

RESEARCH

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INSTITUTIONAL SEXISM IN CAMPAIGNS AGAINST MACHO VIOLENCE IN GALICIA: DECONSTRUCTING NARRATIVE RESISTANCES

**Sexismo Institucional en Campañas contra la violencia Machista en Galicia:
Deconstruyendo Resistencias Narrativas**

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ABSTRACT

Introduction. The evolution of institutional campaigns against gender-based violence in Spain is analyzed in line with social transformations and public policies on equality that took place during this period in Spain. **Methodology.** Through a critical discourse analysis with a feminist perspective, the discursive structures supporting the campaigns developed by the Xunta de Galicia from their inception in 1999 to 2022 are thoroughly examined, analyzing the approach and treatment the institution employs in addressing gender-based violence. **Results and Discussion.** Based on the above, an

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increase in institutional campaigns targeting this issue is observed, as well as an evolutionary process in addressing gender-based violence that exhibits temporal variability in its direction, characterized by periods of regression or devolution. **Conclusions.** It is evident that there is resistance on the part of the institution in employing a gender perspective in its actions, failing to represent the reality of gender-based violence. The use of sexist stereotypes, objectification of women, justification of male aggressors, and exemption of societal responsibilities perpetuates a collective imaginary that blames women for the violence they endure, leading to institutionalized gender-based violence and consequently, the re-victimization of these women.

Keywords: institutional campaign, macho violence, institutional violence, institutional sexism, collective imaginary, revictimization, sexist stereotypes.

RESUMEN

Introducción. Se analiza la evolución de las campañas institucionales contra la violencia machista en el Estado español en consonancia con las transformaciones sociales y las políticas públicas en materia de igualdad que se desarrollaron en este período en España. **Metodología.** Se procede, a través de un análisis crítico del discurso con perspectiva feminista, a examinar minuciosamente las estructuras discursivas en las que se apoyan las campañas desarrolladas por la Xunta de Galicia desde su inicio en el año 1999 hasta el año 2022, analizando el enfoque y el tratamiento que la institución utiliza en el abordaje de la violencia machista. **Resultados y discusión.** Visto lo anterior, se puede apreciar un incremento de las campañas institucionales a este sujeto desarrolladas en Galicia, y un proceso evolutivo en el tratamiento de la violencia machista que muestra una variabilidad temporal en su dirección, caracterizada por periodos de retroceso o involución. **Conclusiones.** Al final encontramos que existe una resistencia por parte de la institución en el empleo de la perspectiva de género en sus acciones al no representar la realidad de la violencia machista. La utilización de estereotipos sexistas, la cosificación de las mujeres, la justificación de los hombres agresores y la exención de responsabilidades de la sociedad, fomenta la conservación de un imaginario colectivo que culpabiliza a las mujeres de la violencia que sufren lo que se traduce en sexismo institucional y, en consecuencia, en la revictimización de dichas mujeres.

Palabras clave: campaña institucional, violencia machista, violencia institucional, sexismo institucional, imaginario colectivo, revictimización, estereotipos sexistas.

1. INTRODUCTION

Gender violence is a problem whose prevention and eradication is an obligation of the State through the implementation of appropriate measures. In order to guarantee the effective materialization of women's rights, it is necessary to overcome the barriers that hinder or impair their full exercise through feminist policies and concrete actions aimed at preventing and addressing male violence in all its manifestations (Adán, 2018; Gimeno, 2022; Vázquez, 2020). A relevant strategy in the fight against this reality

lies in raising awareness in society, which can be carried out through institutional campaigns aimed at raising awareness about male violence.

Currently, the media adopt an attitude of denouncing that promotes social debate and the search for solutions in the approach to male violence, however, inadequate approaches persist in the treatment of this issue (Postigo et al., 2016). For this reason, in recent years there has been a growing interest in the analysis of male violence in the mediatized sphere, as evidenced by various research in the field (Condeza-Dall'Orso et al., 2021; Cui and Worrell, 2019; Galarza et al., 2016; Gadelha and Gonçalves, 2023; Postigo et al., 2016; Rodríguez and Robles, 2016; Recuero, 2015; Saiz-Echezarreta et al., 2018; Sherman et al., 2020; Mensa and Bittner, 2020; Valiente-Bermejo, 2019; Núñez-Puente et al., 2018). Particularly, the university has paid special attention to the institutional campaigns developed by various public authorities in the Spanish state regarding their approach to gender-based violence and the representation of women in general (Berlanga, 2011; Camarero and Marcos, 2012; Fernández, 2008; Fernández, 2014; Gámez, 2012; Hernández, 2022; Papí-Gálvez and Cambronero-Saiz, 2012; Rodríguez and Robles, 2016).

