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Narrated Experiences of Hate Crimes Against Women in Mexico: A Feminist Perspective

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History Department

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For all the brave women out there.

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Abstract

In Mexico, hate crimes are rarely considered in relation to crimes against women; rather, hate crimes based on homophobia or xenophobia are discussed. Notably, there is a lack of research on this issue from an intersectional view. Therefore, this study explores the complex and antagonistic discourses and interwoven experiences related to hate crimes against women in Mexico from a feminist perspective. In this sense, this study focuses on Mexican women's narratives that help develop an intelligibility grid within social concepts at play in Mexico that encompasses influential factors related to the research question. The study indicates that hate crimes against women in Mexico are motivated by an intersection of several categories such as gender, sex, race, social status, and feminist ideologies and values, and these gender-based conditions are reproduced by society as well as the justice system in dealing with such crimes. Through narrative analysis of women's #OwnVoices and the inclusion of autoethnographic descriptions of lived experiences, diversity unfolds in the violent realities of women in Mexico as well as in the resilience strategies developed.

Keywords: Autoethnography, Feminist Theories, Hate Crimes, Intersectionality, Mexico, Narratives, Women, #OwnVoices

Resumo

No México, os crimes de ódio raramente são considerados em relação a crimes contra as mulheres; ao invés, são discutidos crimes de ódio baseados na homofobia ou xenofobia. Notavelmente, existe uma falta de investigação sobre esta matéria de uma perspectiva interseccional. Portanto, este estudo explora os discursos complexos e antagônicos e as experiências entrelaçadas relacionadas com crimes de ódio contra as mulheres no México a partir de uma perspectiva feminista. Neste sentido, este estudo centra-se nas narrativas das mulheres mexicanas que ajudam a desenvolver uma grelha de inteligibilidade dentro dos conceitos sociais em jogo no México que engloba todos os fatores influentes relacionados com a questão da investigação. O estudo indica que os crimes de ódio contra as mulheres no México são motivados pela intersecção de várias categorias tais como género, raça, estatuto social e ideologias e valores feministas, e estas condições baseadas no género são reproduzidas pela sociedade, bem como pelo sistema de justiça ao lidar com tais crimes. Através da análise narrativa dos #OwnVoices das mulheres e da inclusão de descrições autoetnografias de experiências vividas, a diversidade desdobra-se nas realidades violentas das mulheres no México, bem como nas estratégias de resiliência desenvolvidas.

Palavras-chave: Autoetnografia, Crimes de Ódio, Teorias Feministas, Interseccionalidade, México, Mulheres, Narrativas, #OwnVoices

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List of abbreviations

approx.	approximately
CMDPDH	<i>Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos</i> (Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ed.	edition
ed(s).	editor(s)
e.g.	exempli grati (for example)
et al.	et alia (neutrum: and others)
FNALIDM	<i>Frente Nacional por la Liberación y los Derechos de la Mujer</i> (National Front for the Liberation and Rights of Women)
FUPDM	<i>Frente Unico Pro-Derechos de la Mujer</i> (Sole Front Pro-Women's Rights)
ibid	ibidem (in the same place)
i.e.	id est (this is)
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender
n.d.	no date
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RTVE	<i>Radio y Televisión Española</i> (Radio and Television Spain)
TA	Thematic analysis
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
MGIEP	Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development

1. Introduction

“Hate crime is a human rights abuse”, said ODIHR Director Matteo Mecacci shortly before the publication of the annual ODIHR Hate Crime Report (OSCE 2021a). The term hate crime gained global attention and solidarity in the immediate wake of violent crimes against black individuals and racial reckonings all over the world, notably the United States (Yang 2021), but also in Canada (Crichlow and Lauricella 2018) and the United Kingdom (Allen 2021). They refer to crimes motivated by racial, religious, gender, sexual orientation, or other prejudice that are potentially fatal, such as femicides (OSCE 2021b). Hate crimes are classified as violent crimes, with a disproportionate number of female victims. According to the World Bank (2019), the global rise in gender-based violence is a “global pandemic” that affects one-third of all women in their lifetime.

Despite rising visibility, recent state responses, and emerging pressure from Latin American women's mass movements, there is talk of a “shadow pandemic” characterized by extreme and lethal forms of gender-based violence (ECLAC 2021). This increase of violence against women is not only receiving attention on social media but serves as a crucial focus for protests and national demonstrations, especially on International Women's Day and seen throughout feminist protest wave throughout Latin America (Ehing 2019). These protests are organized by young women through word of mouth as well as social media. The objective of this movement is to raise awareness and furthermore, incite change around issues such as inequality, sexism, gender-based violence and the fight for abortion rights. However, the activists have rather low faith in the government.¹ “What we want is to change the culture, the social relations, the place we have been put historically”, clarified feminist lawyer Sayuri Herrera in *The Economist* (2020).

Sonia Barroeta, a 60-year-old Mexican woman, reports from her experience as an abused woman that “[a]s a woman, you are worth less from the day you are born” (*The Economist* 2020). In recent years, violence against women has also increased alarmingly in Mexico: The number of femicides increased from 412 in 2015 to 966 women in 2021 (Statista 2022a). Previously, in 2016, at least seven women were victims of gender-based homicide every day (UN Women 2016). According to the Center for Strategic & International Studies (2020), in 2020, the number was already 10 women per day. Since 2012 Mexico began officially counting femicide data; in that year Mexico is ranked in the 16th place in the incidence of homicides against

¹ This has to do, among other things, with the fact that the current left-leaning president López Obrador pays little attention to violent crimes against women: “I do not want femicides to overshadow the raffle” (*The Economist* 2020).

women globally (CMDPDH 2012). UN Women emphasizes that killings of women continue despite comprehensive laws due to impunity and poor implementation (UN Women 2016).

In 2020, in the wake of the resurgence of violence against women, particularly in private households, during the pandemic, the Mexican government adopted a new set of policies to address gender-based violence. The newly implemented measures seek to prevent gendered violence by increasing access to agencies that support women in need. As a result of these policies, there are many programs on the part of the government, but also on the part of associations and non-governmental organizations that take care of the welfare of women (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores 2020). These facilities are necessary due to the consistent rise of femicides in Mexico. Aside from the systematic murder of women, violence is another danger Mexican women face daily on the premise of various factors such as race, ethnicity, religious affiliation, or sexual orientation (Statista 2022b).

Due to the increasing number of violent crimes against women, the current debate on hate crimes and the feminist demands of women, a broad field of research opens, which raises several research questions. This thesis will therefore feature testimonies from women in Mexico who, like Sonia, have been victims of hate crime. For these reasons, the following main research question guides me through this dissertation:

(a) "What are the experiences of women who have been victims of hate crimes in Mexico?"

In addition, I would also like to briefly highlight the methodological approach and process that I utilized for the purpose of conducting my ethnographic interviews and analytical research. After categorizing the qualitative data according to the thematic analysis, I collected through my interviews in the context of (digital) ethnography, I set up further analytical questions related to the literature I studied. These were particularly important to answer the main research question and to ensure an in-depth discussion:

(b) What are the experiences of reporting hate crimes to appropriate authorities?

(c) What resilience² strategies have been developed and what do victims recommend preventing further hate crimes against women?

Throughout the course of my research, I engaged profoundly with feminist demands from Latin America and Mexico as well as the theory of intersectionality. Furthermore, in efforts to

² Resilience is used to describe processes or phenomena that reflect an individual's positive adaptation despite the presence of risk factors (Renneberg and Hammelstein 2006).

incorporate a feminist perspective, deeply rooted in the positionality of the author, I included interviews and testimonies from individuals belonging to various digital feminist networks. To embed this study in a feminist perspective, a closer look at individual understandings of feminism is equally important to infer whether respondents' feminist attitudes belong to categories of intersectionality theory that interact with their experiences of hate crimes.

The first part of this study is dedicated to the research status and theoretical embedding. In addition to the general definition and forms of hate crimes, hate crimes against women will be discussed in more detail. The state of research will be rounded off with the current legal basis as well as an insight into hate crimes in Mexico. An overview of the history of feminism and feminist movements in Latin America and Mexico as well as the foundational concepts of misogyny, machismo, patriarchal systems and violence against women with corresponding feminist reflection will provide context. Based on this, the intersectional approach of Bell Hooks (1981) and Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) will be serve as the theoretical framework. This approach will generate awareness and understanding of the multidimensionality of the structural problem as intersectionality offers a framework for understanding the intertwining and reciprocal relationships between inequality-generating categories (Scherr 2016). The intersectionality theory further recommends the Own Voices approach, which foregrounds the importance of integrating the intersectional perspectives of those affected, thus concluding the theoretical framework of this thesis.

After introducing the main concepts that play a major role in my research and how they are interconnected, the methodology will be presented. Through semi-structured interviews as well as an auto-ethnographic part, the women's experiences will then be analyzed using Braun and Clarke's (2006; 2015) thematic analysis. Correspondingly, the analysis is carried out according to appropriate categories: The intersection of gender with sex, social status, race, feminist attitudes, and the Mexican justice system.

Through the Own Voices approach as well as the personal perspectives of women, I aim to showcase the complexity of the relationship between the concepts of feminism and hate crimes. On the other hand, it is my interest and personal intention to fill a research gap and to amplify women's voices and share their (or our) experiences. True to Segato's idea (2022), I want to understand the motives for these acts and "the origin of evil" (ibid, 9) in order to identify and conceptualize change. That said, the epistemological interest of this thesis, then, is to highlight the multidimensionality of crimes against women and to show that they can be defined as hate crimes because of their structural embeddedness. To this end, the focus is on the (auto)ethnographic description of various cases that illustrate the different facets of the issue.

2. Literature review: Hate crimes through a feminist lens

This chapter aims to shed light on the current state of research. First, the phenomenon of hate crimes under study will be presented, from its definition to its manifestations in the form of violence against women, its current legal status, and its occurrence in Mexico.

After an overview of feminism in Latin America and Mexico, feminist reflections on hate crimes are presented, complemented by contributions on gender-based violence by Butler (2020) and feminist authors Sagot (2007) and Segato (2022) from Latin America, among others. As a theoretical background, I connect to the feminist study of Duggan and Mason-Bish (2021), who explain the relationship between crime and misogyny. This approach incorporates Hooks' (1981) and Crenshaw's (1989) theory of intersectionality and is ideally suited for an examination of hate crimes against women in Mexico from a feminist perspective. The intersectional approach recommends the integration of Own Voices, whose concept completes the theoretical framework.

2.1. Hate Crimes - A new definition of a violent phenomenon

2.1.1. Term and forms

Threats, property damage, assault, murder – all these are common forms of hate crimes, motivated by hostility or prejudices directed at a particular group which experience systematic disadvantages. The bias can be against the victim's race, nationality, gender, religion, or sexual orientation.³ As well stereotypes or intolerance towards certain language, ethnicity, disability, or any other fundamental characteristics can be the reason for the hatred of the perpetrator (OSCE 2021b). Another requirement to be able to call it a hate crime is the fact that there must be a criminal offense (OSCE 2021c). As mentioned earlier, the term hate crime emerged in the media primarily in the context of violent crimes against black people in the United States (Yang 2021), but also in Canada (Crichlow and Lauricella 2018) or the United Kingdom (Allen 2021). Since then, headlines receive global attention and solidarity.

Since 2016, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the principal institution of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), publishes data and information submitted by OSCE participating states, civil society, and international organizations on hate crime. Each year on November 16, the International Day of Tolerance, there is a new report; in 2021, the main finding was, that hate crimes remain invisible and

³ In this study, the intersectional approach is followed. However, since it deals with crimes against women, the focus is mainly on gender and subsequently investigates the extent to which women experience hate crimes motivated by multidimensional bias.

unaddressed because there is a lack of a comprehensive approach to addressing them. The executive summary for the report from 2021 can be reproduced from the ODIHR Director as following:

“While I congratulate the many states that have undertaken concrete steps to tackle hate crimes, most of them still remain unreported, unrecorded and unprosecuted, leaving victims without support or redress” (OSCE 2021a).

2.1.2. A closer look at hate crimes against women

If someone commits a crime based on prejudice against a person's gender, it is gender-based hate crime. This can be directed against groups of people, property or associations associated with people or groups. That means, perpetrators are motivated to commit a crime because they have certain attitudes with regard to gender norms and see them attacked by the victim. A simple example might be that a young woman was physically attacked by men because she was wearing a skirt. If a woman does not fit into the image of women presented by the perpetrator, gender-based discrimination is present, which can result in hate crimes. Accordingly, the perpetrator must have expressed gender bias during the incident for the act to be classified as a hate crime (OSCE 2021c).

More and more laws are being passed; however, UN Women (2016) highlights that they are not sufficient and therefore calls for “16 days of activism against gender-based violence” every year starting on November 25, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. One of the reasons that such an international day is necessary is the fact that the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women does not declare violence against women as a hate crime, but rather as

“[g]ender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of acts such as coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (United Nations General Assembly 1993).

In the UN News on hate crime there appear mostly headlines about attacks against Asians as culprits in the Covid outbreak (United Nations 2021) and assaults based on sexual orientation (United Nations 2016). In addition, the United Nations has ruled that rape, among other things, can be counted as a “war crime”, as in the case of Liberia (United Nations Human Rights 2008). Or, that sexual violence can be seen as a “tool of war”, such as in Rwanda (United Nations 2014). No gender-based hate crimes are cited in the research to date.

Especially the statistics of the UN Women (United Nations Women 2021) show how closely partnership and violence against women are connected. During the pandemic, numbers had even increased. It remains questionable why these types of violent acts are not recognized as hate crimes to this day. Any kind of hate crime is a violent rejection of the feminist and

democratic value of diversity - the guarantees of life and liberty that feminism espouses. Therefore, hate crimes against women must likewise be more fully included in the concept and legalities of hate crimes. The larger feminist value is the fight against oppression in all forms, including racism, homophobia, and sexism (Gross 1999).

Looking at Europe, the term hate crime recently appeared on Spanish television and Twitter of the news channel RTVE (RTVE 2022). It is a video that has been circulated on social networks, sparking a debate about violence against women. In it, dozens of young men can be seen shouting sexist insults and threatening their fellow female students in the building across the street from the windows of a multi-story student dormitory in Madrid, shouting "Whores, come out of your holes like rabbits" (ibid). Following the strengthening of the statute on sexual offenses in August 2022, the Madrid prosecutor's office has now initiated investigations into a potential hate crime. President of the Progressive Women's Federation (*Federación Mujeres Progresistas*) Yolanda Besteiro reacted with shock: "This shows how deeply rooted rape culture is in our society. We are intimidated, we are insulted, we are denigrated" (ibid). Violence against women is being "normalized and trivialized", she stated further. This confirms not only the explosive nature of hate crimes against women, but also the different forms they can take.

2.1.3. Legal Status

The research shows that there are no uniform laws for the prosecution of hate crimes, only guidelines, for example a strategic plan against hate speech on the part of the United Nations (United Nations 2019).

Amy Baehr (2003) adds that in the United States, for example, even different states have different ways of handling issues. Also, she reports in her work, that there has already been tremendous progress in enacting laws against hate crimes, although there is a debate, especially on the part of liberal feminists, against these very laws. The issue is whether passage of the legislation would promote or hinder reconciliation or if legal hate crime laws are morally justifiable victimization of already disadvantaged citizens (ibid).

Gill and Mason-Bish (2013) also took issue with the legislation introduced to deal with hate crimes in the United Kingdom. The Labor government passed such a law in 1998, but it did not address hate crimes against women. At the end of their contribution, they clarified that while the inclusion of this category was undoubtedly supported, it also had its critics:

"The majority of participants felt that a hate crimes approach would offer significant benefits, particularly in terms of the symbolic power of the law to send a message to society that violence against women is unacceptable" (Gill and Mason-Bish 2013, 1).

Nonetheless, according to the authors Gill and Mason-Bish (2013), this proposal faces practical as well as conceptual limitations that nevertheless do not address the origins of gender-based violence. As per the OESC (2021c), laws dealing with offenses motivated by prejudice that include sex as a protected characteristic distinguish whether they refer to biological sex or social sex (gender). The United Nations Women reports that at least 155 countries have enacted laws against domestic violence in 2021, and 140 countries have laws against sexual harassment in the workplace. The existence of legislation does not guarantee that they adhere to international standards and guidelines or that they will be put into effect and enforced, thus this should serve as a warning against premature jubilation and relief (United Nations Women 2021).

2.1.4. Hate Crimes in Mexico

The aforementioned fact that hate crimes receive little public or legislative attention due to gender-based bias can also be seen in Latin America and in Mexico. Criminality linked to sexual, religious, or racial discrimination is an issue that is little discussed in Mexico and on which there are still several important legal issues (Bonfi 2007). As of current research on the topic, hate crimes in Mexico are mainly perceived to be due to homophobia or xenophobia.

The Mexican National Observatory of Hate Crimes against LGBT (Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender) people records hate crimes against people belonging to the LGBT group. Killed and disappeared are counted, but no other types of hate crimes. In 2021, for example, 93 people were among those disappeared or killed who were targeted because of their sexual orientation (Observatorio Nacional de crímenes de odio contra personas LGBT 2021). The annual high numbers speak for a “concept of hate crimes based on homophily” as Boivin's (2015, 147) research on hate crimes in Mexico also confirms.

