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Masculinities, Family Reconfiguration, Hegemony and Patriarchy in Post-Pandemic Bogota and Mexico City

*Masculinidades, reconfiguración familiar,
hegemonía y patriarcado en la pospandemia
en Bogotá y Ciudad de México*

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Abstract

The main purpose of this article is to continue a work that has been carried out for more than five years, which is part of a line of research on masculinities in Bogota D.C., and Mexico City. Thus, we approach dissertations regarding changes in the family, or rather, the new reconfigurations that have taken place over the decades. For this particular case, the focus is on the pandemic scenario and post-pandemic period, intersected by the still relevant discourses of hegemony and patriarchy. The general objective of this research is to determine the reconfiguration of families, gender violence, hegemony, and patriarchy in post-pandemic Bogota and Mexico City. The methodology used for the development of this research is documentary, involving the review of bibliographic sources collected from various media and subsequently classified, reviewed, and commented on to find the necessary information for this text.

The results obtained show how, in effect, traditional families have been deconstructing, and what the confinement did was to denote the fractures that have always existed and which, for many years, the traditional discourses have wanted to avoid, so that the individuals do not problematize an institution that has been modified due to social practices, in this case, the pandemic, which managed to make decisive changes that are still evident today.

KEYWORDS

Family, patriarchy, gender violence, masculinities, pandemic, post-pandemic, Bogotá, Mexico City.

Resumen

Este artículo tiene como objeto seguir con un trabajo que se ha venido realizando desde hace más de cinco años que da cuenta de una línea de trabajo respecto de las masculinidades en Bogotá, D.C. y Ciudad de México. En este se hace un acercamiento a disertaciones respecto de los cambios de la familia o, más bien, las nuevas reconfiguraciones que se han tenido a lo largo de las décadas, y para este particular se centra en el escenario de la pandemia y la pospandemia; lo anterior, atravesado por los discursos de hegemonía y patriarcado que siguen siendo relevantes. El objetivo general de esta investigación es determinar cuál es la reconfiguración de la familia, las violencias de género, la hegemonía y el patriarcado en el contexto de la pospandemia en Bogotá y Ciudad de México. La metodología utilizada para el desarrollo de esta investigación es documental, por medio de la revisión de fuentes bibliográficas recogidas de diversos medios y, posteriormente, clasificada, revisada y comentada para poder hallar la información necesaria para este texto.

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Los resultados obtenidos evidencian cómo, en efecto, las familias tradicionales se han venido deconstruyendo y, el confinamiento fue denotar las fracturas que estas siempre han tenido y que por muchos años los discursos tradicionales han querido vedar para que los individuos no se problematicen sobre una institución que a todas luces se ha modificado con ocasión de las prácticas sociales.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Familia, patriarcado, violencias de género, masculinidades, pandemia, pospandemia, Bogotá, Ciudad de México.

INTRODUCTION

The families, necessarily, as a result of the pandemic, underwent substantial changes, because the fissures they carried with them throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century became evident. Finally, the scenario of the pandemic and post-pandemic managed to show the fractures that families had, and imposed itself as the perfect scenario to demonstrate the forbidden conflicts within them. Gender violence increased, and the States were not prepared to assume responsibility for it, among other things, because patriarchy continues to reign, no matter how many actions are being proposed to stop it from having so much influence.

To develop the research topic, it is crucial to review patriarchy, because this concept is the one that encompasses most of the behaviors that go against women, and, in some cases, against men. It was Gerda Lerner who gave patriarchy its name, through the study of conjunctural situations in societies, showing that these behaviors were linked to hegemonic practices that continued to reproduce schemes and discourses that discriminated against the less favored. Therefore, with this approach, we will review how, in places such as Bogota and Mexico City, this category is directly applied, since these are societies that are under the dominion of machismo, symbolic violence, and religions, and all this has a direct impact on institutions such as family and education, to name a few. These two institutions are the most important in these states, and it is where citizens are forged and are the ones that replicate these models. Thus, the problem to be developed in this research is: to determine the reconfiguration of family, gender violence, hegemony, and patriarchy in post-pandemic Bogota and Mexico City.

It is interesting how the two places chosen to carry out the research fulfill the necessary characteristics to develop this question. This is because they are societies that have not been able to be outside the patriarchal scheme moral and legal norms are crossed by these conceptions. On the other hand, they reproduce these nineteenth-century ideologies. In this way, it will be possible to systematically unveil how gender violence has developed in the scenario given by confinement at the juncture of the pandemic and post-pandemic.

