

A first approach to the criminal profile of the femicide perpetrator in Mexico

Un primer acercamiento al perfil criminal del feminicida en México

SHANODEZE RICHAUD DOMÍNGUEZ
University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, Inglaterra
shany33@msn.com

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Abstract:

There are common factors that could influence the development of femicide behavior in Mexican population. Therefore, it's important to briefly analyze the origins of gender violence throughout Mexican history, and the contemporary effects it has on this country's society. The concept of femicide will be explained and studied under the perspective of Mexican Law, paying specific attention to the causes that motivated legislators to add this crime to the law, and the requirements demanded by the legal definition to classify a specific conduct as a femicide. Lastly, the common circumstances that influence the femicide behavior in Mexico will be discussed.

Keywords:

femicide, hate crime, gender violence, criminology, Mexico.

RESUMEN

El comportamiento feminicida en México es posiblemente influenciado por algunos factores en común, por lo que es importante analizar el origen de la

violencia de género en la sociedad mexicana y los efectos contemporáneos que ésta ha tenido en la comunidad. El concepto de feminicidio se explicará y estudiará desde la perspectiva de la ley mexicana; prestando atención a los motivos que impulsaron a los legisladores a agregar este tipo penal a la ley, así como los requisitos establecidos en la definición legal para clasificar una conducta específica como feminicidio. Finalmente, se discutirán las circunstancias comunes que podrían influenciar el comportamiento feminicida en México.

Palabras clave:

feminicidio, crimen de odio, violencia de género, criminología, México.

Introduction

In Mexico and nearly all Latin American countries, gender violence has become one of the most important humanitarian and political issues concerning today's society. Oppression against women is presented in practically every aspect of a day-to-day routine, and it can be displayed with small conducts catalogued as *micro-aggressions*, or these can escalate until they end up in the homicide of a woman, simply for being woman: a femicide.

The education in Mexican families carries a long history of gender-assigned roles that were established ever since the revolutionary years. These ideologies consisted in an idolization of the masculine gender for defending the Estate during the Mexican Revolution. Ever since, men were considered brave, strong and virile. Today, this concept has transformed into a solidified conduct of misogyny where a considerable majority of the Mexican society has normalized and adopted the faux hypothesis that men are naturally superior to women. The consequences of this generalized mentality have resulted in a massive growth in physical, economical, and sexual violence against women in Mexico. Today, ten Mexican women are murdered every day because of their gender, and uncountable other women suffer aggressions at the hands of men.

This background is necessary to analyze the origins of the term *femicide*, as well as to understand the essence of this concept as a consequence of gendered violence, and how much this conduct impacts the Mexican society. It'll be important, as well, to identify the types of femicide, which are classified by the circumstances that took place during specific cases of this crime.

Thus, after the feminist movement acquired force and public attention landed on the multiple cases of femicides in Mexico, legislators elaborated a legal framework devoted to the protection of women in a society where gendered violence is normalized. This framework has yet a long way to go, which is why Mexico as a country has received multiple recommendations from International Organizations, such as the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, all directed to improve and protect the lives of thousands of women that are abused daily in Mexico.

Regardless, these hate crimes are still getting committed and acquiring strength in Mexico. This is the reason why, while it's impossible to elaborate a full profile of femicide perpetrators in this country, it's important to discuss the social, historical and legal factors that could be considered as motives that encourage potential criminals to execute their murders.

