the 23 states handed in the number of women murdered, and only 8 of them provided information regarding the variables that were requested by the OCNF (the kind of violent act, the place in which women were found, reasons of the murder, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and others).

For this reason, the information of only 8 states of the country related to cases of femicide was presented in detail. Thus, as mentioned above, the OCNF showed that between January 2010 and June 2011 at least 2,192 were victims of femicide. Thus Estado de México had the majority of the crimes (320 cases), followed by Tamaulipas (169), Sinaloa (168), Jalisco (142), Nuevo León (138), Distrito Federal (125), Oaxaca (102), Sonora (71).

However, it is important to state that the data that has been presented regarding femicide has its limitations. To begin with, it is relevant to mention that there are no official national statistics regarding femicide in Mexico since this phenomenon was identified. To date, all statistics regarding femicide has been organized by NGO's and organizations that promote women's rights. In fact, the United Nations assessed that during the last 25 years violence against women has resulted in at least 34,500 victims; all of the cases are presumed to be that of femicide (*Proceso*, 2012). Moreover, the statistics that have been managed by these organizations present data not per year but for different periods of months or years.

The lack of uniform data that allows for an analysis of the phenomenon has different explanations. Firstly, in Mexico just 9 of the 32 states² have

¹ For the matter of this research paper, I will take into account the data provided by the OCNF because it is the only one that have presented periodic reports regarding the problem (see Appendix 1).

² Mexico is a federal state in which every state counts with its own congress and the changes on the law depend on it.

defined femicide as a crime in the law. For this reason INEGI classifies the murders of women as “homicides of women” and not as femicides even though the reasons of the murder includes gender motives. Secondly, the Offices of the Attorney General of the different states have no detailed reports in which it is specified the circumstances in which women have died. Thus, there is no information available regarding, for instance, the violent act in which they were murdered; the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim; the place in which the body was found, and the reasons of the murder (OCNF, 2011:11).

With this in mind it could be argued that to date statistics have framed femicide as a phenomenon that is not exclusive to Ciudad Juárez, taking into account that more information has been provided regarding other states. However, the information given in the reports present general information about femicides occurring in the country. Hence, there is not a segregation of the specific characteristics of this kind of gender violence per state but all the data is generalized regarding the reasons of the crimes, the characteristics of women, and the profile of the perpetrator. Thus, the data available tends to assume that the main driven causes of femicide are the same in all the states.

One of the measures taken by the government in order to promote women's rights was the implementation of the General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence in 2007. This law recognizes the rights of women and the existence of femicidal violence in the country, and provides some elements to protect their life. One of them is the declaration of ‘gender alert’, a “legal resource that forces the three levels of the government (federal, state, municipal) to address from a gender perspective violence against women. Thus, the ‘gender alert’ is an emergency measure that applies to governmental actions of investigation and administration of justice that lead to a clarification of the events, the detention and the process of the person responsible”(Lagarde, 2007: 154).

Furthermore, in one of its sections this law recognizes for the first time in the history of Mexican law “the role that media has in violence against women when it comes to the visibility, denouncement and information, and also as the creation of prejudices, the promotion of values and sexist and misogynist interpretations about women” (Ibid.,157). However, the argument that I will put forward is in agreement with Hamilton (2011:212), who argues that “the inadequate response of government at all levels to femicide in Juárez and elsewhere raises obvious questions as to how effectively these laws will be enforced. More broadly, it demonstrates the formidable obstacles that women have confronted and continue to confront in their struggles for women's rights”.

1.4 Relevance and Justification

From a personal perspective women's rights and gender equality have been topics that I find important to talk about if one considers the inequality that women face around the world. For instance, as is mentioned by United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women , "between 15 and 76 percent of women are targeted for physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime" (UN Women, n.d.). Moreover, attention needs to be given to the situation of women in Mexico, as it is one of the worst countries to be a woman due to the lack political participation, access to work and health, and also because of the conditions of violence and inequality (Camacho, 2012). For this reason, gender justice, understood as the way in which women's rights and interests are promoted (Goetz, 2007), becomes a matter that needs attention to improve women's life in Mexico.

Furthermore, the aim of this paper is to contribute to the current academia regarding femicide and topics such a human rights and social justice. The objective is to contribute to the knowledge through the elaboration of an academic piece that gives critical information about the context in which femicide is taking place in the State of Mexico and to understand the role that online newspapers play in it. Furthermore, the experience that I have had as a journalist has led me to believe that representation in the media influences over how people perceive reality. Thus, I believe that media has the capacity to create reactions, shape social identities, beliefs and thoughts. Hence, this research becomes an opportunity for me to analyse not just media and journalism from an academic lens, but also to find its relation with topics that I find relevant such as women's rights and gender equality.

1.5 Methodology

In order to develop the research I used both primary and secondary data to analyse the representation of women victims of femicide in the State of Mexico during 2011. Thus my primary data is composed by articles of online newspapers such as *La Jornada*, *Reforma*, *El Universal* and *El Sol de Toluca*. This is because since 2007 Mexico is one of the ten countries that has had more access to the Internet and it is also the third one used more by media after television and radio (Martínez, M. and Mújica, A. 2010: 12).

I selected these newspapers because they have a different political ideologies. Firstly, *La Jornada* is a newspaper that has national circulation and is considered to be center-left. Secondly, *Reforma* also has national circulation and is considered to be center-right. Thirdly, *El Universal* is considered to be one of the most important newspapers of Mexico. This one has national circulation and has been available on the Internet since 1996. According to the web site in 2007 it had 3.2 million users and 105 million web sites seen. (El Universal n.d.) Fourthly, *El Sol de Toluca* is one of the tabloids of the Mexican Editorial Organization (Organización Editorial Mexicana, OEM). This organization is a media company that has presence throughout the country,

and has within its group 70 newspapers, 24 radio stations, one T.V. station, and 43 web sites.

Taking into account that my analysis is going to be focused on the representation of victims in the State of Mexico, I looked for articles in which this matter was reported and depicted. In order to find the pieces to analyze I used the searcher available on the web sites. In the case of *El Universal* and *Reforma*, I used the key words “feminicidio” (feminicide in Spanish) “or” “Estado de México”, obtaining 16 results in the former and 21 in the second, respectively.

However, regarding *La Jornada* I had to review every day from the year 2011 using the key word “feminicidio” due to the design of the web site not allowing me to find results for that year just using the searcher that is available on the home page. Hence, I got 86 results regarding feminicide at a national level. I then manually selected those related to the State of Mexico, obtaining a sample of 20 articles.

Furthermore, to find the texts in *El Sol de Toluca* I introduced in the searcher the key words “feminicidio” “or” “Estado de México” or “2011” “and” “El Sol de Toluca”. The mix of the words was necessary because the searcher of this tabloid connects the information of all the products of the Mexican Editorial Organization. Thus, the final result of articles reporting on feminicide in the State of México was 19.

In addition, I classified these articles according to the topic. The most current issues were those regarding victims, legal reforms (definition of the crime and life imprisonment), political campaigns, effectiveness of the Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico (OAGSM), gender alert, investigations, perpetrators, sentences and justice, prevention, statistics and politics. Nonetheless, as my intention is to analyse the representation of victims of feminicide I selected the articles that mention them and I found the following categories and relationships:

1. Victims
2. Perpetrators/Victims
3. Data/Victims
4. Politics/Victims
5. Investigations/Victims

In this manner, taking into account this classification I obtained the following results that involve the representation of victims and that constitutes the sample that is going to be taken into account for the analysis:

1. *El Universal* 5
2. *El Reforma* 3
3. *La Jornada* 4
4. *El Sol de Toluca* 6

To analyse this information and the representational strategies of newspapers on the Internet regarding femicide I have used discourse analysis and tools such as ‘Member Categorization Analysis (MCA)’ and ‘Framing’. The first one, is useful to analyse the categories that are within the text because they “are typically not done for their own sake , but as part of the locally ordered political actions: in other words, categorizing is situated” (Leudar et al 2004: 245). The second one, ‘framing’, is useful to analyse the perspective from which the information is given. According to Etman (as cited in Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008: 53), “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, oral evaluation, and/or the treatment recommendation for the item described”.

In order to analyse the information available in the articles I used a table entitled ‘General Categories of Analysis’ (see Appendix 2, Table 1.) in which I included categories such as ‘Place’, ‘Time’, ‘Object’, ‘Actor or Protagonist’, ‘Description’, ‘Doing what?’, ‘Doing how?’ and ‘Act’. This was done with the objective of classifying the information available in the 18 texts that were analysed for this research (see Appendix 1). Finally, I designed a table for doing the MCA in which I just included the categories *victims* and *perpetrators*, entitled ‘Member Categorization Analysis’ (see Appendix 2, Table 1.1). In addition, I used secondary data from official institutions and NGO’s that have generated reports about the number of women victims of femicide in Mexico. Finally, I used academic journals in order to articulate the findings of the research with previous variables that assist in defining the power relations of representation in media.

1.6 Ethical dimension

One of the main concerns for me during the research process is the fact that the research paper is focused in Mexico and I am not from that country. Another factor that represents a concern for me is the fact that I am a woman and due to the emotional complexities of the topic has led me to reflect about my emotions and the position that I can take facing the problem.

1.7 Limitations

The limitation of the research paper is related to the translation of the articles that are selected for the analysis. The texts were originally in Spanish but were translated to English, still attempting to keep the same structure and not change the meaning of the representation. However, there are some words or expressions that do not have translation from Spanish to English. In order

to avoid the loss of meaning I have clarified the context of those words or sentences that are present.

Chapter 2

Theorizing gender violence, femicide, media and the politics of representation

The aim of this chapter is to show the role that media in the form of online newspapers play in representing women victims of femicide in Mexico. For this reason, I will bring into consideration concepts such as gender violence, femicide and femicide, media and power, and the politics of representation. Firstly, it is relevant to use gender violence because it is considered a violation of women's rights because [...]it is related to bodily injury that includes pain and death (Merry, 2006:2). This notion will be useful to understand the general context in which femicide takes place. In addition, I will present the debate regarding the concept of femicide and its transformation to femicide.

Because of my interest in the role that online media play in reporting the cases of femicide, I will focus on explaining the relevance that the politics of representation has regarding this issue. This is by no means to argue that femicide is not a concrete, extremely violent, materially, emotionally/ bodily traumatizing experience. As such, the focus of this research is not in femicide as a concrete embodied experience but rather on the analysis of how this phenomenon has been represented. Accordingly, this chapter will explain key elements of the politics of representation approach and how it can assist to understanding the power-associated implications of representation. Thus the main assumption of Hall (1997), where in representation is defined as the production of meaning through language, will lead my analysis of media as a producer of meaning, a power structure in which values are reinforced. For this reason I will finally present some aspects of critical media theory in which the concept of power takes importance.

2.1 Approaches to Gender Violence

Gender violence has been widely theorised by academics and feminists. However, before taking into consideration the concepts that have been developed regarding this them it is important to point out that gender is a social construction. As Pearson argues:

Gender relations are social relations, referring to the way in which social categories of men and women, male and female, relate over the whole range of social organization, not just interactions between individual men and women in the sphere of personal relationships, or in terms of biological reproduction”(Pearson 1992:292).

Taking this into account, gender violence is a “violence whose meaning depends on the gendered identities of the parties” (Merry, 2009:3). Further, Brunch (1990:3) states that gender violence is related to “many violations of women human rights [that] are distinctly connected with being female”. Furthermore, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, defines violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (United Nations, 1993). Although this argument makes sense regarding the impact of gender violence against women, it does not take into consideration the factors that exacerbate this kind of violence within society.

On the contrary, Merry (2009:3) states that gender violence is “embedded in enduring patterns of kinship and marriage, but it can be exacerbated by very contemporary political and economic tensions” such as warfare and nationalism” (Merry, 2009:2). Furthermore, “neoliberal economic policies which reduce state and community support for the poor affect women disproportionately, making them more vulnerable to violence” (Merry, 2009:2). In this way, this conceptualization gives more importance to the social, political and economic context in which gender violence takes place.

Additionally, Lagarde (2010:xxii) states that gender violence has its roots in the gender inequality generated by processes of misogyny. In this manner, gender violence takes place due to the “oppression, exclusion, subordination, discrimination, exploitation, and marginalization” (Lagarde 2010: xxii). Thus, it is possible to argue that this conceptualization of gender violence gives emphasis to the consequences of the failures in the structures. In fact, gender violence is a violation women’s rights; “its presence in the home, on the street, in the community, in the workplace, in government, church, and organizations and within couples allows tension and hatred to build up and reaffirms and reproduces gender relations of domination/subordination” (Olivera, 2006:105). Different from the approaches given so far, this perspective situates gender violence in specific contexts in which it seems that violence perpetuates women’s subordination.

According to Russo, “gender roles and expectations, male entitlement, sexual objectification, and discrepancies in power and status have legitimized, rendered invisible, sexualized, and helped to perpetuate violence against women”(2006:181). In accordance with this, Merry (2009:11) assesses that the set of expectations of the gender roles within societies lead to a need of performance of ‘gender identity’ (as male or female). Thus, from a performative perspective, “doing violence is a form of doing gender. In some situations and contexts, the performative of gender identities means acquiescing to violence or being violent” (Merry, 2009:11).

2.2. Femicide, an extreme form of gender violence

Femicide or feminicide, considered as the extreme expression of gender violence, is a phenomenon that has received the attention of academics since the early 1990's when some feminists were interested in analyzing in a deeper way male sexual violence. Initially, the term femicide was conceptualized by Caputi and Radford (1992:15) as “the most extreme form of sexist terrorism, motivated by hatred, contempt, pleasure, or a sense of ownership of women”. Within this definition they argue that femicide includes verbal and physical abuse, for instance rape, sexual slavery, torture, physical and emotional battery, sexual harassment, etcetera. When any of this kind of violence results in the death of women it becomes a femicide.

On the other hand, the term femicide appeared in the book *Femicide: the politics of killing of women*, published in 1992 and considered the first academic work regarding this phenomenon. Diana Russell and Jill Radford (1992: xi) theorized femicide as the “misogynist killing of women by men”;[...] it is a form of sexual violence”. The academics pointed out that through the conceptualization of femicide it was not being argued that more women are murdered more often than men, but that there are fewer probabilities to be killed for being a man (Radford, 1992:10).

Radford (1992: 6) mentions that male sexual violence is a characteristic of patriarchal societies, where gender relations become power relations in which men keep power over women. In such a way, they argue that from a radical feminist perspective, femicide becomes the way in which is possible to keep the patriarchal status quo; for that reason femicide becomes a phenomenon with political significance.