In recent decades, there was an evolution in the treatment of gender violence by the media in Spain as a result of the process of legitimization and institutionalization of the struggle of the feminist movement, non-governmental organizations and other civil institutions for the transformation of social relations and the consolidation of women's fundamental rights, translocating this phenomenon from the private to the public sphere as it was considered a social problem (Gadelha and Gonçalves, 2023). According to the author Blanca Hernández (2018) in the last decade of the 20th century and early years of the 21st century there was a change of gaze towards the phenomenon of gender-based violence driven by three factors: the reform of the Penal Code and the approval of the first plans against what at that time was called "domestic violence"; the profound change in public opinion in Spain on gender violence after the murder of Ana Orantes in 1997; and finally, the entry into force of Organic Law 1/2004, of December 28, on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender Violence, a pioneering regulation worldwide, which grants recognition of gender violence as a phenomenon of a public nature, the eradication of which falls under the responsibility of the State.

In this scenario, the implementation of this new regulatory framework was the key to the development of institutional campaigns for preventing gender-based violence. The Organic Law 1/2004, states: "The public authorities, within the framework of their competences, will also promote specific information and awareness campaigns with the aim of preventing gender violence" (Art. 3). Likewise, Law 15/2021, of December 3, which amends Law 11/2007, of July 27, 2007, of Galicia for the prevention and comprehensive treatment of gender-based violence, states the following: "the Xunta de Galicia shall periodically implement information and awareness campaigns that aim to change sexist stereotypes and have an impact on the social rejection of all forms of gender-based violence" (Art. 6). Likewise, point 1.2. of Axis 1 of the State Pact Against Gender Violence, called "campaigns", formulates a section with 11 measures whose

objective is to implement efficient and effective prevention and awareness campaigns (Ministry of Equality, 2017). Following the enactment of this legislation, the budgets allocated to raising social awareness of the phenomenon of gender-based violence gradually increased (Ministry of Equality, 2022).

1.1. Evolution of institutional campaigns against gender violence

Since 1998, the Instituto de la Mujer began to systematically disseminate publicity against gender violence (Fernández, 2012). In these early years, institutional campaigns against gender violence adopted a narrative strategy that moved from the construction of consensus through a hegemonic discourse, targeting the controversy around the dominant view of the phenomenon (Terzi and Bovet, 2005). Although this era saw an improvement in the technical development of audiovisual media, the messages projected are simplistic and obvious (Berlanga, 2011), focusing on secondary elements instead of analyzing the factors underlying this phenomenon. Likewise, the public resources dedicated to these campaigns are limited and punctual, with little impact and of an informative nature, without the use of awareness-raising strategies (Papí-Gálvez and Cambroneró-Saiz, 2012).

On the other hand, the discourse disseminated through these campaigns emphasizes the duty of women to file a formal complaint against their aggressor, as Gámez (2012) argues, transferring to them the responsibility of ending the situation of violence they suffer and, ultimately, blaming them for this situation (Gómez-Nicolau, 2016; Gorosarri, 2021). This judicial perspective of gender-based violence causes institutional actions to be aimed at protecting women if -and only if- they report, framing them as reporting victims without recognizing them as agent subjects and subordinating them -passively- to judicial knowledge and control (Papí-Gálvez and Orbea, 2011) through institutional guardianship (Kapur, 2002).

Likewise, it is important to highlight the use of a stereotypical image of women survivors from the paradigm of victimization, placing them in the role of victims with no way out and capitalizing on drama as the sole pattern of subjectification. In addition, the portrayal of male violence is confined to showing only physical violence and relating its causes to individual factors, treating this reality as an isolated phenomenon without emphasizing its structural origin. Generally, the media sketch out the stereotypical image of a suffering and resigned woman, while references to aggressors allude to desperation, alcoholism, or jealousy, transmitting a reductionist view of the phenomenon: "murders of women are presented as crimes of passion, the result of a mental disorder and as isolated, circumstantial cases, not as a structural phenomenon" (Israel, 2007, p.250). Along the same lines, it is important to note that the media equate macho violence with partner violence, instead of presenting it as a misogynistic social construction firmly rooted in the culture that is reproduced at all levels of society and is directed at women as a whole simply because they are women (Gómez-Nicolau, 2012).

In summary, it can be stated that the initial institutional campaigns on male violence in Spain were based on a paternalism that made visible the women victims of gender

violence as defenseless and unprotected, forgetting, on one hand, that civil society also shapes and constructs the State (Cortés, 2011; Hernández, 2022), and on the other hand, that communication and advertising can perpetuate misogynistic stereotypes, promote values against women, or trigger situations of loss of dignity (Berlanga, 2011; Condeza-Dall'Orso et al., 2021; Lumsden, and Morgan, 2017; Mensa and Bittner, 2020; Sherman et al., 2020; Valiente-Bermejo, 2019) through their symbolic power and their weight in the construction of the collective imaginary (Cui and Worrell, 2019; Saiz-Echezarreta et al., 2018).