Violence Against Women in Mexico

Gender oppression in Latin American countries, most specifically Mexico, comes from a long history of culture and traditions. Even before the Colonization of America by Spaniards, there was a hierarchy between genders in native tribes. Females were often traded and gifted as objects by members of their own families. This situation only worsened for women when Western Europe established their control upon American lands. Native females were kidnapped, tortured, raped and murdered, and were specifically used to reinforce the domination of colonizers over the indigenous groups.¹

Even during the Independence period, women were often used as hostages and objects to negotiate between parties, regardless of if they had an active participation in the war. One hundred years later, women oppression increased. Throughout the Mexican Revolution, female soldiers were banished from the military and from both parties, since men considered their assistance as an obstacle more than an advantage. Women were significantly raped and kidnapped in these years; they were obligated to migrate to the United States, where they were caught in concentration camps and tortured to death.²

From that moment forth, men were viewed as strong, brave and dauntless in the Mexican culture. In contrast, women were classified as submissive, obedient and inferior to the male figures in their circles; their purpose in the Mexican's family environment was essentially to take care of their children and their houses, and to procreate.³

Mexican society adapted these stereotypes of men and women in their ordinary lives, to the point where violence against women, especially in a domestic environment, was often normalized. Thus, the objectification of women's bodies was born. Men often viewed women as their property, and they could pass it on from the domain of the father to the husband's domain. They determined that women were only valuable if they had a connection with a man, and the role of motherhood was imposed to them as an inherent trait of their personalities.⁴

¹ Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México, *La Violencia Contra las Mujeres en México*, México, Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2017, p. 5.

² *La Violencia Contra las Mujeres en México*, *op. cit.* pp. 14-17.

³ RODRÍGUEZ MORALES, Zeyda, "Machos y Machistas, Historia de los Esterotipos Mexicanos", *La Ventana*, núm. 39, México, Universidad de Guadalajara, 2014, p. 256.

⁴ ARAIZA DÍAZ, Alejandra; VARGAS MARTÍNEZ, Flor Carina y MEDÉCIGO DANIEL, Uriel, "La tipificación del feminicidio en México. Un diálogo entre argumentos sociológicos y jurídicos", *Revista Interdisciplinaria de estudios de Género*, México, El Colegio de México, 2020, p. 2.

It wasn't until recent years that Mexican women began speaking up for themselves to acquire the same social, political and economic rights that were inherent to males.

Feminist movements gathered strength and power throughout the next few years, and while they began protesting for women's rights ever since the 1920's, they often were ignored.⁵ It wasn't until 1953, that they finally achieved one small victory in their constant war for equality: on October 17th, 1953, women finally received the political right to vote.

Nonetheless, the constant battle of women demanding their freedom from the patriarchal structure in Mexico, is far from coming to an end. Violence against women hasn't come to a halt; the only difference is that this problem has become of public interest. The purpose is to make authorities realize that it is necessary to implement mechanisms to eradicate gendered violence to grant women the effective use and enjoyment of their fundamental rights as humans.⁶ (Pérez, 2016, pp. 1-2).

The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, in its second article, classifies violence in four types: physical, sexual, economical and psychological.

- *Physical violence*: It is a direct aggression. Its purpose is to cause permanent or temporal damage on the victim's body. It can be exteriorized with bruises, fractures, sprains, slaps, manhandling, and any other damage that can be perceivable on the body.
- *Sexual violence*: It is an aggression that objectifies the victim's body. It consists of sexual abuse, rape, torture, human trafficking, forced prostitution, sexual harassment, kidnapping, and non-consented use of intimate pictures as pornography or in other denigrating ways. This type of violence can be perpetrated not only by the victim's partner, but also by co-workers, teachers, family members and many others.
- *Psychological violence*: This is perhaps the most difficult type of violence to identify. It's silent and invisible, and the execution includes verbally denigrating the victim's physical appearance, intimidating them and targeting their self-esteem to the point where they are emotionally broken, depressed and confused. Psychological violence is often, but not always, mixed with other types of violence.
- *Economical violence*: The perpetrator attempts to control the victim in a different manner than the rest of the types of violence; in this case, they take hold of most, if not all incomes, regardless of who earned it. They coerce the victims into keeping themselves from getting a job that

⁵ JAVIEN, Ana Laura y RODRÍGUEZ BRAVO, Roxana, "El Sufragio Femenino y la Constitución de 1917", *Política y Cultura*, otoño, núm. 48, México, UAM Xochimilco, 2017, p. 57.