However, the term femicide has changed. Russell reorganized the conceptualization of the term and redefined femicide as “the killing of females by males because they are female” (Russell, 2001a:3). In this theory, Russell (2001) argues that this definition not just includes misogynistic killings –in which the murders are the result of hate of females- but also all kind of sexist murders that are “motivated by a sense of entitlement to and/or superiority over females, by pleasure or sadistic desires toward them, and/or by an assumption of ownership of women” (Russell, 2001b:14).

Furthermore, as the conceptualization of the phenomenon was important in the case of Mexico to highlight this problem, some feminists moved from the term femicide to term feminicide (Lagarde, 2006a). The shift was made due to the meaning of the word femicide in Spanish (feminicidio) as “homicide of women”(Ibid.). On the contrary, the word ‘feminicidio’ (feminicide in English) was created with the aim of including the conceptualization of the phenomenon done by academics such as Russell, in which is highlighted that this problem refers specifically to the killing of female by male because they are female.

Thus, Lagarde builds her theory of femicide based on Russell's initial conception. In this manner, femicide is defined by Lagarde (2010: xxiii) as "one of the extreme forms of gender violence; it is constituted by the whole set of violent misogynist acts against women that involve a violation of their human rights, represent an attack on their safety, and endanger their lives. It culminates in the murder of girls and women". Moreover, Lagarde (2010) includes in the analytical category the conception of "institutional violence". Hence, femicide not just becomes the misogynist and sexist killing of women, but also the output of the lack of capacity of the state to protect women due to the current weakness of the institutions. Therefore femicide becomes a state crime because of the omission of the state in responding to this extreme form of gender violence.

Others like Fregoso and Bejarano also part from the theorization of Russell, mentioned above, and conceptualize femicide as the "murders of women and girls founded on a gender power structure" (2010:5). Further, in this definition Fregoso and Bejarano add that besides that femicide is an act of gender-based violence, it is a phenomenon that can take place in private and public spheres; it can involve individual perpetrators that can be private or state actors, and also the state in a direct or indirect way. In addition, they argue, femicide "encompasses systematic, widespread, and everyday interpersonal violence. [...] Femicide is systemic violence rooted in social, political, economic and cultural inequalities (Fregoso and Bejarano, 2010:5). In this way, Fregoso and Bejarano theorize femicide taking into account the gender dynamics that are involved in cases of femicide and the injustices that take place in local and global contexts. Moreover, they argue as Lagarde that femicide is a crime against humanity with the intention of situate this form of gender violence in the framework of human rights and give it a critical perspective (Fregoso and Bejarano, 2010: 5). Resulting from this, it is possible to say that between academics there is not a consensus regarding the use of the term femicide or femicide due to the definitions entail different elements that arise from different contexts in which the phenomenon takes place.

2.3. The politics of representation and media

2.3.1. Politics of representation: constructing meaning

As I mentioned above, following Merry's (2009) argument in which is specified that gender violence constitutes violence that is present within the power structures, I will argue that media is one of those structures, and that through the representation it has the capacity of produce and reproduce meanings regarding femicide. To begin with politics of representation, it is relevant to take into consideration the main assumption of Hall, in which representation is defined as "the production of meaning through language" (1997: 16). Furthermore, this practice "includes the signifying practices and symbolic systems through which meanings are produced and which position us as subjects or subjectified us. Representations produce meanings through

which we can make sense of our experience and of who we are” or supposed to be (Woodward, 1997:3).

Pickering (2001:xiii) assesses that representation implies a “process of ‘speaking for’ and ‘speaking of’ those that are represented”. In this manner, it seems that Pickering states that the politics of representation involve relations of power because there are decisions made in order to “speak of and for others” (2001: xiii). In such a way it is possible to point out that the exchange and production of meanings is something that is constantly happening within society through social interaction (Hall 1997). For instance, Du Gay (1997, cited in Hall, 1997) states that different kinds of media have the capacity to produce meanings that can “circulate between different cultures on a scale and with a speed hitherto in history”. In addition, representations have the capacity to provide different ways of thinking about different social groups and categories through words and images that depict them.

Following that argument, and taking into account that media represents events through written and visual images, I will argue throughout this paper that the representation of women victims of femicide on newspapers in online newspapers is used what is called a *constructionist approach*. According to Stuart Hall “things don't mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems- concepts and signs. [...] It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world more meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others” (Hall, 1997: 25).

In this way the presence of power in the process of representation plays an important role. Foucault, for instance, stressed that power is something that is present everywhere. Hence power also impacts on the use of language. For this reason, Foucault was interested not just in the creation of meanings through language but in the production of knowledge through discourse; this means “relations of power” rather than “relations of meaning” (Hall 1997:43). In this way discourse, according to Foucault, is:

a group of statements which provide a language for talking about -a way of representing knowledge about- a particular topic at a particular historical moment...Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But... since all social practices entail *meaning*, and meanings shape and influence what we do -our conduct- all practices have a discursive aspect (Hall 1992, cited in Hall 1997:44)

In this manner, Foucault’s approach constitutes what is called a *discursive approach to representation* -Hall (1997:45) argue that this is the heart of the *constructionist approach*-. Thus knowledge about certain events and practices are “constructed historically and culturally”. In such a way “things exist meaningfully through the way they're represented in discourse” (Ibid: 47). Consequently, which makes both the *constructionist approach* and the *discursive approach* to representation different from others perspectives is the notion of

power because it “traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse” (Foucault, 1980:119).

Thus, as mentioned above, power takes place also in the process of representation. The argument that I will put forward goes in agreement with Pickering (2001), who states that through public representations there is always power involved creating stereotypes that “arrange and prioritize certain assumptions and ideas”[...] (Pickering, 2001: x.iii). In this manner, stereotyping becomes a way in which the discourse can be positioned within society. According to Hall (1997:258), stereotyping does not just ‘reduces, essentialize and fixes ‘difference’ but also “divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the un acceptable. It then excludes or expels everything which does not fit, which is different” (Ibid.). Thus, through the process of representation ‘reality’ becomes the center to produce meaning and discourses that shape the knowledge of particular events. Furthermore, the production and reproduction of them occurs in the media. As Woodward (1997) argues, media becomes the structure that provides information which tell people what is to occupy a ‘subject-position’ within society.

2.3.2. Critical Media Theory: a paradigm of power

Scholars such as Mattelart (1978:14) points out that “the mass media, in their role as actors in technological history, are considered to be the factors which imprint their dynamic on society, since they seem to have a real freedom of action”. Thus, media has a role to play when it comes to reporting facts. Thus media has influence in the creation of knowledge and meanings about reality, and also in the social relations that are created from the discourses that build the social sense (Ix-Chel, N. and Díaz, G., n.d. :12). According to Zarkov (2007: 8), when it comes to violent or representational practices there is not just one meaning attached. “Competing and conflicting meanings are produced through dominance, subordination, exclusion, and marginalization; the shifts and ambiguities in meanings reflect changing domains of power. [...]”.

Furthermore, according to the critical theory of communication discussed by Mattelart, it is possible to find the relation between power and media. Actually, one of the paradigms of power is linked with the conception of power of Foucault in which “power is everywhere and therefore intangible and anonymous” (Mattelart and Mattelart, 1992: 61). Moreover, power is also embedded in the media, considered like one of the great political and economic apparatuses that produce and transmit the ‘truth’³ (Foucault, 1980:131). “By shaping our picture of the world on an almost minute-to-minute basis, the media now determine what we think, how we feel and what we do about our social and political environment” (Stein, 1972:xii).

³ In the text ‘Truth and power’, Foucault (1980:131) mentions that the truth is something that induces ‘regular effects of power’ within society. Moreover, it is argued that every society has its own ‘régime of truth’, where in exists ‘general politics’ conformed by the discourses that are accepted within society.

However, it is necessary to take into account that the representation of 'reality' or the 'truth' does not only depend on the media as a structure but also in the journalists as the main producers of information. As mentioned by Pierre Bourdieu in his book *On television*, it is important to take into account the fact that within the media journalists also play an important role when it comes to representation of reality. In a process in which journalists have the possibility to select the information that is published, they make use of their agency that also involves relations of power. One of the main assumptions of Bourdieu is that as journalists have a continuous "access to public visibility, broad circulation, and mass diffusion [...] [they] can impose on the whole of society their vision of the world, their conception of problems, and their point of view" (Bourdieu, 1998:47).

2.4. Theoretical perspective

In order to develop this research I have chosen to use the theoretical perspective that includes a multi-dimensional framework. Thus, this perspective is going to take into account key concepts of gender violence, femicide, media and the politics of representation. In this manner, I will argue along the lines of Du Gay (as cited in Hall, 1997), that media is one of the structures of power in which representation and exchanges of meaning take place but also an institution in which gender violence is embedded (Merry, 2009). Additionally, I will claim that the way in which media represents the phenomenon of femicide and its victims involves a *discursive approach to representation* and a *constructionist approach*; thus, the meanings of the things are not fixed but instead involve relations of power that produce the discourse that delineate the knowledge about the phenomenon (Hall 1997; Foucault 1980). As Pickering (2001:xiii) points out regarding stereotyping, representation can influence the way in which the members of those social groups view themselves and the others, and also can affect the way in which they experience the world. Thus, media theory and the politics of representation will be used to see how the portrayal of victims of femicide involves power relations.

Furthermore, I will use the theorization of femicide proposed by Fregoso and Bejarano (2010). This is because their concept of femicide is built on the notion that involves the "killing of female by male because they are female" (Russell, 2001:3); incorporates the concept of 'institutional violence'; recognizes femicide as a crime against humanity (Lagarde:2010), and establishes that femicide can take place in public and private spaces. Moreover, Fregoso and Bejarano (2010) accept that femicide is a crime against humanity and give responsibility to the State. Thus, this approach gives me tools to analyse the representation of femicide as an extreme form of gender violence from a perspective in which can be questioned the role of the State, and the context in which this kind of violence takes place in the State of Mexico. However, in order to have more elements of analysis regarding the context in which femicide takes place I will use the conceptualization of

gender violence proposed by Merry (2009) in which more variables are given to understand gender relations, gender inequality and structural failures that foster violence against women.

2.5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have provided the different theoretical positions regarding issues that involve core concepts such as gender violence, femicide and feminicide, politics of representation, and critical media theory. This articulation was made in order to explain how media has the capacity to produce and reproduce meanings. As illustrated above feminicide is one of the extreme forms of gender violence, a violence that is embedded within structures of power that could include the state, the family and also the different kinds of media. It is precisely in media that meanings and discourse are produced through the representation of reality. In that particular way, the representation in media creates meanings and reproduces discourses about feminicide that 'apparently' depict through written and visual texts the way in which reality is.

Chapter 3

Understanding the research on site: Femicide in Mexico

As it has been previously considered, the explanations for gender violence are not universal but depend on the context in which it takes place (Merry, 2009: 3). For this reason the aim of this chapter is to highlight the main explanations that have been given to the phenomenon of femicide in Mexico. As mentioned above, academic work has been centered in the case of Ciudad Juárez and little attention has focused other regions in the country. Thus the explanations of femicide have been framed on issues that have such as the influence of globalization and neoliberalism⁴, the negligence of the State and the perpetuation of impunity, the shift in the gender roles within the country, and the impact of the drug cartel. However, I will argue in this chapter that not all the explanations of femicide based on the experience of Ciudad Juárez fit within the phenomenon in the State of Mexico.

3.1 Ciudad Juarez, the frame for a general explanation

3.1.1 *Globalization and neoliberalism*

One of the more current explanations regarding the phenomenon of femicide in Mexico, and that has been directly focused in the case of Ciudad Juárez is the role that the neoliberal system has played. According to Olivera (2006), the policies derived from neoliberalism created a social polarization due to the increase of poverty, unemployment, migration, and disintegration in the society. Thus, neoliberalism “creates a social ecology in which men are driven to hypermasculinity, exaggerating the violent, authoritarian, aggressive aspects of male identity in an attempt to preserve that identity” (Olivera, 2006:107).

Further, Fregoso (2007) assesses that neoliberalism, as an economic model, is in a current crisis and Ciudad Juárez provides the perfect scenery to prove it, mainly because of three elements. Firstly, there has been an expansion of the neoliberal thought in the discourse of rights and protections, meaning that the transnational corporations, “especially in export processing zones like Ciudad Juárez, has stripped away a whole range of rights to its citizens through as dis-investment in the public sector [...]” (Fregoso 2007:368). Secondly, it is mentioned that as a consequence of the United States hemispheric war on drugs and the war on terror, Ciudad Juárez has become a border into a war zone in which the murder of women became a common phenomenon. “The

⁴ Scholars such as Harvey (2005:2) conceptualized neoliberalism as the “politic and economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advance by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within and institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade”.

history of arm conflict in the region, a product of state policy on both sides of the border, has normalized violence and displaced the norms of *convivencia* or co-existence of civil society” (Fregoso, 2007:369). Finally, Fregoso argues that in Mexico exists a culture of impunity that devalues women’s lives through the lack of importance that is given to their violations of both citizenship and human rights.

The impact of NAFTA and the establishment of the maquiladora industry in this regions has also been considered as one of the elements that generate gender violence in Ciudad Juárez. In fact, Pantaleo (2010) argues that the increase of this industry on the border between México and the United States , mainly promoted by the NAFTA, generated a high demand of skilled women workers that move from the household to the fabrics. “This disrupted the patriarchal social fabric of Mexican society and resulted in a backlash against women and the targeting of these women for murder by unknown suspects” (Pantaleo 2010 :350). Although it is been thought that globalization offers more opportunities to women, the case of Mexico shows the contrary because there is an increase of vulnerability for women: they are devaluated in patriarchal societies giving a space to gender violence (Wright as cited in Pantaleo 2010:352), and for the same reason to femicide.

In line with Pantaleo, Schmidt argues that femicide in Ciudad Juárez is the consequence of the disarticulation of citizenship rights that has been brought by globalization (2005:256). Schmidt points out that it was precisely the globalization model that generated the industrialization of the border. This situation produced the migration of subaltern “noncitizen” women that were direct victims of brutalization and murder (Ibid. 259), due to the lack of protection. Moreover, as Schmidt denotes, another failure was the fact that Mexican leaders mixed the neoliberal policies with the conservative agenda, where notions such as motherhood and moral virtue are important (Schmidt 2005:264). Thus, when women start working and pass from the private to the public sphere – from householder to worker -the patriarchal society denigrates their position [...] (2005:266).