From the perspective of various studies, a change in focus in campaigns related to gender equality began to occur in the second half of the 2000s (Fernández, 2014; Rodríguez y Robles, 2016). The phenomenon of gender violence began to be addressed as a global, complex, and multicausal phenomenon that manifests in multiple forms and not only through physical violence (Rodríguez y Robles, 2016). According to Fernández (2014), the change in perspective of institutional advertising campaigns emerged after the approval of the National Plan for Awareness and Prevention of Gender Violence in 2006. From then on, the campaigns offer an empowered image of women, overcoming the paradigm of victimization. This change in the transmission of the message implies a greater awareness among citizens and offers a greater possibility of influencing their values and social principles, generating empathy (Fernández, 2014). Furthermore, these institutional initiatives also showed an evolution at a technical and creative level, with sharper and more forceful messages accompanied by images that no longer focus only on women in situations of male violence, but expand their spectrum to include society in general (Colás-Bravo and Quintero-Rodríguez, 2020; Rodríguez y Robles, 2016).

1.2. Social Impact of Campaigns Against Male Violence

Despite these advances in the implementation of campaigns against male violence by the different state administrations over more than two decades and an increase in gender violence by 10.7% in 2022 compared to 2021 - with 176,380 women in this situation - (General Council of the Judiciary, 2023), data collected by the Sociological Research Center's Barometer in April 2023 indicates that only 1.4% of the Spanish population places this reality as one of the most important social problems. However, this process of sensitization can be laborious and slow to evolve, requiring a sustained effort over time to achieve significant changes in social awareness and the adoption of new perspectives in relation to the addressed issue (Cortés, 2011; Feliu, 2009; García, 2009). In order for such campaigns to be effective in their goal of making an impact on society through the transformation of attitudes, opinions, and sexist behaviors, it is necessary for them to generate a lasting effect on consciousness. Additionally, the effectiveness of these campaigns will be enhanced by the number of times they are exposed to the audience, as well as by the intervals between these exposures (Papí-Gálvez and Orbea, 2011).

Finally, it is essential to highlight the importance of designing awareness campaigns against male violence with special dedication, adapting the communicative actions used to the proposed objectives in order to provoke the desired impact on the

population (Brändle et al., 2011; Camarero and Marcos, 2012). If the necessary importance is not given to this subject, they could have a boomerang effect on society, generating an impact of "desensitization, imitation, accessibility, and psychological reactance in the campaigns and information on violence" (Brändle et al., 2011, p.163). In addition, through the stereotypical representation of gender violence in these discourses, institutions perpetrate a form of symbolic violence against women that materializes through the creation of a collective imaginary around the phenomenon that does not match reality (Fernández, 2008). This type of violence that institutions can exercise against women as a whole, especially those who are in situations of gender violence, instead of protecting them, is called institutional sexism (Bodelón, 2014; Pérez-Martín et al., 2023; Vázquez, 2020). Therefore, to prevent these issues, it is vital that all campaigns against male violence are carefully designed and executed by professionals specialized in the subject matter, avoiding possible adverse effects and ensuring their effectiveness in promoting social awareness.

2. OBJECTIVES

Currently, there is only one specific research study on institutional campaigns against male violence in Galicia, the study by Papí-Gálvez and Cambronero-Saiz (2012) that analyzes this issue in the period from 1999 to 2007. The scarcity of information on institutional campaigns aimed at combating male violence carried out in this territory justifies in itself the realization of this research, which aims to analyze the evolution of the campaigns developed by the Xunta de Galicia from their beginning in 1999 to the year 2022, using critical discourse analysis with a feminist perspective (Lazar, 2007).

3. METHODOLOGY

For the development of this research, a qualitative methodology was adopted through different procedures. First, a bibliographic review of the existing literature was carried out in order to theoretically contextualize the subject of study. Secondly, a detailed documentary search of audiovisual material related to the advertising campaigns against male violence developed by the Xunta de Galicia from their beginning in 1999 to 2022 was conducted - with the exception of the year 2001, as there were no references to the publication of any communicative action on this subject. A total of 131 campaigns were compiled, which were collected on the institutional website Mulleres en Galicia of the Secretaría Xeral de Igualdade, where the Monitoring Reports of the Law 11/2007 of Galicia - previously mentioned - are published, from 2009 to 2020 they annually compile all actions carried out by the Galician government for the prevention and eradication of gender violence. Additionally, contact was made by telephone and email with the Consellería de Emprego e Igualdade to gain access to the latest report, that of 2021, as it was not published on the website. Information about the older campaigns - from 1999 to 2010 - was extracted from the campaign archive published on the same website, as well as from the 2002-2005 Action Plan against gender violence. Furthermore, various social media profiles such as Facebook (active since 2011), X (formerly Twitter) (2012), and Instagram (2019), as well as the Xunta de Galicia's YouTube account (2011), were consulted in order to view the campaign spots.