⁶ PÉREZ CONTRERAS, María de Montserrat, *La violencia contra la mujer: Un Acercamiento al problema*, México, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM, núm. 103, pp. 1-2.

makes them feel important, since the abuser's objective is to keep the victim in a state of economical dependency with them.⁷

Furthermore, the Mexican General Law to Grant Women Access to a Life Free of Violence catalogues gendered violence in five types: physical, sexual, psychological, economical and patrimonial violence. This last one consists of the malicious transformation, subtraction, destruction or retention of objects, personal documents, goods and/or values that are meant to be used for the victim's necessities. Additionally, this regulation also recognizes any other actions intended to harm or intend to affect women's dignity, integrity or freedom.⁸

Up to this day, more than fifty thousand women and girls per year in Mexico are abused at the hands of men, whether they have an intimate connection with them or they're strangers, suffering one or more of the types of violence described in prior paragraphs.⁹

Most of these victims are denigrated and attacked by their very own partners, who are men that tend to believe that women are their property due to the misogynous cultural ideology they grew up with. Regardless, gendered violence isn't limited to couples; it can also take place with family, friends, co-workers and even strangers.

As a matter of fact, the National Statistics about the Dynamics of Relations at Home made by the National Institute of Statistics in Mexico in 2016, signaled that 66 out of 100 women have been victims of gendered violence of any sort, 43.9% of girls and women aged 15 or more have suffered violence within their relationship and 53.1% of girls and women aged 15 or more have suffered from at least one act of violence by perpetrators that they didn't have a romantic relationship with.¹⁰ These numbers only increase if we take into consideration the cases of women that don't yet have the courage to speak up about their abuse.

Regardless of the feminist movements and the constant battle for women's fundamental rights, violence against females in the Mexican society hasn't lowered. It only has gotten worse, to the point where women are getting killed simply for being women.

What is a Femicide?

The femicide is the worst act of violence targeted against women. This conduct implies the murder of a woman, for no other reason but her gender. The most important characteristic of this act revolves around the fact that this is a hate

⁷ *La Violencia Contra las Mujeres en México, op. cit.* p. 4.

⁸ *Ley General de Acceso de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia*, México, Congreso de la Unión, 2020, art. 6.

⁹ Secretario Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública, *Información Sobre Violencia Contra las Mujeres, Incidencia Delictiva y Llamadas de Emergencia 911*, México, Secretaría de Seguridad y Protección Ciudadana, noviembre 2020, p. 36.

¹⁰ Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, *Estadísticas a Propósito del Día Internacional de la Eliminación de la Violencia Contra la Mujer*, Gobierno de México, 20 de noviembre de 2020.

crime motivated by misogyny and the belief of male superiority over females. As of today, this figure is essential to raise awareness to the social issue of gendered violence to raise it into a political one.¹¹

The term *femicide* can be attributed to Diana Russel, a woman from the United States that used the word in 1992 in an International Court of Crimes against Women, solely to refer to victims of insecure abortion. Ever since, the word became more and more popular, until it became the common term for female victims that got murdered under circumstances where gendered violence was perceivable.¹²

Multiple authors have discussed the meaning of the concept. Some claim that the femicide should not only resemble gendered violence, but it should also become a symbolic word to hold the Estate accountable for the lack of protection to the lives of abused and murdered women.¹³ Some others argue that the definition of a femicide should be expanded and specify if the perpetrators of this crime are exclusively men or if there's room for women as well.¹⁴

The essential difference between a homicide and a femicide resides in the circumstances in which the crime was committed. While it's true that in a global scale, there are more men than women that get murdered each year, the context of these crimes revolve around robberies, theft, gang wars, organized crime, drug dealing and many others. Nonetheless, none of these situations take place because of the victim's gender. On the other side, when the killing of a woman is catalogued as a femicide, it's because the victim's gender was one of the motives that the woman was killed. In other words, if the victim had been a man during the time and place of the crime, said conduct wouldn't have taken place.¹⁵

For this article's purpose, the meaning of femicide will be one of the simplest ones, and the most used in legal research: "the killing of a woman simply for being a woman, including girls of all ages as well".