3.1.2. Structural Violence and negligence of the State

In addition, regarding this phenomenon in Ciudad Juárez, Morales (2009) explains that “global neoliberalism [...] represents a form of contemporary, conquest that routinizes sexual and gendered violence in everyday activities at transnational locations” (Morales 2009:420). Thus, the decision-making strategies, like the exacerbation of gender and sexual violence, are used for the elites –that includes transnational corporations and the nation-state – with the purpose of maintaining the structures of power (Morales 2009). Hence, building in notions of structural violence, Morales (2009) argues that sexual and gendered violence are not unintentional:

[they] rather represent the costs of strengthening the economies of nation-states and transnational corporations. [...]While violence is not new, the

subjugation of this place involves politico-economic transformations that exacerbate the conditions for border sexual conquest, which surface as eroticized forms of power – rape, sexualization and claims to women’s bodies.(Morales 2010:435)

In line with Morales, Weissman (2010) builds an approach to explain the feminicides in Ciudad Juárez on the concept of structural violence. Thus, Weissman argues that the border city has been transformed by global economics policies that give priority to the flow on capital rather to the local workers. This prioritization generates the “deprivation of physical, mental and emotional needs [...]” (Weissman 2010:227) that influence the way in which the social norms and the moral order change resulting in an increase of violence. Nonetheless, different from the theoretical perspectives in which the shift in gender relations- specifically, the increased presence of women in the workforce- leads the discussion to explain feminicides in Ciudad Juárez, Weissman (2010) emphasizes that the shift in gender relations is given by “the cumulative effect of rising unemployment among men [...]” (2010:231).

Additionally, according to Ensalaco (2006:418) the murders in Ciudad Juárez are a matter of gender-violence that “have political significance and involve state responsibility” because in the Mexican state exists a strong gender discrimination that exacerbates violence against women. There is a failure of the state responding to missing persons reports, investigating and prosecuting; all of this as a result of a lack of political will and negligence of the authorities (Ensalaco 2006, 421-423). Nonetheless, Ensalaco’s argument seems to be that not only the negligence of the State leads to the impunity in Mexico, but also the machista culture. Thus “violence against women is legitimized in Mexican society because ... it devalues women” (Alpízar as cited in Ensalaco, 2006:420).

Moreover, Lagarde’s point of view is that social exclusion and the lack of citizenship for women aggravate the situation of violence against women. Part of the explanation to the phenomenon of femicide is what she calls ‘institutional violence’. This is the result “from the acceptance of inequalities, discrimination and violence as normal, which reinforces the permanence of state structures that perpetrate gender inequality and do not recognize the rights of women [...]” (Lagarde, 2010:21)

3.1.3. Gender violence and Drug Trafficking

A further point that is commonly highlighted by some scholars is the crisis in the patriarchal structure of gender. “There is a resistance to accept the integration of women in spheres that are considered as masculine. Hence more violent mechanisms of resistance have been used to reinforce control, discipline and authority over women” (Segato 2010:14). This can be seen as the necessity to preserve the traditional order within society. In line with Segato, Staud (2008) argues –from a feminist perspective- that violence against women can be attributed to the change in the power relations in an economic context,

and the flaws in the criminal justice and political institutions. Thus, through femicide it is possible to find the unequal gender relations and the masculine privilege embedded in the state and the society (Ibid.). This situation is "reiterated in the media from local to national and global on daily bases. State unresponsiveness to women is advertised. The exposé has penetrated people's awareness and consciousness to create multiple climates –of fear, of disgust, of anger. (Staud, 2008: 19).

Finally, González Rodríguez (2011) states that femicides in Ciudad Juárez are the result of drug traffickers, organized crime, and individuals that are in a superior position of power. Further, the negligence of the Mexican authorities in prosecute the perpetrators conduces to a high level of impunity that becomes the "murderer's greatest stimulant" (González 2011:72). In fact Segato also mentions that femicide in Ciudad Juárez is an action of drug traffickers that end up in crimes, in a process made to reaffirm "fears of the margins of social life", and in "sexually motivated crimes (Segato, 2010:72) However, for Segato "sexual motives" as the cause of the murders are not sufficient. When it comes to women that are raped before they are killed, Segato mentions that rape "becomes a way to reaffirm masculinity within the society" (Ibid.:75)

3.2 Femicide is not same in the State of Mexico

Although Ciudad Juárez became a point of reference for talking about femicide and the intensity of violence against women in Mexico, the phenomenon is not exclusive to this city but it also takes place in different federal states of the country such as the State of Mexico (Sánchez Olvera, 2009:51). However, the explanations of femicide in the State of Mexico present some changes. Some of the elements that explain the femicides in the State of Mexico include the denial of the subjectivity of women, the denial of rights of women and the persistence of impunity and institutional violence.

On one side, Arteaga and Valdés (2010) argue that femicide in the State of Mexico is the result of the reorganization generated through the increasing female participation in power spaces that before where exclusively for men. Arteaga and Valdes point out that "the construction of a female subjectivity (independence, autonomy and decision-making capacity) triggered the femicide" (2010: 7). In this way femicide becomes not just a crisis of the social, economic and value's systems but the response to the process of construction of women as subjects (Ibid.,:6). Furthermore, femicide in the State of Mexico could be considered also as a crisis of the patriarchal structure because through the violence is shown a clear "resistance to accept the integration of women in spheres that are considered as masculine. Hence more violent mechanisms of resistance have been used to reinforce control, discipline and authority over women" (Ibid., 14).

On the other side, Sánchez Olvera (2009) states that the increase in the cases of femicide in the State of Mexico is linked with the lack of citizenship that women have. This approach places women in a context in which they are not considered to be subjects of rights because “there is a material, cultural and symbolic poverty that constraints the citizenship of women leading to an auto-exclusion” (Sánchez Olvera, 2009:51). But not just the lack of citizenship perpetuates this extreme form of gender violence in the State of México due to factors such as the patriarchal culture, the stigmatization of the victims, impunity and institutional violence also foster femicide (Ibid.,: 52). Indeed, researchers such as Estrada (2011: 98) state that it is possible to find that patterns of impunity remain and that violence against women became a systematic and generalized phenomenon in the State of Mexico. Thus, “gender discrimination, the omission of justice delivery and the violation to women’s human rights are the factors that reproduce femicide. These elements are embedded in the authorities and in the misogynist mentality of the perpetrators” (Estrada, 2011: 98).

Another aspect regarding the explanations for the phenomenon of femicide in the State of Mexico is that violence against women, in general the majority of the crimes “have been perpetuated in urban sceneries marked by marginalization, exclusion and poverty in its different forms, being education, labour or economic” (Delgadillo and Arteaga, 2010:10). However, in comparison to the case of Ciudad Juárez, there are not enough elements that explain social exclusion of women and particularly the role or impact of globalization on it.

3.3 Concluding remarks

The explanations of femicide in Mexico are framed by the case of Ciudad Juárez. However, not all of those explanations are useful to illustrate the phenomenon in the State of Mexico due to both states are in a different socio-economic context. On one side, in the case of Ciudad Juárez the main explanations of femicide are focused in three aspects: (1) the impact of neoliberalism in society; (2) structural violence and the responsibility of the State; (3) the impact of drug trafficking; (4) and the shift of gender roles. On the other side, the explanations for femicide in the State of Mexico are mainly linked to the denial of the construction of the subjectivity of women as a group able to enter in spaces that before were male dominated (Arteaga and Valdés, 2011). It is also argued that in the State of Mexico exist a lack of recognition of women’s citizenship and the seriousness of femicides, factors that lead to impunity (Sánchez Olvera, 2009). Nonetheless, it can be argued that in both cases, Ciudad Juárez and the State of Mexico, the cultural context is shared. Thus, gender violence and the cases of femicide also respond to the patriarchal structure and the sexist system in which women and men are situated in Mexico (Estrada, 2011). Thus, as it was previously considered following the argument of Fregoso and Bejarano (2010:5), femicide in Mexico becomes “systemic violence rooted in social, political, economic and cultural inequalities”. In fact, those cultural inequalities can be seen in the representation of femicide.

Chapter 4

Representing femicide in the State of Mexico: Categories and stereotypes of victims and perpetrators

As it was mentioned before, representation entails the use of language to give a particular meaning to the world (Hall, 1997). In the case of femicide, the analysis of *victims* as a category also incorporates the analysis of *perpetrators*, as both of them constitute a ‘standardized relational pair’, meaning that “using one part of the pair in interaction invokes the other” (Leudar *et al*, 2004: 245). In this chapter, I will therefore analyze the representation of *victims* and *perpetrators* of femicide during 2011 in four Mexican newspapers: *Reforma*, *La Jornada*, *El Universal* and *El Sol de Toluca* (for the political and economic context of these newspapers see Appendix 2). I will focus not only on how these categories are used in the representation of the ‘reality’ of femicide but also on how the media reinforces gender stereotypes through the depiction of the phenomenon. To this end I will use MCA, defined as a “formal analysis of the producers people employ to make sense of other people and their activities” (Leudar *et al*, 2004:244).

4.1. Victims: vulnerable or responsible?

4.1.1. Stereotyping women in the state of Mexico

Scholars such as Meijer (1993: 368) state that “what we experience as reality is formed through the represented and the representable”. In the case of the representation of femicide in the State of Mexico it is possible to argue that the online media use language that creates stereotypes of the victims of this phenomenon. To this extent, I am largely in agreement with Pickering who argues that stereotyping “may operate as a way of imposing a sense of order on the social world in the same ways as categories [...]. Thus, stereotyping attempts to maintain structures of power as they are, or to realign them in the face of a perceived threat” (Pickering, 2001:3). With this in mind I will argue that the four newspapers that are being analyzed engage in a practice of representation that involves categorization and stereotyping of victims and perpetrators of femicide.

As mentioned above, ‘*victims*’ is one of the categories of analysis in this research. Through the MCA it was possible to establish that this category includes a lot of words develop the image of women as a population that can be an object of violence anywhere and at any moment. Thus, it is possible to say that online newspapers have two representational perspectives regarding victims. The first one is focused on the construction of the stereotype of the women that are murdered. The second one is focused on the aspect of the female population that does not necessarily fit within that idea.

To begin with the first perspective, the MCA shows that victims of femicide are depicted as “woman” and “women”. Thus, those that are represented as direct objects of violence are females. For the same reason it can be argued that the appearance of victims in the categories of “they” or “them” has a lot to do with the consideration of women as a different group from men. Hence, that differentiation is given not just because of their sexuality but also because of the gender roles that are established particularly in the Mexican society. Following Arteaga’s (2010) point of view, it is possible to say that the beliefs and representations of women are social constructions.

Furthermore, the representation of these “women” has a particular characteristic: the age. In the majority of the cases the four online newspapers portray victims as women between “20 and 45 years old”, “20 and 35 years old” and “45 and 60 years old”. An example of this is the article published by *El Universal* the 25th November, 2011 titled ‘From a slap to femicide, very few steps’:

[...] “the majority of the cases are located in women between 20 and 35 years, and then there is a jump in women between 45 and 60 years old with a lot of years of marriage.[...] I can also mention that I have a case of a victim who is 75 years old and her husband is 80 years old; it is terrible case [...] (Miranda, 2011).

Moreover, women are also depicted as “teenagers” and “young ladies” that are “15” or “17” years old. Consequently the *victims* of this kind of gender violence are depicted women that “had different ages, and included girls, elderly women, young women, older women, and adolescents”(Lagarde, 2010: xviii). Similarly, it is possible to see that through the depiction of femicide one can find elderly women, an aspect that make these women more vulnerable. Additionally, within *victims* it is possible to find the categories “wife” and “partner” in the majority of the cases. The first one, “wife”, gives meaning to the role of women in a patriarchal society such as Mexico. Thus to be a “wife” entails a chain of duties within the household such as reproduction. The second one, “partners”, also situates women within a role that requires a behavior focused on the duties in the home, fidelity and respect of the gender relations previously established in the community. As Radford (1992: 7) mentions, “woman’s place, according to patriarchal ideologies, is in the home. But even there women are not safe –a fact that is rarely mentioned. The home is the most lethal place for women living in nuclear families”.

Further, victims of femicide were depicted by the online newspapers as women living in conditions of poverty. Even though there is not a specific use of the word “poverty” some newspapers such as *El Universal* gave some characteristics of the conditions in which victims of femicide in the State of Mexico lived:

Almost all women murdered violently in the State of Mexico lived in newly established neighbourhoods, in semi urbanized areas with poor public services [...]. Half of those executed had primary school or unfinished secondary” (Jiménez, 2011b).

The view presented here is that through the portrayal of women in the cases of femicide is the idea that those that die because of this kind of violence are only women that live in conditions of subordination and poverty. Although it has been argued that political tensions, economic inequalities and insecurity exacerbate gender violence (Merry, 2009:2), research has also shown that in the State of Mexico women that have high levels of education, economic autonomy, independence and decision-making have a higher probability of being victims of violence (Delgadillo and Arteaga, 2011:7). Hence, through the representation of *victims* of femicide the online newspapers engage in a practice of exclusion because they do not speak to other potential victims such as women in a better socio-economic context, and present the phenomenon of femicide as a matter of the poor.

In the category *victim* it was also possible to establish the description of women as “students” and “working women”. These two categories situate women as a group that is seeking opportunities outside of the household and in doing so they become victims of gender violence. Similarly, a few times women are represented through the testimony of politicians as beings that have an undesirable behavior, as *El Sol de Toluca* reported on January 28th in an article called “The Chamber of Deputies, a political “ring””:

The Attorney blames victims for provoking violence, with arguments that they are female drug addicts, prostitutes or criminals linked to organize crime, as well as unstable and incapable (Noriega, 2011).

In this case it can be seen how “stereotyping creates the illusion of precision in defining and evaluating other people” (Pickering 2001: 4). Moreover women are represented as subjects that are expected to change their role in a society. Furthermore, women victims of femicide are represented by the majority of the online newspapers with their names. Thus it is possible to find that women have an identity such as “Anabel García Estrada”, “Mónica Florez Alanis” and “Brenda Gabriela Villalba”.

However, it is also possible to see that victims are not always represented with their name because of the lack of information that has been provided by the authorities or because the identification has been delayed due to the kind of violence. When the representation refers to cases in which the quantity of victims is more than two, the names disappear and the victims become statistics. In this way, the representation is no longer about individuals but rather a group as victims. Women are thus portrayed as numbers and statistics indicating the intensity that the phenomenon is reaching in the State of Mexico.