The 19th century was relevant in Mexico because they managed to separate the Church from the State, although they did not manage to separate religion from social practices. In the Colombian context, this separation occurred at the end of the 20th century, a situation that allowed, as in Mexico, worldviews and lifestyles to be linked to religious precepts that, as is known, have reproduced repressive and biased discourses, all intending to continue reproducing these macho and patriarchal practices.

It was in the eighties that R.W. Connell (2005) wondered about these social networks linked to patriarchy, and she realized that many men, after the emergence of feminism, felt that they were not meeting the standards demanded by society and questioned their situation. These concerns gave rise to a whole category of analysis and reflections that continue to this day. In the Mexican scenario, authors such as Marcela Lagarde and Martha Lamas opened the stage for the discussions given by feminisms, and, along the same path, men began to talk of masculinities. Similarly, Yang (2020) continues to ask, the University of Chicago, about the hegemony of this hegemonic masculinity and how it continues to be immersed in societies; referring to how this relationship is more than relevant and current given the conjunctures of the social contexts.

García (2015) does an excellent job in reflecting on the process of men in Latin America, and how they arrive at this scenario of new masculinities. He also puts on the stage those antipatriarchal practices of men, which in the end are those that have allowed them to make their way in such harsh and normative scenarios to which they have always been linked. Exercising the new masculinities in the Latin American context is not simple due to its strongest ideological component, machismo. This author addresses other Latin American contexts in which these discourses have been worked on, and this allows for a more rational and well-founded assessment in various societies in which machismo has been a very marked reference point.

In the Colombian scenario, researcher Mara Viveros Vigoya (2002) was the pioneer in introducing into the academic scenario the discussions on men and the new masculinities, thus, she elaborated a panorama and opened the way for men, some through collectives, to take the necessary strength to problematize their patriarchal situation, and, in this way, open the door to the new masculinities and all the research work to which it has given rise.

Espinosa (2021), reviews Viveros' contributions, noting their importance and their input in terms of intersectionality, a category of analysis that continues to be more relevant in relation to social and cultural needs.

Currently, there are several men's collectives, as in Mexico City, that have come together to press for anti-patriarchal and anti-hegemonic practices that allow them to re-semanticize the role of men in society. Furthermore, academic scenarios have begun to question their roles within the contexts in which they find themselves, and they have initiated research studies that account for these processes, not only in the contexts of Mexico City and Bogota, but also in other Latin American spaces. In this sense, Rodas et al. (2022) review subjective masculinities and take, as references, some men's collectives that have promoted alternative, non-hegemonic masculinities, breaking with the traditions and models that had been determined by patriarchal conceptions.

On the other hand, it is pertinent and necessary to show that these practices were transferred to the most important and relevant institutions: *family and education*, both of which are the main replicators of the discourses that can change social problems, and that, in most cases, did not do so because they did not go against what was established by the hegemonic, patriarchal, heteronormative, and heterocentric discourses of the hegemonic, patriarchal, and heteronormative systems.

Thus, this topic that emerged as a juncture of gender studies has been gaining strength, and it can be stated, without fear of mistakes, that it will continue to be the subject of study, because many centuries have passed in which men, as well as women, were the object of imperative norms that only benefited those who were enrolled within those ideological scenarios, and those who were outside them, on the contrary, were, and continue to be, considered abject, a situation that to this day has not changed and that will take several more decades for that which have indeed changed to become more evident and effective.

Bard Wigdor (2023) analyzes hegemonic masculinity as the genesis of the violence that continues to be perpetrated against men and women, and, in this case, against cisgender men, as a way of naturalizing behaviors typical of hegemonic masculinity as positive forms of power immersed in societies and that are close to heteronormative violence determined by the patriarchy.

In this sense, Robles et al. (2021) point out how non-hegemonic masculinities are given by standards established by the hetero-cis-patriarchal mandate, which perpetuates these behaviors, and views other ways of constructing, not only men, but also women, with suspicion, that is, it is more comfortable to continue repeating the known patterns of behavior than to review these other discourses and disruptive practices that promote other forms of identity of non-hegemonic masculinities.

Families are part of one of the strongest institutions, not only from social, anthropological, sociological, and psychological categories, but also from the law, and it is precisely from this discipline that some substantial changes have been made. It must be said that social practices always impose themselves on the norms, and that is why the normative discourses must activate their representation and begin to manage norms that are binding and that manage to have appropriation in all the social sectors that are finally in charge of giving life to the normativity, otherwise, they would not exist, or they would be simple lines within the positive order.