As of today, researchers have identified potential circumstances in which a femicide could be committed, which resulted in a theoretical classification of types of femicide:¹⁶

1. *Intimate femicide*: Someone that had an intimate relationship with the victim, whether it was her current or past partner, perpetrates this type of femicide. It is usually the most extreme consequence of domestic violence, and it is often caused by the criminal's displeasure with the

¹¹ SOLYSKO GÓMES, Isabel, "Femicidio y feminicidio: Avances para nombrar la expresión letal de la violencia de género contra las mujeres", México, *Revista de Investigación y Divulgación sobre los Estudios de Género*, México, Universidad de Colima, 2013, p. 26.

¹² *Idem*.

¹³ GORDÓN GUERREL, Ismael, *Femicidio o Feminicidio: ¿Cuál es el término correcto?*, Panamá, La Estrella de Panamá, 2019.

¹⁴ Pan-American Health Organization, *Understanding and Addressing Violence Against Women*, World Health Organization, 2012, p. 1.

¹⁵ WILSON, Margo; DALY, Martin y SCHEIB, Joanna E., *Femicide: An Evolutionary Psychological Perspective*, United States of America, chapter in *Feminism and Evolutionary Biology*, 1997, p. 431.

¹⁶ *Understanding and Addressing Violence Against Women*, *op. cit.* pp. 1-4.

victim. Whether it's a disagreement, an unwanted pregnancy or a break-up, the perpetrator believes, due to the cultural history he grew up with, that it is his right to punish their wives or girlfriends for disobeying them. It is often an exteriorization of a threat that was thrown moments prior the murder.¹⁷

Let's not forget that less than two decades ago, women in Mexico were obliged to satisfy their husbands sexually by law; if a man ever sexually abused their wives, it was not considered rape, since it was their lawful right.¹⁸

This situation only reinforced the idea that men could own women as property, and therefore, they could violate their wives' human rights, life included, if they so wished.

This type of femicide is most likely to also have an impact on the victim's inner circle, including her children and other family members.

2. *Femicide in the name of honor*: In this case, the murder is motivated by the desperate need of the perpetrator to protect his or his family's honor. Often, this crime takes place after an act of adultery, a pregnancy outside of marriage, incest, or even a case of rape. Men that execute this crime are often desperate to protect themselves and their reputation, even if the price to pay is the life of their victim. This is another example of a misogynous mentality, for these perpetrators view women as objects they can use and dispose of later, for it's better to sacrifice their lives rather than the perpetrator's honor and reputation.¹⁹
3. *Non-Intimate femicide*: In this context, there is no apparent connection between the perpetrator and the victim. Some sort of sexual violence often accompanies this type, of femicide whether it's prior or posterior to the murder, and most often than not, the victims are chosen randomly.²⁰

Unfortunately, one of the most popular cases of non-intimate femicide has taken place in Mexico. In 1993, multiple organizations discovered the bodies of at least 8 women in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico. Within research, they concluded that the killers of these women found them during their walk home from working at cotton factories in the middle of the night. The bodies had signs of torture and rape prior the murders. In 2003, the number of murdered women found in Ciudad Juárez rose to 300, and today, the number goes above 400 and it's still increasing. The on-going investigations haven't prospered, but until now, the police haven't found any connection between the victims and their possible perpetrators.²¹

¹⁷ WILSON, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ FERNÁNDEZ JIMÉNEZ, Claudia, *Delito de Violación entre Cónyuges*, México, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM, 1994, p. 319.

¹⁹ *Understanding and Addressing Violence Against Women*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²¹ MONROY GARCÍA, María del mar y GARCÍA MORALES, Paulina, *Compendio de Recomendaciones sobre el Femicidio en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua*, México, Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos, A.C. 2007, p. 2.