4.1.2. “Girls”, “children” and “relatives”: the other victims of feminicide

In addition, within the category *victims* the words “children”, “minor”, “girl” and “son” can be found. Thus, in the representation of feminicide as a social phenomenon it is possible to situate “children” in a context of violence. Following the portrayal of “children” in the media it is possible to see that they are always depicted doing three things. Firstly, “girls” are being victims of feminicide; for this reason they are raped, sexually abused and murdered. This is possible to see, for instance, in the case of a 4 year old girl that was reported by *Reforma* and *El Sol de Toluca* on the 8th and 9th of April respectively:

The Attorney General of the State of Mexico arrested Alejandro Juárez Ángeles, aged 23, and Martín “N”, aged 15, who were allegedly responsible for the rape and murder of a 4 years old girl in the Municipality of Nicolás Romero. (Barrera, 2011)

Secondly, “children” are represented as witnesses of feminicide. The online newspapers situate them within a context in which they have to see the acts of violence against their mothers. Finally, “children” are depicted as subjects responsible for looking for help and calling the authorities, after finding their mothers dead in the home. This can be seen in one of the articles published by *El Universal* on 8 December, 2011. The article tells the story of which a woman who was murdered by her partner and refers to the minors, stating that:

The two children discovered the woman’s body inside the room and called neighbours for help (El Universal 2011)

It is therefore possible to argue that apart from victims, “children” are depicted as subjects with agency that are ‘able’ to witness a feminicide and respond to this kind of situation by calling the police. However, there is no argument that presents the consequences of “children” being part of the scenery of feminicide, neither in ‘reality’ nor in the representation. Hence, it is possible to point out that through the representation of “children” the media is constructing and normalizing an image of them as capable of handling these sort of acts.

4.2. Stereotyping men in the context of feminicide

4.2.1. The perpetrators are at home

The category called *perpetrators* is the second group that I will analyze regarding the representation of feminicide. Within this category it was possible to establish that during the year 2011 *Reforma*, *El Universal*, *El Sol de Toluca* and *La Jornada* described the attackers, in the majority of the cases, as men that

have had a romantic relationship with the women that have been murdered in an incident of femicide in the State of Mexico. Moreover, it was possible to establish that the *perpetrators* are depicted as “partners”, “boyfriends”, former partners”, “husbands”, “lovers” and “ex-boyfriends”.

Thus through the depiction of *perpetrators* the phenomenon of femicide is represented more as a matter of passionate and domestic violence rather than a problem in which the real meaning of violence depends on the gender of women; in fact this is an issue that is never mentioned by the online newspapers. As Estrada (2011: 135) points out, “In the case of the State of Mexico the statements of the authorities deny that the state has the characteristics of Ciudad Juárez and reduce this problem to domestic violence. This perspective do not allow generate conditions for the investigations of the different kind of femicide”.

In comparison with the portrayal of females, the majority of the articles analyzed for this research did not depict any kind of information regarding the occupation, class or educational level of men that murdered females. It seems as though the real interest of the phenomenon was centered more on the type of females that are suffering from this form of violence, rather than the type of men that are being violent toward them. Thus the portrayal of femicide is based on consequences of the phenomenon such as high levels of women murdered, and not on the root causes of the problem such as the cultural, social, political and economic context.

In relation to the age of the *perpetrators* the MCA showed that in just a few cases the newspaper highlighted the age of the males. In fact when that depiction was made the *perpetrators* appeared as men of 15, 17, 20 and 30 years old. With this in mind it is possible to argue that with respect to the representation of men that commit femicide, the age is not an issue of importance, which implies that every man has the capacity of being violent and putting order in society if it is needed. Hence, it is possible to affirm that *perpetrators* of femicide in the State of Mexico are also stereotyped by media. Thus, as stated by Pickering (2001:5), “stereotyping impairs a sense of fixedness to the homogenized images it disseminates. It attempts to establish an attributed characteristic as natural and given in ways inseparable from the relations of power and dominations through which it operates”.

4.2.2. Protectors or rapists?

Even though the main focus of the newspapers is the representation of *perpetrators* of femicide as men that are in relationships with women, without a particular age, the media reported cases in which those that were committing violence against women, such as rape, tortured and femicide, were members of the “Police”. An example of this is the article titled ‘Women die at home because of guns’, published by *Reforma* the 8th of March, 2011:

Most are killed by their partners or former partners, husbands, lovers, boyfriends; 9 out of 10 cases are of this type". Ciani explained that women who were murdered were between 20 and 45 years old and in three cases municipal police were involved. (Barrera,2011).

Thus the role of the "Police" as agents of protection for citizens is broken in the reality and reflected in the representation of femicide. This is to say that within *perpetrators* it is possible to find males in positions of power, members of an institution considered as the authority, that also abuse and murder women. Following Merry's (2009:104) point of view, "violence against women is a common strategy for maintaining unequal relationships among social groups, including police officers, use rape to assert control over subordinate groups".

Moreover, the MCA showed that through the representation of *perpetrators* the image of men is directly linked with the idea of masculinity. What I want to argue is that even though men are depicted as "aggressors", "rapists", "murderers", "femicidas"⁵ and "suspects", there are no categories that question their role but instead the representation seems to reinforce the strength of men. As Meijer's (1993:369) points out, "representation itself has already produced men as 'natural aggressive', that is, that there is culturally accepted definition of masculinity as seemingly prior to all construction". Additionally, it is possible to establish that sometimes perpetrators are represented as "strangers". Thus *perpetrators* of femicide can also be men that have no kind of relationship with women; they are men that do not have an identity, that after they abuse and murder women run away with impunity.

4.3 Concluding remarks

In the narrative that has been used by the newspapers to represent femicide in the State of Mexico, there exists a strong link between *victims* of femicide and *perpetrators*. In the process of representation done by media that relationship leads to the reinforcement of gender stereotypes in the Mexican society. Thus, the media reproduces gender narratives in which "women and men learn the roles culture prescribes, or allows for them" (Wood 2001:242).

On one side, the online newspapers construct a stereotype of women that are *victims* of this form of gender violence through membership categorization, organizing "everyday knowledge of people" (Leudar *et al*, 2004:244). Moreover, *victims* of femicide are situated as women that live in conditions of poverty and with basic education, characteristics that position them as members of a low social class. This argument creates the idea that femicide is a matter of the poor, although this "stereotype does not fit in reality because there are 85 per cent of women that make part of different social class and age" (Lagarde, 2006b:4), but the online media barely represent them.

⁵ "Femicidas" is the term used by one of the news papers to name the perpetrators of femicide. So far there is not a translation of this word in English.

On the other side the representation of *perpetrators* situate men as violent actors within society because as Radford has pointed out, “male sexual violence has been identified as a defining characteristic of patriarchal societies a central means by which men maintain power over women and children” (Radford, 1992:6). The majority of the categories locate *perpetrators* in the representation as men that are close to women or have had a romantic relationship with them. This stereotype of *perpetrators* situates femicide in the State of Mexico as a problem that is more related with cases of domestic violence resting importance to the role of strangers. Thus, I argue along the lines of Hall (1997:3) that online media gives meaning to femicide through the representation of *victims* and *perpetrators* through the categorization and stereotyping of both.

Chapter 5

Framing the portrayal of feminicides

Femicide, as a social phenomenon that has been occurring in the State of Mexico, is represented by online media not just through the use of categories and stereotypes of women and men, but also through the use of frames that propagate social meanings of the problem. Scholars such as Papacharissi and Oliveira (2010:54) state that “framing theory emphasizes the ability of any entity –media, individuals, or organizations– to delineate other people’s reality, highlighting one interpretation while de-emphasizing a less favored one”. Hence, frames become the way in which a central idea organizes the various elements of an event. (Ibid., 2010).

In the case of the representation of victims of femicide in the State of Mexico, the newspapers analyzed provided mainly three different frames of the problem. The first is centered on the behavior of women and their responsibility in avoiding this kind of violence. The second is related to the denial of femicide in the State of Mexico. Finally, the third one is linked with the efficiency or negligence of the authorities. With this in mind, in this chapter I argue that the framing used by online newspapers in the representation of women creates a discourse with social meanings that reinforces the role that women should assume in society to avoid becoming victims of femicide.

5.1. The first frame: Blaming the victims

Scholars such as Nils Christie (as cited in Smolejk, 2010: 70) argue that the narratives of crimes include the figure of the ‘ideal victim’, described as a person that is weak, in a condition of vulnerability not just physically but also economically, and that by no means can be blamed (Smolejk 2010: 70). However, this figure appears to be dismantled in the case of the representation of victims of femicide in the State of Mexico. Although in the majority of the articles women were recognized as ‘victims’ of femicide, the portrayal of them leads to the argument that femicide, as an extreme form of gender violence, is a consequence of their behavior.

What is more, all the attention of the online newspapers is centered on what women were doing before they were murdered. In fact the representation of those actions is linked to the breaking of the role that they should have been performing within Mexican society. There are four particular examples in which women are treated as ‘being responsible’ of the violence that has been committed against them. The first appeared in the article called ‘19 feminicides perpetrated in Edomex: PGJEM⁶’, published in *El Sol de Toluca*. The article focuses on the story of two women that were murdered by their husbands in two different municipalities in the State of Mexico. The reason why they were

⁶ Procuraduría General de Justicia del Estado de México, PGJEM Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico.

killed was that they were apparently being unfaithful, as shown in the first part of the story regarding the case of 'Leslie Viridiana Hernández':

It was in those moments, said the PGJEM, that his wife received a message on her cell phone and after questioning of who it was, he found that it was a person called Antonio. For this reason they had an argument, and she confirmed that she did have a relationship with this man. (Santiago, 2011c).

In the second case, the one of 'Anabel García Estrada', *El Sol de Toluca* reported that her husband had been suspicious for one year that his wife was cheating on him. Moreover, she was not at home when her husband arrived from playing football with his son:

The woman said she was doing some errands and came in about half an hour. At home, they began to argue and wrestle; Anabel hit him in his face and he took a knife that was on the table, at the entrance of the kitchen, and stabbed her twice [...](Santiago, 2011).

In both stories women were portrayed as irresponsible for not fulfilling their duties at home as wives and mothers. Moreover, they are portrayed as liars and as subjects capable of arguing with who represents authority in a patriarchal society, their husbands. In this way it can be said that the actions of violence against them and its representation becomes the only option to reestablish order in the household. In fact, Brunch (1990) states that gender violence is a matter of power relations:

"The message is domination: stay in your place or be afraid. Contrary to the argument that such violence is only personal or cultural, it is profoundly political. It results from the structural relationships of power, domination and privilege between men and women in society. Violence against women is central to maintaining those political relations at home, at work, and in all public spheres" (Brunch, 1990: 7).

The second example in which women are positioned as "being responsible" for femicide is the case of two cousins that disappeared- 'Brenda Gabriela Rosales Villalba', aged 20, and 'Estefanía Villalba Rodríguez', aged 15. The story was reported by two of the four newspapers that were analyzed for this research: *El Universal* and *El Sol de Toluca*. Both of them used the same frame to tell the story; the Villalba cousins left their home, they disappeared and were found abused and murdered. Particularly *El Universal* published an article entitled 'Missing cousins were found dead in Edomex':

The last time they were seen alive was the night of February 12. That day they came out of their home [...]. They were found, but dead. (Fernández, 2011).

Meanwhile *El Sol de Toluca* placed more emphasis on their behavior in the article entitled 'A total of three feminicides'. Thus this newspaper did not just give a description of the women going out at night but also gave information regarding the destination of the young ladies:

On Saturday afternoon the cousins left their home in Xico with a man who rode a motorcycle; they would attend to a party, but they never arrived. (*El Sol de Toluca*, 2011).

Therefore, the cousins Villalba are positioned as 'being responsible' of feminicide for not only leaving home at night but also for being 'party goers'. As Wright states, "the 'age-old 'blame the victim' strategy is a transparent effort on the part of regional elites and the Police to deflect criticism of their responsibility vis-a-vis the violence as they, instead, blame the women who attracted trouble by venturing into the street, by wearing short skirts, by dancing, by not being at home". This frame sends a clear message: women should behave in a proper way because they can be victims of violence both in public and private spaces. The proof of this is that the other online newspapers during the year 2011 also gave more explanations of the reasons that led to the murder of women. Notably, *La Jornada* reported on the 18th of December on the case of two women that were murdered because "they refused to have a relationship with their aggressors" (González, 2011). In addition, *El Universal* also published an article in which women are positioned as 'being responsible' for the violence they were suffering "because there is a point in which they see it as normal" (Miranda, 2011). Moreover, the media also showed how in the majority of the cases of feminicide, violence against women started because women "fought" with their partners or "they had arguments" with them regarding personal problems (*El Universal*, 2011; Santiago, 2011).

Feminicide then becomes a matter in which all the responsibility of the violence is given to women. Media barely questioned the role of men within society, their behavior or their actions. While a lot of arguments were given in order to argue why women are being murdered in the State of Mexico none of the newspapers raised the fact that men also have a responsibility and less so that justice to women needed to be delivered. Media's framing is not focused on neither the root causes nor the consequences of the high amount of murders of women. As such, the masculinity of men is something that is never discussed in the representation of feminicide. As Prieto-Carrón (*et al* 2007: 30) state, "the socio-cultural environment in which 'everyday acts of violence' are possible is one in which femi[ni]cide is also possible. Machista cultural attitudes are reinforced in newspapers [...] which reproduce myths justifying violence against women".

5.2. The second frame: Feminicide is not that bad in the State of Mexico

One of the arguments of Foucault is that the knowledge about determinate events is constructed in a historical and cultural way, and for this

reason the meaning of things depends on how they are represented in discourse (as cited in Hall, 1997: 47). The representation of femicide in Mexico depends on the discourse that has been constructed mainly by politicians, authorities and academics. Further, the role of media has been centered in the reproduction of that discourse through the portrayal of the phenomenon, which means that the knowledge of femicide has been created in a set of power relations where women are subordinated. This can be seen in the way in which the majority of the online newspapers framed the depiction of femicide during 2011. Here I argue that the media positioned femicide in the State of Mexico as a social problem that ‘is not as bad as it seems’. The frame included two main ideas in which the severity of the problem was diminished. Firstly, the discourse of femicide included a direct denial of the recognition of the intensity of the phenomenon. Secondly, in the representation it was pointed out that according to numbers more than 50 per cent of the victims were not originally from of the State of Mexico.

5.2.1. Denial and normalization of femicides

The texts to which I will refer here are some of those that presented in their frame the idea that ‘femicide was not that bad in the State of Mexico’. Notably *La Jornada* published on January 13th an article titled ‘New enquiry of femicides documented in Edomex’. The text mentioned that the OAGSM of the State of Mexico reviewed the number of women’s murdered between 2005 and 2009, and discarded the cases due to them not constituting femicide. The argument, reported *La Jornada*, was that the murders were not due to gender violence but as a consequence of accidents, robberies to households, and mishaps. Later on in the text appears the voice of one politician regarding femicide in the state of Mexico:

[...]the deputy Héctor Guevara said that the State of Mexico “does not occupy the first place in femicides, but the 14th. There are others that are at the top, including Chihuahua”. Crimes against women, said the deputy, occur throughout the country and should not be used in a political election (Dávila et al, 2011).

