**Indicadores de violencia de género en las relaciones amorosas. Estudio de caso en adolescentes chilenos.**

**Indicators of gender violence in romantic relationships: A case study in Chilean adolescents**

**Indicadores de violência de gênero nos relacionamentos amorosos. Estudo de caso em adolescentes chilenos**

**Resumen**

La presencia de la violencia de género aumenta de forma alarmante en nuestra sociedad y se ha convertido en un problema social de primer orden. Los datos indican que el origen de bastantes de estos comportamientos hunde sus raíces en las primeras relaciones que se dan en la adolescencia, donde se ha comprobado la presencia y repetición de patrones y modelos machistas. Asumimos en este trabajo que estas conductas están relacionadas con comportamientos socialmente aceptados y que forman parte de los patrones normativos propios de los procesos de socialización. Para analizar esta tesis, un grupo interdisciplinar de investigadores pertenecientes a universidades españolas y chilenas realizó un estudio cualitativo sobre los comportamientos asociados a la violencia de género en grupos de adolescentes y jóvenes de diferentes contextos económicos, geográficos, sociales y étnicos, con el objetivo de aportar evidencias sobre el modo en que los adolescentes establecen sus relaciones de pareja y determinar si en estas relaciones existen indicios de violencia de género ejercida contra la mujer adolescente. Se propuso un diseño tomando como referencia los principios de la *Grounded Theory,* utilizando *el método comparativo constante*, es decir, la recolección de información, codificación y el análisis de la misma se realizan simultáneamente, y el *muestreo teórico* implica seleccionar nuevos casos en función de su potencial para ayudar a refinar o expandir los conceptos y teorías ya desarrollados. De este modo, la codificación de los discursos se realizó de forma abierta, axial y selectiva, agrupando, finalmente las categorías o ideas relevantes de los datos en metacategorías para construir el esquema teórico. En el estudio participaron 156 adolescentes (77 chicas y 79 chicos) residentes en la zona urbana de la región de Arica de Chile, siendo seleccionadas en función de las variables “curso académico” y “edad”, configurándose 17 grupos de discusión hasta conseguir la saturación de la información.

Los resultados ponen de manifiesto que en estas primeras relaciones de pareja de los adolescentes hay un número importante de referencias a lo negativo y a comportamientos de violencia de género, sobre todo a la violencia psicológica, en la que aparece una clara esquematización rígida de roles de género, culturalmente asimilados y donde los valores de fuerza, poder y dominio aparecen como valores propios de la identidad masculina. Estos “valores” fundamentan estructuras de desigualdad, y un medio para alcanzarlos y defenderlos es la agresión. Como contrapartida, la identidad femenina se elabora con los atributos de debilidad, control y necesidad de protección. Estos valores son transmitidos como pautas de comportamiento deseable y se insertan en la propia identidad de la mujer adolescente. Se discute finalmente la necesidad de mayor esfuerzo institucional en la mejora de los programas de igualdad y en el desarrollo de propuestas educativas que permitan priorizar y diseñar programas de intervención para promover relaciones más igualitarias entre adolescentes y jóvenes, como medio de educar para la prevención de conductas abusivas en las relaciones de noviazgo juvenil y la construcción de relaciones amorosas no agresivas.