While there are other circumstances in which the femicide could take place, such as the femicide caused by the stereotyped profession of women, in which men take the lives of sexual workers, dancers and prostitutes because they see the women's bodies as a disposable product of consumption²², all authors agree, in the end, that all cases in which a woman is a victim of a murder must be thoroughly analyzed and studied in order to determine the specific characteristics of that femicide and, therefore, determine the unique profile of the perpetrator.

Femicide Under the Mexican Law

As mentioned in prior paragraphs, the violent murders of women in Mexico and the publicized gendered violence have raised enough awareness to force the Legal and Judicial system to generate some sort of protection for Mexican women.

Unfortunately, men have mostly, throughout the years, controlled Mexico's legal system. Therefore, the Legal and Judicial branches of the Law are often combined with a patriarchal mentality. While violence against women became a topic of interest more than thirty years ago, men in power seemed to ignore this issue. Therefore, it wasn't until feminist movements spread awareness and demanded justice for victims of femicide, that the Congress of the Union finally promulgated, in 2007, the General Law of Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence.²³ This is the very first time that the Mexican State is legally obliged to protect the lives of women and guarantees their human rights.

Even if the General Law brings attention to femicide violence and theoretically speaking resembled a protection for women, violence against women only increased. The State never truly executed acts to protect the lives and rights of this vulnerable group, which is why in 2009, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights condemned the Mexican State into improving their mechanism of investigation of the crimes related to murdered women. Essentially, the coerced recommendations made by this International Organism forced Mexico to remove all legal obstacles that slowed investigations down, to execute investigations with a gender perspective that protected female victims, to guarantee that every prosecutor, Court and Tribunal involved in the cases have effective resources and mechanisms to deliver justice and, finally, to make the trials and the decisions of the Courts public in order to prevent people from committing these crimes again.²⁴

Ever since, the crime of femicide was gradually typified in every Mexican State's local law. It was officially published and added to the Federal Law in 2012. According to the Article 325 of the Federal Criminal Code, the femicide will take place when someone murders a woman under gendered motives. The circumstances in which a murder will be gendered, according to this Law, are the following:

²² SOLYSKO GÓMES, Isabel, *op. cit.* p. 34.

²³ ARAIZA DÍAZ, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, *Sentencia del Caso González y Otras, vs. México*, 2009.

- I. There are sexual violence trails on the victim's body.
- II. The victim's body has been mutilated or there's degrading injures, prior or post the murder, or there's signals of necrophilia on the body.
- III. There are precedents of domestic violence, or violence at the victim's working or scholar circles, executed by the perpetrator against the victim.
- IV. There was a sentimental relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, or signs that the victim trusted the perpetrator.
- V. There's proof that can determine that the perpetrator threatened the victim, and those threats are connected somehow to the crime or the sexual harassment or the injuries suffered by the victim.
- VI. The victim was left uncommunicated prior the murder.
- VII. The victim's body was exposed or abandoned in a public place.

In Criminal Law, the Principle of Legality embodies the fact that the offense must be specifically defined in the law. This means that the conduct the perpetrator is getting accused of committing must fit perfectly with the legal description of a crime to prove the defendant's guilt. Under this perspective, to prove the commitment of the crime of femicide, Mexican prosecutors must, necessarily, prove with solid and objective data that at least one of the enlisted circumstances in the previous paragraph took place in the specific cases they're investigating. While, in theory, the description of the crime of femicide seems adequate to demonstrate the gendered violence as an incentive to commit this offense, truth is that in the practical word it sometimes is beyond difficult to gather enough evidence to build a solid case of femicide, due to the complexity of the legal description of the crime.²⁵

The Judicial System in Mexico is still very flawed when it comes to the crime of femicide; researchers and authors are still debating on the correct meaning of this term, and therefore legislators have yet to come with a proper definition for the crime in the law that will guarantee the delivery of justice to the victims and that will protect women's rights. On the meantime, this phenomenon has opened the doors to impunity when it comes to gendered crimes.