That these hate crimes against vulnerable people are the result of a gender system that adheres to gender stereotypes, androcentrism, and heterosexism, is emphasized by authors Ortiz-Hernández and Granados-Cosme (2008), who conducted research on this topic in the Mexican context. In addition to homophobia, there are also hate crimes based on prejudice against immigrants, which Nunez (1992) highlights in his work on hate crimes and violence on the United States-Mexico border. That hate crimes against immigrants are categorized as xenophobia and can be characterized by hate speech, among other things, is elaborated by Frías-Vázquez and Arcila (2019) in their paper on hate speech against Central American immigrants in Mexico.

In Mexico, crimes against women are not currently declared as hate crimes but are labeled as gender-based violence against women, as is also the case by the UN (United Nations

General Assembly 1993). A thorough picture of current crimes against women can be produced even when femicides and other violent acts are not classified as hate crimes.

As already mentioned, Mexican women are exposed to great - often even deadly – violence, so most of the research done about gendered violence in Mexico is about the massive killings of women. The organization Human Right Watch speaks of a wave of feminicides paralyzing the Mexican government but also being ignored by it (Vivanco 2020). Since at least 2017, the femicide rate in Mexico has been rising. In 2021 it was estimated that the national femicide rate in Mexico stood at 1.47 cases per 100,000 women (Statista 2022c). Newest data shows that the most usual type of crime reported in Mexico was family violence in March 2022: 22,750 women suffered from domestic violence in that month (Statista 2022b).

However, the number of unreported cases would be much higher, as many state and local authorities do not identify whether gender played a role in a murder, resulting in many cases being reported under the generally accepted definition of homicide, in which gender is not considered a motivating factor. What's more, Human Rights Watch adds that the rising number of femicides and violent crimes against women based on their gender, are mainly due to long-standing social problems: For example, the media romanticizes intimate partner violence as an understandable byproduct of passionate love. Also listed is the tendency of authorities to view investigations and prosecutions of femicides less important than other types of violent crime (Vivanco 2020).

2.2. The intersection of feminism and hate crimes

2.2.1. Feminism - from Latin America to Mexico

The term feminism comes from the Latin word “femina”, which means “woman” and was first used in the discourse around issues of equality and women's rights movements around the world (Raina 2017). Until the late 1990s, feminism focused on the general struggle against the oppression and inequality of women compared to the rights and freedoms of men. Women's experiences were to be prioritized over those of men. By promoting equality of women and highlighting differences from men, patriarchal dominance was to be exposed (Duggan and Mason-Bish 2021).

However, feminism is - depending on the attribution to others and to oneself - interpreted differently, so that there are several feminist theories, which are characterized by plurality, controversy, and polyphony (Rosenzweig 2018). Therefore, the feminist ideologies are also characterized differently. There is a wide range of political and social movements to distinguish expressions, demands, ideas and implementations, but that pursue common goals: political, economic, legal, personal, and social gender equality. Feminism invites to analyze all currents

of political thought within a culture or historical context, as well as their linkages with each other (Mcbride and Mazur 2008). Since the theoretical characteristics differ depending on the circumstances, the perspective must be adapted as needed to the relevant backgrounds of feminist movements (Raina 2017).

Feminism in Latin America also consists of a diversity of movements that seek primarily equal opportunities for women in education and employment, but also change at political, economic, and other levels of society (Beasley 1999; Hawkesworth 2006; Hooks 2000). Unlike Western feminism, Latin American feminism emerged against a backdrop of experienced colonialism that included the abduction and subjugation of slaves from Africa and the mistreatment of indigenous peoples (Berruz 2018; Socolow 2000).

Despite the end of colonialism in the 20th century, there were few rights for women. Only wealthy women, mostly of European background, had access to education. The turning point came in the 1930-50s with a group of Puerto Rican women who, among other things, spurred the emergence of the needle industry and worked as seamstresses in factories. Decades later, around the 1960s, women's physical and economic rights were propagated. The interplay of liberalism and capitalism, on the other hand, stalled the feminist project and brought the movement to a virtual standstill. A revival did not take place until the 1980s. Domestic violence was also increasingly addressed, until finally, it was not until the 1990s that legal equality for women made equal progress (Berruz 2021).

Today, so-called Latin American feminism is mostly divided by ethnicity or by issue as Ehing (2019) describes. Among others, the hashtag “Ni Una Menos” (“Not One Less”) has engaged all Latin American feminists and women since 2015. The banner is used to draw attention to the enormously high increase in murders of women and to demand that they be solved. This movement began in Argentina and spread to other countries such as Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Uruguay. Nowadays, the highest level of femicides is in Mexico. Since then, the issue of violence against women has led to a high level of mobilization and an ‘awakening’ of young people, especially women.

Though, the protest of many young women goes beyond the issue of violence and is directed against the limits they continue to feel daily: in politics, in the distribution of care work, in unequal pay for equal work, or in the insecurity of public space. Feminism in Latin America and the Caribbean has gained much momentum in recent years, representing a new generation of activists fighting against the high levels of violence against women, discrimination, and sexism. While women's political participation has increased in many countries in the region, there is still gender discrimination in the labor market and barriers to accessing legal abortions. However, the author Ehing (2019) draws attention to a conservative backlash: An alliance of

evangelical movements, the catholic church, and right-wing conservative parties is trying to strip gender issues of their legitimacy and declare them an “ideology” (ibid, 2).

At this point, it is important to also point out the lived machismo, that, although combated mainly in the middle and upper classes due to a certain level of education and a change in consciousness, according to Castañeda (2019), is still very present in society and deeply rooted for generations. Machismo, the cultural oppression of women, plays a major role in Latin America and especially in Mexico. The phenomenon revealed in Latin American societies consists of learned habits, such as the dominant attitude towards inferior women, which are hardly questioned and accepted as given and natural. In Mexico, machismo goes hand in hand with sexism, as certain gender biases and stereotypes are entrenched in society (ibid).

Like the entire history of women's movements, feminism in Mexico manifests itself in waves or periods. The term “feminism” came first into use in Mexico in the late 19th century and became common language use among elites in the early 20th century (Cano 1997). At the time of independence in 1821, the main demands were to define women as citizens. In the nineteenth century, feminism developed into an ideology that had its roots in liberalism.

This was characterized by social modernization, which included the greater inclusion of women in the teaching profession. These same women developed Mexican feminism by forming feminist groups that criticized their legal status, access to education, and the economic and political power imbalance. Gender equality was their priority; middle-class women in particular founded magazines to spread feminist thought and other forms of activism. This was equally accompanied by women workers becoming involved in unions or political parties (Miller 1996).

In particular, the feminist struggle became visible during the Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910 (Gutiérrez and Willi 2021). Ignoring the active anti-religious and anti-clerical role of women in the Mexican Revolution as precursors, journalists, propagandists, political activists, and soldiers, historians helped to maintain the myth of Mexican women as weak, inert, passive, and dependent (Macias 1980).

Later, in the 1968 students' movement⁴, mostly female students and educators joined the movement, which from then on shaped feminism (Frazier and Cohen 2003). Furthermore, the movement expanded towards labor; the target group was mainly women workers, as they possessed knowledge about the working procedure, which was needed to create a functioning system for a sustainable movement. Middle-class women were part of the corresponding leading group (Foweraker and Craig 1990).

⁴ The student movement of the '68s was a push toward democracy for Mexico and pivotal against government oppression. Mexican, initially only male, university students took to the streets to demand social, political, and economic improvements (Frazier and Cohen 2003).

A new movement in the wave of feminism was foreseen in 1979. A milestone was set in Mexico with the founding of the National Front for the Liberation and Rights of Women (FNALIDM - *Frente Nacional por la Liberación y los Derechos de la Mujer*), the heir to the Sole Front Pro-Women's Rights (FUPDM - *Frente Unico Pro-Derechos de la Mujer*) on International Women's Day on March 8. At that time, social movements basically enjoyed a climax, especially around Marxist-Left discussions. Therefore, the FNALIDM was also more inclined towards socialist women's movements that wanted to gain legitimacy but were less concerned with deepening the complex reality of gender-based inequalities in Mexico. They were primarily concerned with autonomy of the female body as well as the political aspects of their everyday lives. Gabriela Cano summarizes that, as in the other feminist waves, legitimacy of their feminist demands was desired to achieve, as well as that history so far showed that gender norms and conventions can be complex and long-lasting, but that it would be possible to bring about change (Cano and Rayas 2001).

In addition to the continuing demands of indigenous women's movements, which are primarily concerned with equality, visibility, and recognition of their culture (Marcos 2005), there is a strong presence of feminist institutional activism and relatively weak evangelical religious conservative activism. Feminist movements are also accompanied by democratic upheavals, in part due to the strong Catholic orientation of Mexican society (Zaremborg 2020).

Feminist demands such as those for gender justice also arrived in the unions: Feminism is transforming unions into spaces that reflect gender equality rights and are thus crucial to strengthening democratic citizenship in Mexico (Brickner 2010).

Other lines of research examine feminist activism in the cultural industries. Although the way of expressing oneself through art also tends to be macho⁵ and misogynistic⁶ in Mexico, there are already some approaches in the music industry. With feminist lyrics, music groups have been able to unite women "from different geographies and social backgrounds", creating awareness of the benefits of fighting together for better living conditions (Villegas 2019).

Gender conservatism and antifeminism, one of the dominant critical currents in Latin America, is found not only in Catholic movements but throughout society. The former emphasizes gender difference and shows appreciation primarily for conservative norms of femininity. Antifeminism mobilizes aggressively against feminism and gender equality policies. It also advocates bisexuality and an unequal division of labor between men and women (Lenz 2018).

⁵ See explanation in chapter 2.2.1

⁶ See more in chapter 2.2.2

Segato (2022) also perceives a demonization of the gender ideology that has been running through Latin America, especially since 2016. This is evidenced by the fact that, for example, right-wingers and conservatives are being elected to politics who strongly defend the ideal of the family as an unconditional legal subject and who are making the gender category punishable again.

“It is exhausting being a feminist in Mexico” according to an interview conducted by Gutiérrez and Willi (2021). Also, Sánchez (2020) confirms it is a constant struggle against gender violence which puts female bodies permanently at the center of feminist discourses. On the other hand, Mexican feminism is diverse and collective, but has different currents that cannot be homogenized, so the big picture must be considered (Gutiérrez and Willi 2021).

That is why it is often talked about “feminisms” in Mexico. It is meant to draw attention to the fact that it is about a heterogeneous, cross-generational, cross-class, and cross-cultural character that converges mainly through mass urban manifestations such as March 8 (#8M), the International Day of Women. This likewise allows an insight into the fact that these multi-faceted movements are not without clashes, tensions, and differences. For example, feminist tendencies such as autonomist, radical, historical, popular, indigenous, lesbian, liberal, and socialist meet there (Millán 2019).

In her article Pflieger (2021) points out that the participants in such mass demonstrations are also becoming increasingly diverse:

“It can be observed how the current feminist collective is actively building a more diverse sorority in which young women demonstrate together with older women; daughters, mothers, students, artists and workers protest in solidarity. There is an increased presence of indigenous women marching together with middle class women and women coming from the periphery of the city and the states of the Republic” (Pflieger 2021, 336).

Moreover, the so-called Fourth Wave shows that the mobilizations of feminist struggles are mainly directed against violence and femicide. There is an increased commemoration of the victims of violent crimes and solidarity with the struggle of the mothers of the disappeared and women who have suffered sexual torture (Millán 2019). At the same time, a feminist consensus admits:

“[W]e have to fight against the system that makes men believe that we women are less than, and good for nothing. And sometimes, it must be said, even as women we screw each other over and speak badly of each other, that is, we don't respect each other. Because it's not just men” (Millán 2019).

A particular motto of the women's movement in Mexico today is “Nos queremos vivas” (“We want us alive”) which aims to draw public attention to abuses, disappearances, and murders of women (Gutiérrez and Willi 2021). Also, the recent outcry “Ni una más” (“Not one more”) and “Ni una menos” (“Not one less”) points to the exposure of a series of murders of

women since the nineties. At that time, several bodies were discovered in the Juarez desert. To this day, cases remain unsolved because trials in Mexico are considered victimizing and corrupt (Pfleger 2021). Despite the fact that in the same decade of the events, femicides were legally classified as crimes and a series of indictments followed, women of today's movements in Mexico ask, "not to kill us" as Gutiérrez and Willi (2021) point it out.

Mexico City, on the other hand, was the first place in Latin America to decriminalize and legalize abortion. In the same year, 2007, other protections were established such as the Basic Law on Women's Access to a Life Free from Violence or, in 2019, laws were initiated that prohibit digital dissemination of sexual content without the consent of the persons depicted and the mediatization of images of victims of violence. These are legislative achievements, but they are not enough, referring to feminists' movements (Gutiérrez and Willi 2021).

Fear is internalized, said cultural studies lecturer Benelli Velázquez Fernández. Living in Mexico means always being vigilant or taking birth control pills, simply out of the knowledge that women likely be raped along the way through Mexico. Further, middle-class Mexican women in particular rarely break with the sexist and patriarchal practices in everyday life and society; rather, competitive behavior often prevails among female actors, which is heightened by the glass ceiling⁷. According to interviews conducted by Gutiérrez and Willi (2021), there is also a lack of self-love, which was never learned or educated, to achieve a reconstruction of social norms and values.

The fact that violence is often associated, or even justified by the concept of machismo (Cabrera 2014), must be seen in the context that women tend to reject machismo, while men are ambivalent. These unequal perceptions are, among other things, one of the driving forces behind women's awareness through protests and feminist engagement. Machismo permeates all classes, races, and ethnicities in Latin America, including indigenous populations (Rubia and Basurto 2016).

A first glance at the topic of feminist activism in Mexico shows, it often boils down to fights about violence against women. It is not about legal equality as in the European and American context, or about abortion as in some Eastern European countries; rather, it is about women wanting to be taken seriously and perceived as equals, about demanding accountability for the acts of violence against women and about justice (Arte Documentary 2021).

⁷ The glass ceiling refers to a phenomenon that implies gender (or other) disadvantages in hierarchies. These are more pronounced at the top of the hierarchy than at lower levels. As a person's career progresses, these disadvantages (like inequalities in income) can exacerbate, or career chances continue to be held below a solid, invisible threshold (Cotter et al. 2001).

Although, Mexico is the first Latin American country to adopt a feminist foreign policy and focuses on human rights and applies a gender perspective across all sectors since 2020 (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores 2020), Mexican women state that they cannot count on support from the government. They report that the current president does not really take the women's movement and its demands seriously. Much more they scream “[t]hey don't take care of us, they rape us” and stress how the government's policy is purely masculine (The Economist 2020).

Despite different approaches in ideologies in the fight against gender inequalities, this is precisely what draws out the diversity of the feminist movement in Mexico. In the end, there is unanimity based on the essential tenets of unwavering female solidarity and the desire for quick action legislation on violence against women to be prioritized on the government agenda.

2.2.2. Feminists' reflections on hate crimes

According to feminist theories, the reason for violence lies in the social structures that support patriarchal structures and the related gender inequalities (Dobash and Dobash 2002). According to Gelles (2002), a patriarchy, favored by economic and social processes, is a “[...] system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” (ibid, 149). Due to the prevailing social structures, specific role models, the unequal distribution of power between man and woman and the prerogative of men within and outside the family, there is a subordination of women (Dobash and Dobash 2002; Gelles 2002). Corresponding to feminist aspects, violence against women, is therefore patriarchal violence, favored by patriarchal traditions. According to this theory, this is sufficient for men to be able to exercise power over women and to control them (Johnson 1995).

In part, a full-blown change from patriarchal structures in families and societies to equal partnership can be seen, but still not everywhere. Such a change represents a danger for men, but also for women, who have grown up with patriarchal images of men and see a claim to dominant or subordinate themselves. That transformation would mean, authority can no longer be maintained only through status and income. Moreover, it can lead to “status inconsistency and status incompatibility” (Dlugosch 2010, 35), so that the man sees only the possibility of being able to solve it through violence. Due to frustration, a lower status than the partner and the expectation of dominance, men resort to violence as a last solution to assert themselves and regain power (Lamnek et. al. 2012).

This concept goes back to the normative gender ideologies and roles. These are structured beliefs and ideas about how power is arranged in society according to social norms and constructs assigned to gender. Moreover, these are ideas about how gender and power should be enacted (Mcbride and Mazur 2008). Gender roles constitute stereotypical expectations of

behavior that should be consistent with an assigned gender. By imposing them, they restrict people in their development, and they lead to disadvantages and privileges. Along the hierarchy of gender roles, society is therefore permeated by structural inequalities (Holzleithner 2016).

In the title of her book anthropologist Segato (2022) speaks of the “global war against women” with which she emphasizes a new systematic form of violence against women. This demonstrates a form of violence of patriarchy, which thus expresses its power and sovereignty over the female body. According to her, the female body is the first colony in history and thus the longest existing political structure of humanity.

“Submit or die” - sociologist and feminist Judith Butler's (2020, 230) quote draws attention to the power and cruelty of violence against women. Violence against women is not only due to systemic inequality between men and women in society but is also an expression of terror (Segato 2007).

Gentry (2022) goes beyond this by calling it "misogynistic terrorism" and making links to the chronological development of "common-couple violence" and "patriarchal terrorism". This emphasizes that misogyny and violence against women have not previously been considered political and therefore not terrorist, although this has often been confirmed in academia. Further, she argues that misogyny in a largely patriarchal and masculinist system is very difficult to detect and therefore often accepted (ibid).