Furthermore, a similar argument was used by *Reforma* in an article published on November 30th called ‘A total of 49 femicides in 2011 in Edomex’:

Before it was criminalized, 922 women were murdered since 2005, of which, according to the PGJEM, 30 per cent of those cases could have been listed as femicides (Barrera, 2011).

In both articles the phenomenon of femicide is situated as a problem that does not have much impact in the State of Mexico. In the first case, the severity and intensity of femicide is reduced. Although the deputy does not provide information regarding the other states that according to him are worse than the State of Mexico, he uses as an example Chihuahua, the state in which

Ciudad Juárez is located. As mentioned before, feminicides in Ciudad Juárez became a point of reference at a national and international level because it was the first place in which the murders of women gained attention due to its intensity. Thus, femicide in the State of Mexico is positioned as a minor problem that has not reached the same levels as that of Ciudad Juárez. Furthermore, through his statement, the deputy normalizes violence against women as something that happens throughout the country and for the same reason femicide 'should not be a topic that receives too much attention'. Thus, it seems as though violence against women is represented as an everyday issue; it is normalized by the media. As Caputi and Radford point out, "femicidal atrocities are normalized everywhere, explained away as a joke, and rendered into a standard fantasy fare" (1992:19). Further, the second example follows the same argument if it is taken into account that the number of feminicides is reduced by saying that just 30 per cent of the cases of murdered women in the State of Mexico were of this kind.

Nonetheless, the denial of the femicide produced and reproduced by the online media in 2011 was not just centered around the impact and intensity of the phenomenon but also on the fact that this extreme form of gender violence is not taking place throughout the State of Mexico. Thus femicide started being located in a specific area of this state: the east. This can be seen in the text published on January 24th titled 'Women were murdered by their partners in Edomex', published by *El Universal*. The article mentions:

It should be noted that 10 of the 125 municipalities in the State of Mexico concentrate 51% of feminicides (Jiménez, 2011b).

Correspondingly, *La Jornada* reported in two articles the same argument. This can be seen in a text called 'Two feminicides are perpetrated in the State of Mexico' published two months later was told that:

"The head of the department, Italy Desire Ciani Sotomayor, said that preliminary it can be affirmed that the east area of the State is where the largest number of women's murders are registered, but it does not mean that all are due to gender violence (Chávez González and Dávila, 2011).

In view of this it is possible to say that through the representation of femicide in the media exists a denial of the problem in the State of Mexico. The discourse that was used to depict that the 'reality' of the phenomenon creates a knowledge of femicide as a problem that is just taking place in the eastern part of the state and that diminishes the importance of feminicides in other municipalities. At the same time the framing used by media to represent femicide leads to a recognition of murders of women but not to necessarily to admit that femicide exists in the State of Mexico.

5.2.2. *'They' were not from the State of Mexico*

The origin of the victims also became an argument that was used to build the idea that femicide was not a phenomenon that needed the attention of the authorities in the State of Mexico. Newspapers such as *El Sol de Toluca*, *El Universal* and *La Jornada* (see Appendix 4, Table 5; Appendix 5, Table 6), mentioned that more than half of the victims of femicide were not women of this region and for the same reason they should not be taken into account in the statistics that situated this State in one of the top places of femicide in the country. For instance, *El Sol de Toluca* published on January 13th an article entitled 'Edomex below femicide in Central and South America'. The text discussed the number of cases of women murdered since 2005 and gave different percentages in order to show that even though violence against women is taking place in the State of Mexico not all of the cases for this period are linked to femicidal violence, and not all of the women can be considered victims in this State:

“There is no way to argue that the State of Mexico has a problem of gender violence alert”, affirmed the deputy of the PGJEM, who also said that 22 percent of the cases that were managed in the national meeting were linked to issues of organized crimes, and for the same reason have federal competence. Moreover, 14 per cent of the cases are related to robberies, and in a 58 percent of the cases the victims were not even native of the State of Mexico, taking into account that it has borders with eight states (Santiago, 2011).

El Universal drew on the same narrative in an article titled 'Gender alert seems to affect Pena Nieto: PRI' for talking about femicide. However, this time the statement of the Office of the Attorney General came from a deputy of the PRI, and at the same time was reproduced by the media:

They said that according to an analysis of the Office of the Attorney General “there have been only 226 femicides in the State of Mexico”, of which 60% of the women were not from this state, said the deputy Cristina Ruiz (Jiménez, 2011a).

This narrative constructs women that are not born in the State of Mexico as people that do not have rights because of their origin, and for the same reason are constructed as subjects without identity. They are depicted as strangers in their own country, and they are not recognized as victims nor as subjects of rights or justice; in this way the limit becomes the borders between states. Moreover, going deep into the discourse and the frame reproduced by the newspapers, there is no information given regarding the origin of the victims which probably means that the authorities do not have that data.

5.3. The third frame: Authorities, the voice of feminicide

Another aspect of the ‘reality’ of feminicide that is salient in the representation done by the media is the role of the authorities. In the majority of the articles used for this research, the portrayal of women that have been murdered depends on the information provided by the authorities, specially the OAGSM – an institution that is in charge of clarifying the circumstances in which the crimes took place and providing justice for the murders of women. In this way feminicide is framed in the representation as a problem that has been faced by the authorities in an efficient and effective manner. This can be seen in an article published by *El Sol de Toluca* on April 19th, titled ‘Fall murderer of Ocoyoacac’. The text refers to the detention of a young man, aged 16, that raped and murdered a girl of 15 years old:

After arduous investigations, the lapdogs of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico, managed to clarify the murder of a student who was killed when a deranged subject, that quenched his desire with the body of the young girl, dropped a boulder on her head [...] (Jaramillo, 2011).

This text presents the OAGSM as an institution that uses all its resources in order to clarify the crimes of gender violence and to provide all the information in which women are being murdered. In another article called ‘A total of 49 feminicides in 2011 in Edomex’, published in *La Jornada* on the 30th of November, it is shown that the role of the authorities is not just limited to the detention of those who are considered “suspects” of feminicide but also to ‘realize’ justice:

Itali Ciany, Attorney Holder, said that the remaining seven cases are under investigation and could be resolved before the end of this year. “Since typified feminicide, since March 19 this year, we have 49 cases, of which 42 have already been resolved, it means that the suspect is imprisoned and is now waiting for judgment (Barrera, 2011b)

In this particular case the Office of the Attorney General appears again as an institution that is responding effectively to feminicides. However, it is clarified that ‘resolved’ does not mean that the perpetrators of this kind of gender violence were condemned. In fact just one out of the 19 articles that were analyzed reported on the first judgment done by the institution because of the crime of feminicide. This information was published on December 8th, by *El Universal* in text titled ‘With blows murdered his wife; he will be 55 years in prison’:

Austreberto Huerta Ortiz, 32 years old, who was arrested by the OAGSM, was sentenced to 55 years in prison because he murdered his partner, a woman of 27 years old. In addition to imprisonment, Huerta Ortiz, will have to pay a fine of 82.825 pesos [...] (*El Universal*, 2011).

But not all the information regarding femicide is presented when it comes to its representation and the depiction of the victims. Although the majority of the articles reference that the State of Mexico had 922 victims of gender violence between the years 2005 and 2009, just a few articles bring into the text the fact that the authorities had not delivered justice to those women and that impunity keeps being a factor of weight in cases of gender violence. An example of this was the text titled 'Women die at home because of guns', published by *Reforma*, in which a debate is created to refute the information given by the Office of the Attorney General regarding the causes of women's death:

Estrada said that there is an information vacuum, because she asked the Attorney General of the State of Mexico for a breakdown with the causes of death, the place where they were killed, and who killed them, but that has not happened so far.

The consequence of having the majority of the articles framing the representation of the authorities as a responsible institution when it comes to femicide is that the 'reality' of femicide seems to be limited to the performance of the Office of the Attorney General during the year 2011. In fact the only information available regarding the number of cases of femicide that took place within 2005 and 2009 is related to the reduction of the statistics done by the government of the State of Mexico to show that, as mentioned above, femicide 'is not that bad'.

5.4 Concluding remarks

To conclude it can be argued that the representation of femicide the use of a set of frames that made relevant some aspects of the 'reality' of the phenomenon. Those frames in this case have a strong dependence on the discourse used by politicians and authorities, who become the main sources of information. In the first frame in which women are situated as 'responsible of femicide' gained special attention in the portrayal of victims of femicide, as Radford argues(1992:6), "it is women's behavior that is scrutinized and found wanting when measured against men's idealized constructions of femininity and standards of female behavior". Moreover, femicide is framed by the online newspapers as a phenomenon that 'is not as bad as it seems'. Although femicide is named as such in the representation the importance and impact of it is reduced through the use of statistics in two specific ways. First, the murders of women are situated as a problem of the east part of the state. Second, more than 50 percent of the cases are not recognized as responsibility of the State of Mexico based on the in the argument that a representative part of the victims 'were not born' in that region. Moreover, there is a strong connection between the representation of victims of femicide and the role of the authorities. For this reason the last frame that is used involved specifically the performance of the OAGSM in which the idea that is constructed is that this institution and the government are responding 'effectively' to the phenomenon. Thus, through the use of these frames the media constructs social meanings of femicide and its victims.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

The main question of this research paper focuses on what the role is of the media in the representation of victims of feminicide in Mexico, more specifically, in the State of Mexico. In this paper it was argued that Mexico is a country of inequality and social exclusion resulting from neoliberalism. Further, because Mexico is embedded in a patriarchal culture women live in gender inequality, a situation that fosters violence against them not just as a way of subordination but also domination. Thus feminicide becomes the most extreme form of gender violence in the context of Mexico.

Moreover, in order to analyze how do media produces and reproduces certain understandings of reality, a multi-dimensional approach that included notions of gender violence, feminicide, politics of representation, and critical media theory was adopted. The aim of this articulation was to put gender violence and feminicide in context as problems related to the violation of women's rights, that are directly linked with physical and psychological pain. Further, critical media theory was used to situate media as one of the structures of power in which gender violence is embedded but also as an institution in which the construction and reproduction of representations take place. Moreover, the connection of power-discourse-knowledge proposed by Foucault allowed me to argue the discourse and knowledge regarding feminicide in Mexico has not only been produced through the discourse that have been proposed by activists, feminists, academics and politicians but also through the discourse that has been reproduced in the media through representations. Thus, through the portrayal of feminicide not just the meaning has been created but also the knowledge about the problem.

I have argued that there is not a general explanation for gender violence (Merry, 2009) and for the same reason not all of causes of feminicide in Ciudad Juárez are the same for the case of the State of Mexico. While in the first situation the phenomenon is connected to neoliberalism, failures in the structures that foster impunity, changes in gender roles and drug trafficking, in the case of the State of Mexico feminicide is understood from a lens in where what is taken into account is the lack of women's citizenship, the negligence of the State and the resistance to the development of women's subjectivity. Further, I argued that the notion of patriarchal culture in which gender roles are delineated by tradition is shared in both cases. Thus, what fosters feminicide are the shifts in gender relations that challenge the social structure.

In addition, I claimed that through the representation of victims of feminicide online media construct a stereotype of women that have been murdered in the State of Mexico and men that become perpetrators. Thus, women are always portrayed as weak and men as strong and violent. Moreover, through the representation of women victims of feminicide online media reinforces patriarchal gender stereotypes. In doing so, online media

legitimizes gender violence against women because “the social representation of gender has a fundamental function: the reproduction of the patriarchal system through the socialization and education of these discourses. This representation is located in the base of violence against women because it naturalizes the punishment and the revenge as legitimate rights over them” (Vega Montiel, 2010:56).

Additionally, I argue that media engage in a process of construction of social meanings through the representation of victims of femicide from the State of Mexico. Thus, three social meanings led this analysis. Firstly, women are depicted as responsible of femicides for avoiding to fulfill their role and waiting to escape from subordination. Secondly, the impact and the intensity of femicide in the State of Mexico is diminished through the reproduction of the discourse done mainly by authorities. This case is highlighted the work of the authorities in responding to femicide situating them as agents of order and positioning femicide as a problem that is more related to the individual behavior of men, and not as a matter that has also have been fostered by the persistent impunity and the lack of justice. Thirdly, the discourse produced and reproduced by the online media constructs the idea that femicide is not a problem that requires attention. Thus, the online media engages in depicting the phenomenon of femicide as something normal within the society. In this way, through the representation of victims of femicide, the online media engages in a practice of perpetuation of gender violence through the normalization of femicide because “the acts of violence and its media representation are both produce within, and contribute to the same discursive and material reality, even by different means”(Zarkov,2007:8)

Furthermore, I argued that through the representation of victims of femicide in the State of Mexico, the four online newspapers reproduced the discourse given by the authorities regarding the responsibility of women but did not questioned the role of men. Although the online newspapers were selected due to their different ideological positions, the representation of victims of femicide in the State of Mexico did not change. Thus, the discourse about women, men, victims and perpetrators was the same. With this in mind it can be argued that the representation of the phenomenon does not depend on editorial politics but in politics of gender in which is reproduced the idea that women and men have a role that cannot change “In this respect, violence and the fear of violence are a form of social control used to terrify women and prevent them from participating in the public sphere, considered the male domain. As perpetrators generally go unpunished, the subordination of women in this way and the gender inequality that it underpins are legitimised” (Prieto-Carrón, 2007. 30).

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Reports published by the Citizen's National Observatory of Femicide

In 2008, the Citizen's National Observatory on Femicide (OCNF) published the first report in which it analysed the phenomenon of femicide in 13 states of the country from January 2007 to July 2008. In order to obtain the data the OCNF took into account cases reported in newspapers and information from the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic (OCNF, 2008). The report pointed out that during that period 1,221 women were murdered. The State of Mexico was the one that presented the majority of cases (289), followed by Distrito Federal (176), Jalisco (83), Sinaloa (79), Chihuahua (70), Morelos (61), Sonora and Guanajuato (51), Nuevo León (42), Tabasco (40), Tamaulipas (39), Tlaxcala (21), and Yucatán (12) (OCNF, 2008:28).