In 2018, the Convention about the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, a branch of the United Nations Organization, identified multiple weaknesses in Mexico's framework to protect women against gendered violence. The Convention, therefore, suggested the country to improve the public security strategies to minimize insecurity and violence against women and girls, to normalize all around the Mexican territory protocols to investigate femicides, to educate judges, prosecutors, public lawyers, attorneys and police agents in gender equity, and to coerce authorities into applying all the national laws that seek to protect women and girls.²⁶

²⁵ ARAIZA DÍAZ, *op. cit.*

²⁶ Instituto Belisario Domínguez, Recomendaciones de organismos internacionales a México respecto de la violencia contra las mujeres, Dirección General de Investigación Estratégica del Senado de la República, México. 2020, p. 2.

Yet, there is still no clear path for Mexico when it comes to typifying the crime of femicide. Only in January of 2020, the General Attorney presented a proposal to modify the legal description of the crime of femicide, which was rejected by both Mexico's president and the Congress.²⁷

While it's been an on-going war between feminist movements and a judicial system with a patriarchal shadow, there is still a long way to go when it comes to incorporating this crime to the law. Regardless of all the progress Mexican women have achieved when it comes to fighting for their rights, gendered violence hasn't decreased; on the contrary, up to this day, ten women are murdered per day in Mexico and the numbers only increase every month and due to the impunity, there is no clear path as to when this blood bath will come to a halt.

The Judicial System hasn't found a way to effectively protect Mexican women from gendered violence. This situation, rather than helping this vulnerable group, worsens their situation since it shows potential perpetrators of femicide that there is impunity regarding this crime.

Common Traits to Femicide Perpetrators in Mexico

It is impossible to determine a criminal profile of all femicide perpetrators in Mexico; every case must be studied and thoroughly analyzed individually to determine the causes that instigated the offender into executing the crime, including the circumstances and the biological, familiar, social, economic and educational factors that could've influenced their decision to murder a woman.

Nonetheless, as a very first approach to the criminal profile of femicide perpetrators in Mexico, it is possible to at least study the social/cultural factor and the legal framework in the country. These two circumstances can at least provide enough contexts to begin understanding a femicide perpetrator's perspective, even if later it will be necessary to study every case to properly classify the criminal's mind.

As mentioned before, violence against women come from a long way back, from misogynous acts against native women, and have evolved into a patriarchal culture where people, even during modern day, are educated under a mentality in which males own the dominant role and females are the submissive ones.²⁸

Now, it's important to clear up that violence isn't a characteristic a person is inherently born with; on the contrary, it is learnt by patterns seen and taken by the person from their inner circle. Due to this cultural ideology of male superiority, men are often educated into violence, which inherently influences their views and beliefs regarding women and their bodies.²⁹

Under this perspective, it is only logical to consider that potential perpetrators of femicide fully adopt this mentality in one way or the other, and only

²⁷ ARAIZA DÍAZ, *op. cit.*

²⁸ *Idem.*

²⁹ OBLITAS BÉJAR, Beatriz, *Machismo y Violencia contra la Mujer*, Perú, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2009, p. 303.

execute their murderous behavior when it is their desire to prove their dominance, power, and control over a woman, whether it's their partner or a random victim. Studies show that rapists assault women to assert their power, domination, and antipathy to women, who are objectified in the mind of their abuser.³⁰ Whether it is an intimate or non-intimate femicide, or a murder to protect the man's honor, it's important to at least consider, while elaborating a criminal profile on a femicide perpetrator in Mexico, the education the offender received while growing up, and the culture they were molded into.

While it's true that today's society is fighting to demolish the patriarchal ideologies brought by years of culture and tradition, a considerable percentage of the population show resistance to change. There are subtle, misogynous micro-aggressions that women suffer in their day-to-day lives executed mostly by male members of the society that aren't very prone into accepting this change of mentality. Studies suggest that the patriarchal mentality can often create problems in a society that's fighting to free its people from a misogynistic culture.³¹

Hence why it is very much possible that this is one of the factors that ends up triggering violence and anger in a potential perpetrator of femicides. As they're reluctant to change, they find the need to reiterate to women, their potential victims, that men are the ones in control and go as far as to believe that if they don't receive what they look for, then they're entitled to take their victim's life.