Due to the high number of campaigns collected in the analyzed time period, to allow

for greater depth in their study, the most representative campaigns related to November 25th, "International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women," were selected. Since these are campaigns published annually without interruption, the evolution in their approach is more evident. Moreover, these actions are usually the ones with the largest budget and, therefore, are more substantial, potentially having a greater impact on society. This purposive sampling is founded on terms of representativity, selecting those communicative actions that offer the most amount of information for subsequent study (Coyne, 1997). The procedure consisted of choosing, from the analysis of the first and last campaign, those that provided the greatest diversity in content through new approaches to male violence or novel contributions compared to previous ones. For this reason, the analysis of campaigns that presented similar content or perspectives was omitted.² Additionally, it should be noted that although the analysis included posters and commercials from the campaigns, the medium in which these communicative actions are advertised is irrelevant, as the focus was primarily on the content of the campaigns and not on their presentation format.

Finally, a critical discourse analysis with a feminist perspective (CDAF) was conducted with the purpose of examining the discursive structures on which the campaigns are based (van Dijk, 2015) and that contribute to the construction of social reality through their message. As Wodak and Meyer (2001) assert, critical discourse analysis involves "analyzing opaque and transparent relationships of domination, discrimination, power and structural control that manifest in language" (p.2). Language is not a neutral element, but rather is laden with interpretations that uphold structures of thought and favor the established social order through their systems of significance (Azpiazu, 2014).

To facilitate this analysis, a proposal was developed where different categories or common parameters to be examined were selected, favoring the structure of this inductive analysis (table 1). Additionally, this tool allows for the visualization of how discourses operate in the campaigns against gender-based violence being studied, through the relationship between their textual function – rhetorical, semantic, etc. – and contextual, linked to the understanding of the role of discourse framed in the underlying social and cultural context (Jorge et al., 2016).

² During the time period analyzed, some campaigns were carried out using the same advertising format, so the analysis of these replicas was omitted (years 2005 and 2006; years 2008, 2013, 2014, 2015, and 2016; and years 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021).

Table 1

Categories of discourse analysis.

Dimensions of analysis.	Elements of discourse content.
Audience targeted	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women in situations of gender violence - Aggressors - Citizenship
Terminology used	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inclusive language - Sexist language
Focus of the action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Blaming of women - Absolving the aggressor of responsibility - Justification of the aggressor - Absolving society of responsibility
Symbolic representation of women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Objectifying - Victimizing - Empowering - Intersectional - - "Normative" women.
Informative level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information about the functioning of gender-based violence - Information about available resources
Depth of treatment of gender violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Isolated phenomenon - Structural phenomenon
Attitude transmitted by the institution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Paternalistic/overprotective/guardian - Respectful of autonomy - Punitive

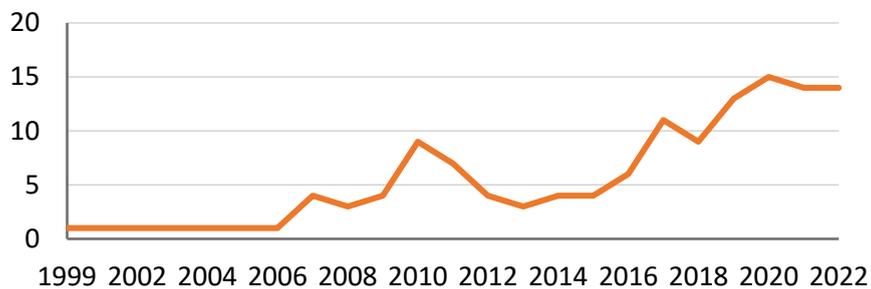
Source: Author's own work.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In Galicia, as in the rest of Spain, there was a dramatic evolution since the different administrations began their first awareness campaigns on the issue of gender violence through advertising. From 1999 to 2006, institutional campaigns against gender violence were only conducted on November 25th. From 2007 onward, their development began to increase gradually but irregularly (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Annual Distribution of Campaigns Conducted (1999-2022).



Source: Author's own work.

From the results obtained in this study and with the intention of presenting the data in an orderly and intelligible manner, a series of sub-sections were determined that, from a chronological perspective, are grouped into four stages defined by a series of own characteristics: the first from 1999 to 2004, represents the beginning of the implementation of these actions; the stage developed between the years 2005 and 2010 coincides with the entry into force of Law 1/2004 and Law 11/2007 and with the transition in Galicia from a conservative government to a progressive bipartite (2004-2009); the third, from 2011 to 2016, was a period of change in which the number of campaigns began to increase; and finally, between the years 2017 and 2022, in which there was an explosion of the feminist movement that determined the achievement of numerous massive claim actions, influencing the adoption of public policies on equality such as the State Pact against Gender Violence (2017), a fact that had repercussions in the production of institutional campaigns against machismo.