This text is based on a review of these new narratives that are given on the occasion of gender violence that became evident with greater strength, and whose numbers increased in an

unplanned way. Many of the people who were victims of this violence did not find greater support in the institutions and had to limit themselves to perpetuate the abuses because there were no clear routes of attention due to a lack of information for the victims. Another aspect is that the pandemic took societies by surprise, and, therefore, there were no protocols that were following the new requirements.

A report by UN Women Colombia states that domestic violence increased in the first semester of 2020, however, most of the cases were against women:

In a report by the Colombian Observatory of Women, it was presented that, in the indicators of March and April 2020, there was an increase of effective calls to the violence hotline by 142% in 2019, independent of whether the victim was male or female; however, it is striking that the observatory points out that, both in the 2019 and 2020 data, more than 90% of the calls for domestic violence were made by women (Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses, 2021, par. 2).

In another study, Infante and Salazar (2021) point out that the figures increased by 228% in relation to violence against women, based on calls made to the 155 line in a period of two months, so the Mayor's Office of Bogota, through the Department for Women, implemented the Purple Line (Línea purpura), and they strengthened the management of the Houses for the equality of women to address and mitigate cases of violence. Likewise, other campaigns were generated under the slogan of Safe Spaces (Espacios seguros), so that women who were at risk could receive timely attention.

In this sense, these figures are the direct consequence of patriarchy and the bad practices it has encouraged in societies; these not only include men, but women are also reproducers of these discourses in many scenarios. After all, they have not had the opportunity to evaluate and determine that some behaviors are not appropriate and harm them, and, on the other hand, they are not able to go against what has been hegemonically imposed on them.

However, the UN Women Mexico report (2020) at the beginning of the pandemic shows that the figures of violence against women increased as follows:

For its part, according to the National Network of Shelters in Mexico, in the two months of quarantine, the care provided in cases of violence against women has increased, representing an increase of more than 70% compared to the same period in 2019¹.

1 UN, MUJERES MEXICO. Available at: (<https://mexico.unwomen.org/>).

Infante and Salazar (2021), report that, in 2020, there were not so many complaints from women for gender-based violence, however, knowing that the numbers were high, and even more so when, since 2003, the Government implemented prevention policies and programs such as the Program for Prevention and Attention to Gender-Based Violence (PPAVG).

Information from Colombia and Mexico shows an increase in the number of victims of violence because many of the victims had to remain in the same physical location as their aggressors, due to confinement. In the strongest moments of confinement, it was not an option to leave and, thus, it was imperative to stay at home at the mercy of continuing to be subjected to various forms of violence. In this scenario, we should not leave aside the men who were also victims of this violence, however, it should be clarified that these figures are not so high, therefore, there is no real certainty, because many do not file complaints or seek help from the hotlines that were established for this purpose because showing themselves as vulnerable is not viable in macho scenarios, where they must daily put their masculinity to the test.

However, in Bogota and Mexico City, there was another aspect that cannot be ignored, and that is that when the pandemic began to be controlled, many victims of violence preferred to go out to work to avoid continuing to be abused. They preferred to run the risk of becoming infected, rather than be in the same place with their abusers.

For many survivors of domestic violence, going to work is a necessary respite from the unpredictability of their partner's abuse, and they may face more immediate dangers inside the home than outside the home².

Physical, economic, and psychological abuses against women were the subject of news reports, however, there was no infrastructure, beyond telephone hotlines. because it was not possible to leave the confinement at first, and, on the other hand, public officials did not have the knowledge or the necessary protocols to know what to do in the face of these actions.

Nateras and Valencia (2023) describe what happened during the pandemic and confinement with crime and violence against women in Mexico and Colombia, and contrast it with figures taken from 2019 to 2021, which they nominate as pre-pandemic, pandemic, and post-pandemic. They conclude that the figures are not very significant, because women have always been in a situation of vulnerability. About crime in general, the numbers decreased, in contrast to the increase in cases against women.