In 2010, the OCNF published the second report regarding the phenomenon between January 2009 and June 2010, wherein the OCNF documented 1,728 murders of women in 18 states of the country (OCNF, 2010:5). However, the OCNF only presented the data of 11 states due to the official information received from the Offices of the Attorney General of the different states being incomplete (OCNF, 2010:10). Hence, the total number of femicides documented during that period was 890. Again, the State of Mexico registered the majority of femicides (309), followed by Sinaloa (125), Tamaulipas (103), Jalisco and Sonora (83), Nuevo León 62, Morelos (44), Hidalgo (42), Querétaro (16), Aguascalientes (12), Zacatecas (11) (OCNF, 2010:12).

Appendix 2

Online Newspapers: A Context to understand representation strategies

Reforma is a Mexican newspaper that has been published in the country since 1993. This newspaper appeared under an editorial group managed by the Junco de la Vega family, and is in charge of the edition of *El Norte* of Monterrey. *Reforma* is considered nowadays to be a center-right newspaper that has daily circulation of 280.000 copies around the country. (Inforamerica, n.d.) The newspaper *Reforma* is connected with one of the main editorial organizations in Mexico called ‘Grupo Reforma’. This group publishes five newspapers within the country and it is in charge of the publishing of six other publications. Further, ‘Grupo Reforma’ has alliances with five provincial newspapers and publishes the Spanish supplements of the North American magazines *Time* and *Fortune*. (Inforamerica, n.d.)

Alternatively, *El Universal* considers itself as a newspaper based on ideological pluralism to promote democracy (*El Universal*, n.d.). This newspaper was founded in 1916 with the objective to promote the principles of the constitution that emerged from the Mexican Revolution. One of the main objectives of the newspaper was to defend “the political, economic, social and legal reconstruction of the country” (*El Universal*, n.d.). *El Universal* appeared on the Internet for the first time in 1996, and the official online version of the newspaper was launched in 2001. Today, *eluniversal.com.mx* has about 150.000 users (*El Universal*, n.d.).

La Jornada was founded in 1984. This newspaper forms part of media that is considered to have a left editorial line in Mexico. *La Jornada* presents itself as a newspaper that was seeking independence from the power structures that were dominated by diverse political parties, mainly the PRI. (*La Jornada* n.d.) The newspaper was therefore founded by journalists that were looking for autonomy, with help of academics, writers, artists, photographers and intellectuals. To this extent it seems that the aim of *La Jornada* is to exercise critical and responsible journalism (*La Jornada* n.d.).

In addition, falling within the online newspapers that has been analyzed for this research, is *El Sol de Toluca*. This one was originally a tabloid that forms part OEM, considered to be the biggest editorial group in the country because it edits 60 newspapers in 26 Mexican states, with a circulation of more than 2 million copies (Infoamérica n.d.b). The OEM also forms part of a multimedia structure designed to connect the newspapers with the radio station ABC Radio and Canal 12, a television channel (Inforamérica n.d.). In this way *El Sol de Toluca* and its online version constitutes part of this service. The main difference with the newspapers mentioned before is that this one reports in a sensationalist way.

Appendix 3

Online newspapers and articles analysed

NEWSPAPER	ARTICLE
<i>REFORMA</i>	
	<p>'Women die at home because of guns'</p> <p>'Murderers and rapist of girl, fall'</p> <p>'A total of 49 feminicides in Edomex'</p>
<i>LA JORNADA</i>	
	<p>'New clean up of feminicides documented in Edomex'</p> <p>'Ongoing feminicides in the State of Mexico'</p> <p>'Two feminicides are perpetrated in the State of Mexico'</p> <p>'Arrested two suspects of feminicide'</p>
<i>EL UNIVERSAL</i>	
	<p>'Gender alter seeks to affect Pena Nieto:PRI'</p> <p>'Women were murdered by their partners in Edomex'</p> <p>'Missing cousins were found murdered by their partners in Edomex'</p> <p>'From a slap to feminicide, very few steps: PGJEM'</p> <p>'Murdered his wife by blows: will be in prison for 55 years'</p>
<i>EL SOL DE TOLUCA</i>	
	<p>'Edomex below feminicide in Central and South America'</p> <p>'The Chamber of Deputies, a political ring'</p> <p>'A total of three feminicides'</p> <p>'Murderers of minor, caught'</p> <p>'Fall murderer of Ocoyoacac'</p> <p>'19 feminicides perpetrated in the State of Mexico'</p>

Appendix 4

Reforma

The tables presented in this appendix show the *General Categories of Analysis* and the *Member Categorization Analysis* of the three articles from *Reforma* analysed for this research.

Table 1.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 1)

'Wome die at home because of guns' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
at home			Women	because of guns	die		
			Governor Enrique Peña Nieto				
				the leading death cause			intentional female homicides
		figures	Attorney General of the State of Mexico				
		firearm		in 3 out of 10 women's deaths involved			
		compendium				delivered to	922 homicides
	between 2005 and august 2010		federal legislators				
							32.8% of the homicides was caused by firearm
							16.5% were due to head injuries
							15.7% from sharp weapons
			Luz Estrada Representative of the National Citizen Femicide Observatory				
							gun shot exercise of physical violence
			victim				

'Wome die at home because of guns' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			authority	very tricky in how to give the information			
			we			asked	
		data request		individual constant			
			authority		not giving global data		
				main cause			of death use of physical force
			we			say	
			6 out of 10 women		murdered		
State of Mexico						lived in a high level of violence	
							excessive physical force
							"punzo- cortantes" wounds to stab a
			woman				
				it is necessary to have strong physical force			
			we		have analyzed		
			colleagues	work on criminology			
			women's head		are being destroyed		
							asphyxia
				implies			the excessive use of force
			Estrada			warned	
		Figures	the same departament victims		reveal that the finding		
households				36.2% of the cases			
public roads				35.7% of the cases			
Other sites			women		have been found		
rivers							
canals							
farmland							
vacant lots							
unpaved roads							
			Estrada			said	

'Wome die at home because of guns' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
		information vacuum					
			she		has asked		
			Attorney General of the State of Mexico				
		for a breakdown		causes of death			
				The place where they were killed			
				who killed them			
						has not happened	
			we		keep		
		a report					
	when we				see and document	cases	
			victim		was found		
public space			we		know		
			they	terribly	abused		
					tortured		
			authority			does not give data	
			Attorney General of the State of Mexico			does not allow to compare the data	
						gives global data	
			we		know		
			many women		are murdered	murdered	
			by their partners				
			we		were		
				curious to know how many			
				were			
			those partners	policemen			
					have many cases		
			we				
			Judicial Police women		have raped		
				are interested in having that information			
			we				
			she			said	
				Controversy			
		figure	women				death
State of Mexico					has generated national controversy		

'Wome die at home because of guns' (Part 4)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
					has forced		
			the authorities		to find a solution		
				issue			
			Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico		proposed		
			National Human Rights Comission (CNDH)		be the departament to determine		
				recurrent			violations agaisnt women
in this state					exist		
	February		Attorney General Alfredo Castillo			said	
			he			would send to that departament	
		all the records					intentional female homicide
			We (PGJM)		do not want to be judges and juries		
			We (PGJM)		want		
			the comission		determine the final analysis		
							situation
			We (citizens)		are living		
			We (PGJM)		are going to hold to that		
			he			said	
			ministerial authoritie's argument				
		term femicide		does not exist			
		Criminal Code		it is difficult because of gender	to determine have been recorded		these killings
					has not release		
		any results approach	the agency CNDH	their			

Source: Data used from Morales 2011.

Table 1.1.

Member Categorization Analysis of 'Victims' and 'Perpetrators'

'Wome die at home because of guns'	
<i>Victim</i>	<i>Perpetrator</i>
Women	partners
victim	those partners
6 out of 10 women	Judicial Police
woman	
women's head	
victims	
women	
victim	
they	
many women	
women	
We (citizens)	

Source: Data used from Morales 2011.

Table 2. General Categories of Analysis (Article 2)

'Murderers and rapist of a girl, fall'							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			Murderers				
			Rapists				
			girl		fall		
			The Attorney General of the State of México		arrested		
			Alejandro Juárez Ángeles	23 years old			
			Martín "N"	15 years old allegedly responsible			Rape Murder
			girl	4 years old			
Municipality Nicolás Romero		Investigation folder No241970550015 111					
	Thursday		body		found		
undergrowth of a property Street Peñitas							
La libertad corner of her home				neighborhood			
		causes of death report				said	
				contusions suffocation first			
		investigations					
			Special Prosecutor for Crimes Committed against Women child	was stolen		indicated	
her home	Monday night			there where not relatives			
			Juárez Ángeles Attorney General			Will be prosecuted	
			Martín			was sent to the area of Juvenile Justice	
							rape
		crime					femicide

Source: Data used from Barrera 2011a.

Table 2.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of 'Victims' and 'Perpetrators'

'Murderers and rapist of a girl, fall'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
girl	Murderers
girl	Rapists
body	Alejandro Juárez Ángeles
Child	Martín "N"
Relatives	Juárez Ángeles
	Martin

Source: Data used from Barrera 2011a.

Table 3.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 3)

'A total of 49 feminicides in 2011 in Edomex'							
Place	Time	Objects	Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
				A total of			
							49
Edomex	2011		Attorney General for Investigation of Crimes Against Office of the Attorney General of the State of		reported		feminicides
	2011		49	feminicides			
		cases		42	solved		
			Italy Ciani				
		seven	Attorney Holder	remaining		said	
		cases		are under investigation		could be resolved	
	before the end of this year						
	19 March			typified			feminicide
	This year	49 cases					
		42	suspected	resolved captured imprisoned			
					awaiting for judgement		
			she			said	
			most			killed	
			their partners				
			former partners				
			husbands				
			lovers				
			boyfriends				
			partners				
		9 cases		this type			
			Ciani			explained	
			women		murdered		
				between 20 and 45 years			
		three cases	municipal police		involved		
	before since 2005			defined			crime
			922				
			women		murdered		
			PGJEM	30 percent			
		cases				could have been listed	
							feminicides

Source: Data used from Barrera 2011b.

Table 3.1
Member Categorization Analysis of ‘Victims’ and ‘Perpetrators’

A total of 49 feminicides in 2011 in Edomex	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
most	suspected
women	their partners
	former partners
	husbands
	lovers
	boyfriends
	partners
	municipal police

Source: Data used from Barrera 2011b.

Appendix 5 La Jornada

The tables presented in this appendix show the *General Categories of Analysis* and the *Member Categorization Analysis* of the four articles from *La Jornada* analysed for this research.

Table 1.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 1)

'New clean up of feminicides documented in Edomex' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
					Claiming		
				Gender alert			
				New		Cleaning' the number	feminicides
Edomex					falling from 922 to 468		gendered murders
			The government of the State of Mexico		Carried out a new 'cleaning?'	Reducing from 944 to 468	
			Enrique Peña Nieto				
			Office of the prosecutor				
			Office of the Attorney General of the State of México				
	Last year		Alfredo Castillo Cervantes		Mentioning		
Press conference	September 2010		Castillo				
	October 2010		Attomet General of the State of Mexico		Bringing numbers		
			Departament				
			Congress		Demanding explanations		
			He		admitting	saying	
		Cases	Women	murdered	discarding		
				robberies to households			
				mishaps accidents			
				not born in the state of Mexico			
Mexico City							
The State of Mexico							

Source: Data used from Dávila *et al* 2011.

'New clean up of feminicides documented in Edomex' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
	Tuesday		Lawmakers	several	Calling for a request of a gender violence alert		
			officials				
			activists				
			academics				
			Federal Government				
			Request	Denied			
			National System to Prevent, Treat, Punish and Eradicate. Violence against Women.				
			Secretary of the government				
			Francisco Blake		Lamented	Rejecting	
			Members of the Federal Government		Deciding not to declare the gender alert		
				Political pressure			
			Congresswoman				
					demanding that the Mexican Government complies the recommendations		
			Leticia Quezada	From PDR			
			Mexican government				
			Inter American Commission of Human Rights		Realize justice		
			Women	raped			
			Policemen				
San Salvador Atenco	May-04						
			Héctor Galindo		saying		
			Attorney				
			Women	involved			
		Government's response		Demonstrates disregard for human rights	arguing it never happened		rape
			Comission women				
			Policemen				
					argue why not to proceed with a gender alert	holding a press conference	
State of Mexico			PRI Deputies				
			Congresswoman				

Source: Data used from Dávila *et al* 2011.

'New clean up of feminicides documented in Edomex' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			María del Socorro García		saying		
		Gender alert		not declared because it did not meet the requirements.			
		life freedom security	Women	attacked			
region			Deputy Hector Guevara				
			State of México	not occupying the first place but the 14			feminicides
			Others	at the top			
			Chihuahua				
			Deputy		saying		Crimes against women
				Occurr in all the country			
		Political election					
			President of thWomen's Institute (Inmujeres)				
			Rocío García Gaytan		saying		
		Possibility investigation			opening		feminicides
State of México				opportunity	seeing		
			Peña Nieto	Prevention			
				not as complaint to damage			
		922 homicides					
		4773 allegations of rape		Cannot be hidden			
			García Gaytán		said		
			Angélica de la Peña				
			Former federal lawmaker				
			Promoter				
		General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence			said		

Source: Data used from Dávila *et al* 2011.

'New clean up of feminicides documented in Edomex' (Part 4)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
				lack of will			
			authorities	lack of responsibility			
		law					
			PRD's national leadership		said		
		statement					
		decision				not to issue a gender alert	
	State of México				to protect		
			the governor of the state	intention to shield him electorally			
				political attrition			
				would have meant	starting an inquiry of this magnitude		
			Ana Yeli Pérez				
			Attorney for the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights			regretted	
		legal remedy		hardly obtained			
			civil organizations	is not being used			

Source: Data used from Dávila *et al* 2011.

Table 1.1
Member Categorization Analysis of 'Victims' and 'Perpetrators'

'New clean up of feminicides documented in Edomex'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
Women	Policemen
women	Policemen

Source: Data used from Dávila *et al* 2011.

Table 2.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 2)

'Ongoing feminicides in the State of Mexico'							
Act	Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"
Femicide	State of México				Ongoing		
	Ixtapaluca				Community		
	San Francisco Acuatla			Minor	Municipality	raped murdered	
				Strangers			
				State Security Agency		reported	
				Victim	Not identified		
		This year		Seven Women		murdered	
	Ixtapaluca						
	La Paz						
	Valle de Chalco						
	Eastern part						
		March 17th		Local Congress	Unanimously	passed	
			several reforms			Combat Gender Violence	
					notably		
femicide crime		40 years			definition		
	Prision	70 years			punishable		

Source: Data used from Ramón 2011.