**PALABRAS CLAVE: “**Adolescentes”; “actitudes adolescentes”; “relaciones de pareja”; “violencia de género”; “sexismo”

**Abstract**

The presence of gender violence is increasing alarmingly in our society and has become one of our most serious social problems. The data indicate that the origin of much of this type of behaviour has its roots in early adolescent relationships, in which the presence and repetition of chauvinist patterns and models has been verified. In this paper we assume that this kind of conduct is related to socially accepted behaviours that form part of the normative patterns typical of socialization processes. To analyse this thesis, an interdisciplinary group of researchers from Spanish and Chilean universities carried out a qualitative study on behaviours associated with gender violence in groups of adolescents and young people from different economic, geographic, social and ethnic contexts in order to gather evidence about the ways adolescents establish romantic or intimate relationships and to determine whether there are any indications of male chauvinist violence against adolescent women. The research design proposed takes as a reference the principles of *Grounded Theory* and employsthe *constant comparative method*, that is, the information is collected, coded and analysed simultaneously, with *theoretical sampling* that involves selecting new cases as a function of their potential to help refine or expand the concepts and theories already developed. Thus, the coding of the discourse was carried out using open coding, axial coding and selective coding, and finally grouping the relevant categories or ideas into meta-categories to build the theoretical schema. Participating in the study were 156 adolescents (77 girls and 79 boys) residing in the urban area of the Arica region in Chile, having been selected according to the variables “academic year” and “age”. Seventeen discussion groups were formed until data saturation was attained. The findings show that in these first adolescent dating relationships there is an important number of negative references and references to violent chauvinist behaviour, in particular psychological violence, in which there is a clear, rigid, culturally assimilated structuring of gender roles in which the values of strength, power and dominance appear as belonging to a masculine identity. These “values” are at the basis of structures of inequality, and one means of attaining them and defending them is through aggression. In contrast, female identity is constructed with the attributes of weakness, control and need for protection. These values are transmitted as norms of desirable behaviour and are inserted into the very identity of adolescent women. Finally we discuss the need for greater institutional resolve in the improvement of equality programs and the development of educational proposals to enable intervention programs to be designed and prioritized. This should be done with a view to promoting more egalitarian dating relationships in adolescence and young adulthood, as a means to educate for prevention of abusive behaviour in adolescent dating and the construction of non-aggressive love relationships.

**KEYWORDS:** "Adolescents"; Attitudes Adolescent"; Couple’s Relationships"; "Gender violence"; "Sexism"

**Resumo:**

A presença da violência de género aumenta de forma alarmante na nossa sociedade e tornou-se um problema social relevante. Os dados indicam que a origem de muitos destes comportamentos está enraizada nos primeiros relacionamentos que ocorrem na adolescência, onde se verificou a presença e repetição de padrões e modelos machistas. Assumimos neste trabalho que estas condutas estão relacionadas com comportamentos socialmente aceites e que fazem parte dos padrões normativos próprios dos processos de socialização. Para analisar esta tese, um grupo interdisciplinar de investigadores de universidades espanholas e chilenas realizou um estudo qualitativo sobre os comportamentos associados com a violência de género em grupos de adolescentes e jovens de diferentes contextos económicas, geográficos, sociais e étnicos, com o objetivo de fornecer evidências sobre o modo como os adolescentes estabelecem as suas relações de namoro e determinar se nessas relações existem indícios de violência machista exercida contra a mulher adolescente. Propôs-se um desenho, tendo como referência os principios da *Grounded Theory*, utilizando o *método comparativo constante*, ou seja, a recolha de informação, codificação e análise da mesma realizam-se simultaneamente e a *amostragem teórica* implica seleccionar novos casos em função do seu potencial para ajudar a refinar ou expandir os conceitos e teorías já desenvolvidos. Deste modo, a codificação dos discursos realizou-se de forma aberta, axial e seletiva, agrupando, finalmente as categorías ou ideias relevantes dos dados em metacategorias para construir o esquema teórico. Participaram no estudo 156 adolescentes (77 raparigas e 79 rapazes) residentes na zona urbana da região de Arica de Chile, sendo selecionados em função das variáveis “curso académico” e idade, configurando-se 17 grupos de discussão até se conseguir a saturação de informação.

Os resultados mostram que nestes primeiros relacionamentos de namoro dos adolescentes há um número significativo de referências a aspetos negativos e a comportamentos de violência machista, especialmente a violência psicológica, na qual aparece uma clara esquematização rígida de papeis de género, culturalmente assimilados e onde os valores de força, poder e domínio aparecem como valores próprios da identidade masculina. Estes “valores” fundamentam estruturas de desigualdade, e um meio para alcançá-los e defendê-los é a agressão. Como contrapartida, a identidade feminina forma-se com os atributos de debilidade, controlo e necessidade de proteção. Estes valores são transmitidos como padrões de comportamento desejável e inserem-se na própria identidade da mulher adolescente. Finalmente, discute-se a necessidade de um maior esforço institucional na melhoria dos programas de igualdade e no desenvolvimento de propostas educativas que permitam priorizar e desenhar programas de intervenção para promover relações mais igualitárias entre adolescentes e jovens, como meio de educar para a prevenção de condutas abusivas nas relações de envolvimento juvenil e a construção de relações amorosas não agressivas.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Adolescentes ";" As relações do casal; "" violência de gênero ";"violência masculina ";" sexismo "