2 UN, MUJERES MEXICO. Available at: (<https://mexico.unwomen.org/>).

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for the research that accounts for this article is qualitative with a documentary approach, through the exploration of various texts, as well as their description and analysis. A review of texts, podcasts, videos, news, news portals, among others, was made. The technique of fichaje was used to obtain the pertinent information that led to finding the research results, which, in this case, would be the identification, review, and prevention of gender violence and domestic violence due to hegemonic and patriarchal practices and their direct relationship with masculinities in Mexico City and Bogotá D.C., on the occasion of the pandemic and the post-pandemic. It is clarified that it is not limited to a state of the art, but rather a review and analysis of data from official sources, in order to triangulate the information, and, thus, contrast it and make inferences that allow for the identification of some categories of analysis that help analyze the behavior of the phenomena of intrafamily and gender violence during the pandemic and the post-pandemic.

The project was developed in five phases: preparatory, descriptive, field work, and the phase of interpretation and global theoretical construction that ends with the elaboration of this document. The first was the preparatory phase, which was mediated by the preliminary exploration of bibliography; contextualization of the research problem according to the chosen spatial-temporal contours; readings prior to the approach of sources. Within an exploratory sweep of probable and pertinent sources for the research, texts that show the cultural and social profile of gender violence and its relationship with masculinities will be taken into account. Another point to review is the figures in the hotlines and prevention campaigns that were generated, as well as publicity and some podcasts that refer to care and self-care in cases of domestic violence.

Also, the review of the protocols of care that arose on the occasion of this violence and that were immediately implemented to try to mitigate the figures. Then, the source born from the legal and non-legal spheres will also be taken into account, as figures from state and non-state organizations in public policy documents and figures of registered violence will be key to see the relationship between gender violence and masculinities in the two social scenarios determined for the research. Videos, podcasts, and iconographic sources can be used insofar as gender violence and masculinities and their entronement in societies can also be traced from advertising or visual discourse.

In phase two, the descriptive phase, the fundamental questioning of the research was unveiled by means of document filing techniques after their collection and classification, in order to proceed to the analysis and discussion of the information. The required documentation revolved around the reconfiguration of families, gender violence, and masculinities in Bogota and Mexico

City during the pandemic and post-pandemic periods, the forms of identification, and possible prevention of these.

The methodological focus of discourse analysis and discussion will be the categories of “machos” and “males”, the closeness or distance of social and cultural discourses in the representation or construction of these categories of typical masculinities, and their incidence in gender violence in the capital cities of Mexico and Colombia.

The third phase of fieldwork was possible through the review of documents and sources that made possible the collection of information in the two cities, Bogota and Mexico City. The fourth phase was of interpretation and theoretical construction, mediated by the topics to be documented with perspectives from social research with reference to law, psychology, sociology, socio-legal studies, history, and gender studies, so that the knowledge is holistic and interdisciplinary, and, also, so that it can be revealed in concrete socio-cultural contexts.

RESULTS

Reconfiguration of the Family Unit in Bogotá and Mexico City

There is no older, and at the same time newer, institution than the family as it is currently recognized. This diachronic vision has seen the need to make changes and to orient itself to the new forms and manners of individuals in social scenarios. New family typologies have been nominated with the aim of recognizing these other structures that have emerged and that have necessarily changed social structures, and, in effect, have determined other realities that are currently being reviewed by various disciplines.

Thus, the reconfiguration of the family is given by several circumstances in the Colombian and Mexican scenarios. The first approach is based on the situation experienced by the Colombian State. It must be said that the twentieth century was fundamental to be able to talk about changes in the family, not only because of the inclusion of Article 42 in the constitutional order, but also because of the changes brought about by the violence that crossed the national scenario.

According to Palacio (2003), the different changes and transformations that have taken place in families are intertwined in economic, political, and cultural dynamics, i.e., the family is a sounding board of the social, so that what happens in this area directly affects it. In this sense, of the new family configurations it is necessary to understand the family logics in a holistic way to unravel the difficult situations suffered by families that suffer of forced displacement, poverty, uprooting, vulnerability, stigmatization, invisibilization of their problems, new problems such as unemployment, unschooling, migration, violence, disappearance (several at once). With this intention, five

processes of family dynamics configuration will be analyzed below, taken from the transformation patterns after forced displacement: adaptation, disintegration, dispersion, cohesion-concentration, and reconfiguration (Arboleda et al., 2012, p. 272).

This quotation denotes the reconfiguration of the family in one of the different contexts in which it can be seen, in this case, from abrupt changes due to the events given by the war in Colombia, and how this has forced the emergence of new family configurations due to the social problems faced by the State for more than seventy years. Thus, at the beginning, single-parent families were formed almost entirely by women and their sons and daughters, leaving aside the previous model of extended families that included several members. As a result, women had to start playing more active roles that would allow them to move their households forward, because when they became widows or did not know their husbands or partners, as the case may be, they had to answer to their offspring, in addition to going out to work in order to support the household.