Table 2.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of 'Victims' and 'Perpetrators'

'Ongoing feminicides in the State of Mexico'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
Minor	Strangers
Victim	
Seven	
Women	

Source: Data used from Ramón 2011.

Table 3.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 3)

'Two feminicides are perpetrated in the State of Mexico' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
							Causes of hate crimes against women
				areas of more incidence		Will be investigated	
					are perpetrated		Two feminicides
State of Mexico			two women				
			one partners	aged 17	were murdered		
Tultitlán municipality State of Mexico			Congress		passed various reforms		
	last Thursday					combat gender violence	
			aggressors Omar Cruz Leon Deputy of Public Security of Tultitlán				
			Jazeli Hernández Ramírez	aged 25	was finished off	reported	
			José Antonio Sánchez		lived with her		
in a house neighborhood							
San Pablo de las Salinas			he	Apparently	they had an argument	killed her with gun sharps	
			he		took the body to a		
Vacant lot						set fire	second case
			Javier Misael Patlán Ramírez	aged 18	murdered		
			Lucero Florez Valdivia	aged 17		stabbing her	
in a house							

Source: Data used from Chávez and Dávila 2011.

'Two feminicides are perpetrated in the State of Mexico' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
neighborhood							
Ojo de Agua			The Attorney General for the Investigation of Crimes Linked to Gender Violence			will conduct	
				comprehensive diagnosis		to determine the causes of these	feminicides
in the state						identify the areas of highest incidence of this	
				punishable under the Penal Code of the State of Mexico			crime
			The head of the department Italy Dessire Ciani Soto Mayor			said	
				preliminary		can be affirmed	
east area of the state				largest number of		is registered	
			women	murdered			
				it does not mean that all of them are because of			gender violence
Chimalhuacán							
Ecatepec							
Nezahualcoyotl				municipalities where more cases have been reported			
				the most populous area of the state			

Source: Data used from Chávez and Dávila 2011.

'Two feminicides are perpetrated in the State of Mexico' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
				average			murders against women
			she (Italy)			said	
state				less than 4 cases per 100.000 inhabitants below the national average on the little more			
						reported	25 cases
	2011						
			the official the departament suspects		has resolved were captured	said	10 cases
	March 17th						
			The full House of the State of Mexico	unanimously	adopted several reforms	to combat gender violence	
				most notably punishable by 40 to 70 years in prision			definicion of feminicide
		changes		are part of the package of initiatives			
			government of the state			turned over	
	last week			reponse			
			Social organizations		were demanding the declaration of		gender alert
in the state							
			current administration				more than 950 feminicides 4500 rapes
						have been committed	

Source: Data used from Chávez and Dávila 2011.

Table 3.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of ‘Victims’ and ‘Perpetrators’

'Two feminicides are perpetrated in the State of Mexico'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
two women	partners
one	aggressors
Jazeli Hernández Ramírez	José Antonio Sánchez
Lucero Florez Valdivia	he
women	he
	Javier Misael Patlán Ramírez
	suspects

Source: Data used from Chávez and Dávila 2011.

Table 4.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 4)

Arrested two suspects of femicide ('feminicidas')							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or rotagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			Two "feminicidas"* Ministerial agents	suspects	arrested captured		
			Two subjects suspects	alleged			
Municipality (Nicolás Romero) Netzahualcóyotl			homicides* (murderers)			committed	three femicides both cases
					murdered		
			their victims They their aggressors		Refused to have a romantic relationship		
			Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico			informed	
			The State Office of the State of Mexico Department of Public Security	different actions	detained		
			Edgar García Maya Luis Alberto Orduña Ortiz	Aged 20 Aged 30			
			Agency women Maya García			reported	Crimes against
					shot killed		
			two women				
inside hotel				another incident			
Netzahualcóyotl			Luis Alberto Orduña Ortiz		finished		
	31st of october		his partner	18 years old		refusing to have a romantic relationship	

Source: Data used from González 2011.

Table 4.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of 'Victims' and 'Perpetrators'

'Arrested two suspects of femicide ('femicidas')	
<i>Victim</i>	<i>Perpetrator</i>
Their victims	Two
They	"Femicidas"
Two	Two
Women	Subjects
Partner	Suspects
	Homicides* (Murderers)
	Agressors
	Edgar García Maya
	Luis Alberto Orduña Ortíz
	Maya García
	Luis Alberto Orduña Ortíz

Source: Data used from González 2011.

Appendix 6

El Universal

The tables presented in this appendix show the *General Categories of Analysis* and the *Member Categorization Analysis* of the five articles from *El Universal* analysed for this research.

Table 1.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 1)

'Missing cousins were found dead in Edomex' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
				Missing			
Edomex			Cousins		were found death		
			Federal lawmaker Lizbeth García Coronado		reports		
	so far in this year						28 feminicides
State of Mexico				last time they were seen alive			
	the night of the 12th of February		they (girls)				
			they (girls)		came out of their home		
San Miguel, third section in				neighborhood			
			They Villalba's cousins				
			Brenda Gabriela	aged 20			
			Estefanía	aged 15			
			they (girls)	death	were found		
				first	was found		
			Body of Brenda Gabriela				
	last Tuesday						
in a communal located in Lázaro Guadalupe							
		report	State Security Agency	neighborhood			
			Body	was almost naked			
				2000 meters away from the road Chalco-			
Ejido de Chlaco		investigation			began		

Source: Data used from Fernández 2011.

'Missing cousins were found dead in Edomex' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
		folder number 24197055000					
	Wednesday		remains of Estefanía		were found		
				a few meters from the area where her cousin Brenda Gabriela was found			
			Members of the Ministerial Police of the State of Mexico				
			Members of the Medical Examiner Service (SMF)				
			Members of the State Security Agency (ASE)				
			relatives of the teenagers		arrived to the place		
			relatives younger Villalba's cousin		recognized the body		
			their families			were looking for them	
	from the time they dissappeared						
	after						visual inspection
						was ordered	
				movin and lifting			
			second body				
			Medical Examiner Service				
		investigation folder number 241970550006 611				was opened	facts
							crime of murder
		Clarification of murders		is slow			
			PRD federal deputy Lizbeth García Coronado		reported		
	so far this year (2011)			have not been clarified by the Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico			28 feminicides

Source: Data used from Fernández 2011.

'Missing cousins were found dead in Edomex' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
State of Mexico			She			explained	three
				recent			murders of women
			women			were registered	
municipalities of Naucalpan and Nezahualcoyotl							
			lawmaker			did not count	homicides
Valle de Chalco			two cousins				
			Congresswoman				
			member of the Commission for the Investigation of feminicides in the Federal Congress				called insufficient the announcement
			Governor of the State of Mexico				
			Enrique Peña Nieto	regarding the creation of a Deputy Attorney			to investigate crimes against women
				Unfortunately			
			He (Peña Nieto)			does that	
	a few months before completing his management						
			we			must not forget	
	during his five years			there was a great absence to address problem			feminicides
			she		said		
at a press conference Ecataptec							
	Past five years		she		said		
			922 murders of women				
this state				have not been clarified			
		5000 complaints				were started	
				related with crimes committed against the female gender			rape kidnapping other crimes

Source: Data used from Fernández 2011.

Table 1.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of 'Victims' and 'Perpetrators'

'Missing cousins were found dead in Edomex'	
Victims	Perpetrators
Cousins	
They (girls)	
Villalba's cousins	
Brenda Gabriela	
Estefanía	
Body of Brenda Gabriela	
Body	
remains of Estefanía	
relatives of the teenagers	
relatives	
younger Villalba's cousin	
their families	
two cousins	
we	

Source: Data used from Fernández 2011.

Table 2.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 2)

Murdered his wife by blows; will be in prison for 55 years' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			his wife		murdered		Blows
			he			will be in prison	
	55 years			first case of feminicide			
			Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico		passes a judgment		
	since defnig the crime in March						
			Astreberto Huerta Ortiz	32 years old		was arrested	
			Office of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico				
in prison			he		murdered	was senteced to 55 years	
			his partner woman	27 years old imprisonment			
			Huerta Ortiz			will have to pay 82.825 pesos	
				in according with	what was ruled by		
Almoloya de Juárez			Judge of Control of Oral Trials				
			El Universal Edomex		discloses		
		some points					of the crime
					perpetrated		
				the first perpetrator of feminicide judged in Edomex*			
			Huerta				incident
					ocurred		

Source: Data used from *El Universal* 2011.

Murdered his wife by blows; will be in prison for 55 years' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			subject		decided to deprive		
			woman's life				
	after having a fight		his wife				
in their home located in neighborhood La Magdalena Toluca							
		investigations					
	3rd of July		Huerta Ortiz				
			his wife		discussed personal problems		coming to blows
			the sentenced		knocked her		
		with a weight		that was approximately seven kilos	killing her		
			the two minor children		discovered the woman's body		
			woman's body				
inside the room						warned locals for help	
				discovery			
			the authorities		were informed		
					they went		
to the property					survey the corpse		
			the corpse				
					initiate the appropriate investigation folder		
							crime of femicide
			facility staff		collected data and the testimonies		
		The testimonies			incriminated directly		
			husband				
			woman	dead			
	after continue the investigations		they (authorities)		achieved his detention		
					brought him before the judge		

Source: Data used from *El Universal* 2011.

Table 2.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of ‘Victims’ and ‘Perpetrators’

'Murdered his wife by blows; will be in prison for 55 years'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
his wife	he
woman	Astreberto Huerta Ortiz
woman's life	he
his wife	his partner
the two minor children	Huerta Ortiz
woman's body	Huerta
the corpse	subject
woman	Huerta Ortiz
	the sentenced
	husband

Source: Data used from *El Universal* 2011.

Table 3.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 3)

'Women were murdered by their partners in Edomex' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			Women		were murdered		
			partners				
Edomex		Study "What's behind femicides ?"		based on preliminary investigations			
			Office of the Attorney General				
			women	almost all	murdered		
				violently			
			women				
State of Mexico					lived new established colonies		
				semi urbanized areas			
				poor public services			
			More that 55% of them		had romantic relationships		
			person	who murdered them			
			Local deputy Cristina Ruiz			said	
		Study "What's behind femicides ?"		Research on violent deaths of women of the state of Mexico			
				based on preliminary investigations			

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011b.

'Women were murdered by their partners in Edomex' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			Attorney General of the State of Mexico				
					reveals		
			The victims	working women urban consolidation outskirts of the municipalities		lived in areas recently developed	
			most lawmaker			lived in small crowded rooms said	
		Study "What's behind femicides ?"		is a work	is a work	serves as a basis to determine the causes of the violence	
			Nelson Arteaga Botello				
			Jimena Valdes Figueroa				
			University of the State of Mexico	under the auspices			
			women				
			922 women	dead			
			Half of the executed	had primary school			
				had unfinished secondary			
			55% of the cases				
			perpetrator		had a relationship with them		
			husband				
			partner				
			boyfriend				

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011b.

'Women were murdered by their partners in Edomex' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			50% of the victims	between 16 and 40 years old			
					it is assumed that left		their death
			children	orphaned			
			Cristina Ruiz			said	
	January 31 and February 1						
			Cultural Center of the city of Toluca				
						will be held	Photo Diagnosis
							"Alternativ es and solutions to violence against women"
			PRI deputy				
			Cristina Ruiz	"Should be noted"			
10 of the 125 municipaliti es							
State of Mexico					concentrate		51% of the feminicides
Ecatepec							121
Nezahuac oyotl							76
Tlanepantla							53
Toluca							45
Chimahuac án							44
Naucalpan							42
Tutitlán							36
Ixtapaluca							34
Valle del Chalco							32
Cuautitlan							
Izacalli							25
	last five years						

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011b.

Table 3.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of ‘Victims’ and ‘Perpetrators’

'Women were murdered by their partners in Edomex'	
<i>Victim</i>	<i>Perpetrator</i>
Women	partners
women	person
women	perpetrator
More that 55% of them	husband
The victims	partner
most	boyfriend
women	
922 women	
Half of the executed	
50% of the victims	
children	

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011b.

Table 4.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 4)

'From a slap to femicide, very few steps' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
							Slap
			PGJEM				Femicide
				Most cases located between 20 to 35 years			
			Women				
			Women from 45 to 60 years				
			Italy Desirce Ciani Sotomayor				
			Head of the Deputy Special Crimes Against Women of the State of Mexico				
				phenomenon			intrafamiliar violence
				does not respect age, economic status, or professional level			
			El Universal Edomex				
			Ciani Sotomayor			said	
				The majority of the cases			
				Located in			
			Women	between 20 to 35 years			
			Women	between 40 and 60 years			
				with a lot of years of marriage			
			She			continued	
			I		can also mention		
			I			have a case	
			victim	75 years old			
			husband	80 years old			

Source: Data used from Miranda 2011.

'From a slap to femicide, very few steps' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
				terrible case			
			I			have cases	
			very young couples				courtship
				possible phenomenon of violence	to see		
			the official			said	first signs of violence
			I		Know		Two forms of violence Psychological violence questions
				Why are you wearing those clothes? Give me your phone Where were you? Everything			Verbal violence
				strong impact	has internal		
			victim The official			noted is not controlled	blow
				this situation		will come	
				something very often	happens		
			young ladies		have to realize that		
			They		are suffering this kind of violence		
			They		See it as normal		
			They They victims		do not realize are being		
				something			
				that is not right			
			Ciani Sotomayor			explained	

Source: Data used from Miranda 2011.

'From a slap to femicide, very few steps' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
							Psychological and physical violence
						can lead to	murder
							9 out of 10 femicides
				precedents of violence			
			it		will never come to less		
			we		have to understand		
					will always be more		
					starts		nudge
							slap
							kick
			what follows				stick a knife on you
			The official of the PGJEM	was emphatic		saying	
			violence		is always going to go to more		
			You		will never see		
			a case				
			man		beats a		
			woman				
				never touch her again			
				increasingly it is accentuated more			
			it		becomes		
				more extreme			
				it is very important			
when a red light turns on							
			we		have to generate a warning signal		
						to report on time	
					can attend to specialized authority		
			victims				

Source: Data used from Miranda 2011.

Table 4.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of ‘Victims’ and ‘Perpetrators’

'From a slap to femicide, very few steps'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
Women	husband
Women	man
Women	very young couples
Women	
victim	
victim	
young ladies	
They	
They	
They	
They	
victims	
woman	
we	
victims	

Source: Data used from Miranda 2011.