4.1. First stage: 1999-2004

In 1999, the first awareness campaign against gender violence was carried out in Galicia, coinciding with the launch of the I Action Plan against Domestic Violence (1998-2000) of the Women's Institute, which at that time belonged to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. During the first years of implementing these awareness actions, only one annual campaign was carried out around the "International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women". According to the Action Plan 2002-2005 against gender violence, these campaigns were disseminated through different advertising media such as posters, radio and television advertisements, advertising in movie theaters, and press releases (Servizo Galego de Igualdade, 2001).

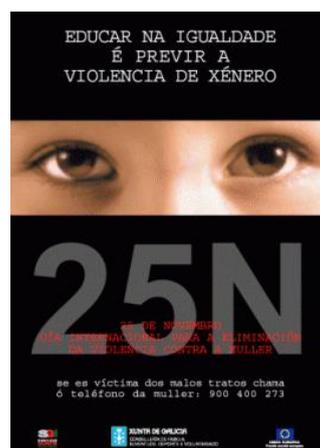
In the first campaign carried out by the Xunta de Galicia (1999), a picture is presented on a black background of male hands in handcuffs with the message "For those men who believe that domestic violence is acceptable, we have just found the perfect wives". According to the approach of this analysis, this campaign addresses its message from a punitive perspective and creates a play on words where it includes the term "wife", which suggests that gender violence is conceived as an isolated phenomenon circumscribed to the private sphere. Furthermore, it proposes punishment for abusers as a superficial solution to this social problem which, due to

its structural character, requires action on the entire population for its elimination. In addition, the term domestic violence is used in a period when it was common to use this confusing and imprecise appellation.

The 2003 campaign uses the slogan “Educating in equality is preventing gender violence” and the image used is a photograph that is limited to showing the eyes of a sad child (Figure 2). In this campaign, subtle changes in the message can be observed, abandoning the term domestic violence which is replaced by gender violence. Additionally, the campaign expands its view on gender violence, directing attention to the importance of education in its prevention and using a strategy that appeals to the affective component to connect with its target audience by dramatizing the message. Another element that is incorporated for the first time in Galician campaigns is the woman's telephone number, which promotes awareness and access to this resource.

Figure 2

Institutional campaign against gender-based violence by the Xunta de Galicia (2003).



Source: Department of Employment and Equality. Women of Galicia. <https://acortar.link/8sqLVF>

Based on what has been previously explained and considering the analysis of the campaigns developed during this period, it can be argued that these early initiatives were characterized by their simplicity and lack of depth, in line with what Berlanga (2011) stated. This treatment simplifies the nature of gender-based violence, restricting the phenomenon to physical aggression within the context of a couple. Furthermore, the symbolic content of the campaign images aims to convey a feeling through an axiological and emotional perspective rather than providing information about the phenomenon. On the other hand, the language used in the early campaigns is sexist and uses the term "domestic violence," an ambiguous designation used to refer to gender-based violence before the approval of Organic Law 1/2004, which clarified the concept. Despite these limitations, there is significant progress in considering education as a factor in preventing gender-based violence. Additionally, in the social and political context of those years, the mere creation of awareness campaigns on this subject is positively commendable, as they were very scarce.

4.1.1. Second stage: 2005-2010

In the second stage, the treatment of gender-based violence in Galician institutional campaigns begins to change. The campaign published in 2005, despite its simple design consisting of a series of words on a white background, conveys a profound message that represents the different phases of the cycle of gender-based violence (Walker, 1979). Furthermore, it communicates to the public that the violent dynamics in relationships never start with physical aggression but involve prior psychological harassment of the victim (Lorente, 2003). This message, narrated through the voice of the aggressor and directed at the abused woman, begins with kind words such as "te quiero, cariño, amor, cielo, tesoro" - the honeymoon phase - and these words gradually turn into insults, symbolizing psychological violence, "tontita, tonta, gorda, boba, burra, inútil, estúpida, cerda, imbécil, idiota, puta" - the tension-building phase - with a final threat representing physical violence, "te voy a matar" - the explosive violent phase. This campaign represents progress in understanding the phenomenon as it informs about the mechanism of gender-based violence, arousing empathy in society for women in such situations.

In 2007, Law 11/2007 was approved, the first autonomous law against gender-based violence, which established the obligation for the Xunta de Galicia to regularly develop awareness campaigns on this subject. From this year onwards, several parallel initiatives with different objectives and target audiences began to take place for the first time: the prevention of sexist behaviors in childhood; the deconstruction of myths of romantic love in adolescence; educating society; providing information about public resources for women in situations of gender-based violence, all through positive campaigns that destigmatize the situation of women with empowering messages. Additionally, the structural reality of the phenomenon started to be addressed with communication actions representing the violence suffered by women as a whole, without ignoring the importance of violence within intimate relationships. In this context, a campaign was launched in 2007 to encourage women's participation in public life, and in 2009, another campaign focused on advocating for shared responsibility in household and caregiving tasks. It's important to note that from 2007 onwards, annual campaigns against human trafficking began to be launched. These actions are primarily aimed at consumers of prostitution and aim to reduce demand (Saiz-Echezarreta et al., 2018).