This situation was, or continues to be, a determining factor to this day because the number of violent crimes is not decreasing, on the contrary, it is increasing, and governmental institutions cannot do much because it is beyond their capacity.

Another aspect to review has to do with the processes of violence that have been occurring in recent years in the two reviewed locations. On the one hand, in Colombia, there has been a process of internal armed conflict that has caused families to adapt to new situations and to identify with other typologies previously not accepted by the patriarchy. Regarding Mexico, although there is no internal armed conflict, there is a problem of generalized violence that is becoming stronger as the days go by, and it is pertinent to note that drug trafficking has a lot to do with these two contexts.

Thus, there are many types of violence in families and one of them is related to:

(...) forced disappearance, which causes a reconfiguration of the family in its daily life, so that it must assume new functions, new roles, and a reorganization of the physical space in which it lives. The reconfiguration is accompanied by parental networks that become efficient to carry out the recomposition towards new family forms. This process consists, in general, in turning to the extended family as a support base for adequate coexistence, far from the memories of the past (Arboleda et al., 2012, p. 273).

Regarding the previous quote, it must be said that the problem of forced disappearance is not only for women, as men are also victims of this practice. Therefore, this situation leads to the reorganization of the family, that is, it is reconfigured according to the new narratives that are emerging from social practices; practices that, moreover, in many scenarios, are forced.

Therefore, in most situations in which a reconfiguration of the family becomes mandatory, roles are subverted, and new forms of social acceptance and development begin to emerge. This means that new roles emerge, many of which are not accepted by the patriarchy and the hegemonic discourses that are imposed in most social scenarios.

Thus, Veloza et al. (2023) confirm that the family has undergone changes, not only due to some of the situations referred to as in the context of belligerent situations, but also determined by other ways of perceiving oneself as a family, which accentuate these transformations and re-define it based on more current socio-cultural aspects. In this case, we can include the reconfiguration of the concept according to families formed by people with diverse orientations, who have had to request the recognition of their rights through the legal system and social validation.

Violence, Conflict, Masculinities and Family Reconfiguration

García (2015) does an excellent job in reflecting on the process of men in Latin America and how they arrive at this scenario of new masculinities. He also puts on the stage those anti-patriarchal practices of men, which, in the end, are those that have allowed them to make their way in such harsh and normative scenarios to which they have always been linked. Exercising the new masculinities in the Latin American context is not simple, due to its strongest ideological component: machismo. This author addresses other Latin American contexts in which these discourses have been worked on, and this allows for a more rational and well-founded assessment in various societies in which machismo has been a deeply entrenched referent.

Thus, Bogota and Mexico City are among those places where violence can be tangibly experienced in the problematization of masculinity. In Colombia, the researcher Mara Viveros Vigoya was the pioneer in introducing, into the academic scenario, the discussions on men and the new masculinities. Thus, she elaborated a panorama and opened the way for men, some through collectives, to take the necessary strength to problematize their patriarchal situation, and, in this way, open the door to the new masculinities and all the investigative works to which it has given rise.

At present, several men's collectives, as in Mexico City, have joined together to exert pressure towards anti-patriarchal and anti-hegemonic practices, which allow them to re-semanticize the role of men in society. On the other hand, it is pertinent and necessary to show that these practices overlapped to the most important and relevant institutions that can be accounted for: family and education, these two as the main replicators of the discourses that can change social problems, and that, in most of the times, did not do it because they did not go against what was established by the discourses proper of traditional and macho systems.

Pantoja et al. (2023) evaluate the deconstruction of hegemonic masculinities through men's access to social organizations and collectives that focus on the study and social practices of men in contexts and scenarios of real transformation, i.e., getting to know the structures and promoting change focused on sexual and reproductive rights, violence against women, the resignification of masculine identity as performative axes, among others.

Thus, this topic that emerged as a juncture of gender studies has been gaining strength, and it can be said, without fear of mistakes, that it will continue to be the subject of study because many centuries have passed in which men, as well as women, were the object of imperative norms that only benefited those who were enrolled within those ideological scenarios, and, those who were outside of them, on the contrary, were and continue to be considered abject, a situation that to this day remains changed, and that will take several more decades for that which have indeed changed to become more evident and effective.