There is also another factor that is very prone to increase the potential perpetrator's confidence when contemplating the possibility of committing a gendered crime: the lack of activities from the authorities.

As reviewed in previous paragraphs, Mexico's legal framework to protect women from gendered violence and femicides is very flawed and, while it's been improving throughout the years, it's not quite effective. On the contrary, legislators are still debating on the terminology and the proper direction the law should take for the Mexican Estate to fully protect the women in this country.

While the discussion takes place, violence is still affecting thousands of Mexican women. Unfortunately, there are limited effective cases where justice is served, and therefore people are losing faith in the Rule of Law.

The impunity regarding gendered crimes specifically is also perceived by violent, misogynous men that could be possible offenders. To their eyes, the Mexican State hasn't done anything to stop this situation, which is why they tend to believe that their actions are permitted, tolerated, and justified. Even if the law forbids violent acts against women, they're confident that their actions will have no consequences.³²

³⁰ WILSON, *op. cit.* p. 452.

³¹ MORAL DE LA RUBIA, JOSÉ y RAMOS BASURTO, Esperanza, "Machismo, victimización y perpetración en mujeres y hombres mexicanos", *Estudios sobre las Culturas Contemporáneas*, núm. 43, México, Universidad de Colima, 2016.

³² LE CLERCQ ORTEGA, Juan Antonio, "El problema de la impunidad generalizada: explicando el desempeño de México en el Índice Global de Impunidad", Universidad de las Américas, México, Puebla, 2018, p. 54.

While the motives of a femicide criminal to commit their crimes could be easily triggered by multiple circumstances, such as domestic or sexual abuse, the witness of gendered violence at their own household, unemployment, gun ownership, problematic alcohol use and illicit drug use, mental health problems, amongst many others, it's important to understand that, at least in Mexico, these two factors could possibly add up to the motives that push an individual into becoming a femicide perpetrator.

Conclusion

Throughout this article, the origins of violence against women were thoroughly discussed. This section provided the reader with a better perspective to fully understand where the patriarchal system comes from, and how it has evolved and adapted into today's society. While there's been progress and women have finally been granted fundamental rights that were initially reserved for men, there's still a serious issue of gendered violence in modern day's community. The different types of violence that the female gender suffers at the hands of men were explained to throw light on the violations concerning women's human and fundamental rights that they have to endure, whether it's under the hands of a perpetrator they know or the hands of a stranger.

Violence against women has one tragic end for the victims: the femicide, the killing of a woman merely for her gender, including young girls as well. This term was discussed in previous paragraphs, as well. Multiple definitions were provided, and the difference between a femicide and a homicide was briefly explained. To fully explore the term, three scenarios where femicide can take place were detailed as well.

The explanation of the concept of femicide was useful to understand the legal framework Mexico has built for this specific hate crime. A brief narrative of Mexico's evolution regarding this subject was given, and the flaws the system has today were remarked.

Finally, to conclude this article, it was easy to determine that while a full study of a specific case is necessary in order to determine the criminal profile of a specific perpetrator, experts on the subject can't ignore that there are two important factors that more likely than not are important for the creation of femicide perpetrators in Mexico: the patriarchal culture that has been constantly present in Mexican society and the impunity when it comes to gendered crimes, accompanied with the lack of effective investigations from the authority, which motivated the perpetrator into gaining confidence to commit their crimes.

To start effectively fighting gender violence and femicides in Mexico, it is, therefore necessary to pay attention to these two factors and elaborate programs to improve the education received by young children, and to genuinely pay attention to the multiple recommendations of International Organizations to create an effective legal framework that, both in theory and practice, is able to protect Mexican women from gendered violence.

While more action will be required, it would be an interesting first step into changing the mentality of potential perpetrators, and hopefully reduce the amount of femicides that terrorize Mexican women per day.

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