That this terrorist power is often supported by the police and the judiciary, for example, by refusing to prosecute the acts or not recognizing them as crimes in the first place is reflected, for example, in Segato's (2022) ethnography. She analyzed the incomparably high femicide rate in the Mexican city of Ciudad Juárez and came across the same structural problem that is not recognized as such: No attempt to solve the cases and no case tracking by the police. Segato (2022) reveals furthermore what obscures the central role of gender relations in history, precisely the binary character of the structure that elevates the public sphere all-encompassing and totalizing over the rest of the Other, namely the private and personal sphere. That is, it is the relation between the political and the extra-political life (ibid).

One reason for this is that the systemic nature of violence is even often masked by individualizing experiences of violence. Especially in the media, it is often stated that the perpetrator, usually male, has a disturbed personality disorder or is pathological. Thus, looking at individual perpetrators would also obscure the actual structural problem, Butler (2020) argues. This is also supported by the creation of categories of “vulnerable groups” (ibid, 230) who are denied recognition for violent acts by legal systems. Consequently, for Butler (2020), continued rejection by the legal system and denial of recognition in itself is already violence. Thus, if there

is no report, as is often the case of gender-based violence in Latin America, there is no crime, punishment, or compensation but a reproduction of violence.

Only the individual problem is seen but not recognized as systemic. The focus on individual perpetrators thus obscures the structural problem that the category of the vulnerable, i.e., women in particular, are considered to be worth less. Butler (2020) considers that they are not to be mourned when they die which meets with silent acceptance in society.

“Men are afraid women will laugh at them. Women are afraid men will kill them” - that misogyny matters was spoken aloud by Canadian author Margaret Atwood (2000, 413). Also, according to Duggan and Mason-Bish (2021), misogyny is closely linked to women's experiences with hate crimes. It refers to dislike, contempt, or deeply rooted prejudice against women and is one of the most widespread and historical forms of hatred (ibid). Political theorist and socialist feminist Young highlights the extent to which misogyny serves as systemic oppression for hate reasons: the systematic violence that accompanies gendered repression is specifically directed against the female “other”. The violence committed against women because they are women ranges from harassment and intimidation to serious injury and death (Young 1990).

Their approach also tracks that the prevention or prosecution of such gender-based violence is hindered by cultural and structural patriarchies, and misogyny manifests itself in women's experiences of hate crime. Yet gender is often not seen as an integral component in analyses of hate crime and thus remain understudied. The two authors also emphasize that while male violence against women is the original and longest standing hate crime against women, the masculinization of hate crime ideology focuses on male experiences, making female gender insignificant (Duggan and Mason-Bish 2021). Therefore, it is even more important to give women a voice in this research to bring their experiences back to the forefront and to show that gender roles play a significant part in the link of hate crimes and misogyny:

“Misogynists often think they’re taking the moral high ground by preserving a status quo that feels right to them. They want to be socially and morally superior to the women they target. [...] most misogynistic behavior is about hostility toward women who violate patriarchal norms and expectations, who aren’t serving male interests in the ways they’re expected to. So there’s this sense that women are doing something wrong. . . . But women only appear that way because we expect them to be otherwise, to be passive” (Illing 2020).

Feminism draws attention to these very structural inequalities: the concealment of structural violence against women, of misogynistic terrorism, is reproduced in society and serves to maintain power and structures of thought. The last means of maintaining power is violence .

2.3. Theoretical framework: The importance of an intersectional approach from a feminist perspective

Referring to the Oxford Dictionary, intersectionality means that “various forms of discrimination centered on race, gender, class, disability, sexuality, and other forms of identity, do not work independently but interact to produce particularized forms of social oppression” (Oxford Reference 2022). Correspondingly, it is a concept that links all oppression together. Everyone has their own experiences of discrimination and oppression, and it is all these that need to be taken into account. The term intersectionality was described by Bell Hooks in 1981 and coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, among others. Since 2015, the term has been included in the Oxford Dictionary as its importance is increasingly recognized in the world of women's rights (Taylor 2019).

Previous literature research shows, that the categories due to which it can come to hate crimes consist of clusters, such as gender in this case. Unlike the biological sex, gender refers to the social roles of “man” and “woman” that have been superimposed on the biological sex. The former is fixed, whereas the social roles are cultural inventions can also be different according to Holzleithner (2016). Among others, this social concept entails certain gender roles. People are assigned a gender and trimmed to associated role expectations and stereotypes. Moreover, the author points out that these gender constructs correlate with disadvantages and privileges in access to rights and duties, goods, and burdens (ibid).

2.3.1. Intersectionality according to Hooks and Crenshaw

I want to draw on this theoretical approach in my work because without an intersectional view, feminist efforts to point out inequalities and injustices against women will not lead to addressing systems of inequality in the long run. Intersectionality provides a necessary framework for understanding systems of power because “woman” is not an omnibus category that defines all our relationships to power. As Holzleithner (2016) stated, misogyny is perceived differently by a black woman than by a white woman. For this reason, feminism must also be intersectional, because exclusively the experiences of white, middle-class, non-disabled, heterosexual women does not do justice to equality.

First described by Gloria Jean Watson or better known as Bell Hooks (1981) as well as Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), the concept of intersectionality explains the multiple ways in which women are discriminated against from different inferences of, for example, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social status, or race (Kappler and Lemay-Hébert 2019). Hooks explored in her work “Ain't I a woman” the intersections of race, gender, and capitalism and their ability to

produce and sustain systems of oppression and class domination through her perspective and identity as a black woman.

With reference to the picture of interaction as a street crossing, Crenshaw (2016) describes intersectional discrimination with the help of an example of Emma, a black woman who experiences double discrimination in the labor market, as following:

“So if we think about this intersection, the roads to the intersection would be the way that the workforce was structured by race and by gender. And then the traffic in those roads would be the hiring policies and the other practices that ran through those roads. Now, because Emma was both black and female, she was positioned precisely where those roads overlapped, experiencing the simultaneous impact of the company's gender and race traffic. The law -- the law is like that ambulance that shows up and is ready to treat Emma only if it can be shown that she was harmed on the race road or on the gender road but not where those roads intersected” (Crenshaw 2016, 9:24 Min.).

She uses the metaphor of the intersection to illustrate how hegemonic structures in a person intersect and network from different directions, generating social inequality that increases exponentially and its forms do not simply add up (Crenshaw 1989). The theory of intersectionality aims to elucidate the complex ways in which people are affected by power structures because of their multiple identities, without automatically privileging one over another. Accordingly, power is exercised differently not only between but also within identity groups. Crenshaw's theory describes additionally that not all women are equally oppressed, or all women find themselves in the same social position (Kappler and Lemay-Hébert 2019).

Intersectionality highlights how categories such as race and gender intersect to create multiple levels of oppression. They are created and maintained through systems of patriarchy, stereotypes, and ascribed gender roles. Hate crime can be understood as a means of maintaining this same supremacy. This becomes clear when perpetrators resort to common cultural narratives to act out their position of dominance (Duggan and Mason-Bish 2021).

On the other hand, feminist theories and ideologies help to expose inequalities in society and how power justifies and maintains gender hierarchies. In particular, aspects of identity, such as race, sexuality, or class, play a crucial role today. The intersectional approach is meant to assist in identifying multidimensional discrimination:

“[W]hite, middle-class men are rarely held accountable for their violence as their identities are not criminalized, there is a huge latitude for their behaviour, and they are seen as always/already redeemable” (Russo 2018, 97).

In the German academic discourse on intersectionality, the concept of intersectionality was further developed as a method by Degele and Winker's (2007) multilevel analysis. They, too, consider gender, class, and race as central categories for oppression. Like Crenshaw (1989), Degele and Winker (2007) emphasize that forms of discrimination cannot be counted additively with each other, but that they overlap and interweave with each other and can thus mutually

reinforce but also weaken and change each other. For example, intersectional analyses also examine complex relationships in which there is an interplay of discrimination and privilege (e.g., a physical disability and masculinity). Therefore, they stress that individual experiences cannot be described without a multidimension intersectionality (Degele and Winker 2007).

2.3.2. Own Voices within the intersectional approach

The narrative in this paper can be complemented by the approach of Own Voices, as this was also used by Crenshaw (1989) in an intersectional context to establish a concept for theory and practice: "Own Voices is a nuanced and layered term, especially because identities are intersectional!" (Taylor 2017, 3). The hashtag Own Voices was first used by Corinne Duyvis in 2015 to identify "children's literature about diverse characters written by authors from that diverse group" (Crisp et al. 2020).

Over the past five years, however, #OwnVoices has become a movement not only in the field of young adult literature. Nowadays, Cultural Studies, Postcolonial and Queer Studies also integrate these. Own Voices perspectives are also explicitly called for Crenshaw to include the perspectives of people affected by inequality-generating categories in intersectional analyses. More specifically, the concept of intersectionality emerged from Own Voices perspectives and calls for precisely these to be integrated into the scholarly discourse on intersectionality. Rather, existing assumptions fear that by not including Own Voices perspectives, hegemonic structures are not critically examined and thus reproduced. Following Haraway (1988), the knowledge of Own Voices can be understood as "situational knowledge" (ibid, 575), since individual situations of thinking and perception generate knowledge that is lacking in non-affected people. If no Own Voices are integrated in the discourse, this can be seen as a blind spot (Haraway 1988).

In this work, Own Voices refers to female victims who are affected by intersectional categories - which are examined here in relation to hate crimes - and have specific knowledge through their very individual experiences and perceptions. Related to misogyny in an intersectional context, Duggan and Mason-Bish affirm that advances made through identity politics have allowed for greater insight into theories about the experiences of black and minority ethnic women, lesbian/bisexual/queer women, trans women, disabled women, women from diverse class backgrounds, etc. In addition, reinforcing a gendered focus based on women's lived experiences improves basic understanding of the cultural characteristics of misogyny (Duggan and Mason-Bish 2021).

3. Methodological mind mapping of a qualitative research

In the context of my research and through an intersectional lens, I would like to point out, on the basis of the interviews and the corresponding theoretical framework, that here, not only the category of gender alone applies as a motive for hate crimes, but rather the interplay of intertwined categories.

I would therefore like to uncover the following intersectional connections in my work:

1. Gender and race and social status
2. Gender and sex (body shape)
3. Gender and ideological attitudes (feminist values)
4. Gender and the legal and judicial system

I want to shed light on the extent to which multiple categories interact to make women more likely to be victims of hate crimes. That is, first, to ask if being a woman is the only factor why they experience hate crimes, or also because they belong to additional categories, they are more likely to be victims of hate crimes.

3.1. Research Design

3.1.1. Research Questions

I will close a study gap by amplifying victim's voices and respond to the key research issue: (a) What are women's experiences with hate crimes in Mexico? In addition, the interviews will also be used to answer the sub-questions of (b) experiences with police authorities in reporting the crime and (c) individually developed resilience strategies as well as victims' suggestions for collectively coping with such experiences of hate crimes against women in Mexico.

Through the analysis, the intersectional relationships mentioned above will also be elaborated, that is, the extent to which other categories (gender, social status, race, feminist ideologies, and justice system) influence experiences of hate crimes against women in Mexico will be analyzed. In order to capture the interplay between experiences of hate crimes and feminist values, as well as to emphasize the feminist perspective, a particular look at feminist self-understanding will be taken here. To answer the research question, as well as other related sub-questions, the extent to which experiences can be assumed to be hate crimes will be examined. As described in Chapter 2.1, the term is rather unknown in Mexico in relation to crimes against women and therefore needs to be explored in the course of the analysis.

3.1.2. Case study design

The case study design was chosen for this study because it provides a deep understanding of the experiences of victims of violent hate crimes against women in Mexico. Case studies allow for realistic insights as well as truthful conclusions based on knowledge gained from one's own experiences. Questions are asked about the "how", so that, in the best possible way, current phenomena (such as, in this case, hate crimes against women in Mexico) can be related to and analyzed in terms of their development in real situations (Yin 1994).

3.2. Methods of data collection

3.2.1. Ethnography

Ethnography is derived from the Greek (éthnos = people and graphein = described) and means, in general terms, the description of peoples. Today, ethnography is both the representation of socio-cultural aspects of a society, as well as the analysis and interpretation of the information collected during the field research (Diaz-Bone and Weischer 2015). Concrete methods of ethnographic research can range from secondary data analysis, fieldwork, observation, or participant observation, to informal and the chosen semi-structured interviewing (Whitehead 2005).

Ethnography is not a set of rules, but rather an integrated research approach or a research strategy that combines observations, interviews, and other types of documentation with each other to describe people. It is a tool to observe people in their everyday situations and is therefore well suited to flexibly frame women's experiences as victims of hate crimes in Mexico. In doing so, own, and foreign components are to be represented so that a comprehensive picture can be given (Breidenstein et al. 2020).

3.2.2. Digital ethnography

Since I conducted the interviews with video calls via adequate providers and also searched for the interview partners in specific Mexican feminist networks on Facebook, digital ethnography has to be named at this point.⁸

Digital ethnography, as a new approach to conducting social research which corresponds to our *Zeitgeist*, can provide deep, contextual, and contingent understanding. It brings new

⁸ I started my former research when I lived in Mexico but decided to leave the country due to personal circumstances. Therefore, the interviews were held online and not in person. However, experiences from my time there will be integrated in this study.

pathways to knowledge that are only opened up through online engagement. In fact, digital ethnography now dominates a range of qualitative techniques developed over the past two decades (Postill and Pink 2012). As with the field of International Relations, for example, digital ethnography has also been used as a means to examine everyday narratives within global politics, in my case narratives within social realities of women in Mexico who are part of a feminist network on the internet (Miskimmon et al. 2015).

Like in the example of the feminist Facebook groups it can be seen that it serves not only to share opinions and experiences, but also to educate. Especially among young people today, digital research is an important way to get information and also to feel part of a community (Postill and Pink 2012). In the joined feminist groups, among other things, reports are made of violent crimes against women or missing persons. There are contributions to the education of women's rights as well as information on help phone numbers. The women are interacting with each other by writing comments, sending emotions and sharing their posts. It is therefore clear that digital ethnography focuses on how the digital has become an integral part of the social world through the sharing of personal experiences there (Pink et al. 2015). Joining just such groups gave me some exposure to this digital social life world, and it allowed me to find appropriate interview partners.

In addition to digitally searching for interviewees on social media, data collection was also conducted digitally, using software to conduct the interviews. Depending on what was available to the participants, I used the video options of WhatsApp, Microsoft Teams, or Google Meet. These interviews were voice-recorded by phone and noted as field notes during the interviews. The recorded data material is completely transferred into written form before the subsequent analysis and evaluation. Accordingly, all participants were informed about the described procedure and gave their consent.

Interview length and verbosity varied. Some interviewees were slightly more talkative and provided more detail than others.

3.2.3. Autoethnographical insights

Assuming that research always involves the intrinsic interest of the researcher, the researcher can make a significant contribution through autoethnographic parts in the work which will be also aimed in this work (Bleiker and Brigg 2010).

Like Breidenstein et al., Goffman is convinced that one can only understand what it means to be part of a subcultural lifeworld by (temporarily) being part of it:

“The technique, in my experience, is to collect data by subjecting oneself, one's own body, one's own personality, and one's own social situation to the unpredictable influences that arise when one goes among a set of people” (Goffman 1996, 263).

This also confirms the meaningfulness of including one's own experiences and motivation in the research (Breidenstein et al. 2020). This different approach of playing with subjectivity and objectivity in relation to field research has also encouraged me to include an autoethnographic component in my work.

In addition to several advantages of autoethnographical parts in research, I included my own experience as well in order to see it from a less subjective perspective, the perspective of a researcher. In this way, it allowed me to understand the happening in a broader view and reflect certain things differently. Nevertheless, this chosen experiment should not be seen as a self-therapeutic part of work nor as the main intention of this research. It is primarily to position myself within the research without the subjectivity of that part leading to too much change in the research outcome or understanding. The experiences of the women interviewed should be the main focus. Autoethnographic insights are meant to complement these experiences and can be found in boxes at the end of the respective sections.

3.2.4. Sampling

The term sampling is used in the context of a selection procedure in empirical social research. Specifically, these are strategies that enable the best possible interpretation by means of suitable cases, observations, and materials (Diaz-Bone and Weischer 2015). The goal was, to find up to 10 Mexican women who are victims of hate crimes and somehow connected to feminist movements. These were also to be over 18 years old. Care was taken during the selection process to ensure a certain diversity in the sample, reflecting a wide range of perceptions and experiences.

There are different procedures for the selection of the study unit. I decided to use a mixture of different sources to create a so-called snowball procedure if possible. The snowballing process is a deliberate selection process that starts with personal contacts and asks them to identify others with similar characteristics. It is used when the group to be surveyed is very specific or difficult to identify (Diaz-Bone and Weischer 2015). First, I used my personal contacts with feminists in Mexico as well as with national organizations such as the Municipal Institute for Women (*Instituto Municipal de la mujer*) and the Center of Justice (*Centro de Justicia para las Mujeres*) to obtain appropriate sources. They pointed me to feminist groups on Facebook or gave me personal contacts. There was also interest on the part of the national organizations to ask some women who reported there, but no concrete contacts were made.

Another method that brought me subjects was the income of reactions to a post on my Facebook account. In this post, I drew attention to my own experience with hate crime on the part of my former partner towards me as a feminist. I also subsequently shared a post (see

Appendix C) on one of the recommended feminist Facebook groups calling for people to help me with my research and asking for interviews. I thought about how victims of hate crimes would be most likely to approach me and decided to start the post briefly with my own experience. I also added a brief explanation about hate crimes, noting that the term is little known in this context in Mexico.