The campaign against gender-based violence in 2007 conveyed its message through the well-known image of the three wise monkeys - covering their ears, eyes, and mouth - with the slogan "And what do you think about violence against women?" (Figure 3).

Figure 3

Institutional campaign against macho violence by the Xunta de Galicia (2007).



Source: Ministry of Employment and Equality. Women of Galicia. <https://acortar.link/8sqLVF>

This image represents a critique of a society that still does not perceive macho violence as a public problem (Gadelha and Gonçalves, 2023), as the roots of patriarchal injustice are so deeply ingrained in the collective psyche that it is complex to detect it - "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil" (Millett, 1969; Recuero, 2015; Segato, 1998; 2003; 2018). The campaign aims to involve the entire citizenry by appealing to collective commitment in order to eradicate the misogyny deeply rooted in culture and dismantling naturalized sexist patterns.

In this regard, it is important to highlight the 2008 campaign featuring two famous Galician personalities, one woman and one man, addressing society with the question: "And what can I do? Macho violence affects all of us." This campaign, which explicitly uses non-sexist language, shifts the focus away from female survivors and children and instead invites men to position themselves as allies in the fight against machismo by including a man as the message sender. This breaks down the dichotomy of man/aggressor by deconstructing the conceptualization that exacerbates the sense of belonging to toxic masculinity, presenting alternative models of new masculinities identified, in this case, with a famous television presenter on regional TV.

Based on the collected data, it can be inferred that during these years, the treatment of macho violence in institutional campaigns evolved significantly, in harmony with the studies by Fernández (2014) and Rodríguez and Robles (2016). Various initiatives were launched to sensitize society, presenting the complexity of this phenomenon and showing different aspects of sexism in order to prevent macho violence. This evolution aligns with the various feminist policies that began to be incorporated into regulations, plans, and programs, both at the national and regional levels.

4.1.2. Third stage: 2011-2016

After the increase in communicative actions in the previous stage, the institutional trend is to maintain and even increase the number of annual campaigns. Furthermore, the creation of institutional profiles on social media platforms is noteworthy as a more direct means of reaching the population. In 2011, the "Igualdade en Galicia" profile was created on Facebook, as well as the "Emprego e Igualdade en Galicia" profile on YouTube, where banners and campaign videos began to be published, along with

other actions such as posting a black ribbon on Facebook when a femicide occurred or an informative campaign about sexting, which represents a new form of macho violence, the digital one.

Despite the actions taken, it is evident in this analysis that there is a new shift in perspective in the treatment of macho violence in these campaigns, especially in the 2011 campaign. The poster with a white background features an image of a bouquet of flowers with the slogan: "They are not flowers, they are victims. Speak up. Report. Act." At the top, the names of the flowers, which are also women's names, are listed (Figure 4). From the perspective of this analysis, the metaphorical significance that links the concepts of "woman-flower" - a symbol of beauty and delicacy - translates into their objectification, conveying a stereotypical image that reflects their supposed fragility, passivity, and incapacity (Núñez-Puente et al., 2018; Tomasini y Morales, 2017). This reinforces in the collective imagination the stereotype of the ideal victim that society must protect through the tutelage of the system (Kapur, 2002).

Figure 4

Institutional Campaign Against Macho Violence by the Xunta de Galicia (2011).



Source: Facebook Profile "Igualdade en Galicia" <https://www.facebook.com/igualdadegalicia>

The 2012 campaign features the image of three women at different stages of life - a young woman, a middle-aged woman, and a mature woman - who decide to end their violent relationship in different ways. This campaign is aimed at women and focuses on psychological violence, conveying that this subjugation is just as harmful as physical violence in line with Lorente (2003). Despite the aim of representing the origin of gender-based violence in relationships, the image of women continues to be portrayed from a victimization perspective, reinforcing their archetype (Fernández, 2008).

It is important to note that the Xunta de Galicia in the years 2012, 2013, and 2014 stopped designing campaigns on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women and instead adhered to those of the Ministry of Health, Social Services, and Equality. According to the "Annual Report 2013 against gender-based violence," this adherence is justified due to "criteria for harmonizing the message and rationalizing public resources" (2014, p. 36).