Hegemony and Patriarchy as Replicators of Male Chauvinism and Violence

Over the years, family discourses have been in charge of reproducing the discourses that have traditionally been in charge of perpetuating hegemonic practices that replicate machismo, which is nothing more than the repetition of behavioral models and practices that have manipulated, not only men and women within societies, but have become the socially accepted model to continue broadcasting these discourses, which have become problematic nowadays due to the substantial differences that have begun to emerge.

Díaz (2023) reflects on the imperative of building gender awareness involving men and their masculinities from a pedagogical perspective, in order to problematize practices involving violence, high-risk behaviors, co-responsibility at home, school, work, sexuality, and affective relationships, as spaces for change and the construction of standards established and linked to hegemonic practices.

Gender-Based Violence

To speak of gender-based violence is to speak of the various forms of humiliation of women; there are countless scenarios in which women are victims of macho behaviors that are made visible in mistreatment and violence from various focalizations. Symbolic violence is also a fundamental part of this violence, and it can be said that in some scenarios it is stronger. Men have taken it upon themselves to perpetuate this unworthy treatment of women and have focused

on following their hegemonic empire where the generality is to minimize women in any possible circumstances.

Salinas Garza et al. (2023) describe decisive aspects related to gender and violence that are manifested within this category. In principle, they point out the genesis of violence and the way in which other aspects that become determinant for its study and evaluation are included. However, they point out that it should be differentiated from sexual violence and examined from a social construction perspective.

In many places, men still believe they are the owners of women, and they insist on increasing abuse. Sexual violence by husbands is, in many cases a determining factor, when the man believes he has the power to take her whenever he wants because he infers that she is “his”, the hegemonic and patriarchal discourse has made him believe that she is his property, and that he has the right to mistreat her and objectify her as he pleases.

Similarly, economic violence is the order of the day; many women are victims because they have dedicated themselves to the home and left aside their personal fulfillment, a situation that over the years makes them vulnerable to their husbands, and, as a result, they are subjected to this violence.

Violence against women” is defined as any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UN, 1993).

Economic violence against women is one of the most effective ways of gaining control over them, not only in terms of emotions and their physical body, but also, in many cases, economic blackmail is used to prevent them from taking their chances outside the circles of aggression or away from their aggressors. In this regard, Calsin et al. (2023) refer to the importance of continuing to develop public policies to reduce violence against women in Latin America. They note that these are linked to the lack of possibilities and recognition of human rights, as well as the inequalities and problems of power that are seen in societies. These factors, instead of decreasing, increase every day, because the conditions and regulations are not sufficient to guarantee the rights and respect of women in the many scenarios of infringement.

Domestic Violence

Violence has been diachronically naturalized, and it had not been problematized until the last century; it is not possible to say at what point it began to be realized that these behaviors against

women were not the most appropriate, and that societies should begin to take steps to minimize these ways of acting; at the same time, and in a more closed manner, it is possible to see these forms of violence by men. What is important to note is that states have had to take action to mitigate violence and its impact.

Before addressing the issue of gender violence, it is necessary to point out that it has been part of the history of mankind. Human rights violations suffered by women in relation to their sexuality and gender, roles and stereotypes that society has historically attributed to them have required international human rights protection systems to identify and protect them in a more precise manner (Mejía, 2021, p. 2).

Currently, there is a wide variety of regulations that specialize in the prevention and study of gender violence, i.e., it is a conjunctural problem that had great incidence with the confinement that occurred during the pandemic and its consequences, which are still being felt in this post-pandemic period. It is enough to look at sources such as newspapers and news reports on how the figures of gender violence had increased. In this regard, the report of the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico (2020) refers:

Violence against women is a serious public health problem and a violation of women's human rights. Almost 7 out of every 10 women, 15 years of age and older, in the country, have faced violence of any kind and from any aggressor, at some time in their lives. A violence that has shaken Mexican reality since before the COVID-19 pandemic, and where state institutions have a clear responsibility, for the lack of prevention, care, and sanctioning of violence against women.

In this regard, it must be said that the situation, instead of decreasing, has alarmingly increased, and, in this sense, it must be said that other aspects of the situation, such as drug trafficking in areas where the state presence is zero, or in which the government itself is involved. It is enough to make a review, and, every day, there are news reports of these violations.

In Mexico, every day, women of all ages live at constant risk of experiencing some type of violence, and, practically, all of them, at some point in their lives have been victims of violence, or have been threatened, simply because they are women. The simultaneity and intertwining of different forms of violence against women, whether family, sexual, psychological, political, due to sexual preference, ethnic, religious, institutional, and others, respond to the multiplicity of social oppressions that are still exerted against women (CNDH, 2020, p. 17).