In the end, I interviewed 6 women which reacted on my post in the feminist groups “Compartamos nuestro feminismo” with around 1000 of female group members and “Hablemos de Feminismo” with almost 3000 digital activists. Aside, I talked to some people on my travels through Mexico about my stay. I remembered a conversation with Anna about an experience she had with her former partner. I therefore contacted her again as my research goal became clearer and interviewed her for my study. Besides them, the psychologist of the *Instituto Municipal de la Mujer* in Puerto Vallarta Betsy answered parts of the semi-structured interview guide as well.⁹

The names of the victims I interviewed have been changed into the following common Mexican names: Adriana, Luz, Paola, Gabriela, Isabel, Anna and Joasil.¹⁰ Amanda, who I know personally from Mexico, decided to not take part in the interview during the field research. She explained that she wanted to close that chapter and prefers not to talk about her experience anymore.¹¹

3.2.5. (Self-) Semi-structured interviews

This dissertation is mainly based on primary data which is obtained with the help of semi-structured interviews for interview partners and me as the researcher, and autoethnographically part of the research. Interviews are suitable “to get to grips with the contexts of difference people's everyday social, cultural, political and economic lives” (Crang and Cook 1995, 35). They are critical to case study research because experiences are reported directly by interviewees. The contexts and processes being studied were experienced firsthand, so relevant insights can be provided.

Furthermore, Crang and Cook (1995) state that interviews vary in their forms, ranging from highly structured to semi-structured to relatively unstructured types. The present work was based on parameters, there were a few questions that were worked through during the

⁹ Her comments are added at the appropriate place within the analysis. The internal insights she has as a direct contact person for victims of violence (both psychological and physical) are merely intended to provide further supplementation for the interviews conducted.

¹⁰ Only the first names will be used to ensure anonymity.

¹¹ I wanted to mention her here as well since the decision to not participate and not talk about a violent experience helps me still to understand how women handle their experience. Amanda called herself a “survivor of domestic violence” which she experienced during a toxic relationship.

interview. This provided some flexibility in the format and sequencing of the questions and improved comprehension of the respondents' replies (Kvale 1996). The flexibility also allowed the participants to lead the course of the conversation.¹²

The data was generated based on one-time interviews with the individual interviewees, which were then transcribed and analyzed discursively. As suggested by Kvale (1996), summaries were given at the end of the interview and the opportunity for questions was given.

The semi-structured guide is structured in such a way that a brief introduction of the interviewees is followed by the self-concept of feminism. Subsequently, the experience of hate crimes is discussed where questions are asked about the exact events, possible motives behind the crime, the reactions of the perpetrators as well as of others, and, how the experiences affect the lives of the victims. This is continued by a discussion of the experience of reporting to authorities and concluded with individual resilience strategies. Additional information can be drawn from the simplified interview guideline (Appendix A) and the extensive interview guide (Appendix B).

This work did not only intend to enable women to talk about their experiences of violence, but also to highlight how those women dealt with their experiences. I asked what helped them to reflect and process what they experienced and what possibilities they see to prevent hate crimes against women.

With the help of the interviews, I was able to stress relevance to women affected by hate crimes, who otherwise fall through the Mexican justice system or are not taken seriously by society. Their life experiences could be expressed, recorded, and shared. The story was written in their own words without distorting or embellishing anything.

As mentioned, an auto-ethnographic part flows into this work. This indicates that the researcher's self-experiences are the subject of the research. In practice, this means that, as with the other interviews, I followed the semi-structured interview guide and included information that I consider important and revealing from conversations with other people and friends. During the research process, I kept coming up with thoughts that I wrote down in this course. These notes, as well as published posts and responses to them, are included in the analysis, as they form an important part of the research.

By creating an audience for my story by publishing my experience as a victim of a violent hate crime, I was able to bring the story to life rather than retelling it. Interacting with the audience in the form of comments under my posts, storytelling evolved differently than simply telling

¹² In order to avoid discrepancies in content, the interview guide is written in the original language Spanish. This applies also to the informed consent (Appendix D) as well as to the debriefing (Appendix E).

a story, a solitary act. Only then did the whole story emerge, which is helpful and crucial to the framework of this research project.

My self-interview took place by answering questions from the semi-structured interview guide every now and then when I felt like it. Everything was recorded in writing. Nevertheless, I did not write about my personal life, because I see myself or my personal experiences in this work as one of the narratives, not as the only one. All the narrated experiences should be seen as a whole and as an overall unit leading to a summary of what has been researched and a conclusion.

3.3. Methods of data analysis: Thematic analysis

For the present work, the thematic analysis (TA) according to Braun and Clarke (2006; 2015) was used. They developed this TA of data for identifying and presenting patterns (ibid). It is a widely used qualitative method of analysis, especially within and outside of psychology (Bo-yatzis 1998; Roulston 2001), but also within social and health sciences (Braun et al. 2015).

Since the TA can be used within a wide range of approaches, guided by different theoretical frameworks, and is marked by its flexibility which combine smoothly with the analysis of semi-structured interviews. It provides an accessible, systematic, and rigorous approach to coding and theme development and allows an active role of the researcher in the research. The authors emphasize that the concept wants the researcher to embrace its subjectivity within the research process, so that the self-interview fits into this model (ibid).

After the data has been collected through semi-structured interviews, the next step is data preparation, which is the process of preparing the raw data for data analysis (Diaz-Bone and Weischer 2015). In this case, the raw data were the audio files, which are prepared through transcription. In order to avoid possible data reduction and to ensure the quality of the data and the subsequent interpretation, a digital backup by recording the conversation is necessary. This is the only way to ensure that no information is lost (Dresing and Pehl 2018).

Braun and Clarke (2006) help in the analysis process through a 6-phase plan which can be seen below (Figure 1). I followed their plan accordingly during my analysis phase. In the following chapters, this will be discussed in more detail in relation to my research.

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Figure 1: Six phases of thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke (2006, 87)

The intersecting theme categories that emerged are (a) gender, race, and social status; (b) gender and ideologies (feminist values); (c) gender and legal and judicial system and (d) gender and sex (body). These resulted during the interviews as well as they are underpinned by theory. With the help of these themes, the research questions will be answered and thus contribute to the analysis. The category gender, race and social status is mainly reflected by the experience with hate crimes. Feminist ideologies will be supported by the chapter of feminism in Latin America and Mexico, as well as by personal experiences with hate crimes. The experiences of reporting are explained in interviews and also theoretically supported in Judith Butler's (2020) contribution. The interplay of the social gender as well as the biological gender and corresponding stereotypes can be highlighted especially through the interviews.

3.4. Ethical considerations

In my research, I studied women who told me about their experiences of hate crimes in different characteristics. These are crimes that cause a stir in society worldwide and are mostly well known through the media. It is also about the interaction of interpersonal relationships and thus social research that directly and indirectly affects people. A confidential atmosphere is important to maintain the process of interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Therefore, the purpose as well as the procedure of the research should be clear (Kvale 1996).

In this research it is also important to maintain a certain sensitivity towards the interviewee, that is why ethical considerations should be integrated. Retelling what is experienced could have caused trauma, which as a researcher I had to be prepared for. Referring to Koppensteiner (2018), interviews create a two-dimensional relationship between researcher and participant where "empathy, congruence, presence and acceptance" (ibid, 66) needs to be facilitated by the researcher.

I therefore decided to preface the interviews by briefly recounting my own experience with hate crimes in Mexico. I felt trust from the women, and it was a good way to start, creating a respectful and trustworthy atmosphere. Indications that the interviewees could interrupt and postpone the interview at any time were given at the beginning of each interview, as well as in the communication beforehand.

Besides that, ethical approval from ISCTE ethics committee (reference number 29/2022) was obtained. Therefore, the women interviewed were made aware of possible traumatic consequences prior to the interview and were also made aware of appropriate help hotlines in a fact sheet describing the research. In accordance with the regulations of the ethical committee of the ISCTE Lisbon, a so-called debriefing (see Appendix E) was carried out before the interviews began, in which the process and purpose of the research was explained. Moreover, written informed consent (see Appendix D) to the anonymization and deletion of the recording was obtained before the interview began. Accordingly, the raw material was deleted after transcription was completed and verified.

3.5. Challenges related to the topic and positionality

According to Lofland and Lofland (1995), (digital) ethnography comes with certain challenges. The positionality of the field researcher, personal history, and other social factors can have a major impact on the outcome of the research. I grew up in Germany and was raised by my young mother alone. At the time, she was 24 years old, studying, working, and taking care of me as a young child. I learned that women can be independent and be financially supported by the state and thus not be dependent on men. It was during my studies that I first became deeply involved with issues of feminism. Although I had already had my own experiences with misogynistic attitudes in Germany, I dealt with them more intensively during my time abroad in Latin America. This helped me in the context of my master's thesis, but I am also aware that as a white woman from Germany, I have a different perspective. I also experienced hate crimes in Mexico, but I had other opportunities to get out of this situation and therefore have a privileged position.

3.6. Limitations of the research methodology

In the present work, the number of interviews is small (7), which therefore limits the validity of the selected case studies. This means that it is more difficult to generalize the results obtained from their analysis. It is therefore deductive research, i.e., confirming the state of research, rather than inductive research, which would allow derivations. Despite the criticism of this research design, I agree with Flyvbjerg's (2006) opinion that the findings nevertheless represent

an important component for the acquisition of knowledge in the relevant field. Either way, the research findings are helpful in filling a research gap, which in this case is, for example, listening to the victims of hate crimes.

Moreover, there are several aspects to consider when choosing interviews as a research method. In my case, I noticed two not insignificant limitations in the process. Firstly, although I am fluent in Spanish, it is not my mother tongue, so I was concerned that important information might be misunderstood or not fully exploited. Nevertheless, I noticed a great benefit that was gained by using the mother tongue of the subjects. Accordingly, the analysis of the results obtained should be approached with an awareness of the possible loss of knowledge.

Furthermore, the interviews were conducted via the internet, as it is not possible to do otherwise due to the distance. This may entail various effects on the course of the conversation, especially if the technical conditions are not given or disturbances occur. However, given the availability of internet access today, I do not expect this to limit the overall representativeness of the sample (Deakin et al. 2014). Above all, conducting an interview in a digital format can also be advantageous as it makes the respondents feel secure in their privacy.

4. Data Analysis

The following sections focus on what insights can be gained from the interviews conducted. Using Braun and Clarke's (2006; 2015) thematic analysis, codes were developed to create categories and a systematic structure of what was said. Thus, the sections in this chapter are organized into the following categories: 1) intersection of gender and feminist ideologies: the individual understanding of feminism; 2) intersections of gender, race, social status, sex, and feminist values: personal experiences with hate crimes; 3) intersection of gender and the justice system: the experience with reporting hate crimes; and 4) individual resilience and suggestions to prevent further hate crimes. The development of these categories is accompanied by autoethnographic insights.

4.1. Intersection of gender and feminist ideologies: The individual understanding of feminism

The women interviewed only partially stated that they were feminist activists or called themselves feminists. They mostly said they would agree on the feminists' values but would still not consider to be a feminist themselves. All of them began to become more active in the feminist scene (mainly joining Facebook groups) after experiencing a violent crime. However, according to Joasil, there are lots of women fighting for women without being involved into feminist movements. Adriana, for example, mentioned, she visited specifically feminist workshops and want to politicize more in the future. Isabel told how she is saving some money for an initiative which supports women who need a home after experiencing violence at their homes or to pay for transportation. Likewise, Luz aspires to focus on gender-based violence victims as a psychologist, providing psychological support to women in distress.

The reasons that the women did not describe themselves as feminists were many and varied. For example, some mentioned that feminism in Mexico was very radical and violent. "Feminazi", they are called, said Gabriela. Radical, aggressive feminist are related to the assumption, that they hate men, that they are against all male human beings and will stop at nothing. These descriptions come specifically from anti-feminists; she continues. Luz adds that especially feminists in Mexico are more radical because they want to be heard and being radical is the only way of doing so. But this again, could mean danger, she continued. Men are feeling attacked by these demands and then strike out right away.

Luz had not understood why these women were so angry before her experience, but she could now understand why they were fighting back. She continues that, "at one time I did not understand the feminist movement, but after having an experience my perspective changed completely, and now I support them". She states that she just does not completely call herself

a feminist because her knowledge about feminism is lacking, she would have only started to look more into feminism after going through a violent experience. Feminism in Mexico is more present since only a few years; thanks to the Internet and therefore to social media, which distribute everything faster and more widely, explains Gabriela.

“I would not say, I am a feminist, but support women”, declared Paola. She reported that she even had bad experiences with feminists’ movements: She sought help in women’s groups after being abused by her ex-partner and met only rejection. Paola had to justify herself and felt judged also from these feminist networks. She asked, “where is feminism? We don’t have it here in Mexico, there is hardly any solidarity among ourselves. This is not my idea of feminism”.

Joasil explained, that the feminism nowadays has a rather romanticized ideology of fighting and resistance. Moreover, it is tiring to be an example and activism is even painful.

For Luz, feminism is “a movement where women’s rights are sought to be followed, where women are respected, and where equality is visualized in society, in addition to patriarchy and male chauvinism being less and less every day”. She highlights, that for her feminists’ movements are important to feel stronger together, do not feel alone and to create a sisterhood. Feminists seek justice to make the voice of those who have been affected heard.

“It is a constant fight in a macho country like Mexico [...] As a feminist, one must be brave since they are attacked often”, confirmed Joasil. According to her, feminism is a fight for dignity, sexuality, body, and life. It means, to not follow the mainstream and to say when something is bothering you. She also sees a separation between the feminists’ movements in Mexico since it has women from different races and classes who have also various demands – depending on their situation in their social class.

Anna explains that for her it would be “a cry that marks a limit, a ‘stop here’ and seeks a change in the social construction” and adds that “it’s like a light of hope marked by weariness”.

Autoethnographical insights

I remember having to explain to my partner at the time and his father what feminism actually mean. They assumed that feminist hated all men and were aggressive. The father in particular spoke of a positive machismo, such as that it was nice that the man paid, the woman could cook better and also take better care of the children at home. For example, during my time in Mexico, I was always held by the arm of my father-in-law so that I would not cross the street alone. He furthermore tried to convince me that women like it when clear gender structures prevail and would also expect corresponding behavior.

In a friendly way, I tried to explain what feminism meant to me and that there were different movements. I was aware that as a white European woman, I had different ideas about gender equality - socially, legally, and politically - than women in Mexico.

4.2. Intersections of gender, race, social status, sex, and feminist values: Personal experiences with hate crimes

4.2.1. What happened? A description of the crimes

Adriana from Mexico City is 31 years old and the first I interviewed. She reports of (approx. 3) years in a toxic relationship where she experienced insults, manipulations, gaslighting¹³, theft and use of violence on the part of her former partner. She pointed out the term gaslighting which she recently discovered and where she connects to now since she knows that there is a specific term for what she experienced. Her ex-boyfriend belongs to an indigenous community, which carries a rather negative stigma in Mexico: Indigenous men are seen as aggressive, alcoholic, traditional, and stealing. He called her "white girl" from the start which indicated a certain stereotype, Adriana mentioned tight in the beginning. She did not see any red flags until he started by being jealous. She did not take him seriously at first and described his behavior as a "demon", but not as a part of his personality. As the insults started; he called her a "slut" and he assumed that she had sexual intentions whenever she met a man, even his male friends; she realized the danger. Then he also became physically aggressive and started beating her. She did not remember if there was a specific reason why he hit her the first time, but it was during a heated discussion. From then on, he often became violent, whenever he was mad at her.

Luz is 28 years old, studied psychology and currently lives with her sister and parents in Mexico City. The young woman could hardly remember anything, she only remembered that two of her colleagues had invited her to a bar and ordered some drinks. After that she woke up naked in a hotel room. She knew that she had been raped by her colleagues. Something that had already happened to her as a child. At that time, she was sexually abused by a family member, who has since died, she reported. She only recently found this out together with her therapist, as she had successfully repressed the memories until now. She did not have a particularly close bond with her colleagues; it was the first time they had ever gone out together.

¹³ According to the APA Dictionary of Psychology, gaslighting means manipulative tactics that cause the other person to doubt their own perceptions, experiences, or understanding of what they are experiencing. The term first appeared in the 1938 stage play "Gaslight" in which a wife is driven nearly to insanity by her husband's deceptions (American Psychological Association n.d.).

She had not had any such experiences before and therefore could not really relate to some things at first. She has since changed jobs and is currently looking for a new job as a psychologist.

Paola is in her late 30s and currently lives in a friend's house and has no job. She has become unable to work as a result of her 10 years in a toxic relationship, the Mexican woman reports. Paola experienced years of violence from her former husband with whom she also has a child. She lost another child in the womb because he kicked her in the stomach during a discussion. After their separation, he denounced her together with her own mother for violence and since then has sole custody of their common child. He constantly threatened her by saying "if you go, I will take your children" and checked on her by asking where she was. When she wanted to end the relationship because she did not share the idea of the traditional family constellation, he did not let her go. He made it clear to her that without him she was worth nothing and would not be able to survive. Since she was economically depending on her former husband, it took a few years until she managed to get out and end the relationship.