Regarding the content of the campaigns developed between 2013 and 2016, it is surprising that the campaigns from 2013 and 2014 were repeated and had a strong resemblance to those from 2015 and 2016. They are all represented by prominent public figures from Galicia aiming to have a greater impact on the population through their influence. Their messages are simple and appeal to society's empathy and responsibility in eradicating macho violence. However, in the 2015 campaign with the slogan "If there is a way out of gender-based violence, it's thanks to you. Join us," there is some progress, as it portrays an ideal of a conscientious society that supports women in situations of gender-based violence without exposing them. In other words, the environment acts as a supportive catalyst for change in the situation. The intention is to influence the victim through support and accompaniment, without forcing her to leave the situation alone, expanding possibilities beyond institutional tutelage.

After the analysis presented above, it can be concluded that in this stage, despite the slight increase in communicative actions, the evolution in the approach and treatment of macho violence was insufficient. However, it is important to highlight that there were successful initiatives such as institutional modernization through the creation of profiles on social media aimed at disseminating awareness, educational, and informative materials against macho violence, as well as the design of campaigns addressing new forms of violence, such as digital violence.

4.1.3. Fourth stage: 2017-2022

The last timeframe analyzed in this chronology coincides with the emergence of the feminist movement, which, through pressure on institutions through its demands, led to significant progress in the institutional response to machismo violence. This feminist upsurge was driven, among other things, by a key event that occurred in 2016, the case of La Manada, which favored the ratification of the Pact against Gender Violence in 2017. This series of events led to an increase in awareness-raising actions in Galicia and throughout the rest of the country.

In 2017, several innovative communication actions took place. On the one hand, the "Campaign for the Prevention and Detection of Gender Violence in Neighborhood Communities" was carried out through posters and informational brochures. Two brochures were also published on how to act in a situation of gender violence, one from the perspective of a person who witnesses a situation of violence and another from the perspective of the woman experiencing that situation. On the other hand, emphasis was placed on the importance of educating young people to prevent the reproduction of sexual violence through the development of the "Agresión Off" campaign. In its first edition, in addition to the dissemination of awareness-raising posters against sexual violence on institutional social media and in Galician university campuses, prevention and awareness-raising events were held.

Despite these advances, the 2017 campaign against machismo violence received serious criticism. Its slogan, "The greatest thing in Galicia is not mistreated," is accompanied by a photo collage that brings together the most important monuments in Galician cities. Among them, figures of several women of different ages are

presented in disproportionate size compared to the other elements, as shown in the figure 5 presented below.

Figure 5

Institutional Campaign against Machismo Violence by the Government of Galicia (2017).



Source: Facebook "Igualdade en Galicia" <https://www.facebook.com/igualdadegalicia>

This campaign conveys a message that is poorly elaborated, superficial, and childish. Through metaphorical representation, it makes a comparison between women and Galicia's architectural and natural heritage, objectifying them from a paternalistic perspective.

In 2018, the Galician institution continued to show the influence of the "La Manada" case in its actions, publishing two very explicit campaigns. Starting from this event, they aimed to have a greater impact on society. These communication actions were more effective, leaving a lasting impression and influencing people beyond the scope of a typical institutional campaign. Thus, they launched a campaign on social media called "De fiesta con-sentido" (Party with Consent), focusing on the concept of consent as the central theme and providing information for the prevention of sexual violence through banners. Additionally, they expanded the "Agresión off" (Aggression Off) campaign, creating various types of merchandise and setting up information points at nine music festivals held in Galicia. The goal was to assist women who might find themselves in a situation of violence and to inform the general public.

On November 25, in commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, they launched the "NON" (NO) campaign, referencing the repeated feminist slogan "no es no" (no means no). This campaign emphasized the importance of the adverb of negation, creating a logo with that word as the central element around which all other aspects of the campaign revolved. This logo represented society's rejection of any form of machismo violence. It was used in the following years - 2019, 2020, and 2021 - and its message, though simple and direct, marked progress in the conception of these advertising campaigns. The perspective broadened once again, addressing machismo violence as a structural phenomenon that extends to all areas of women's lives, not limited to the context of a romantic relationship.

In this context, various initiatives aimed at educating specific sectors of society about gender equality took place. In collaboration with educational institutions and

universities, different actions targeted children and young people through the dissemination of various educational materials, including exhibitions, calendars, books, informative brochures, reading guides, etc. There was also a campaign for the prevention of machismo violence in rural areas and another aimed at professionals in day care and residential centers for older people and those with disabilities. The goal of this action was to train these professionals in identifying signs of gender-based violence in two particularly vulnerable sectors: older women and women with disabilities. This was achieved through the distribution of a video, informative brochures, and posters in these centers.

It is important to note that in 2020, coinciding with the global COVID-19 pandemic, institutional social media channels were used for informational campaigns targeting women experiencing gender-based violence, who were facing particularly challenging circumstances due to lockdown measures. Examples of these initiatives included the dissemination of instructions for these women on the various available telephone services, the creation of the "Máscara-19" campaign, and the launch of the digital campaign "Seguimos en alerta frente a la violencia de género" (We remain alert to gender-based violence).