Table 5.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 5)

'Gender alert seeks to affect Peña Nieto: PRI' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
		Gender alert			seeks	to affect	
			Peña Nieto PRI				
			PRI legislators		indicated		
State of Mexico		analysis of the Attorney General				recorded	226 femicides
		Gender alert					
State of Mexico					seeks only to affect the performance		
			Enrique Peña Nieto PRI legislators		said		
at a press conference						indicated	
				because of the election year			
			Federal government				
					seeks to discredit the work done in this state		
			NGO's Local MPs				
			Enrique Jacobo				
			Crisitina Ruíz Federal legislator				
			Rodrigo Reina Liccaga		questioned the proposal to issue a gender alert		
State of Mexico							
	election year						
			They		dismissed the figure		
			922				
			women	killed violently			
	during the past five years						
State of México			NGO's National Institute of Women			say	

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011a.

'Gender alert seeks to affect Peña Nieto: PRI' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
				it is the highest in the country			
Ecatepec				towns	registers		
			118				
Nezahualcoyotl			71				
Tlalnepantla			53				
Toluca			45				
Chimalhuacán			42				
Naucalpan			40				
Tuitlán			35				
Ixtapaluca			31				
		report	Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights A.C.				
		gender alert		was analyzed and rejected in a vote			
			National System to Prevent, Treat, Punish and Eradicate Violence Against Women				
				official			
			record				
			922	killed violently			
					upset the PRI legislators		
					indicates the degree of politization		
				insistence			
			Federal government				
				issue of femicide			
State of Mexico			government secretary Francisco Blake				
			PRI legislators of the State of Mexico			pointed	
			They		say		
		analysis of the Attorney General of the State of Mexico					
				there have been only			226
							femicides

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011a.

'Gender alert seeks to affect Peña Nieto: PRI' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
State of Mexico			60%	were not women of this state			
			Deputy Crisitna Ruiz			said	
			Jacob Rocha			pointed out that	
		if statistics	women	killed violently			
State of Mexico	2009					are analysed	
			100.000 inhabitants state		registers		
				rate of 1.38 lower than			homicides
Quintana Roo							13.70
Baja California							3.22
Sinaloa							2.60
Sonora							2.35
Michoacán							
Morelos							1.97
Hidalgo							1.65
Guanajuato	2009						1.53
Ciudad Juárez					were committed		24 women's murders
				equivalent to a rate of 1.70 per 100.000 inhabitants			
				3.53 per 100 thousand women			
State of Mexico					were committed		205 murders
				equivalent to a rate of 1.38 per 100.000 inhabitants			
				2.36 per 100.000 women		justified	
			PRI legislators				

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011a.

Table 5.1.
Member Categorization Analysis of ‘Victims’ and ‘Perpetrators’

'Gender alert seeks to affect Peña Nieto: PRI'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
922	
women	
922	
women	
60% were not from the State of Mexico	
women	

Source: Data used from Jiménez 2011a.

Appendix 7

El Sol de Toluca

The tables presented in this appendix show the *General Categories of Analysis* and the *Member Categorization Analysis* of the six articles from *El Sol de Toluca* analysed for this research.

Table 1.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 1)

'A total of three feminicides' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
							Three feminicides
Chalco							Two in Chalco
Meteppec							One in Meteppec
			The Attorney General of the State of Mexico			reported	
			the bodies of two women			were found	
This municipality (Chalco)						were	
			They Cousins Villalba	were missing			
	Saturday						
		Investigations					
			victims families			were identified	
			Brenda Gabriela Rosales Villalba	aged 20			
			Estefanía Villalba Rodríguez	aged 15			
	Saturday afternoon		Cousins		left their home		
	neighborhood Xico						
			man		rode a motorcycle		
			They			would attend to a party	
			They			never arrived	

Source: Data used from *El Sol de Toluca* 2011.

'A total of three feminicides' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
		reports	ministerial police official of the Attorney General			said	
			both of them			signs of being sexually assaulted	
			They			were half naked	
						eaten by wildlife	
			They			were found	
in the road Chalco-Tláhuac in Ejido de Chalco		investigation folder 24197055000			says		
				tragic events	have moved		
the town							
Valle del Chalco			villagers	angry	organizing to demonstrate publicly		
In the building of the City Hall			They		will demand		
			Mayor Luis Enrique Martura			increases security	
				unfortunate			cases
						have intensified	
since			he		took the office		

Source: Data used from *El Sol de Toluca* 2011.

Table 1.2.
Member Categorization Analysis (Article 1)

'A total of three feminicides'	
<i>Victim</i>	<i>Perpetrator</i>
the bodies of two women	Man
They	
Cousins Villalba	
victims	
families	
Brenda Gabriela Rosales Villalba	
Estefanía Villalba Rodríguez	
Cousins	
They	
They	
both of them	
They	
They	
villagers	
They	

Source: Data used from *El Sol de Toluca* 2011.

Table 2.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 2)

Murderers of Minor, caught (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			The Attorney General of the state of Mexico perpetrators		arrested		
			child	under 4 years old			feminicide
						was beaten to death raped	
		research		Conducted by Members of the PGJEM		allowed	elucidation feminicide
			minor Dayana Abigail Mata Gonzalez	of less than 4 years		identified	
					arrested		
			perpetrators Alejandro Suárez Ángeles Martín "N"	23 years old 15 years old			of the act
		investigation I.241970550 015111					facts
land	April 7th			owned by a company dedicated to the distribution of LP gas.			

Source: Data used from Venegas, 2011.

Murderers of Minor, caught (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
Street Peñitas, Second Section							
Neighborhood							
La Libertad							
Nicolás Romero							
			the body of the little girl			was found	
					died		suffocation contusions
		first inquiries		made			
			ministerial members		allowed		
					to establish the guilt		
			two subjects perpetrators		confessed being		
			The Attorney General of the State of Mexico		does not reveal more data		
			minor				feminicide
				only	disclosed		the capture
			subjects				

Source: Data used from Venegas, 2011.

Table 2.1
General Categories of Analysis (Article 2)

'Murderers of Minor, caught'	
<i>Victim</i>	<i>Perpetrator</i>
child	perpetrators
minor	perpetrators
Dayana Abigail Mata Gonzalez	Alejandro Suárez Ángeles
the body of the little girl	Martín "N"
minor	two subjects
	perpetrators
	subjects

Source: Data used from Venegas, 2011.

Table 3.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 3)

'Fall murderer of Ocoyoacac' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			Murderer		fall		
Ocoyoacac		investigations		arduos			
			"hounds" Attorney General of the State of Mexico student		managed to clarify		murder
					killed		
				deranged			
			subject			quench his low instincts to avoid file charges	
			body of the young			dropped a boulder in her head	
				dramatically			
			Extra del Sol				
				promptly			
				appropriated			
	mid- March						
near to a private school							
San Pedro Cholula							
Municipality of Ocoyoacac						appeared	
			body of the young lady	naked			
		investigations of rigor					
			young lady				
				located			
	early hours of the morning						
				fateful day			
Street nearby Corregidor a						identified	
			Mónica Flórez Alanís	15 years old	lost her life	sexually abused	

Source: Data used from Jaramillo 2011.

'Fall murderer of Ocoyoacac' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			attacker			stripped her clothes	
				long haul		discovered	
		garments					
		pink blouse					
		sweater purple					
		skirt					
		green bra					
		panties					
		pink tennis shoes					
		school supplies		several scattered			
			her attacker			dropped a stone	
				about 20 kilograms			
				totally		shattered her face	
			PGJEM				
			murderer	confessed			
			girl				
			Juan Fernando "N"	barely 16 years old			
			"El Humo"	resident of Ocoyoacac			
					avoid being denounced for sexual assault	admitted causing death	
		events		registered			
		preliminary investigation TOL/AEA/III/227/2011					femicide
			murderer	immediately confessed	available		
			Court of Justice for Adolescents				
Juvenile Rehabilitation Centre "Quinta del Bosque"						determine their legal status	
	Following hours						

Source: Data used from Jaramillo 2011.

Table 3. 1
General Categories of Analysis (Article 3)

'Fall murderer of Ocoyoacac'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
Student	Murderer
Body of the young lady	subject
Young lady	attacker
Mónica Flórez Alanís	her attacker
Girl	murderer
	Juan Fernando "N"
	"El Humo"
	Murderer

Source: Data used from Jaramillo 2011.

Table 4.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 4)

'19 feminicides perpetrated in the State of Mexico' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
							19 feminicides
Edomex*							
			Attorney		clarifies		two murders
							19 murders of women
in the state					typified in the criminal law		feminicide
			Attorney General of teh State of Mexico			reported	two cases
Metepec							
Santa Cruz Atizapán						achieving the detention	
			murderers				
			Alfredo Mariles				
			Eutiquio González Bolaños				
			husbands				
			victims				
			Attorney General of teh State of Mexico				
						reported	
						were brought before the courts	
			subjects				first case
			victim				
			Leslie Viridiana Hernandez			received a neck injury from	
			her husband			believed	
			she				was cheating
		Research folder 16016055 0113311				established	

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011c.

'19 feminicides perpetrated in the State of Mexico' (Part 2)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
	June 19					occurred	murder
at home							
Monterrey							
Street							
San Gasper							
Theuililipan							
Municipality of							
Metepec			he				
						was watching television	
			murderer				
			his wife				
			two minor children				
			Attorney General of the State of Mexico			said	
							received a message on her cell phone
			his wife				
						questioned who was it?	
			he			found out	
			person	called Antonio			
			Antonio				
			they			had an argument	
						confirmed that she had a relationship with	
			she				
			this man				
						caused	
			her husband			beat her	
			Leslie			ran to the street	
						ran behind her with a knife	
			her husband				

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011c.

'19 feminicides perpetrated in the State of Mexico' (Part 3)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
						giving her a scope	
					causing a neck injury		
						giving her eight stab wounds	
different parts of the body							
						depriving her of life	
			Attorney General of the State of Mexico				
							noted
					grievance		feminicide
			Anabel García Estrada her husband			received multiple stab wounds from	
			she			came home late	
			they			had an argument	
		research folder number 1601803601 16511					
			the murderer			came home	
			son	10 years old			
						having gone to play soccer	
				however			
in his home							

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011c.

'19 feminicides perpetrated in the State of Mexico' (Part 4)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
Avenida Juárez							
Neighborhood							
Centro							
Municipality of Santa Cruz			he		did not find his wife		
			wife				
			guy		phoned her		
				repeatedly			
						to know where	
			she		was		
	for a year		he		had suspicions		
			she		was cheating		
			woman			said	
					she was doing some errands		
					came in about half and hour		
					began to argue and wrestle		
At home			they				
			Anabel		hit him in the face		
			he		took a knife		
the kitchen		table					
					stabbed her twice		
					caused death		
	minutes after		she		entered to the hospital		
						receive medical attention	

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011c.

Table 4. 1
General Categories of Analysis (Article 4)

'19 feminicides perpetrated in the State of Mexico'	
<i>Victim</i>	<i>Perpetrator</i>
victims	murderers
victim	Alfredo Mariles
Leslie Viridiana Hernandez	Eutiquio González Bolaños
she	husbands
his wife	subjects
two minor children	her husband
his wife	He
she	murderer
They	her husband
Leslie	her husband
Anabel García Estrada	her husband
she	the murderer
they	he
son	guy
wife	he
she	he
she	
woman	
they	
Anabel	
she	

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011c.

Table 5.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 5)

'The Chamber of Deputies, a political "ring"'							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
			Chamber of deputies	a political ring			
			Stading Committe of the House of Representatives		caused a stir		topic of femicide
			two groups	a political ring			Sesion
			One				
		Points of agreement	dead women		became		
	yesterday	two references	One	registered in the state			femicides
			PRI-PVEM-Panal	political banner	were formed		
			PAN-PRD	electioneering issues	inflating the numbers		institutional violence
			PAN Deputy	seemed mere formality	demanding that the murders are not used		
			Monica Fregoso Maldonado	two blocks			
session			Number of femicides	dramatically			
in the state		Data	the Prosecutor	This is the result of public policies	Released		femicide
State of Mexico			Alfredo Castillo		blames victims		
Ciudad Juárez			the girls	battered	for provoking violece		case Campo Algodonero
Here			women	female drug addicts			
Baja California	in five years		The Attorney	prostitutes	went from 95 to 225		
	from 2005 to 2010		victims	criminals linked to organize crime	are not successful		
			she (Fregoso)	unstable	accused		
			state executive	incapable	exercise		
			Attorney				
			PRD		presented a warrant		
			Constanzo de la Vega	high levels of violence recorded	asked		increase of women murdered
			Interior Ministry	double of femicides			
		arguments		problem has multiplied			
			He	not become politicized			

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011b.

Table 5.1
Member Categorization Analysis (Article 5)

"The Chamber of Deputies, a political "ring"	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
dead women	
the girls	
women	
victims	
47% of women	
women	
1.3 women	
women	
more than 50% women	

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011b.

Table 6.
General Categories of Analysis (Article 6)

'Edomex below feminicides in Central and South America' (Part 1)							
Place	Time	Objects	"WHO" Actor or protagonist	Description "What kind of"	Doing "WHAT"	Doing "HOW"	Act
Edomex			women	below			feminicides
Central and South America			gender alert		used to hit Edomex		Murders
			Opening	formal			
		investigation		alleged increase			feminicide
				political intentions			
				represent 1.33 per 100.000 inhabitants	is below most countries		intentional homicides of women
State of Mexico			PGJEM				
Central and South A.			Alfredo Castillo Cervantes			said	
		an administrative process	National System to Prevent, Treat, Punish and Eradicate of Violence against Women	to investigate a complaint	intended to open		
	after Past five years						
				increase			feminicides
State of Mexico				No way to argue	has a problem		gender violence alert
			Deputy		said		
State of Mexico			PGJEM		stated		
					were handle		feminicide cases
			22% were related to organized crime	federal competition			
National Meeting			14% of the cases				crime of theft
			58% percent				
			victims	were not from the State of Mexico			
					borders		
			Prosecutor Alfredo Castillo Cervantes				
Eight states				there is nothing to investigate		stressed	
			these groups				
			PGJEM		can provide data		
					Explain why homicides are taking place		
			We		can work		
				coordinated manner			
				Without any political bias waiting to affect the			
							Intentional Homicide of women
			State of Mexico	the bottom	represent		
	currently		he		every country in	said	1.33
Central and South America		12.99 cases per 100.000 inhabitants		Intentional Homicide of women	have		240 pending cases

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011a.

Table 6.1
Member Categorization Analysis (Article 6)

'Edomex below feminicides in Central and South America'	
<i>Victims</i>	<i>Perpetrators</i>
women	
22% were related to organized crime	
14% of the cases	
58% percent	
victims	

Source: Data used from Santiago 2011a.