Gabriela, 29 years old, was beaten several times by her former partner. She was in a relationship for 2 years, which was characterized by gaslighting, accusations, and blaming. Her former boyfriend saying "Watch your mouth or there will be repercussions" made her paralyzed, so she stayed with him. She had only heard from friends that something similar had happened to them, but until her relationship she did not believe it could happen to her. After the happy "honeymoon phase", as she called it, things suddenly changed. Her partner at the time would not allow her to work or leave the house without him. She could not even see her friends anymore. After some time to work it out, she decided to move abroad and now lives there happily with her new partner.

Isabel is 31 years old and mother of three children. She is currently unemployed and had previously worked in a call center as a supervisor; however, her great desire has always been to study. When she was 11 years old, she was forced by her own mother to sleep with her then partner. Her mother, with whom she did not grow up for the most part at the time, filmed her and her former ex-partners while he raped her. She grew up with her grandparents, a submissive grandmother, and a very dominant grandfather. All children and grandchildren are female, Isabel has only one brother who was treated preferably than all girls at home. As one of the daughters, she was the only who experienced forced prostitution. Isabel moved out of her grandparents' house when she was 18 and broke off contact with her family.

Anna, 27 years old, currently works in tourism in the state of Quintana Roo where I met her personally for the first time in the spring of 2020. She suffered from physical violence from her former partner at the end of their two-year relationship. She learned after their breakup that he had been violent towards his partners before. When she left him, he published nude

photos of her and said, “that’s what you get”. In the same year, a law was published that takes stricter action against sexual violence in the digital space, of which Anna made use. In the meantime, the pictures have been removed.

Joasil is 33 years old, comes from Mexico City and grew up in a religious household together with her younger sister. She was paraded and humiliated by her professor in front of other fellow students during her studies in archaeology, especially during the related expeditions. She was repeatedly told in front of others that she was out of place with her body. Among other things, the professor made her perform particularly difficult physical exercises and said aloud in front of all the students that “certain people just don’t belong here”. He also told other professors that she was causing a lot of trouble, so no one wanted to supervise her in her thesis. She kept emphasizing that the course was very dominated by men and that she is now not pursuing her interest after her experience with the professor and the reporting. She currently works in a government supermarket and would like to pursue a more creative job in the future.

Autoethnographical insights

Due to manipulations and other psychological abuses, but also one sexual abuse, I had already broken up with my Mexican ex-boyfriend, but we surprisingly kept a rather friendly relationship in the end. Suddenly his behavior changed and wanted me to pick up my last belongings before I left the next day. He locked me up at my last night and hindered me from leaving the room. Locked in the dark room, he pushed me onto the bed and covered my mouth to stifle screams. He then threw me on the floor and kicked my face several times. I was able to get up and run out of the room, but not out of the hostel because he had locked it after I arrived. Even when his father came in, neither of them let me out until friends of mine called the police. I had a footprint, bloody nose, broken nose piercing, bump and mild concussion but took my flight to another state the next day.

Insights from a psychologist

“According to my professional profile as a psychologist I am in contact with women who have experienced violence, and I could say that 100 percent of the women I have worked with have experienced psychological violence and of these 30 percent have experienced some type of physical violence. Mainly it is more psychological violence, this type of violence is always present, even the physical violence sends a message of psychological violence by making the victim feel helpless or inferior in physical strength”.

4.2.2. Why has it happened? Motives and origin of hate

After I asked the young Mexican women what they thought was the reason for the crime that had been committed, they usually answered in a similar way: The motivation of the perpetrators was primarily to secure their position as socially and physically superior to women. In the case of a female perpetrator, it was also a matter of maintaining the traditional balance of power between man and woman. The acts were seen and justified as an act of revenge or punishment. In addition to violence, jealousy, manipulation, and exertion of control were also present. To structure these results and refer to the intersectional categories suggested in the methods chapter, this section is also organized by these categories.

All interview partners agreed independently that the hate crimes they experienced were caused due to hatred against women who go against the social norm, who love their freedom and are different. Hatred against women who do not represent traditional family relationships. Hatred against self-reliant, independent, and self-confident women which speaks against the patriarchal idea of families.

The women explained that they noted great dislike from their perpetrators, which they attributed to their feminist values. These include, above all, living a self-determined life, which contradicts the traditional image of a society in which heterosexual relationships between men and women are assumed. The following described cases confirm this from the point of view of the interviewees.

Paola explained that her former partner punished her physically because she did not want the same as him. He had a traditional family image in which he earned the money and she stayed at home, taking care of the household and children. He did not help in the household because it was not part of his job, she reported. Breaking out from this traditional concept made her suffer since it is not welcomed in the society. But she also mentioned her mother, who supported her violent husband instead of helping her out of her difficult situation. She explained that her mother suffered from the patriarchal system during relationships and her childhood. She has been left by Paola's father and blames Paola for that. For her mother it is obvious that she is to blame since the partner of her son did not leave her, so it must be her why the father left. As she was not behaving like a typical household, her mother supported Paola's ex-husband to keep their common daughter and to punish her for not following given paths.

Other interviewees, like Adriana, started the conversation talking about herself: "I am open, courageous and a liberator". She added that this is not common in the Mexican community, that is why she often felt different than other Mexican women who followed the traditional path. Luz and Anna, both see themselves as women who have fun, are independent. However, this

does not correspond to the ideal image of a woman which is given by the society. They felt hate against all who “are not normal”.

Adriana said she experienced violence because she had liberated herself. She often felt different from other Mexicans because she had already lived abroad and knew other realities. However, her ex-boyfriend also punished her because of her race, she confirmed. She was white and privileged, and accordingly different from him as a negatively stigmatized indigenous person. Once he said to her, “I’m punishing you for being white and a woman, I’ve suffered enough, so you must too”, it was clear to her that his violent behavior was motivated by pure revenge. She added conclusively that “hatred is fed by poverty, ethnicity, the social gap”. In the other cases, no examples were given that related to dislike based on race or social status. It can therefore be assumed that other categories were in the foreground here.

As already explained, the socially constructed gender brings with it certain gender roles. This was also perceived by Joasil, who described herself as not “typically feminine”. She felt her professor’s aversion towards her body. She was given particularly difficult physical tasks to prove that certain bodies were not suited for certain courses of study, such as the male-dominated doctoral course. She asked herself, “am I guilty of having that body? Which body is allowed to study? What is desirable?”.

Luz, Anna, and Gabriela also confirm that in their eyes, the act of hate violence is an interplay of biological and social gender. It is about physical superiority as a man and “the power that may attach to some persons because they are of a male”, according to Luz. “Mandilon”, Mexicans call and mock men who do everything for the woman and thus are not masculine. As Adriana mentioned, “stereotypes fuel the conflict between man and woman: she is naturally weak and in need of help, he is strong and the protector. And that’s how you reproduce independence”.

In addition to the described stereotypes that drive the conflicts between men and women, the interviewees also name the power that education has on society, because the “poor education system reproduces this power imbalance”. Moreover, since women more often stay at home to take care of the family, they lack time for further education or even drop out of school or do not go to university to do so. This leads to a chain reaction: Because of the education gap, the woman usually remains financially dependent on the man’s income, which again drives the power imbalance. Paola in particular spoke of how she is now without education or money due to her separation, which was also postponed for financial reasons.

Stereotypes are not only perpetuated by the educational system and society, but also reproduced within the family. Isabel and Anna remembered that as daughters they were always treated differently from their brothers. For example, Isabel was never allowed to leave the house without leaving her room tidy. Her brother’s room, on the other hand, was in chaos.

Anna always had to help her mother cook while her dad and brother sat in front of the TV. “It’s like a micro-machismo, small and barely noticeable, yet always there”.

Another aspect that was often mentioned is the multiple perpetrators of the attackers and a passing on of what was learned from the family. For example, the former partner of Adriana as well as of Gabriela and Anna had already beaten other partners. Joasil’s professor has also targeted other women during his academic career to humiliate them. Moreover, Paola and Adriana describe that the men have certain patterns since being a child, the Machismo pattern comes even from the mothers and just a few men have auto-consciousness about it. However, their fathers also play a role as they often beat their mothers, too. As the mothers stay silent, it is seen as acceptable and not questionable. “As a mother and like my own mother I have to follow the patriarchist system which consists of subordination of the women”, Isabel explained and continued saying, that this circle is hard to break, and you will also unconsciously look for the same circle with these values. “My mom just reproduced her mom’s subordinate behavior”, she finalized.

Paola mentioned another topic which also relates to certain gender roles and gender stereotypes. “Si no te celan, no te quieren”, means that if they (men) are not showing jealousy, they do not really want you which reflects the romantic ideologization of violence in partnerships in Mexico.

Insights from a psychologist

“Generally, these are patterns of men who exercise the machismo, a controlling and toxic masculinity. I consider that their motive comes from a certain power relation where they believe they are superior, and they carry this out in gender violence”.

4.2.3. How did others react?

In principle, relatively little was said about the reactions of the perpetrators. However, it was noticeable that in all cases except one, the blame was dismissed or relativized by declarations that the victims deserved the deeds. The following patterns emerged in the majority of cases: no acceptance of responsibility by the perpetrators, blaming the victims, and relativizing the crime.

In the case of Adriana, the perpetrator clearly said he would punish her. It is also noticeable in the other cases that the crime is reified with some blame of the victim on the part of the perpetrator. Isabel’s mother, who is the perpetrator in her case, the mother’s partner at the time, however, represents the co-perpetrator. She blamed her for being responsible that her dad did not stay with her and explained her violent treatment with own explanations: “We have to suffer for being women, you haven’t suffered enough yet”. Her mother forbade her to meet

Isabel's father, rejecting her requests as a young girl with the words "stay out of my life". Besides that, her mother told her that Isabel was crazy and exaggerated everything. She clearly denied her crime until Isabel broke up their contact.

Luz told me that her colleagues admitted to their crime (without naming it crime though) but reported that she had not said "no". The fact that she was physically unable to say "no" did not matter to her rapists. They did not apologize and took their act little seriously, she continued.

"Un elefante en la sala", an elephant in the room means that there is something obvious around, but no one talks about it. It is a saying which is well-known in the Mexican society and is meant to indicate that something, like violence, is very normalized and ignored.

Even though close relatives and friends were usually there to help the victims, many felt alone and did not dare to speak openly. This is mainly because "it is an individual problem, it has nothing to do in public, so it is not talked about", my interview partners often mentioned. In Mexico, there is a strong separation in society, so the private is taken out of the public. Terms like femicide or domestic violence are well known in Mexico, but still it is somehow taboo according to the women interviewed. Gabriela said that even in better educated social classes, such as in the big cities, everyone knows about it, but it is normalized, it is just accepted or ignored.

There is a large feminist movement that takes to the streets, especially on March 8, International Women's Day, and a strong exchange and posts of solidarity on the Internet, but on a small, private scale there is hardly any solidarity. As a female victim, Anna said, you should – according to others - just be strong; no thought is given to further action against the perpetrator. "I should calm down and go to therapy, that's all", she continued. You get sympathy, but no support to achieve anything legally, she explained further.

These days, for example, your posts on Facebook are shared everywhere. There are some posts that point out dangerous men, so other women are protected. "Maybe this is now the feminist movement of today, but just digital", Adriana wondered. Joasil and Paola, however, no longer see feminism as they know it in the digital feminist networks. There is no real solidarity, at least not offline: "Anyone can post, but it doesn't help me; in the end, as a woman, you're alone", said Paola.

The experiences made with the reactions of others varies. It is noticeable that people think more digitally and that news spreads faster as a result, others feel that they are part of a solidarity network that supports women, others do not see it as helpful, perhaps rather as hypocritical, and superficial sympathy.

Adriana emphasized during the interview that she is grateful to have such a supportive family behind her: "Without my family, I would never have gotten out of the toxic vicious circle".

Since friends have had similar experiences in some cases, they were also very compassionate and understanding towards Adriana and Luz.

That this is the exception of the interviewed cases is testified by statements of the other victims. Gabriela was asked by friends “how you could let yourself go so far?” which made them doubt her in response. Others said that, yes, Anna had chosen her boyfriend herself, which made her feel that “you are guilty for choosing”. Likewise, Adriana reported that she had been accused by the family of her former partner, with whom she had previously had a very good relationship, that they had provoked her son. In the case of Joasil, who denounced her professor, she experienced an immediate distancing from her friends, which made her regret having denounced him. Isabel also hoped for help from her aunt, who is a lawyer. However, the support failed to materialize and the entire family did not want to get involved in any complications and broke off contact. Like Isabel's case, Paola's mother also blames her for her father not staying with them at the time. “My mother never got over his abandonment and once said to me that I have no right to be happy because she is not”.

Adriana first mentioned the hashtag “sitecreo” (“yes, I believe you”) when she reported that she was questioned by many acquaintances and friends. This was also confirmed by the other women. Paola added that society often does not see the crime itself but only sees that the “women victimize themselves”, so they do not take it seriously. Joasil and Luz also noted that the hashtag was created because many women are not believed, and it is used to give them encouragement. In the worst case, the experience is even turned around and women are portrayed as a liar, as reported by Isabel, whose brother did not trust her.

Autoethnographical insights

“You're just putting on your drama show again so you can get what you want”. I remember all too well how I felt sitting on the floor crying, unable to believe all these accusations. Constantly I felt so powerless in the relationship because, in my ex-boyfriend's opinion, I would do everything wrong. For example, he did not come to my birthday party because I supposedly would not have spoken reasonably to him. I would have spoken in a wrong tone and would also not have invited him decently. That is why he did not come. If I do not behave properly, I am punished. Before he became violent, there were quite a few situations like that.

“I regret it”, he told me on the phone after beating me up the night before. He called with an unknown number, so I answered. He would regret it, but he did not apologize. Instead, he told me that it was my fault, too, that it had come to this. He would not be the bad guy in the story.

His father, who I would describe as complicit, dismissed it all by saying “it just has something to do with the different culture, be glad nothing bad happened”.

When I tried to reach my mother the next morning, she was surprisingly emotionless. She asked how I was doing, but she did not really seem concerned. In retrospect, she was upset that I stayed in Mexico even though I knew that violence against women was particularly high there. It seemed to me that I was also partly to blame in her opinion.

After I published my post on Facebook, I received many sympathetic messages and reactions. I received personal messages that I was very brave and strong. I was not sure if I was doing the right thing because by naming and location, I was also putting myself at some risk. However, by the reactions I was sure that it was exactly the right thing to do, because I also received messages from women who experienced similar things and sought my advice.

Nevertheless, there were also restrained reactions, saying that I should have known, after all, it would be Mexico. I was also surprised that the hashtag "sitecreo" appeared again and again. In my opinion, this exclamation implies that it is not unusual not to believe such an experience.

Friends sometimes reacted cautiously, asked for a long time or never about the experience and simply ignored it. Partly I was very disappointed by this, but I held on to the thought that by publishing it on Facebook as well as in newspapers (link) I meet a lot of approval and do not contribute to the concealment. Most of my friends also seemed shocked and let me know they were there for me.

The feminist organization I was previously involved with reacted in shock and called an immediate meeting about it to discuss further trade steps. The idea was to share my post and print out photos to stick on the hostel for all to see. The fact that in the end none of this happened made me very sad and made me doubt the authenticity of their feminism very much, which I also told them afterwards in a message.

4.2.4. To what extent did the experience change the women's lives? How did and do they feel?

During the interviews, the interviewed women can talk to me in a matter-of-fact way about what they have experienced. Some needed a break now and then; cry briefly and quickly regain their composure. I also noticed that some digressed to emphasize certain things. Among other things, this includes the fact that it is difficult for everyone to process what they have experienced. They said they carry a wound as a burden with them for the rest of their lives. At first, they had a hard time even talking about it with friends and family, but now they said it is okay.

They all share another thing, the initial feeling of being guilty of the perpetrator's act. Having contributed to the perpetrator's treatment of them because of some characteristic. Some even excused or justified the offender's behavior. They felt or feel guilt, shame, sadness, a

collapsed self-confidence, and worthlessness. Luz confessed that she sometimes has, “the desire not to live at certain times”. Anna also stated that she had “negative ideas about the future”, she stopped working because she did not want to do anything anymore, she was like paralyzed. Adriana explained that they learned that women are naturally guilty, never the men. Later she realized that this goes with the traditional stereotypes of men and women.

Adriana and Isabel found themselves in renewed toxic relationships after first breaking out of the one. Adriana reported, “after the first break up, I was living a very risky life; I felt vulnerable and did not care about herself”. Her self-esteem was so low that she would give herself to any man and accept anything. She felt completely worthless and did not know how to get out of this cycle. She felt weakened by her first violent experience with her long-term ex-partner, so it was harder for her to stand up again.

Another characteristic is trust issues with other partners. In some cases, the mother was also part of the abuse, but future relationships with men were decisive. After finding herself in other toxic relationships with men, Isabel has now married and instills different values in her children that she did not learn from her abusive mother at the time. Gabriela, too, would not have thought that she was so anxious to get involved with someone again. She had not let anyone get close, out of fear. Surprisingly, after some time she was able to get involved with her current partner.

Paola and Joasil are still single, and they are also sure that they are better off without a man. Although they would like to take someone back to their hearts, they are simply still too vulnerable and angry for that, according to the two. Paola emphasizes that healthy relationships are hard to come by in societies as distinctly patriarchal as Mexico's, so she does not want to take another risk; she would be too weakened for that.

In summary, whether physical or psychological, violence has a long-term impact on women's lives. They all share feelings of self-blame, sadness, fatigue with life, and a significantly weakened sense of self-confidence. These experiences of violence can also become dangerous in that there is no longer any desire to live.