This scenario has remained throughout the years, that is, regardless of the confinement and the pandemic, it had already been identified as a problem of great proportions and that has no apparent effective solution. In this sense, no matter how many public policies and campaigns there

are against this violence, it is not possible to reduce the figures. Thus, the pandemic scenario only came to show that:

Thus, it is not possible to analyze the COVID-19 pandemic without considering violence against women as another problem that is exacerbated during confinement that has social, political and economic implications.

Violence against women and girls is a human rights violation of pandemic proportions. In the context of confinement due to the COVID-19 pandemic, violence against women has increased disproportionately within the household, causing hundreds of deaths just because the victims are women (CNDH, 2020, p. 18).

This report by the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico, which in turn takes information from UN Women and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, could not be more enlightening, showing, with figures and real cases, what the situation is like, and how, women, just because of their gender, are already burdened with inequalities and mistreatment in some sectors of society. In other cases, the inequalities may not be so evident, but the problems to which they are exposed or the danger they may face in different scenarios make them, normally, more vulnerable with respect to nominal or concrete actions.

In the case of Bogota, the situation is no different, as in Mexico City, the numbers significantly increased, and it can be said that it was a predictable situation, not only because of the machista and patriarchal context in which we still live, but also because the stress generated by the confinement and the lack of certainty about what was going to happen meant that both women and men were constantly alert to what could happen.

The increase in violence against women (VAW) in the context of the pandemic was predictable. There is evidence of increased VAW in natural disasters, wars, and humanitarian crises. The Zika and Ebola epidemics suggested a transformation of VAW, as their impact escalated and demonstrated that failure to incorporate gender inequalities into the further deepened the problem.

In Colombia, the quarantine was decreed on March 24, 2020, and from that date until June 22, 107 femicides were registered. In Bogota, where the quarantine began on March 20, up to 2,627 calls were received by June 15, mostly for psychological violence. This figure shows an increase of 187% in telephone calls and 774% in virtual lines, respectively. Compared to the previous year, femicides in Bogota increased by 8.6% (Chaparro and Alfonso, 2020, p.2).

It is worrying how some sectors continue to act against women, and, in particular, how every event that happens in society seems to be the perfect pretext for the numbers to continue to in-

crease. Because these practices are so deeply rooted in society, women think that this is natural, as this is the way they have grown up in their environments, so, by naturalizing this violence, it is more difficult for figures to decrease. What was shown with confinement, and in the post-pandemia, is that this is only the tip of the iceberg, because the problem is more complex than what can be perceived at first sight.

With the pandemic, many women and men had to go on with their lives and accept that the abuses committed were part of the new reality of confinement. Not everyone who suffered violence knew that they could go to the different instances to file a complaint. While it is true that offices were closed, electronic mechanisms were set up to file complaints; however, many people were not aware of these mechanisms and continued to be subjected to abuse. In other scenarios, in addition to the lack of information, many women did not have the electronic means to do so or did not know how to do it. The telephone lines that were available could not provide solutions to all cases or did not have clear protocols for care.

Figures on Domestic Violence in the Post-Pandemic Period

As has been stated throughout this text, during the first months of the confinement and pandemic, the numbers of domestic violence significantly increased due to the fact that families had to share the same physical space with their aggressors. Domestic violence is one of the most robust forms of violence against women. It is a situation that occurs in private spheres, and it transcends into the public sphere; governments, through their regulations, must account for these behaviors, generate public policies that favor the protection of women in their territories, as well as contribute to the training of personnel who are in a position to attend to the population that is victim of these abuses.

Thus, it is a priority for states to carry out prevention campaigns, and for these campaigns to have trained personnel to carry out these practices, i.e., to be prepared with a gender perspective that allows them to account for the situations of violence that women are going through.