**Introduction**

The presence and significance of gender-based violence in our society has led to the United Nations considering it to be the most widespread private crime in the world (UN, 2013). The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) declared as far back as 1995 that gender-based violence is entirely and directly contrary to any development goal. The data of the last macrosurvey carried out by the European Union (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014), which was based on personal interviews with 42,000 women in the 28 member states of the EU and involved an average of 1,500 interviews per country, show truly worrying rates of violence. The Nordic countries displayed the highest rates: 52% of women were victims of gender-based violence in Denmark, followed by Finland and Sweden with 47% and 46% respectively. Spain is ranked 26th out of the 28 countries surveyed, with a relatively lower rate of 22%, a figure that places it below the European average, which stands at 33%. In spite of Spain’s lower ranking, in 2014 there were 53 fatalities that were a result of gender-based violence in the country, of which only 17 victims had previously lodged a complaint related to domestic violence. And so far in 2015, four women have died, of which only one had made a complaint against her attacker (Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, 2014, 2015). Almost 62,000 women victims of gender-based violence in Spain live under some kind of monitoring and surveillance measure overseen by the state’s security bodies, and 15,500 have police protection and are in a situation of extreme or high risk of being attacked by their partners or ex-partners (data from the report prepared by the Observatorio español contra la Violencia Doméstica y de Género [The State Observatory on Violence against Women], 2013).

With regard to adolescents and young people (13–19 years old) specifically, gender-based violence and sexist patterns are also evolving at an alarming rate. In 2013, 151 were prosecuted, and measures were imposed on 130; these figures represent a marked increase in criminal complaints, as well as a greater recognition among adolescents of aggressive or sexist behavior. In this regard, a Ministry of Health report reveals that 23% of girls acknowledge having suffered violent behaviors such as insults or ridicule. In Latin America, and in Chile in particular, the figures on gender-based violence are not very different. The data show that in 2013 there were 28% more cases of violence than there were 2012, and an increase of 15.4% in specialized care provided to abused women. Chile’s Observatory on Gender Equity in in Health (Observatorio de Equidad de Género en Salud; OEGS) revealed in its 2013 report on gender-based violence that in the period between 2004 and 2011 complaints filed by women increased by 9.2% and that there has been a rise in complaints relating to sexual violence made by teenagers aged between 15 and 19 years.

**1 Basis**

* 1. **Brief conceptualization of gender-based violence: Multicausal risk factors.**

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (General Assembly resolution 48/104, UN, 1994) is the first international human-rights instrument that explicitly addresses this problem. According to the declaration, gender-based violence is

“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.”

Heyzer (2000) argues that this statement was a historical milestone, for three basic reasons. First, because it placed gender-based violence in the context of human rights, and therefore it is considered to be a social problem. Second, because it expanded the concept of gender-based violence so that it includes physical, psychological, and sexual violence as well as threats of it in the context of the family, the community, or the state. Third, because the gender dimension of the violence is highlighted—the risk factor for suffering from it is precisely the fact of being a woman. That is, the term covers forms of violence that are carried out by men against women because of who they are and because of the social position that each occupies due to the conditioning introduced by gender (subordinate roles and social position in the case of women, dominant roles and social position in the case of men). For Bosch, Ferrer, and Alzamora (2006), a fourth reason should be added: the fact that this definition has become the common framework used by the vast majority of national and international agencies (such as the UN itself, the WHO, and the European Commission) in conducting their analysis, since it offers a widely accepted conceptual framework on what domestic violence is and what it means.

Moreno, Sastre and Hernández (2003) found in a study on the development of gender models in adolescents that as early as adolescence (ages 12 to 16) socialization processes can give rise to mental representations that contain the seed of tolerance or intolerance and of the acceptance or rejection of gender-based violence. These authors consider that abuse is based on a belief in an inequality of rights and duties between the sexes and the survival of a conception of gender roles that subordinates women to men in relationships. The results they obtained indicate that younger girls are the group that are most aware of situations of abuse and opposed it, but older adolescents are more tolerant of abuse and situations of gender violence, possibly due to a desire to be accepted by boys and an adoption of a complementary model to their own. Díaz-Aguado (2000) also found that sexist beliefs and a justification of violence are more commonly exhibited by adolescent men than they are by adolescent women. And studies by Bosch and Ferrer (2002) establish evidence of the direct relationship between men’s holding of misogynist beliefs and gender-based violence. However, we can say that between 70% and 98% of girls and between 43% and 86% of boys—that is, a large majority of adolescents and young people—reject beliefs that justify gender-based violence (Díaz-Aguado, 2003, 2006).