Autoethnographical insights

This is a question that makes me dig deep into memories. First associations come to my mind: no basis of trust, feelings of shame, blame, sadness, anger, disappointment, bewilderment, paralysis.

At first, I asked myself, why did something like this have to happen to me? Why me? Then I asked myself what I had done wrong? What had I done to deserve it? Then, at a yoga retreat, I processed it all with a lot of feminine energy, patience, and meditation.

I felt more surrounded by people who were looking for something like what I was looking for: inner peace. Then, however, there were strange comments from the yoga teacher saying that life is based on karma and that you deserve everything in life because you take your karma from your previous lives with you. Emotionally, therefore, I went downhill again. I concentrated on surrounding myself only with people who are good for me, I withdrew more and dealt more with myself. I was doing well with myself, I was confident, felt more love than hate, and resolved to continue to focus on myself and my healing.

After about 7 months I was able to open again emotionally, but it took a lot of work, courage and trust. I got involved and quite suddenly, unexpectedly, found myself in a toxic relationship again, which completely brought me down again. Only then did I realize that I was not well at all. I doubted again whether I did not deserve it and whether I had not done something wrong. A longer crisis followed, in which I did not feel well, I questioned my entire life, became afraid of the future and self-doubt increased drastically. At the same time, I decided to say goodbye to other life circumstances that were not good for me. It is important, but a difficult path. I would say that I have rarely been so insecure and full of doubts as I am now after a second experience in a toxic relationship. I lack all confidence, I am distant, blocked, and distrustful of men.

I do not feel quite myself, that is not how I know myself and I want to change that. Step by step I am moving in a more optimistic direction. I just have to be patient with myself, because the experience has left bigger scars than I thought.

4.3. Intersection of gender and the justice system: The experience with reporting hate crimes

Many of the women have thought about filing charges against the perpetrator, but of the women interviewed, only two have reported the crime to the authorities. All of them expressed frustration and little hope that the Mexican justice system really works. There would be hardly any clear-up rates, reports are not dealt with or even dropped.

Paola explained to me that she has filed many charges, including for violence and child abduction against her former partner. Despite several pieces of evidence, nothing has happened in recent years. She recalls that the only comment the judge made was that there was no reason that her ex-partner needed to be punished preemptively by being sent to prison, however he already used violence towards her. Paola feels left alone by the state, by the Mexican legal system. Furthermore, she mentioned that in order to go to trial, one must not only have patience, but also financial resources. It is not only tiring, dangerous, but also expensive to file charges against the perpetrator. On the one hand, trials take ages, on the other hand, you are not protected from possible revenge acts of the accused during that time and

the costs for the lawyer are high and hardly to be borne by the middle or lower class, according to Paola. She asked herself: “Why am I still fighting?” after several failed attempts. She has already lost hope that something will turn out in her favor.

Joasil reported her professor to the university for humiliating her because of her “masculine” body. The teacher had to leave the school, but Joasil was “revictimized” and largely excluded from students and teachers. For example, none of the professors agreed to serve as her supervisor for her senior thesis, so she did not complete her university degree. Teachers confirmed they did not want to work with her because she was troubled. The psychologist at the university only advised her to just change careers, it might make her life easier. Even though her complaint was successful, she basically has no confidence in Mexican institutions. Joasil turned her back on her interest in archaeology after this experience.

Adriana was initially convinced that she would report her former partner for assault, she wanted to use her “privilege” of having resources, strength, and perseverance to begin the process. She also enlisted the help of another ex-partner to file a report together. She wrote down everything she experienced, also used this for reflection, but in the end decided to make a deal with him. When she told him to go to the authorities, her ex-partner asked her if she really wanted to destroy his life. A joint property was to be transferred into her name; in exchange, she had to waive charges. She agreed to the deal, got a property and her peace. Her ex-partner also beat another partner after their relationship and is now partnered with a Mexican woman from the same indigenous community. They have a child together. Other charges against him are unknown to Adriana.

Anna first considered whether she should report, since she felt sorry for the perpetrator. He unsettled her with threats, so that she felt fear above all, but in the end, she dared to go to the police.

Luz was paralyzed the moment she remembered what happened and felt unable to go to the police. She was insecure and did not want to be judged. She felt misunderstood, by friends and family, so she decided to talk rather little about anything. She feared that a victim-perpetrator reversal would occur, that she would be seen as guilty, or at least complicit. In Mexico, Luz said, as a victim you have to justify yourself. She did not want to face that societal pressure. The police hardly ever take such crimes seriously anyway, she said, and in the worst cases they can be bribed. Nowadays, she would have decided to report the crime to the police.

Isabel, on the other hand, did not want to go to the police in the first place, she was afraid that her mother would then have to go to jail. In the meantime, she regrets not having done so.

Gabriela admitted that she would not have dared to report her partner. She wondered what she could do against him; after all, psychological violence could not be proven. And her other bruises have long since disappeared.

Autoethnographical insights

Looking back, I remember how frustrated and hopeless I felt about the reporting process and the justice system in Mexico. Sometimes it still overcomes me. I often had in my mind that it should not be called the justice system because - in my opinion - I did not feel justice. The police who were called the night it happened took photos of evidence, they found drugs in my ex-partner's room and made a report on a note. Still, they told me plain and simple that I should just leave and start a new life. There was not much I could do anyway since my expartner's father was a lawyer, they highlighted. They added that the corresponding authority, the *Instituto de Justicia de la Mujer*, would only open again in two days, on Monday. That this was a lie, and that the office is open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, I learned later.

A few hours later I flew to another state to start my planned trip to a friend' place. I decided against waiting two days to file a complaint because I had already been assured by friends, the police and even the German embassy that I would not be successful.

After some days, I made the decision to file a report before my wounds on my face and body were no longer visible. (My ex-boyfriend's father suggested that we could talk again in peace once my wounds had healed). At the Justice Department, I sat in an open-plan office with other women who wanted to file charges too. One woman asked into the room, where mailmen and other visitors or employees also came and went, what we were there for. Audible to all, the women answered briefly: rape of the partner, use of violence by the father, sexual abuse within the family and so on and so on. Despite the fact that I did not think I had much chance of success, I wanted to do something, for myself and for other women. I thought to myself that if I am surprisingly successful after all and can set an example, maybe it will be easier for other women. And I can make sure that my former partner will not do the same to another woman.

At first, I was asked if I am really sure about starting the process of filing a complaint, I would have to stay in Mexico for two months to get an appointment with the police psychologist to complete the process. However, I was pretty sure to do it. While I was recounting my personal experience, the woman taking my report was typing something on her phone. She then took notes, asked questions to me, and then went back to talk to her colleague about lunch. I was sent on to the police medical examiner, who took photos of my wounds. Then, I stayed a while in the waiting room. After some time, I could leave with a sheet of paper of the complaint and a case number. The report would be sent to the competent authority in Puerto Vallarta, but this would take at least some months, they confirmed.

I did not stay two months but flew back to Germany after a yoga training which I already had planned. I stayed in contact with the *Instituto Municipal de la Mujer* in Puerto Vallarta

and asked them if the report had already arrived. There was no news for several months. A lawyer of an acquaintance finally assigned me a new case number after almost a year. I decided to fly to Mexico again to go to the police to bring up the investigation.

Again, I was asked by friends and acquaintances if it was worth it. I thought about it for a moment, began to have doubts, but then went from one facility to the next. Nothing had happened so far because it was not clear to the police why I had made the report from another state. I could have done it right there at that night of the happening. That was new information for me since the police at the scene of the crime told me that I would need to wait until Monday again. For 9 hours the interviews and examinations lasted, and I felt like I had to repeat everything with everyone. This time I was fortunate that a friend was able to give a witness statement, so we got one step closer. The other witness did not want to testify since he thinks it is not worth the time, he will spend at the police station.

I demanded what I was entitled to this time, including seeing the files. I was shocked when I read that my former partner's father had gone to the police three months after the incident to give a false statement. This statement explained that he himself had been present and that I had fallen drunkenly on a table, thus inflicting the wound on my face myself. All my experience was invented according to him. I was quite horrified by such cruelty, wanting to do something bad to a known person even in such a situation.

Also, the lawyer, who at first wanted to help me without any costs, because he was a feminist, according to his words, wanted to make profit with me in the end. He sent an employee to the authority to take money from me for services not rendered. He had previously expressly said that he would be happy to help me – out of solidarity. I pointed this out to him and also that I did not need one of his assistants, but he became unfriendly and demanding. It shocked me that truths are turned around as soon as money is involved. Feminism has no value at this point, it seemed to be.

I had to exert some pressure to get something moving. However, even the second time I felt little taken seriously. The policeman in charge distracted himself by staring in the air, his mobile phone and talking to his colleagues. My answer of my country of origin was responded to by the police officer in charge with the question whether Nazis do not come also from Germany. For further inquiries, I got his WhatsApp contact whose profile picture showed him posting with a gold chain and peace sign in front of an expensive car.

4.4. What can be done to help (other) victims of hate crimes?

4.4.1. An insight of individual resilience strategies

All but one of the interviewees said that exchanges on feminist platforms and networks had helped them. Luz, for example, felt stronger and more powerful when she first got connected to other women who are engaged in feminist groups. “You feel, you are not alone”, she added. She personally found understanding and empathy in these groups, but also a sisterhood how she called it. Since there is more consciousness in the social media, she feels connected she does not even know in person.

Adriana told about feminist seminars and workshops she visited during and after her violent relationship. She learned more about feminists’ topics and got to know more women with similar experience. She felt an inner bond, she felt safe there. It also helped her to realize that she was part of a toxic relationship and showed her ways out of it.

Especially for Adriana, Gabriela, and Isabel it was a blessing to have a good and open relationship with her parents or the actual partner. Adriana and Gabriela knew that they have support of their family, and they can rely on them at any moment. Isabel’s partner had violent experiences as well, so she felt understood and received emotional help from him. They both help each other out in difficult moments and are very patient and loving to each other, she reported. For Paola, her closest friend is her family. She found a safe accommodation with her and is currently supported financially by her friend, as she is not able to work due to health reasons.

The reporting meant justice for Joasil, it was the right decision, however that action backfired on her quickly afterwards, so that she could not finish her studies. She regretted reporting the professor for a short time, but then remembered why she did so: “I am not to blame for having that body! But I feel sorry for the professor, it was an action out of insecurity. We female students must suffer to make him feel better. That is not fair”. She thought she had just bad luck, but then realized, there is a system behind.

For Gabriela, Adriana, Luz, and Isabel one of the most releasing moments they had, were when they first talked about their experience. “I kept it all bottled up at first. That was unhealthy, it had to come out. I could no longer remain silent. No woman should have to be silent”, Gabriela revealed.

“The seed you leave with your children” is important for a female future, so Isabel. Therefore, she wants to become a schoolteacher. She wants kids to learn about self-love, gender topics and what their interests really are. She wants to offer subjects such as interpersonal cooperation for example. Since she did not learn it at home as a child, she wants to do it differently with her children. She wants them to grow up differently and accordingly have

different experiences than she had with their mother. Isabel gives them confidence, shows trust, listens to them, makes everything transparent, she lets them decide and wants them to be critical. Those are the seeds she leaves with her own children.

Adriana and Gabriela confirmed that due to their good educational base and even experiences from abroad, they felt more resilient after their violent experiences.

As part of her self-therapy, how she called it, Luz sees supporting other women who have experienced similar violence. Personally, it does her good to deal with her experience by being there for other victims. As an aspiring psychologist, she has some prior knowledge and would like to expand her idea so that she can later help these women professionally. "I think I feel more empathy for those women than maybe psychologists who haven't had their own violent experiences", Luz said.

Paola, Adriana, Luz, and Isabel are currently in therapy. It helps everyone process and cope with what has happened. Therapists work with them to identify toxic peers early and how to set personal boundaries. All interviewees agree that it is very helpful and also necessary to get professional help. Luz reports that in her *municipio* there are even therapy places for free. This is not common in Mexico, and she is therefore even happier to take advantage of the offer. Isabel adds that her partner is also in therapy, and he also says that therapy was the only way to get him out of a cycle. Many more people should do therapy, also preventively and especially men, she reports from his experiences.

Joasil tried to not blame herself for her experience and for reporting the perpetrator. "It is hard. And it is easier to just accept than to fight", she said. However, in the end, she wanted to be herself, she did not want to pretend to be different, she wanted to continue being uncomfortable, to tell the truth and to remain true to herself. She does not like competition, so she does not "give shit about beauty and body ideals" and does "think no girl should care about that but just to be yourself".

In a Yoga retreat, Adriana devoted more time for herself and thus pursued one of her unfollowed interests. After noticing more red flags in her relationship, she decided to do a Yoga retreat and break up with the toxic circle she was exposed to with her ex-boyfriend. She got recognition from other participants and returned to her inner center, to herself. She feels still very grateful to have met this peaceful group and back to herself.

Autoethnographical insights

When I was not affected myself, I always wondered if it was possible to forget such experiences. Now I know that you cannot, but there are different ways of dealing with it. Personally, it has helped me to talk about it openly and even to publish it. My first intention was to protect other women, make them aware of what a toxic relationship is and where it can lead. This

appeared, for example, in my Facebook post and in a newspaper article that a former fellow student wrote about my experience.

The first call I made was to my mother. She asked me to come back to Germany as soon as possible, but I stayed in Mexico because I had a yoga teacher training ahead of me. I quickly realized that it was exactly the right decision. It helped me to come to terms with myself and to work through what I had experienced with the help of the group, which consisted almost exclusively of women, and the Ayurvedic philosophy. I felt comfortable in a peaceful, feminine group in a safe and quiet place. I felt understood, not judged, and surrounded with positive energy. I was embraced, given encouragement and warmth of heart. People were compassionate with me, not pitying.

I did not know before that there was also a special form of yoga that is used for trauma in particular, but I think in retrospect that it is the best form of therapy I could ask for after such events. So, I plan to offer my own yoga classes built on self-love and peaceful togetherness. I would also like to offer women circles, where women can share and recharge feminine strength. I would like to explore in the future how yoga can help victims of violence to process and overcome their fears.

Since so far - after a good year - still nothing has happened, the case against my former partner is still ongoing or possibly already on the archival file, I took things into my own hands to protect other women. The only thing I could do from far away was to contact the platforms where to book his hostel. I contacted all the platforms I knew about and described my experience to them, attaching police reports and the Facebook post with photos. Some platforms responded immediately and deleted the hostel's account, by others I was contacted to give more information on a phone call. With other platforms I met with rejection, or I had to follow up before the account was deleted there as well.

Even though it was painful to realize again not seeing red flags, not taking jealousy seriously, and being in a toxic relationship, it was helpful to have a similar experience again. I realized that it was only through this that I really woke up.

I got emotionally involved again after many months with someone who also turned out to be a manipulative narcissist. He insinuated things that were not true, I had to justify myself and ended up being afraid of saying something wrong that he could use against me afterwards. I no longer knew what the truth was and realized how I had to bend to please him. I felt like I was doing everything wrong and doubted myself, even though I was very happy with myself as a partner in the beginning.

This short experience helped me to realize faster where my limits are, what kind of relationship I want to have and what is not good for me. I now feel strong enough to stay away from people who have bad intentions and are not good for me.

Despite the conversations with friends, acquaintances, and relatives, it was important for me to have professional help. I tried several talk therapies, first online, then I found a suitable therapist whom I see whenever I feel the need. It is a holistic work that also draws on my childhood and other relationships to learn about and break down my patterns. This therapeutic work with different methods helps me not to blame myself and to set my healthy boundaries.

4.4.2. What can be done to prevent hate crimes against women?

Regarding a just gender friendly educational system, they agreed that the work should not just be done by women. It should also be men who learn to prevent such crimes. Not only should ways be sought to help women come to terms with what they have experienced afterwards, but men should be educated so that it does not happen in the first place. “It cannot be that women are victims at the same time and then left alone to deal with it”, proclaimed Gabriela.

“The living conditions and education make the difference”, according to Adriana who appreciates that her parents sent her to a private school and educated her in a more unconventional way. They let her choose what she wanted to study, and they also supported her in going abroad. “Without this confidence and knowledge, I don’t know what I would have done then”, she admits. That everyone should be aware of racism, feminism, machismo and politicize this on social media, thinks Paola. She promotes more political and societal relevant topics in school. In her opinion, this, as well speaking about prejudices and condemnations based on gender stereotypes which could lead to a societal change of the gender perspective, should be also included. She would have needed that back in the days.

For Anna, it would be empowering to also publish all the experiences of women so that the attention is drawn to the victims, and they can learn to believe in themselves again.

It should be accessible to everyone to hear from women’s voices about their personal experiences. Like that, especially young girls could be protected better since they would have an awareness of toxic relationships and how machismo can end in violence, she stated.

All women demand stricter and harder penalties from the government. There should also be more security for women who are in the process of filing a complaint or in dangerous circumstances. The police should offer protection and more places to go in case of emergencies or even just to feel safe, all agree. Who reported, mentioned how complicated it is to file a complaint and therefore wished to also receive more support from public authorities. Anna feels that nowadays, the laws are not supportive enough for victims, there is often a gray line where the victim’s voice is not weighed more than the perpetrator’s voice.

Due to the positive experiences with professional therapies, all interviewed women agree that they should be more accessible. There should be a greater offer and they should be for

free. How the psychological infrastructure in Mexico works right now, only people in bigger, developed cities from the higher class can afford to go to a therapy. This would lead to a point, where many people live with traumas and would never process them, testified Anna. “We have to break the cycle and therefore therapy is needed to open up the eyes, of women and men”, Isabel quotes her actual partner.