Various banners and videos were also shared through social media to raise visibility for outstanding Galician women, including campaigns such as "Aprende con las mujeres gallegas" (Learn from Galician women), "Conoce a nuestras deportistas" (Meet our athletes), "Mujeres con ciencia" (Women in science), "Mujeres de portada" (Cover women), and "Mujeres en la economía social" (Women in social economy). Furthermore, educational and awareness campaigns targeting the general public were conducted through these platforms, including "Reto por 365 días por la igualdad" (365-day challenge for equality) and "Haters de la violencia de género" (Haters of gender-based violence), as well as #Igualdadefollowers, which used communication codes commonly employed by young people to capture their attention.

In contrast, the campaign for November 25, 2022, received widespread criticism across the country for its lack of a gender perspective. This campaign, disseminated through various images and slogans like "No debería pasar, pero pasa" (It shouldn't happen, but it does), contained different messages describing various situations. For example: "She dresses in sports leggings. She goes for a run at night" or "A nightclub. An unattended drink" followed by "What happens now?" These messages were accompanied by the image of a woman in the described situations (Figure 6).

Figure 6

Institutional Campaign against Gender-Based Violence by the Government of Galicia (2022).



Source: Facebook Profile “Igualdade en Galicia” <https://www.facebook.com/igualdadegalicia>

The campaign, in addition to once again reproducing a stereotypical and normative image of women, perpetrators, and gender-based violence itself, explicitly blames victims for the harassment they endure (Gómez-Nicolau, 2016; Gorosarri, 2021), attributing the origin of it to their choices - wearing leggings and running at night, being in a nightclub and neglecting their drink. All of this is done by appealing to fear as a perverse preventive tool against sexist practices through the disempowerment of women - don't dress like that, don't go out at night, don't go home alone. The responsibility of the perpetrators is diluted in this initiative, which forgets a narrative that seemed to be already internalized by the institution, the structural nature of gender-based violence through the persistence of a patriarchal society.

Based on the foregoing, it can be determined that during this period, there was a significant increase in institutional campaigns against gender-based violence. This allowed them to be accessible to virtually all sectors of society. It is also worth noting the important role played by institutional social media during this period, which, driven by the COVID-19 pandemic, became the main channel for disseminating these initiatives. However, according to the evaluation carried out in this study, it is undeniable that the institution's discourse still contains narratives that support the dominant position of patriarchy.

5. CONCLUSIONS

After a thorough analysis of institutional campaigns against gender-based violence developed by the Xunta de Galicia, it is evident that, despite the apparent progression in addressing this issue, these campaigns continue to perpetuate gender stereotypes. Based on the results of this research, it is clear that the approach used to present gender-based violence in these actions lacks a nuanced perspective that simplifies the structural dimension of gender-based violence, omitting the complex mechanism underlying this phenomenon. This limitation may restrict the transmission of essential information for effective social awareness on this matter.

In this way, the institution, through the design of a mass cultural product such as awareness advertising campaigns (Fernández, 2014), contributes to shaping archetypal social signifiers about gender-based violence using figurative language and

objectifying women (Verdú-Delgado, 2018). Furthermore, the narrative used in these campaigns constitutes a discourse that promotes the preservation of a collective imaginary that blames women for the violence they suffer (Gómez-Nicolau, 2016; Gorosarri, 2021), victimizes them (Fernández, 2008; Gámez y Castillo, 2015; Kapur, 2002), justifies the perpetrators (Lumsden y Morgan, 2017; Papí-Gálvez y Cambronero-Saiz, 2012), and exempts society from its responsibility.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that the absence of an intersectional perspective in these media representations excludes and invisibilizes women who do not fit the culturally dominant model—white, European, without disabilities, etc.—which implies a form of discrimination against these women, who also face other forms of oppression such as class, race, colonialism, etc. This distorted representation of women also affects those who do not conform to established beauty standards or whose physical characteristics do not correspond to normative patterns.

Therefore, from the perspective of this research, it can be concluded that this form of symbolic violence exerted through institutional campaigns contributes to the construction of social reality schemas within the hegemonic framework, resulting in a new form of violence against women: institutional sexism. This phenomenon, manifested through the trivialization of gender-based violence, not only affects society as a whole but also has an impact on women who experience this form of violence, exposing them to a second experience of victimization or secondary victimization.

For all these reasons, institutions must be aware of the impact their messages have on society and assume their responsibility in shaping and disseminating values and social norms, as they play a fundamental role in the construction and consolidation of cultural patterns, including violence against women. It is essential that awareness campaigns against gender-based violence are designed by gender specialists with the aim of avoiding the re-victimization of women and ensuring that their effect deconstructs shared thought patterns in favor of gender equality. In this way, the use of these actions as a form of institutional image laundering or "Purplewashing" (Roca y Ruiz, 2022) would be avoided, effectively promoting social awareness about the phenomenon of gender-based violence.

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