In specialist literature on the subject, certain risk factors that stimulate a greater or lower tolerance to violence against women have been identified. In accordance with Santos (2009), we present a summary of these multicausal risk factors:

* *Gender* is the variable that best explains greater tolerance to violence against women, and in particular *sexist attitudes* of any kind—whether benevolent or hostile ones—and the development of *micromachismos* of *beliefs and attitudes towards gender-based violence.*
* The type of *education* received and the models observed, especially equal education for brothers and sisters and the employment situation of parents, also contribute to predicting sexism and tolerance towards gender-based violence.
* The *specific education* receivedrelating to gender-based violence, both as a specific subject and in the form of courses, seminars, or other activities. This factor indicates that it is highly advisable to include such content in the teaching curriculum from early childhood to university education, something proposed in the Organic Law on measures for Comprehensive Protection against Gender-Based Violence (Ley Orgánica de Medidas de Protección Integral contra la Violencia de Género; BOE, 1/2004 of December 28).
* Beliefs about *romantic love* taken to extremes.
* *Beliefs or myths* about gender-based violence. These stereotypes persist today, with a tendency to blame the woman and excuse the male.
  1. **Contextualization of the study**

We would put the objective of our study in terms of a diagnosis, carried out through couple relations, of the signs and forms of gender-based violence in adolescents in the urban area of the Arica region of Chile, with the ultimate aim of determining the specific needs exhibited by this population in terms of the prevention and eradication of gender-based violence. Statistics indicate that 35.7% of women in Chile suffered some form of violence during 2011. The specific figures were as follows: 37.2% suffered psychological violence, 25% a form of physical violence considered to be minor or less minor, 15% severe physical violence, and 15.6% sexual violence. Many of these attacks ended in femicide, the most extreme expression of violence against women. Femicides have been officially recorded in Chile since 2008. Since that year, there has been a total of 289, and there were 40 during 2014 (SERNAN, 2015). It should be noted that the majority of these killings were committed by those who were in couple relationships (spouses, cohabitants, or partners); the figure reaches nearly 30% when a relationship comes to an end, a figure that is gradually increasing (SERNAM, 2011).

According to data provided by the National Service for Women (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer; SERNAM, 2011), a Chilean agency that is responsible for collecting and analyzing data on gender-based violence, women aged between 18 and 64 years were the most liable to suffer this type of gender-based violence. A total of 3,518 complaints were made by this group, compared with 267 filed by men from the same age group.

**[1]**

Moreover, the Survey on the Prevalence of Domestic Violence (Encuesta de Prevalencia de la Violencia Intrafamiliar) that was carried out in 2011 shows that violence begins at an early point in couple relationships. For example, in the Metropolitan Region, 11.6% of women who are in a relationship but do not live with their partner have been victims of psychological violence, and 12.2% have been victims of physical and/or sexual violence. These figures increase significantly in relationships in which the couple live together or are married. In total, 43.2% of women in these forms of relationships claim to have suffered psychological violence, 32.1% physical and sexual violence, and 14.9% sexual violence (SERNAM, 2011).

In addition, according to this same source, if the information that affects young people with regard to changes in the construction of *gender roles* is taken into account, it emerges that 6.4% of young people continue to believe that the man has the right to exercise control over his wife in relationships. The same survey shows that nearly 20% of women aged between 15 and 29 years have experienced psychological violence in their couple relationships; half of them—so almost 10% in total—say they have suffered physical violence, and a total of 1% in this age bracket say they have suffered sexual violence.

**[2]**

With regard to the first couple relations of adolescents and young people aged between 15 and 29, 12.2% say they have inflicted psychological violence on a partner, and there were no significant differences between men and women in carrying out violence (data from the Third National Youth Survey [Tercera Encuesta Nacional de Juventud], conducted in 2000; SERNAM, 2009).