Autoethnological insights

Through my personal experience living in Mexico, but also through various conversations with Mexican friends or acquaintances, a lot comes with the culture. Very many patterns have historically become so entrenched in society that I think it will take a long time and be difficult to change values.

I have a concrete example of this: After my former partner locked me up and beat me up, his father wrote me the following message a short time later, “I think it's just cultural differences that led to everything. Fortunately, what happened was not that bad. It could have been worse, but it didn't happen”. Such values are passed down through generations, as in this case. They are even used to justify and explain what happened. This downplays the whole experience for the victim and points out that the blame does not lie with the perpetrator.

From my perspective as a white, privileged European woman, I think stereotypes and gender roles need to be worked through and broken down - by men and women - in education as well as in society and in private. Also, the barriers to reporting need to be removed, prosecution needs to be improved, and punishments need to be more severe.

Insights from a psychologist

“The work of prevention should include all sectors, public, private, and governmental at all three levels. The work of deconstructing gender roles and stereotypes, from the work with men, not only with women, since they are the ones who mostly violate women and, on many occasions, we focus only on women and leave aside campaigns focused on the aggressors. Organizations and the governments should take this situation seriously, listen to the victims and respect their right to a life free of violence, stop seeing them as just another number, a statistic, and attend to the safety of the city, so that women can travel free of violence. They should sanction gender crimes with the maximum existing sanctions, not only as something administrative”.

5. Discussion

Given that the phenomenon of hate crimes in Mexico is frequently associated with xenophobia and homophobia (Boivin 2015; Frías-Vázquez and Arcila 2019; Nunez 1992; Observatorio Nacional de crímenes de odio contra personas LGBT 2021) the question that arose during the research was whether the violent crimes against the women I interviewed were hate crimes. In hindsight, it can be clearly stated that it is not just concentrated on one crime, but a conglomerate, that is, an accumulation of many experiences and incidents that do not necessarily have to end in only one major crime. Rather, the sum of these experiences makes up the phenomenon of hate crime. This means that there is no “one hate crime” that can be measured, but often the entire context must be included. This in turns becomes a problem for the judiciary, as it is often not a clear-cut crime. The question therefore arises as to how these crimes are evaluated by the judicial system.

At this point, I would like to note that there is also a certain ambivalence in the definition. On the one hand, it is important that the concept is included in the justice system as a crime since hate crimes against women exist in practice, as demonstrated by the example of Mexico. That this is strongly advocated by other countries such as the United Kingdom has been illustrated by Gill and Mason-Bish (2013). On the other hand, the inclusion of another complex term could complicate the understanding and legal handling of crimes against women as well as make the whole discourse more difficult due to complex conceptual schematics and intersections. Nevertheless, a debate on whether to expand legal protections to appropriately address hate crimes in legislation would play into the hands of feminist efforts to criminalize violence. Further research would be necessary in this regard.

Nonetheless, both cultural and structural patriarchy remain strong barriers to implementing these same laws to prevent or prosecute such gender-based violence (Duggan and Mason-Bish 2021). Most of the perpetrators were males who behaved similarly. They used physical and psychological violence to punish and control their female partners and to anchor their position of power in a traditional partnership. They did not take responsibility for their actions, but moreover placed complicit blame on the female victims. The latter were ashamed, doubted themselves and felt guilty. Not only did these experiences have an enormous impact on their self-confidence, but those incidents also affected the way they feel and deal with men in their daily environment. They were often exposed to mistrust from others and had to justify and explain themselves.

As, among others, Dlugosch (2010) has already mentioned, men in a patriarchal system are inclined to want to protect their authority from danger and thus react with dominance and often violence. Also here, the male perpetrators saw their position as men in jeopardy, as the

interviewees tended to describe themselves as independent and self-confident, which is perceived as undesirable and not feminine in Mexican society. In the case of the female perpetrator (Isabel's mother), the act as well as her behavior towards the victim are also due to the perpetuation of power inequalities between men and women. Isabel's mother herself said that women must suffer and therefore even her daughter has to suffer, too. As described in the introductory chapters, violence is one of the means of maintaining patriarchal structures. Thus, through the continuation of this violence, a perpetuation of subordination as well as the reproduction of the division of power can also be seen here. Therefore, it must also be recognized that women also bolster these structures due to their conditioning and fail to support each other, as already Millán (2019) revealed.

Private or domestic household issues are perceived as “individual problems” due to the division of the public and private spheres, which begs the question of whether one can still speak of individual problems in the case of mass acts of violence against women, which are obviously and steadily increasing. As previously mentioned by Butler (2020), it can be seen that there is a systemic nature of violence which is often masked by individualizing experiences of violence.¹⁴

As the Director of ODIHR described earlier, most hate crimes worldwide - despite increases in countermeasures - go unreported, unrecorded, and unprosecuted (OSCE 2021a). For the same reasons, the wheel of violent crime against women continues to turn in Mexico. The respondents noted that reporting is often associated with high financial costs, long delays and generally unfavorable judicial outcomes. Therefore, incentives to take legal action are very low, especially due to the culture of legal impunity for the perpetrators of violence against women. The lack of public trust in authorities, due to these legal deficiencies, is demonstrated in the findings of a report carried out by the United Nations Economic and Social Affairs (2015). The report revealed that among female victims who seek external support, only a meager 10 percent of the women surveyed sought help through the police or other formal institutions. Instead, that same study found that women were much more likely to seek support from family and friends. Furthermore, the report demonstrated chronic underreporting, with less than 40 per cent of the women who endured violence, seeking any form of support (ibid). In this case, only two out of seven women reported the perpetrators. One of these was successful, but the victim had to accept consequences such as social exclusion and dropping out of college.

¹⁴ Described in more detail in chapter 2.2.2

Here, reference can again be made to Butler (2020), who has already explained in her contribution that the judiciary is therefore a factor in the reproduction of violence.¹⁵ This is particularly evident from the fact that the police gave me false information, for example, so that I would not file a complaint. Repeated inquiries and information about the length of the process also made it more difficult to file a police complaint. Broadly speaking, public confidence in the Mexican legal system is low due to bureaucratic inefficiencies and poor chances of success. Instead, legal recourse, is largely perceived as a hurdle rather than a means of support for victims. Similarly, state institutions for women are often woefully underprepared and consequently provide insufficient assistance to victims. With more detailed research through sociological data collection, it would accordingly be possible to point out certain strategies for action and provide appropriate institutions or even create a self-help network with guidelines.

The selected intersectionality theory, which states that discrimination is multidimensional (Hooks 1981; Crenshaw 1989; Russo 2018), can also be recognized in the context of this research and is therefore suitable as a theoretical framework for the study of the experience of hate crimes against women in Mexico. By incorporating intersectionality theory and with the help of the interviews, it was possible to show the motives behind hate crimes against women. Those are not only due to social and biological gender, but rather to the intersection of different categories such as race, social status, feminist values and fueled by the lack of faith in the justice system. The victims interviewed in this research include primarily white, middle-class women (race and social status) with various other affiliations to intersectional categories. Nevertheless, these were women who did not describe themselves as “typical” women and thus fell outside the social norm. This includes the body (as in the case of Joasil), meaning the category sex, but also the attitude against patriarchal structures, by which feminist attitudes can be meant according to the interviewees.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Taking Crenshaw's (1989; 2016) example and imagining a crossroads, the following picture can be developed in relation to the experience of hate crimes against women in Mexico:

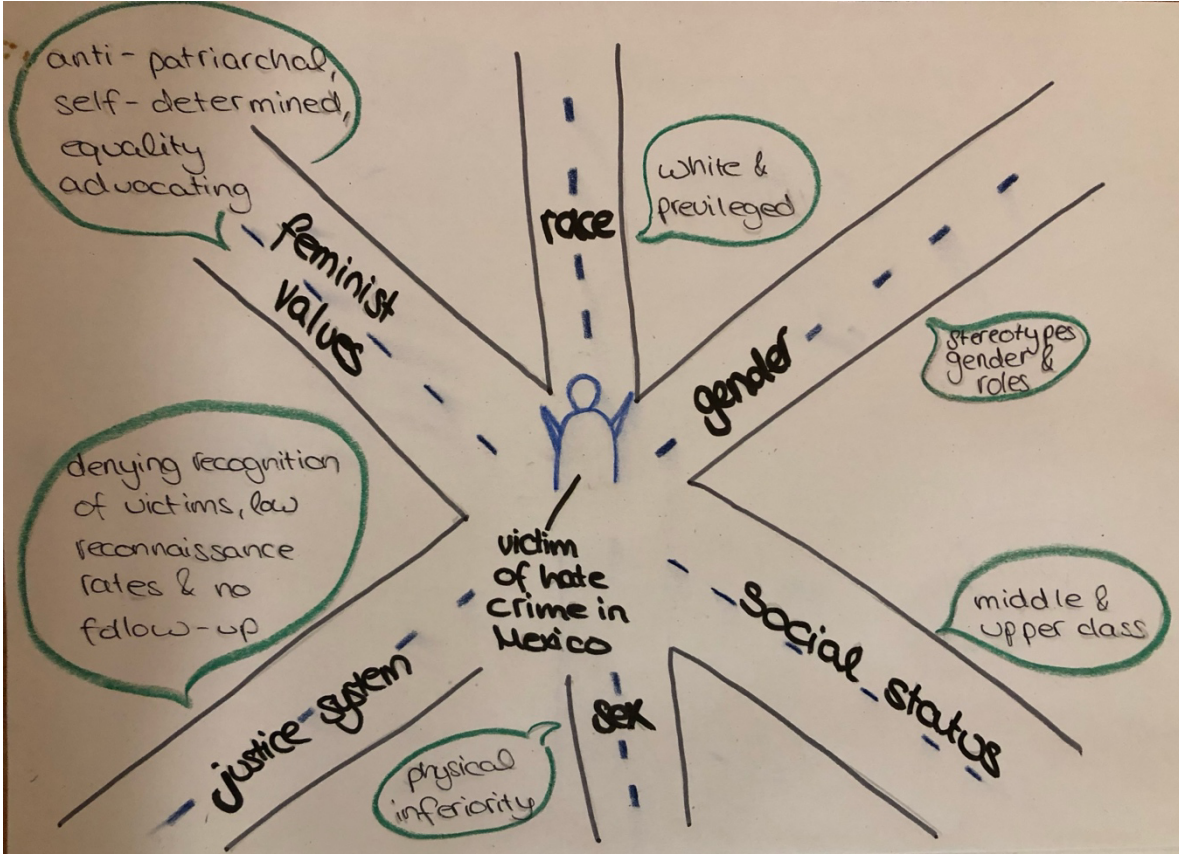


Figure 2: Merging hate crimes categories into an intersection (own design)

Given the aforementioned reasons, it can be assumed that the selected theory, the multi-dimensional intersectionality, can be confirmed for the case in question. However, since our society is becoming increasingly complex with new identities and affiliations being formed, it is necessary to remain vigilant of these dimensions. Since intersectionality relies on individual considerations - experiences that cannot be described without intersectionality (Degele and Winker 2007) - it is therefore crucial to see the whole picture and create appropriate guidelines for legislation and justice in relation to hate crimes.

Above all, most of the participants disassociated themselves from feminist groups but described the same values they share. As the literature (Rosenzweig 2018) and some interviewees said, there are different forms of feminist activism and supporting women in similar situations. Though, the women interviewed seemed reluctant to confidently say they were feminists. They do not really identify with the present feminist movement in Mexico since it is seen as aggressive and radical. Does that have anything to do also with the fact that there is a large anti-feminist movement which is mostly lead by men? Are the women afraid of considering

themselves as feminists? Can they even be in danger if they are proclaiming to be a feminist? Also here, further research is needed to clarify these questions. Nevertheless, it is clear that feminist values - among others - must be included as a category of intersectionality for considering hate crimes against women in Mexico.

In Adriana's case, social status and race also played an important role, because her former partner is an indigenous man who is considered socially inferior in Mexico, but as a man he still behaves in a dominant manner toward women. Since she is white and from the upper middle class, that is, privileged compared to indigenous people in Mexico, conflicts arose at this point on the part of her ex-partner. He used violence to maintain his position as a man in society which confirms the selected literature background (Dlugosch 2010).

Another category that enters the intersectionality picture of the street crossing (see Figure 2) is the justice system since this study proves a low clearance rate for hate crimes, a high administrative burden for victims and a refusal of condemning hate crimes as crimes. Therefore, it can be concluded that hate crimes against women are more likely to occur in the Mexican justice system, where women face various obstacles, and the perpetrator remains unpunished.

Throughout the course of this research, I have come to question whether there are specific factors that make women in Mexico more vulnerable or resistant to hate crimes as well as the circumstances that may protect them. The intersectional approach shows that the phenomenon of hate crimes is pronounced across categories, it would be interesting to deepen this research to come to a more concrete conclusion about which of these constellations of categories are particularly affected by hate crimes.

The narratives of individual experiences collected in this work revealed many commonalities, thus the choice to use the ethnographic method in which the Own Voices approach is necessary. Although they were all individual experiences, common patterns and structures behind the violence can be identified. Due to those common patterns and structures identified through the narratives of the victims of crime in Mexico, it can be inferred that their experiences are hate crimes and this is a structural phenomenon that stems from the unequal power relations in patriarchy. This can be also underlined by the literature about gender-based violence (Dobash and Dobash 2002; Gelles 2002). Among other things, the interviewees spoke of hatred against women who did not conform to the social norm, both ideologically and physically, thus posing a threat to the reproduction and maintenance of customary power structures.

Reflecting back on the writing process, I remember how difficult it was for me to sit down to write my master's thesis on such a crucial topic. When interviewing these women about their violent experiences, it evoked a lot of emotion for me. In particular, the prospect of quickly eliminating the structural problem does not seem very promising and there are many obstacles to

surmount that will do not just happen overnight. Answering the questions myself, opened wounds that are not yet completely healed. Nevertheless, it was helpful to include an autoethnographic part in the work because it gave me special access to the field where participants felt comfortable opening up to me. Also, having experienced it myself, the research made it easier to understand the culture, as well as Mexican politics and the justice system. The autoethnographic piece of this research paper is instrumental, not only in terms of content as a complement, but also for reasons of empathy, comprehension, and authentic perspectives. When integrating one's first-hand perspective, it is important not to forget the peeling grade between objectivity and subjectivity. As Breidenstein et al. (2020) emphasized, a complete objective view is almost impossible with the autoethnography method, so other insights may be captured.

The women who were interviewed have all developed different strategies to deal with their experiences. Some have reported that they are in therapy and that it helps them to be confident and to deal with their trauma in a professional manner. Since it is also a cost that not everyone can afford, going to therapy is often part of a privilege. Other methods, such as talking openly about what they have experienced, both with friends and relatives and in feminist networks on social media, help women cope with trauma. Amanda's decision to stop talking about it is also part of an individual resilience strategy. Since the interviewees experienced different reactions from third parties, ranging from understanding and compassion to doubt and questioning, no conclusion for collective resilience strategies can be drawn at this point.

The term strategies of resilience was rather used than the term strategies of resistance because they are individual actions after experiencing hate crimes. For me personally, the difference between the two is that resilience is more about individual treatment, about dealing with oneself as a victim. Resistance, on the other hand, is a strategy of actively resisting oppression, which can lead to a social and solidarity movement. For example, what can be seen here as a strategy of resistance is belonging and engaging in feminist networks in social media, which were part of this study. An elaboration on other forms and manifestations of resistance, for example of digital activism, would need to be explored in more depth.

Besides the literature Holzleithner (2016) offered, also during the interviews, it became clear that gender-based stereotypes are deeply anchored in the culture and are carried and reproduced over generations by both men and women.

In the context of deeply embedded patriarchal practices, which contribute to hate crimes against women in Mexico, it is necessary to ask what measures are needed in order to eliminate gender-based violence and hate crimes which are caused also by deep-seated gender images with corresponding roles? According to the respondents, it is necessary to change judicial systems, cultural paradigms, and the educational system. Additionally, a new set of

forward-thinking public policies need to be imagined and implemented in efforts to combat the prevailing patriarchal behaviors and attitudes within Mexican society.

For instance, within the education sector, greater attention should be paid to how traditional gender roles affect society (Holzleithner 2016). Furthermore, public education programs must place greater emphasis on women's empowerment and should seek to support the role of women in contemporary society. The role of education is a well-documented and decisive tool as it pertains to improving the general quality of life for women, reducing inequality and violence. The role of education cannot be understated, which UNESCO affirms, "[e]ducation changes lives" (UNESCO 2013). Therefore, the educational system is in need to undergo a more holistic reform, that should include topics such as the development of self-knowledge and self-esteem as well as the perception and regulation of emotions. Those practices could include yoga (understanding between body and mind), breathing exercises and meditation (assessment and regulation of emotions), exercises of empowerment (setting limits) could lead to a great contribution to peaceful coexistence. There is already research that has looked at the extent to which education can create peaceful and sustainable societies. However, for example the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization and Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (UNESCO MGIEP 2021) published some ideas on sustainable education, there is still a research gap on that topic.