It should be noted that, in many of the government agencies, there are no trained personnel, and instead of contributing with good practices, on many occasions they revictimize women and make them feel guilty for the acts caused by their aggressors. These officials do not generate empathy with the victims, and, sometimes, due to the prevailing patriarchy, they favor the person who caused the problems as a symptom of the patriarchal thinking that is enthroned in societies. Then, going to an office to file a complaint becomes a bureaucratic act, and the wear and tear for the people involved is such that, many times, they leave the complaints aside and re-

turn home with their aggressors with a feeling of helplessness in the face of the lack of action by the state in relation to their situations of domestic violence. Chaparro and Alfonso (2020) state:

In the case of Bogota, responses to WAV have occurred at three levels: 1) from norms existing before the onset of the pandemic; 2) from national norms enacted after the pandemic; and 3) from district norms. All of them, although relevant, are still insufficient to confront a phenomenon that is acquiring pandemic dimensions. In relation to existing regulations, Law 1257 of 2008 and its regulatory decrees already presented obstacles before the pandemic, and these were deepened by the confinement. An example of this is the difficulty for women, due to restrictions on their mobility, to access shelters in order to obtain protection (p. 3).

With respect to Chaparro and Alfonso (2020), it can be said that not all women who are immersed in these forms of violence know that they can access safe houses, in the case of confinement because of the restrictions in place at the time, and in the case of the post-pandemic period, because there is a lack of clear, accessible, and less bureaucratic information for them to gain access to these and other scenarios in which they can be provided with protection.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

After the review, reflection, and analysis of the information collected through various sources, it can be said that there is evidence of an increase in the figures of gender violence due to the pandemic that occurred in 2020 and that lasted until 2022. The confinement and the lack of possibility of leaving the house increased these figures, in addition to the fact that the victims coexisted with their aggressors, due to the lack of possibility of leaving the house, which caused the violence to increase in an unimagined way.

Humanity was not prepared for an event such as the one that occurred during the years 2020 and 2021, therefore, no social discipline had among its plans how to act in the face of a certain situation. Likewise, the law was not able to deal with all the situations that occurred during confinement. It must be remembered that social practices are always steps ahead of the rules, so, in these extreme situations, states, through their agencies, must activate mechanisms to deal with these eventualities.

Now, although it is true that in Bogota and Mexico City mechanisms were implemented, and hot-lines were set up to address the situation and the increasing gender violence, it was not enough to prevent the numbers from increasing, and, in turn, some femicides were committed.

However, they were not sufficiently known, and the prevention campaigns were not as effective, so that, no matter how much they tried to mitigate the situation, in reality, the circumstances of women who were vulnerable could not change because the critical situation did not allow it.

In this way, the pandemic and post-pandemic period gave rise to family reconfiguration, because the confinement showed the fractures that families had, many did not manage to overcome these fractures and ended up in divorces as soon as the opportunity arose, and living together all the time with their husbands, partners and children, in some cases, showed how the family configuration to which the homes were accustomed was one of clear routines where each one left the house or at least one and had specific roles, as well as invisible boundaries of physical space, boundaries that were broken or crossed by having to share days without being able to leave the house.

Scenarios such as these became the new normal within that first year of 2020, and it triggered unravelings in 2021 and 2022 that are still evident. What can be affirmed is that this confinement changed family practices; however, it showed the most deeply rooted structures of patriarchy and machismo in societies, in this case, in the two cities of choice, without prejudice to the fact that they are not valid for reading other societies.

CONCLUSIONS

Gender violence and domestic violence increased during the pandemic and the post-pandemic period due to the forced confinement where victims and perpetrators had to live together in the same place, without the possibility of improving their circumstances for several months, in addition to the aforementioned, there was also social panic the outcome was unknown.

Masculinities, or new masculinities, as they are recognized in some scenarios, have taken on a life of their own and have been making their way. This path continues to be explored by various sectors, not only academic and social, but also political and economic. A review of this category focused on two institutions as relevant as family and education is more than pertinent, it is necessary in the Latin American context. It is hoped that this work will be the door to future research involving more countries in the region.

State agencies did not have the necessary infrastructure to deal with the increase in complaints from women and some men during confinement. The numbers were increasing, and officials did not have updated protocols that would account for the situation so they could significantly reduce the numbers. Thus, they did not know what to do in the face of aggressors, especially at

times when confinement did not allow them to leave their homes and seek protection in other scenarios.

The existing lines of care were not sufficient at times, but, in addition, they were not fully publicized, so that women with fewer possibilities had the opportunity to seek effective protection to mitigate the damage and make themselves feel safer. Some preferred to leave their homes and expose themselves to the virus rather than continue to be the object of aggression by their husbands or permanent partners, not to mention when they had more extended family in the same physical space, as was evident during the pandemic.

There are many factors that came together to make this violence increase, one of them has to do with economic factors that made families adapt to new circumstances and gave rise to this new reconfiguration. This aspect may be the subject of further research.

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