**2 Methodology**

**2.1 Design**

The following research questions arise from the proposed general objective:Can signs of gender-based violence be detected in the first romantic relations between adolescents? Is gender-based violence sustained in a rigid schematization of gender roles that are culturally assimilated? Is it possible to produce educational initiatives that allow the prioritizing and design of intervention programs to promote more equal relations among adolescents and young people, as a way of preventing abusive intimate relationships and gender inequalities through education?

To respond to these questions and achieve the proposed objective, a qualitative design has been followed. It takes as a reference the principles of Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1994), the constant comparative method (data collection, coding, and analysis are conducted simultaneously), and theoretical sampling (new cases are selected on the basis of their potential to help refine or expand already developed concepts and theories). This model allows three major operations to be executed: open, axial and, selective codings. With these operations, it is possible to identify the categories or ideas that are relevant to the data in order to analyze and describe them, assign them codes, and search, with thematic criteria, for relations between them. They would then finally be grouped into metacategories to construct a theoretical framework.

**2.2 Participants, collection of information, and field work.**

The Arica region of Chile borders the Republic of Peru to the North, the I Tarapacá Region to the South, the Republic of Bolivia to the East, and the Pacific Ocean to the West. According to the 2002 census (INE, 2002) the distribution of the population according to ethnicity is very heterogeneous. There is a high proportion of Mapuche people; this group accounts for 87.3% of the total indigenous population. It is followed by the Aymara (7%) and the Atacameño (3%). The rest of the ethnic groups (the Colla, the Rapa Nui, the Quechua, the Yámana, and the Alacalufe) collectively make up the remaining 2.7%. These data show that this region has a great cultural diversity and richness. On the basis of these general data, and assuming that the sample for a qualitative study should be cumulative and sequential until saturation is reached, ensuring the representativeness of the discourse/signifieds, we deemed as possible candidates the participants who met the characteristics of the required profile. We did not seek representative samples in a statistical sense, with the capacity for providing inferences on the general population. Instead, we sought accounts from adolescents who had the capacity to represent the discursive space of their reference group. Doing so allowed us to discover, analyze, and interpret the different perspectives on their romantic relationships and their relationships with violent behavior motivated by gender.

Taking into account the above considerations, the participants were 156 teenagers (77 girls and 79 boys) who were residents of the urban area of the Arica region of Chile. They were selected on the basis of the variables “school grade” and “age”: the equivalents of US grade 9 (14–15 years), grade 10 (15–16 years), and grade 11 (16–17 years). The selection was carried out in public and subsidized secondary-education centers (at the equivalent level of US high school) and was performed by the center counselor (key informant) and research staff.

**[3]**

The discussion-groups technique was used for data collection. The team considered it appropriate to use this technique to obtain both the opinion of every individual teenager and his or her opinion during interaction with others, in order to expand the discursive positions of the subject studied, as well as to observe what opinions the new ideas that emerged in the group agreed or disagreed with.

A total of seventeen discussion groups were held until the point of information saturation was reached. Each group contained 8 or 9 subjects. The duration of the group interview was an hour, and an audio recording was made with the consent of the participants. Each discussion group began with the comment, “We are going to have a free debate. Each person can say what he or she thinks, and everyone can contribute his or her ideas.” Information related to the following rubric was collected:

* Variables of identification, education levels, gender, and age of adolescents.
* Positive and negative features of their relationships.
* Forms of gender-based violence: subdivided into psychological violence and physical violence based on comments about their relationships.

**2.3 Analysis**

We conducted a content analysis of the transcripts of the discussion groups. From this analysis we obtained results that refer to the percentage and interpretation of analyzed speech and that correspond to each of the suggested categories. The most important ideas/categories expressed by the adolescents in the groups were identified in the *first phase* of the qualitative analysis (categorization).

Then, merging the relevant ideas from the content of the adolescents’ discourse with theoretical studies on gender-based violence in heterosexual youth dating relationships, synthesized in the VEC scale for the detection of psychological violence in heterosexual couples (Delgado and Mergenthale, 2011; Cantera, Estébanez, and Vázquez, 2009), seven main categories of analysis and fifty-seven subcategories were finally established. As a result, we developed a conceptual map, from which we present the seven main categories:

**[4]**

Axial and selective coding were performed in the *second phase* of the analysis. Later, and for the organization, classification, and arrangement of the textual data encoded in tables and graphs, we used the NVIVO10 qualitative-analysis program. During this phase, the criteria for qualitative-research quality were guaranteed (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Sánchez, Delgado, and Santos, 2012; Palacios, Sánchez and Gutiérrez, 2013). These can be summarized as follows. Coding was conducted by several members of the research team to be able to guarantee the credibility of the process. To test the dependability of the category system, we created a descriptive manual of the categories to perform the coding. Finally, confirmability was provided for the results through the inclusion of verbatim excerpts from the teenagers’ discourses.