In addition to education, robust legal measures must also be implemented, such as reducing barriers to reporting crimes as well as introducing effective mechanism that will ensure the enforcement crime detection (Butler 2020). Further efforts to prevent violent crimes against women can also be achieved through perusing progressive public health policies such as providing free therapies to victims, but also preventively, to perpetrators, who are mostly male. Sagot (2007) even suggests that, due to the deeply entrenched traditional gender images in the culture, a fundamental change in values is needed to break down structures completely.

In efforts to bring about this type of radical transformation, the text, "The Force of Nonviolence", Butler (2020), advocates for the creation of a new political framework, which is predicated on recognizing that the potential danger of the vulnerable, which includes women. This notion of vulnerability and the potential for aggression in people must be taken seriously, and structures must be built fundamentally differently according to this knowledge. This idea is consistent with the solution suggested by Rita Segato (2022), which proposes a communitarian and femininely coded polity, that is, a polity based on connection, exchange, and reciprocity, in which people work together as a collective. According to her, there is no social change and no fight against femicide without dismantling patriarchy. She pleads to "make politics domestic" because "the private is political" (ibid, 26).

Correspondingly, politics have to assume the responsibility to give more emphasis to the feminine and to support and strengthen the empowerment of women in contemporary society. Especially the area of education which is a fundamental factor that can contribute to better life conditions for everyone as well as increasing equality and decreasing violence, as UNESCO affirms, “[e]ducation changes lives” (UNESCO 2013). Therefore, the educational system is in need to undergo a more holistic reform, that should include topics such as the development of self-knowledge and self-esteem as well as the perception and regulation of emotions. Those practices could include yoga (understanding between body and mind), breathing exercises and meditation (assessment and regulation of emotions), exercises of empowerment (setting limits) could lead to a great contribution to peaceful coexistence. There is already research that has looked at the extent to which education can create peaceful and sustainable societies. However, for example the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization and Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (UNESCO MGIEP 2021) published some ideas on sustainable education, but there is still a research gap on that topic.

6. Conclusion

As I write this last chapter, a woman could be enduring an act of violence somewhere in the world. Probably in Mexico.

In this study, I explored women's individual experiences in Mexico with hate crimes and reporting them to the authorities along with strategies they use to deal with their experiences. The results show that many women in Mexico who have been victims of hate crimes suffer from manipulation, oppression, discrimination, sexism, and violence, which affects not only their psychological well-being, but also their social lives. Most victims found help and support from friends and families, but less from official authorities, who make prosecution more difficult and are therefore more likely to be perceived as hurdles. These analyzed intersections tend to be supported by the Mexican justice system, which therefore systematically drives the reproduction of hate crimes. The theory and state of research from a feminist perspective already states this and is confirmed by present research through victim's voices.

At the same time, it was possible to show through the interviews that the crimes against the respondents are multidimensionally motivated hate crimes. However, the official definition according to OSCE (2021b) is not sufficient to describe this intersectionality and needs to be complemented by other categories besides the ones mentioned above¹⁶. In the preliminary study, it became clear that all participants follow feminist, i.e., anti-patriarchal, values, among others, and were therefore particularly affected by hate crimes. This therefore highlights that they are victims of hate crimes not only because of their gender and associated gender images, but also because of their body, social status, race, as well as their feminist ideology.

In addition, it is proposed that the term hate crimes also be used in the context of crimes against women in Mexico, as these are currently only included under the term gender-based violence (United Nations General Assembly 1993), which also refers only to the category of gender.

This work has shown that the study of hate crimes against women in Mexico requires an intersectional perspective supported by the Own Voices approach, that is, by retelling the experiences of individual women to create a holistic picture. However, these individual narratives should not be viewed as individual cases because "the individual problem is seen but not recognized as systemic" (Butler 2020, 228), obscuring the structural problem behind hate crimes against women.

¹⁶ See chapter 2.1.1

What might be missing from this study are the voices of women who stand behind the patriarchal system or even specifically oppose feminism. Furthermore, more statements could be made if strongly committed feminists were also interviewed. In the present study, the subjects were mainly found in the context of feminist digital networks; here, a stronger analysis of potential digital activism could also be conducted. Furthermore, a detailed investigation of concrete measures for violence prevention and their testing for implementation is missing. Further investigation is needed in this regard.

This thesis, with the help of its deep insights through semi-structured interviews and especially autoethnographic narratives, has provided an overview of what deep-rooted social structures play a role in the study of hate crimes against women in Mexico. However, due to the small number of interviewees, it is nearly impossible to generalize. Nevertheless, I hope that the examination of relevant societal concepts such as misogyny and machismo, as well as the embedding of intersectionality theory, have helped to highlight the relevance and explosive nature of the topic and spur further research.

Although no identifiable collective resistance strategies emerged in this thesis, it became clear to me through my (digital) ethnographic research that individual resistance is being undertaken by female victims of hate crimes in Mexico - namely, through their commitment to feminist values and their stance against a patriarchal system characterized by power inequalities and subordination. I would therefore like to conclude - from a privileged perspective- with an appealing and encouraging quote from Foucault (1978), and hope that through my work with the women I interviewed, I was able to highlight their voices: "Where there is power, there is resistance" (ibid, 95).

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Appendix

A. Simplified interview guide (including intersectional categories)

1.Introduction interviewee	Can you start by telling me a little about yourself?
2.Self-concept of feminism (Categories: Gender and feminist values)	Are you involved in feminist organizations?
	Would you consider yourself a feminist?
	What does feminism mean to you?
	Why is feminism (not) important to you?
3.Characterization of the experience with hate crimes (Categories: Gender, race, social status, sex, and feminist values)	Can you tell me about your experience as a victim of a hate crime? What happened?
	Do you think that as a victim of this crime it had consequences in your life?
	What do you think motivated this crime?
	What was the reaction of others when you talked about your experience?
4.Characterization of the experience in the criminal justice system (Categories: Gender and justice system)	Can you tell me about your experience of filing a police report about this crime?
	What is your opinion about policing and criminalization of (hate) crimes?
5.Strategies of resilience of the victims	What do you think can be done to prevent such hate crimes against feminist in Mexico?
	How do you deal with your experience?
	What would help you cope with or process later what you have experienced?
	What could policy makers and feminist organizations do better to protect and prevent these (hate) crimes?

6. Debriefing	Is there anything missing in the interview guide, anything else you would like to mention?
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B. Semi-structured interview schedule

Introducción entrevistado

1. ¿Puedes empezar contándome un poco sobre ti? (Edad, nacionalidad, familia, ocupación, educación, etc.)
2. ¿Participas en algún grupo comunitario (por ejemplo, grupos vecinales, grupos feministas, grupos religiosos, clubes deportivos, asociaciones, etc.)?
 - 2.1.1. ¿Estás involucrada en organizaciones feministas ?
 - 2.1.2. ¿Te considerarías feminista?
 - 2.1.3. ¿Qué significa el feminismo para ti?
 - 2.1.4. ¿Por qué el feminismo (no) es importante para ti?

Caracterización de la experiencia de victimización

3. ¿Puedes contarme de tu experiencia como víctima de un crimen (de odio)?
 - 3.1. ¿Que pasó?
 - 3.2. ¿Cuándo sucedió (antes o después de Covid-19)? ¿Periodo de tiempo?
 - 3.3. ¿Dónde ocurrió?
 - 3.4. ¿Qué implicó (por ejemplo, agresiones verbales, agresiones psicológicas, destrucción de propiedad)?
 - 3.5. ¿Quién fue/fueron los perpetradores (por ejemplo, género, conocido/desconocido)?
 - 3.6. ¿Cómo era la relación con el agresor? ¿Era la primera vez?
4. ¿Qué crees que motivó este crimen ?
 - 4.1. ¿Qué emociones/sentimientos, pensamientos y/o comportamientos provocó?
 - 4.2. ¿Has oído hablar de los crímenes de odio? ¿Crees que podría ser un delito por tu sexo?
 - 4.3. Si eres feminista y/o estás involucrada en estructuras feministas, ¿crees que también se podría hacer algo con eso?
 - 4.3.1. ¿Crees que tales crímenes (de odio) contra el sexo y/o las feministas ocurren a menudo?
5. ¿Cree que como víctima de este delito tuvo consecuencias en tu vida?
 - 5.1. Si sí, ¿cuáles?

- 5.2. ¿Cuáles han sido los mayores cambios en tu vida desde que fuiste víctima de este delito (por ejemplo , hábitos, pensamientos, actitudes, comportamientos)?
- 5.3. ¿Ser víctima de este delito te ha hecho dudar de ti mismo o sentir que eres menos valioso que los demás?
- 5.4. ¿Ser víctima de este delito ha causado tensiones en otras relaciones? ¿Con quién?

Caracterización de la reacción de los demás.

6. ¿Cuál fue la reacción de los demás cuando hablaste de tu experiencia?
 - 6.1. ¿Cómo reaccionaron amigos y familiares?
 - 6.2. ¿Cómo reaccionó el agresor?

Caracterización de la experiencia en el sistema de justicia penal

7. ¿Has presentado una denuncia ante la policía?
 - 7.1. En caso afirmativo, ¿puedes contarme sobre tu experiencia de haber presentado un informe policial sobre este delito?
 - 7.2. ¿Por qué presentaste una denuncia?
 - 7.3. ¿Cómo te recibieron?
 - 7.4. ¿Cómo te trataron?
 - 7.5. ¿Qué emociones/sentimientos tuviste al presentar una denuncia?
 - 7.6. ¿Alguna vez sentiste que no deberías haber presentado una denuncia? ¿Por qué?
 - 7.7. Si no, ¿por qué?
8. ¿Cuál es tu opinión sobre la actuación policial y la criminalización de los delitos (de odio)?
 - 8.1. ¿Crees que la policía se toma en serio los delitos (de odio)?
 - 8.2. ¿Crees que hay factores que hacen que las personas no presenten denuncias por delitos de odio ante la policía?
 - 8.3. ¿Qué papel crees que debería desempeñar la policía en la prevención de los delitos de odio?
9. ¿Tu caso llegó a los tribunales?
 - 9.1. ¿Cuál fue el resultado?
 - 9.2. ¿Crees que el resultado es justo?

Estrategias de resiliencia de las víctimas

10. ¿Qué crees que se puede hacer para prevenir este tipo de crímenes (de odio) contra las mujeres/feministas en México?

10.1. ¿Cómo lidias con tu experiencia?

10.2. ¿Qué te ayudaría a lidiar o procesar más tarde lo que has experimentado?

11. ¿Qué podrían hacer mejor los hacedores de políticas y las organizaciones feministas para proteger y evitar estos crímenes (de odio)?

Interrogación

12. ¿Falta algo en la guía de entrevistas, algo más que te gustaría mencionar?

Muchas gracias por su participación y honestidad.

C. Facebook post for feminist groups to acquire interview partner

Queridas feministas,

mi nombre es Mira, soy de Alemania, pero viví en Puerto Vallarta en México durante 1,5 años. Estudio Estudios Internacionales en Lisboa y escribo mi tesis de máster que trata de los delitos de odio contra las mujeres en Mexico. Dado que, por desgracia, yo mismo tuve una experiencia de este tipo en el transcurso de mi relación con mi ex pareja mexicana, que me golpeó por puro odio y celos, me estoy dedicando al proyecto en relación con México.

Los delitos de odio pueden ser amenazas, daños a la propiedad, agresiones o asesinatos. Todas ellas son formas comunes de delitos de odio motivados por la hostilidad o los prejuicios contra un grupo concreto que se ve sistemáticamente desfavorecido. Los prejuicios pueden dirigirse contra la raza, la nacionalidad, el género, la religión o la orientación sexual de la víctima. Los estereotipos o la intolerancia hacia una determinada lengua, etnia, discapacidad u otras características fundamentales también pueden ser el motivo del odio del agresor. En mi caso, estoy investigando los delitos de odio contra las mujeres que son atacadas por su género y sus compromisos.¹⁷

Para ello, necesito mujeres voluntarias que hayan sido víctimas de un crimen de odio y puedan responder a algunas preguntas en forma de entrevista informal.

Me ayudaría mucho a desarrollar estrategias de resiliencia para las mujeres, a denunciar los delitos de odio y a dar voz a las mujeres.

Si estás interesada, ponte en contacto con un mensaje privado en Messenger. Gracias y seguid luchando por un mundo igualitario y solidario!

¹⁷ This paragraph was subsequently added because I noticed that many had never heard the term hate crime. The modification serves to clarify the purpose of the research.

D. Informed consent

Consentimiento informado

Este estudio forma parte de un proyecto de investigación que tiene lugar en el Iscte - Instituto Universitario de Lisboa.

El estudio tiene como objetivo captar una comprensión científica de la naturaleza de los crímenes de odio contra las feministas en México mediante la narración de experiencias con estos crímenes. Además, el objetivo del proyecto es también aportar formas de prevención de los delitos de odio contra las feministas.

Tu participación en el estudio, que es muy valorada ya que contribuirá al avance del conocimiento en este campo de la ciencia, consiste en entrevistas semiestructuradas con una duración de aproximadamente 1-1,5 horas cada una.

Iscte es responsable del tratamiento de sus datos personales que se recogen y procesan exclusivamente para los fines del estudio.

El estudio está dirigido por Mira Buss, mbuai@iscte-iul.pt con quien puedes ponerte en contacto para aclarar cualquier duda, compartir comentarios o ejercer sus derechos en relación con el tratamiento de sus datos personales. Puedes utilizar el contacto indicado anteriormente para solicitar el acceso, la rectificación, la supresión o la limitación del tratamiento de sus datos personales.

Tu participación en este estudio es confidencial. Tus datos personales serán tratados siempre por personal autorizado y sujeto al deber de secreto y confidencialidad. Iscte asegura el uso de técnicas apropiadas, medidas organizativas y de seguridad para proteger la información personal. Todos los investigadores están obligados a mantener la confidencialidad de los datos personales.

Además de ser confidencial, la participación en el estudio es estrictamente voluntaria: Tu puedes elegir libremente si participas o no. Si has decidido participar, puedes interrumpir tu participación y retirar tu consentimiento para el tratamiento de tus datos personales en cualquier momento, sin tener que dar ninguna justificación. La retirada del consentimiento no afectará a la legalidad del tratamiento basado en el consentimiento antes de su retirada.

Tus datos personales serán pseudoanónimos y las grabaciones de voz se eliminarán en cuanto se transcriban las entrevistas. Quedando asegurado tu anonimato en los resultados del estudio, siendo divulgados únicamente para fines estadísticos, docentes, de comunicación en reuniones científicas, libros o artículos.

No se esperan riesgos significativos asociados a la participación en el estudio. Algunos temas sensibles pueden surgir en las entrevistas (por ejemplo, experiencias traumáticas, sufrimiento mental, estigmatización). En ese caso, el investigador le proporcionará los datos de contacto de un servicio de apoyo a las víctimas o de asesoramiento sobre traumas.

Iscte no divulga ni comparte con terceros la información relacionada con los datos personales. En algunos casos, el equipo de investigación puede compartir datos con otros equipos de investigación, o incluso con proveedores de servicios que actúan bajo nuestra supervisión y responsabilidad. En este estudio, los datos personales se revelan al siguiente investigador:

- Mira Buss, mbuai@iscte-iul.pt

Iscte cuenta con un responsable de la protección de datos con el que se puede contactar por correo electrónico: dpo@iscte-iul.pt. Si lo consideras necesario, también tienes derecho a presentar una reclamación a la Autoridad Portuguesa de Protección de Datos (CNDP).

Declaro que he comprendido los objetivos de lo que se me ha propuesto, tal y como me lo ha explicado el investigador, que se me ha dado la oportunidad de hacer cualquier pregunta sobre este estudio y que he recibido una respuesta aclaratoria a todas esas preguntas. Acepto participar en el estudio y doy mi consentimiento para que mis datos personales sean utilizados de acuerdo con la información que se me ha facilitado.

Si o No o

_____ (lugar), _____ / _____ / _____ (fecha)

Nombre: _____

Assinatura: _____

E. Debriefing

Explicación de la investigación

Muchas gracias por participar en este estudio.

Como se indicó al principio de tu participación, el estudio se centra en "Experiencias narradas de crímenes de odio contra mujeres feministas en México" y tiene como objetivo capturar una comprensión científica de la naturaleza de los crímenes de odio contra las feministas en México a través de tus propias narraciones de tus experiencias con estos crímenes. Más específicamente, pretendemos sugerir formas de prevenir los crímenes de odio contra las feministas.

Como parte de tu participación, durante la entrevista, es posible que se hayan desencadenado recuerdos y temores desagradables y/o dolorosos al recordar hechos desagradables. Por ello, si lo consideras necesario, puedes obtener más apoyo a través de los siguientes datos de contacto:

Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos México (CNDH)

Sitio web: <https://www.cndh.org.mx>

Correo electrónico: provictima@cndh.org.mx

Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INMUJERES)

Página web: <https://www.gob.mx/inmujeres>

Servicios de apoyo: <https://www.gob.mx/inmujeres/articulos/redes-de-apoyo>

En caso de emergencia, puedes llamar al número 110 (policía) y al 911 (inmujeres).

Además, existen varios **Institutos Nacionales de las Mujeres** en todo México con los que podemos ponerte en contacto.

Reforzamos los datos de contacto que puedes utilizar si deseas hacer una pregunta, compartir un comentario o indicar tu intención de recibir información sobre los principales resultados y conclusiones del estudio:

Mira Buss (investigadora): mbuai@iscte-iul.pt

Raquel Beleza da Silva (supervisora): raquel.beleza.silva@iscte-iul.pt

Una vez más, gracias por tu participación.