We produced a shorter version of a coding manual that was adapted from Delgado, Sánchez, and Santos (2012) and drew on the coding manual produced by experts in gender-based violence and presented in the AECID project report entitled *Diagnóstico de la incidencia y formas de violencia doméstica por razones de género en mujeres aymaras urbanas de la región de Arica y Parinacota, Chile* (2012), which helped in the coding of the information—that is, identifying the categories in the texts.

**[5]**

Finally, in the *third* ***phase*** of the analysis—and in this article—we describe the results of the content analysis of the interviewed adolescents’ (positive and negative) opinions on romantic relationships given during the discussion groups and on gender-based (psychological and physical) violence behaviors that exist in these relationships.

**3 Results**

**3.1 Assessment of initial couple relationships**

Most of the discourses reflect a general positive assessment of relationships (19.60% indexed in this category out of the total of 7 categories) and highlight the benefits of “dating.” However, negative aspects in terms of disadvantages (15.80% indexed in this category out of the total of 7) were also pointed out. Analysis by gender highlights that males find more disadvantages in this type of relations, as the chart below shows.

**[6]**

1. ***Adolescent/female: positive aspects of couple relationships***

For girls, positive aspects of romantic relationships are that they can provide protection, security, support from the boy, companionship, love, and affection. They think that to make a relationship work it is necessary to establish a feeling of mutual respect and to spend time together. Some examples are seen in the following comments:

1. ***Adolescent/female: negative aspects of couple relationships***

To a large extent, girls coincide with boys on the negative aspects of relationships. They share the same distrust and concerns about infidelity, something that would not be forgivable under any circumstances or with any explanation. Jealousy and being forced to be with a boy and removed from friends, fear of being unhappy, problems with neglecting one’s family, and school-related problems are other perceptions that they share and, above all, the girls worry about the possibility of becoming pregnant because of the family, academic, and social repercussions that it would have. The girls’ perception about what a relationship means to boys relate to worries about worsening academic performance and having a partner who is too possessive.

[7]

1. ***Adolescent/male: positive aspects of couple relationships***

For boys, romantic relationships are a way to meet girls and gain sexual experiences. They think a relationship helps them to be more understanding and mature, since girls consider themselves superior with regard to these attributes. They also believe that the purpose of staying in a relationship is basically to get girls’ attention in order to have sexual relations. They have the perception that these relationships bring them affection above all—that is, they receive and feel it, and in addition, though to a lesser extent, help, friendship, and confidence. Moreover, their perception of what relationships mean to girls is similar to the features that they emphasize: protection, support, and safety. And the boys add the possibility of starting a family, an increase in their freedom from parental control, and the superior money savings that a girl gets from having a partner, since the boy has to be responsible for treating the girl to activities such as going to the movies or for a drink, or even covering personal purchases—and of course continually lavishing gifts upon the girl. Here are the boys’ views:

1. ***Adolescent/male: negative aspects of couple relationships***

The range of negative characteristics that boys attach to their relationships is wider than that of the girls. Their discourse can be divided into three blocks: economic, emotional, and the consequences of romantic relationships. As we previously mentioned, economic considerations are a very important factor to keep in mind for the boys when it comes to a relationship, because they think that it is necessary for them to take charge of the couple’s finances. This aspect is directly linked with male stereotypes, according to which the man is the economic provider for the family, though in this case the stereotype is applicable to romantic relationships. The emotional elements here come not at the moment of having a partner, but at the moment of returning to “single life.” They highlight significant emotional problems such as depression and situations of emotional imbalance, for example moments of anger or rage combined with moments of euphoria. “Consequences” refers to the time when a relationship is kept going during poor academic performance or unwanted pregnancies—factors that mean that they must abandon their personal aspirations. There are also problems of jealousy, having a partner who is too possessive, and, during the breakup of a relationship, alcoholism and physical violence towards the girl if she initiates the breakup. On the other hand, according to the boys, for the girl the negative aspects of a relationship are jealousy, a machista boyfriend who is sexist, a lack of communication, and infidelity.

[8]

**3.2 Presence and assessment of gender-based violence:**

The dimensions of gender-based violence (physical and psychological) appeared frequently in the discourses (14.72%). If we keep in mind the simultaneously analyzed categories, 20.70% of the expressed discourse is relevant to variables that relate to gender-based violence suffered by adolescent girls in couple relationships.

1. ***Psychological violence***

The subcategory of psychological violence that occurred most frequently in the discourses is references to jealousy (30%), followed by comments that suggest control, emotional manipulation, and sexual negligence and pressure. Appearing less frequently, though still noted, were references to threats, emotional indifference, and disparagement. In all subcategories of psychological violence, the boys produced more comments than the girls, except with regard to sexual negligence and pressure, over which the girls expressed their views more frequently. This is precisely the area where the difference between the boys and girls was biggest, followed by control, jealousy, or emotional indifference, observed more in the boys. It should also be noted that no comment from the girls justified psychological violence, whereas there were comments from the boys that did. We should point out that older girls (those at the grade 11 level) have more personal accounts of jealousy, control, emotional manipulation, and, above all, emotional indifference. The statements of boys at the levels of grade 10 and 11 are very similar with respect to the different subcategories of psychological violence. Above all, they cite control, jealousy, and emotional manipulation (mostly the grade 11 boys). There are no data in the subcategories of harassment, isolation, and threats.

Some examples in the teenagers’ discourses and the meanings they give to these terms are as follows:

**-Control***:* An indicator that shows that the boy is always right, has authority, has possession of the girl, and is in charge at home. Being authoritarian is linked with a particular trait of being macho. The girls say that boys tend to be very “apprehensive” in the sense of being controlling over what the girls do.

**-Isolation***.* An indicator that shows that during a romantic relationship, the girl moves away from her the social circle she was in prior to the relationship.

**Jealousy** In this indicator the comments reflect situations of violence within the couple, as well as a lack of trust and respect in the relationship. We noticed that this indicator appeared more in the discourses of the boys than in those of the girls. That said, the discourses also suggest that the girls could be jealous, though in this case without violence. We observed a clear relationship between jealousy and insecurity, and between a belief of being intensely in love within the relationship and feelings of jealousy.

**- Disparagement.** This section includes references to criticism and derogatory comments, above all in relation to girls’ looks. There are also derogatory psychological comments such as “dumb,” “stupid,” and so forth. The girls made comments to the effect that these hurt them. The girls talk about being disparaged and the boys about disparaging girls. None of the groups of boys made a comment about being disparaged by a girl.

**- Emotional indifference.** Only the boys made comments in this category, doing so in relation to playing with a girl’s feelings, to going out with a girl for their own pleasure and without taking into account her feelings, and to not supporting her.

**- Sexual negligence and pressure**: The girls spoke above all about boys pressuring them into the “proving their love” (through sex), saying that if they did not do so they were made to feel that they were not loved back. Boys also exerted the pressure—or the girls felt that they did—of leaving them for another partner if they did not have sexual relations. The boys barely spoke about subjects within this category, but when they did it was to indicate that if they got a girl pregnant they would leave them.

**- Emotional manipulation.** The few references to this were made by the girls, and they related to having to do what pleases boys, for example always being with them and not being very independent, on the grounds that otherwise boys would leave them.

- **Justification of psychological violence through environmental, family, or cultural imitation or other reasons.** There was no justification that expressed a link between this type of violence and cultural or family factors. Boys related these behaviors with fights, problems, relationship (dating) stress, spite, jealousy, annoyance, ending a relationship with a girl, and anger. The girls did not make any comments on this subject.

**[9]**

1. ***Physical violence***

The teenage boys were the group that made comments about this subject. They talked about hits and attacks within teenage couples, and “smacking” when girls do not do what the boys want, or when the boy does not know how to solve a problem by using words. Other reasons were feelings of jealousy or infidelity. None of them said that he had attacked his partner, but they claimed to have direct experiences of having seen physical abuse in a romantic relationship that involved friends or family members.

**-Justification of physical violence toward women through environmental, family, or cultural imitation.** In this case, physical violence towards women was not justified through reasons related to values or beliefs tied to an ethnicity or those of individuals’ origins, but it was justified on the grounds that they had seen their father abuse their mother at home.

**[10]**

**4 Discussion and Conclusions**

In the form of our discussion, we will now provide answers to the research questions posed by our study. The first question is *whether gender-based violence is sustained within a rigid schematization of culturally assimilated gender roles*. The results of the analysis conducted reveal an affirmative response; strength, power, and domination appear as values that characterize the masculine identity of Latino cultures. These “values” lay the foundations for structures of inequality, and a means to achieve and defend them is aggression. In contrast, the female identity is constructed through the attributes of weakness, control, and the need for protection. These values are transmitted as guidelines for desirable behavior and are incorporated into the subject’s own identity, which becomes, progressing from an external control of behaviors, an internal form of control that reproduces gender ideology (Unger and Crawford, 1996; Soriano, 2010). The essential feature of this type of relationship seems to be an imbalance of power, from which the person who occupies the inferior position adopts, as a means of psychological survival (Delgado and Martín, 2004; Delgado et al, 2007), positive behaviors towards the person who intimidates and abuses. The study also revealed that adolescent girls internalize traditional gender models more than their male counterparts do.

The second question posed was *whether signs of gender-based violence can be detected in adolescents’ first romantic relations.* Many of these traits are related to the dimensions of gender-based violence and are explicitly mentioned in the discourses collected in our sample of adolescents, in which they talk about of issues such as physical and psychological violence and love as an ideal. The results of the study have shown that in these first couple relationships involving teenagers there are a significant number of references to negative factors and to behaviors related to gender-based violence, especially in a psychological form.

The third question asks *whether it is possible to produce educational initiatives that allow the prioritizing and design of intervention programs to promote more equal relations among adolescents and young people, as a way of preventing abusive intimate relationships and gender inequalities through education.* We assume that the conventional approach to this complex problem (legislative, police, criminal, social, cultural, and labor measures) must be complemented with another approach—an educational one—in which intervention and above all preventive measures are proposed. The study of risk perceptions for the adolescent population has proven to be an important key for understanding group dynamics and interpersonal relationships that contribute to the construction of the identity of young people. As a result, an institutional effort and an improvement in equality programs appear to be an inevitable requirement in today’s society. The recent study on gender training for university-level students (Bas Peña; Pérez de Guzmán Puya and Vargas Vergara, 2014) reveals that students are unaware of the right to receive this type of training. Nor are they informed of their universities’ equality plans, and a high percentage of students say that both their peers and a large number of teachers use sexist language in the university classroom.

All these pieces of evidence shape the discussion that is found across each and every one of the analyzed documents: the need to continue to expand efforts to find new educational strategies and methods that aim to shed light on the situation of women in the world in order to prevent the ideology that sustains inequalities. Some steps have already been taken, but there is still long way to go. There are demonstrably still attitudes that confirm sexist values and sexist stereotypes of women as objects of desire and the subject of male satisfaction.

In short, gender-based violence continues to be one of the outstanding problems in societies that are attempting to move toward equality between the sexes. Investments in social resources aimed at eradicating this problem have not produced the desired effects, and the figures on violence against women continue to be shocking, both in Europe and in Latin America. For this reason, it is essential to strengthen and expand preventive programs aimed at younger age groups. Chile’s Ministry of Education does not have educational programs on issues of gender equality and violence against women, but there are relevant initiatives, such as the “early alert program” and “datingwithout violence,” both of which were designed and implemented by the National Women’s Service. These programs are aimed at the local level, and they prevent domestic violence through the implementation of a model of integrated intervention that emphasizes community-based prevention and in particular focusing on early childhood and working with teens on the construction of nonaggressive relationships.

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**Notes**

1. Project conducted over the course of 2011, entitled “Diagnóstico de la incidencia y formas de violencia doméstica por razones de género en mujeres Aymaras urbanas de la región de Arica y Parinacota, Chile” (“Diagnosis of the incidence and forms of gender-motivated domestic violence encountered by urban Aymara women in the Arica and Parinacota region, Chile”; Ref. A/033951/10) and funded by the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (Agencia de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo).