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# GENDERING POSITIVE PEACE

## A Feminist Approach for the Cases of Mexico and Turkey within the Positive Peace Index

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Abstract:

*Peace research has often left aside the inclusion of an extensive gender-sensitive approach that goes beyond the consideration of gender-based violence. However, feminist analysts have been proposing a wide range of topics and concepts to introduce into the study of this field for a long period of time. This project aims to grasp some of these materials to discuss the conformation of 4 pillars of analysis within the Positive Peace Index. Through the introduction of a gender-inclusive approach that analyses political, social and economic structures under selected indicators, this paper brings to the table information of significant relevance for peace research. The approach develops through the analysis of two case studies, Mexico and Turkey, and establishes a comparison between them through a gender-based analysis that goes from public to private spheres and sheds light on the concept of the Gendered Continuum of Violence.*

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*“it is the pedagogy of masculinity that makes war possible and without a gendered peace  
there can be no true peace”<sup>1</sup>.*

Rita Laura Segato

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<sup>1</sup> Rita Laura Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2016), p.23

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

When the UN Charter was signed in San Francisco (1945), only 4 out of the 850 present delegates were women. In fact, women's rights were specified in the charter thanks to the advocacy of women delegates from countries of the global south, mainly Latin American. One of them, the Brazilian Bertha Lutz, explained in her memories that they even faced the negative of fellow women delegates from the United States and United Kingdom, who recommended "not to ask for anything for women in the Charter since that would be a very vulgar thing to do"<sup>2</sup>. They did not step back, and the Charter finally included explicit reference to women's rights. Later on, Lutz participated in the creation of the UN Commission on the Status of Women<sup>3</sup>, the first intergovernmental body entirely dedicated to achieving gender equality which paved the way for the subsequent conventions, resolutions and bodies working for the same purpose that we know nowadays. 76 years later, feminist work in international relations has increased exponentially and introduced sources for re-examination, reconceptualization and alliance in a wide variety of fields such as security, conflict, foreign policy, and peace studies. However, "although feminists have historically made significant contributions to the theory and practice of peace, peace studies have marginalised issues central to feminist concerns"<sup>4</sup>.

The quantitative measurement of abstract concepts in social science such as "development" or "peace" has recently increased in the academic and research field, and, many times, tendencies have been represented through the conformation of indexes or rankings. While it is true that "all indices are in essence susceptible to being questioned on one ground or the other"<sup>5</sup>, some scholars have considered this trend to be a practice coming from western ideologies, made to satisfy the needs to track down common visions on "development" or "progress". At the same time, and as argued in the first paragraph, feminists have been providing well-grounded critiques and margins for the rethinking of this field in a more inclusive, representative and pluralistic way.

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<sup>2</sup> "Women and the UN Charter", SOAS University of London, <https://www.soas.ac.uk/cisd/research/women-in-diplomacy/women-in-the-un-charter/>

<sup>3</sup> Katherine M. Marino, "The Latin American Contribution to the Constitution of the World", in *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of an International Human Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 2019)

<sup>4</sup> Catia C. Confortini, "What is feminist peace?", in *Intelligent Compassion: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Feminist Peace* (Oxford: Oxford scholarship Online, 2012), p.6

<sup>5</sup> Nisha V. Nair, "Constructing Indices of Peace: A Critical Reappraisal with particular Reference to Global Peace Index", *Gandhi Marg Quarterly* vol.38, n°. 1 (Summer 2016): 72

The present paper attempts to grasp these contributions and provide a gender-sensitive perspective for the Positive Peace Index (PPI), which has been created by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) and is issued annually. The main objective of this project is to study the connection between peace and gender studies and how a gender perspective can contribute to peace measurement results. The specific objective is to analyse whether the PPI could hold a more inclusive analysis of positive peace by having a broader gender perspective in four of its pillars. Finally, to analyse and compare gender dynamics inside two countries, Mexico and Turkey, through selected indicators and how the study of these under gendered lenses could contribute to broadening the investigation regarding Positive Peace. The choice of this topic follows from the author's interests in conflict and peace studies as well as the recent engagement in feminist thought after a fruitful exchange program in the Technological Autonomous Institute of Mexico (ITAM), where she studied these theories.

Consequently, this project is aimed at answering the following research questions through the subsequent thesis:

To what extent can the Positive Peace Index include a more accurate gender-sensitive perspective in its analysis? How could the inclusion of such perspective in the cases of Mexico and Turkey contribute to the examination of the state of affairs regarding Positive Peace?

*The study of gendered relationships in both public and private spheres and their effect on political, social and economic structures contributes to a more representative analysis of women's experiences in four pillars of the Positive Peace Index. Therefore, the inclusion of such a perspective for the cases of Mexico and Turkey suggests a more accurate examination of the global dynamics of peace and proposes a new interpretation that could lead to a novel comparison of these two countries through the concept of the Continuum of Violence.*

## 1.1. Methodology

After defining Positive Peace as “the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies”<sup>6</sup>, the PPI measures it through 8 pillars, which are considered by the IEP, a baseline measure of the effectiveness of a country's capabilities to build and maintain peace<sup>7</sup>. Each of these pillars contains three quantitative indicators taken from external sources. The

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<sup>6</sup> Institute for Economics & Peace, Positive Peace Report 2019: Analyzing the Factors that Sustain Peace. Sydney, October 2019. p.12

<sup>7</sup> IEP, “Positive Peace Report 2019” p.15



present project analyses four of these pillars through a gendered lens: Good Relations with Neighbours, Sound Business Environment, Well Functioning Government and Acceptance of the Rights of Others. The latter have been selected due to their feasibility to include such perspective. Analysing these topics with a gender-sensitive approach is more desirable and able to be developed rather than in the others, taking into account the length limitations of the paper. The remaining pillars are: Equitable distribution of Resources, Free Flow of Information, High Levels of Human Capital and Low Levels of Corruption. For each, the definition proposed by the IEP will be analysed and a gender-sensitive perspective will be proposed through indicators that will examine gendered hierarchies within the selected countries' social, economic and political conditions. This approach is intended to complement the index's analysis and, by no means, to substitute any of its pillars or already existing indicators. Since the PPI is issued annually, this project takes the 2019 report as a reference in order to provide data of a similar time frame.

Secondly, the indicators will be used to analyse and compare the cases of Mexico and Turkey. These two case studies have been selected for reasons of suitability. Firstly, their significance relies on the fact that they could both be considered regional powers in their respective regions (Middle East and Latin America). Moreover, both are listed in the PPI in positions where Positive Peace is considered "high" but needs to be improved, being Mexico the 67<sup>th</sup> and Turkey the 88<sup>th</sup> in the list. They are both listed by the Gender Gap Report the 5<sup>th</sup> having more parity in their regions ranking. Lastly, it is also worth considering the fact that both countries are subjects of migration flows and border control due to their liminal location, which could be considered to separate "western" from "eastern" countries, or the "global North" from the "global South". Hence, their territories involve border circumstances where different kinds of violence are usually reported but not taken into account in the PPI.

The project starts by a revision of the existing literature on gender, peace, and the academic debates on the conformation of indexes to calculate abstract concepts. It follows through an explanation of Galtung's theory of violence and peace as well as the feminist proposals to it so as to analyse the possibility of synergies between both fields of study. Finally, it leads to the analysis of the selected Pillars and the proposal of indicators. The methodology can be considered analytical and comparative, since it is based on the examination of different dynamics for each country but also proposes a comparison of both.

In terms of the sources used, this research will be supported by an interview with Catheryn Camacho, specialist in migration and security with experience in the Mexican consulate of San José, California, where she was in charge of the department of migratory affairs. Currently, she teaches at ITAM where she is also Coordinator of the center for Security, Intelligence and Governance. Reports provided by NGOs working in the countries' borders, such as Human Rights Watch, Doctors Without Borders and Amnesty International will be used as primary sources. In addition, quantitative data has been extracted from local sources such as Femicidios.mx or We Will Stop Femicide Turkey, but also from international organizations such as the OECD database.

The approach of the project is informed by the feminist theory for International Relations. However, it needs to be clear that there is not a feminist theory per se, but many feminisms. Considering this fact, this research paper will be based in post-structuralist feminism, since it mainly challenges the way knowledge has been constructed through the use of gender as an analytical tool. Moreover, this work does not only aim to provide a gender analysis but also a feminist analysis. Both under the idea that “gender analysis is crucial to feminist inquiry and explanation, but gender analysis alone is not sufficient. To make full and adequate sense of any aspect of IR, feminist analysis requires an explicit investigation into the public and private gendered workings of power”<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Cynthia Enloe, “Feminism”, in *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Martin Griffiths. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p.101

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

For a long period of time, conflict and peace studies have ignored the presence of women in conflict-affected contexts. For this reason, when feminists in IR started to analyse and theorise within this fields of study in 1980, their first intention was to make visible the different experiences and effects women and men undergone in these contexts. This led to the study of gender-based violence, and most concretely, sexual violence. In this process, “women started to be visible as a monolithic block entity. They were depicted as suffers of an evil and crazy violence that had no roots in any kind of structure that sustained sexual violence”<sup>9</sup>.

Later on, and due to the emergence of post-structuralist theories of power and gender<sup>10</sup>, feminist conflict experts<sup>11</sup> started to analyse the complex gendered relations framed inside violence, conflict and patriarchy, abandoning the “one-dimensional/simplistic/single accounts equating women to victims”<sup>12</sup>. They did so by raising issues such as the importance of the structural forms of violence that women suffer in conflicts, the invisibility of domestic violence when establishing boundaries between the public and private and the legitimization of the latter through political and legal frameworks as well as discourses. In addition, feminist IR scholars have made an important emphasis in the study of gendered dynamics when talking about conflicts and peace, considering women not only as victims but also agents of conflict and refusing the “misrepresentation of women as ‘natural’ peacemakers”<sup>13</sup>. In other words, “Feminists and gender researchers have challenged these mainstream debates by questioning narrow concepts of war(making) and/or peace(building) and especially by stressing the interconnectedness of different types of violence”<sup>14</sup>.

The importance of these perspective when talking about peace has been emphasized in the last years. An important landmark in this area was the adoption of the UNSC resolution 1325 in the year 2000, which gave importance to the role of women in peace-making, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and also acknowledged the need for gender perspectives when addressing peace

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<sup>9</sup> Andrea G. González, “Feminist Perspectives on Peacebuilding and Reconciliation”, in *Paper Feminist Review Early Careers workshop* (London: SOAS, 2016.), p.1

<sup>10</sup> Of highest relevance: Michel Foucault, “The subject and Power”, *Critical Inquiry* vol.8 n° 4 (1982); Judith Butler, *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999)

<sup>11</sup> See the work of Cynthia Enloe and Cynthia Cockburn.

<sup>12</sup> González, “Feminist Perspectives on Peacebuilding and Reconciliation”, p.1

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Cilja Harders, “Gender Relations, Violence and Conflict Transformation”, in *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation*, ed. Berghof Foundation (Berlin, 2011), p.134

in all of its aspects. Nevertheless, twenty years after 1325, feminists still pose many criticisms to it and its implementation challenges. Some of the main advocates for the advancement of this resolution have acknowledged its strengths but also its weaknesses, such as the obstacles that a binary dichotomy of gender poses to the achievement of an effective implementation<sup>15</sup>.

In conflict studies, one of the most significant theories was developed by Johan Galtung in the 1960s. Feminists have critiqued his theory and proposed margins for change, as well as new concepts such as the Gendered Continuum of Violence. However, a gendered reading of peace has been understood as an adjacent concept to what Galtung coined as “Positive Peace”<sup>16</sup>. These approaches will be developed hereinafter due to its implications for the analysis.

Inside the field of peace studies, the monitoring of peace and its added value is of high importance. Notwithstanding, the means and methodology to do so are rarely challenged. In fact, the decision on which quantitative indicators to study is usually subject to interpretations of “peace”, “violence” and what constitutes them. Most importantly, the difficulties in gathering of precise data on different forms of violence such as domestic violence need to be taken into consideration. “The availability of reliable data in this area depends far more on the attitudes towards such violence than it does on the incidence of even its most extreme manifestations”<sup>17</sup>.

Seminars have been made in the academic spheres to debate on the possibilities and implications of measuring peace. All sorts of concerns have arisen, such as “the commitment to focusing the object of measurement on what is good for people, and not for states or companies”, the impossibility to compare certain countries or interpretation and subjectivity when defining a methodology<sup>18</sup>. Within the latter, androcentrism has been one of the issues included as a subjectivity. In this sense, the need for indicators to reflect the different ways men and women are embedded in a society has been made clear. More concretely, the need to

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<sup>15</sup> Madeleine Rees et al., “L'agenda de Gènere, Pau i Seguretat en el XX Aniversari: Una agenda transformadora?”, Barcelona, 2020. *International Catalan Institute for Peace*.

<sup>16</sup> Annika Björkdahl, “A gendered Reading of Peace”, *Swisspeace* (2014), p. 24

<sup>17</sup> Adrian Guelke, “Brief Reflections on Measuring Peace”, *Shared Space: A research journal on peace, conflict and community relations in Northern Ireland* n° 18 (November 2014): 105

<sup>18</sup> Alejandro Pozo. “Presentation of the initial problems and the proposal from the Delàs Centre”. In *Measuring Peace. Initiatives, Limitations and Proposals*, Barcelona, 2010. *International Catalan Institute for Peace*. p.7

include gender-based violence and “the experience of women who take care of the life of others, which occurs in different areas of society, but primarily inside the home”<sup>19</sup>.

The Positive Peace Index has been criticized for including 73% of its indicators measuring negative conditions, being this a ratio of 3:1, and for having a bias towards the economic dimension, which accounts for 50% of its indicators<sup>20</sup>. On the contrary, suggestions have been made towards the analysis of “cooperation, trust, pro-social acts, solidarity and moral inclusion in order to best predict sustainable peace”<sup>21</sup>. Critiques on gendered grounds have also been made to another index created by the IEP, the Global Peace Index (GPI). Within the latter, the incoherence produced by the lack of a gender-sensitive approach is highlighted in the cases of Egypt, which ranked 73 in the first GPI report, a country where 90% of women and girls have been subjected to Female Gender Mutilation; and the United Arab Emirates, where much of the violence against women is exerted in “honor killings”<sup>22</sup>. Indeed, the Coral Research Group from the University of Massachusetts Lowell selected appropriate gender-sensitive indicators for each of the 8 pillars of the PPI, calling to researchers “that if ‘we measure what we value’ then we must begin to value the role of women in peacebuilding”<sup>23</sup>. In fact, the proposed research aims to follow the suggestions of the Coral Group of University of Massachusetts Lowell’s of continuing the research for filling the missing gaps in the index and further refine a gendered approach to the PPI’s rankings, to make those more valuable.

Political dynamics in Mexico and Turkey have previously been compared. For instance, in the fields of development and migration, by the New York’s centre of migration<sup>24</sup>. Both countries have also been subject of analysis and comparison in the case of women’s experiences in the workplace<sup>25</sup>. However, the contribution of a gender perspective when analysing both of countries’ peace has not been studied yet.

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<sup>19</sup> Cristina Carrasco. “Emerging Debates”. In *Measuring Peace. Initiatives, Limitations and Proposals*, Barcelona, 2010. *International Catalan Institute for Peace*. p.43-44

<sup>20</sup> Peter Coleman and Kyong Mazzaro, “The Beginning of Peace?”, *State of the Planet: Earth Institute, Columbia University*, December 3, 2013, <https://blogs.ei.columbia.edu/2013/12/03/the-beginning-of-peace/>

<sup>21</sup> Coleman and Mazzaro “The Beginning of Peace?”

<sup>22</sup> Riane Eisler, “Dark Underbelly of the World’s Most Peaceful Countries”, *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 26, 2007, <https://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0726/p09s01-coop.html>

<sup>23</sup> Paula Rayman et al, “Positive Peace and Gender Equity” (Coral Group Research., University of Massachusetts Lowell, 2015), p. 2

<sup>24</sup> Agustin Escobar et al., “Migration and Development: Mexico and Turkey”, *The International Migration Review*, vol 40, n° 3 (Fall, 2006)

<sup>25</sup> Bospinar-Ekici, and Fatma Umut, “To work or not to work : women's experiences in Mexico and Turkey”. (PhD.diss, University of Texas at Austin, 2007 – 2008)

### 3. PEACE THEORY

#### 3.1. Galtung's Theory of Violence, The Concept of Positive Peace and Feminist Contributions

Even though the IEP has defined the concept of Positive Peace, the term was originally coined and developed by scholar Johan Galtung in 1969. Due to the fact that this concept is the reason to be of the PPI and taking into account its connection with different concepts related to violence, a short review of Galtung's theory will be developed in the following lines. Moreover, the feminist contributions to his proposal mainly made by Catia Confortini will be analyzed as well, with the intention to establish a solid background of concepts and provide the foundations that the analysis' approach will rely on, since it will be sustained through both theories.

Before 1960, peace studies had been mainly developed towards the concepts of direct violence and warfare. It was not until that year that narratives began to change towards a more sociological examination of the causes of violence, and thus, the nature of the subsequent peace outcomes. One of the main authors who brought this debate to light was Johan Galtung through a series of publications disseminated between 1964 and 1997. His approach attempted to leave aside "the actor-oriented explanation of peace and violence to structure-oriented explanation where the central idea was that violence exists because of the structure and the actors merely carry out that violence"<sup>26</sup>.

The author first conceptualized two types of violence which he interlinked to the conceptualization of peace. These concepts were Personal or Direct violence, which is committed by an actor through physical means; and Structural or Indirect violence, which is expressed as inequalities in power distribution and thus, in life expectancies, what he defines as social injustice<sup>27</sup>.

After providing a definition of violence, he also examined peace since under his perspective, "an extended concept of violence leads to an extended concept of peace"<sup>28</sup>. More concretely, he defined the absence of personal or direct violence as "Negative Peace", and the absence of structural or indirect violence as "Positive Peace". He connected both theories under the idea

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<sup>26</sup> Baljit Singh Grewal, "Johan Galtung: Positive and Negative Peace", *School of Social Science, Auckland University of Technology* (August 2003): 2

<sup>27</sup> Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", p. 171

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183

that “the absence of personal violence does not lead to a positively defined condition, whereas the absence of structural violence is what we have referred to as social justice, which is a positively defined condition”<sup>29</sup> and thus, equated Positive Peace to “vertical development”<sup>30</sup>.

Years later, this theory evolved towards “the triangle of violence”, which connected Structural and Direct violence with the term “Cultural Violence”, defined as “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence, that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence<sup>31</sup>”. Consequently, he argued that Positive Peace should also be constructed through a triangular image “in which cultural peace engenders structural peace, with symbiotic, equitable relations among diverse partners, and direct peace with acts of cooperation, friendliness and love”<sup>32</sup>.

Notwithstanding, this theory has been criticized by feminist scholars for lacking a gender perspective in its analysis. As a matter of fact, Confortini proposed 4 aspects in which feminism could contribute, establishing margins for the connection of peace and feminist studies. In this section, I will revise the four proposals she suggests.

### 1. Gender as a social construction

First of all, she analyses how Galtung conceives gender in his theory and concludes that it is considered as a mere biological separation within two categories which sometimes is subject of direct/personal violence<sup>33</sup>. She proposes that, by assuming feminist proposals of gender as a social construct, it becomes a category of analysis which sheds new light on relations of power that can explain cultural, structural and direct violence. By adopting this assumption, it is argued that Galtung’s theory would be able to “recognize the vast implications gender has for violence and peace as social practices”<sup>34</sup>.

### 2. Dichotomies

By explaining the super/subordination nature of dichotomizing concepts, and the reflection of the gender order reproduced when organizing them in these terms, she calls to an analysis of

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence", *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 27, n<sup>o</sup>. 3 (1990): 291

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.302

<sup>33</sup> Confortini, “Galtung, Violence, and Gender”, p.341

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.342

Galtung's dichotomization of Peace and Conflict. Under the feminist analysis she proposes, both concepts would not be seen as mutually exclusive monolithic entities but able to coexist in different degrees<sup>35</sup>. To demonstrate this, she proposes to introduce public-private dynamics into the analysis to expose how, in most of the peace narratives, domestic violence has been overlooked<sup>36</sup>.

### 3. Language and violence

Pointing out the connection that he does when analysing the role of language in cultural violence, she proposes to incorporate feminist investigations on how gendered language is used when describing conflicts. With this, his theory would be able to analyse how certain realities are created and how alternative ones could be developed. As Confortini argues, "this is especially relevant when thinking about the language that creates and recreates violence as a real possibility in people's lives, whether it is war or battering of intimate partners"<sup>37</sup>.

### 4. The mutual constitution of gender and violence

Here, she puts into question his use of biological sex as a reason for the acceptance of violence in a society. She proposes to use the terms masculinity, femininity and, most importantly, "Hegemonic Masculinity"<sup>38</sup>. With this term, she proposes to understand violence as "involved in the construction of masculinity through the shaping of the male body and the domination of women, the female body, and all that is associated with the feminine"<sup>39</sup>.

After this revision, it is worth concluding that Galtung's theory and Feminist theory have wide margins for confluence. Moreover, when applying gendered lenses to his theory of violence and peace, new subjects of analysis arise which, altogether with his triangle of violence, provide a well-grounded background to understand the foundations of violence within a society. Therefore, it also provides key spheres of intervention to be taken into account when studying the construction of Positive Peace.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.345

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.353

<sup>38</sup> Raewin Connell, *Masculinities* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995)

<sup>39</sup> Confortini "Galtung, Violence, and Gender", p.354



### 3.2. The Continuum of Violence

While it is true that violence can be analysed under Galtung's perspective, feminist scholars have also attempted to describe it under new frameworks that allow for a deeper gendered examination. That is the case of the Continuum of Violence.

This concept aims to present a gender perspective on the existing processes between war and peace. It suggests that gendered violence might not only be committed by the different parties in a conflict, but it transcends the nature of it. Meaning that it comprises a time continuum, place continuum and scale continuum, referring to the multiplicity of events before, during or after conflicts, the multiplicity of places where it can happen between the public/private spheres and even, the multiplicity of actors or institutions involved in it, which can go from military to legislation, or social norms, among others.<sup>40</sup> In fact, it has been demonstrated that even if these sorts of violence take different forms, they are not geographically distinct nor depend on a time sequence. In other words, "while formulations of gender show rich diversity from culture to culture, a dominance of men and masculinity is pervasive"<sup>41</sup>.

Cynthia Cockburn has studied gender differentiation as a cultural and social process and concluded that its power shapes all the dynamics of human interaction, meaning that it goes from the household to all the spheres, including the international arena. In her analysis, she acknowledges "a connectedness between kinds and occasions of violence"<sup>42</sup> as well as continuity between gendered relations and events. Thus, she identifies different phases between war and peace: "pre-conflict, conflict, peace-making and reconstruction"<sup>43</sup>. Moreover, "gender is manifest in the violence that flows through all of them and in the peace processes that may be present at all moments too"<sup>44</sup>. Finally, the author argues that this gender continuum goes through social, economic and political relations. Cockburn points out that this continuum as a whole generates a power imbalance of gender relations, which promotes the construction of masculinized societies and its prominence to evolve into violent contexts.

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<sup>40</sup> Cockburn, "The continuum of violence"

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.28

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.43

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

4. CASE STUDIES: The Four Pillars Reviewed  
4.1. Introduction: History of Gender Dynamics  
4.1.1. Turkey

The conformation of the Republic of Turkey as a consequence of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War started with a secular reformation led by the first president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. During his controversial presidency, Atatürk initiated a series of reforms with the aim of diminishing the relevance of the *sharia* law, being some of these the abolition of polygamy and repudiation<sup>45</sup>. However, they did not intend to subvert the patriarchal social structure entrenched in the Ottoman culture, especially in rural areas, but to modernize or “Westernize” the notion and roles of women in middle and upper urban classes<sup>46</sup>. In the 1950s, the industrialization of the country and the mechanization of the agricultural sector resulted in a series of migrations from rural to urban areas. This process enhanced the existence of patriarchal values in the main cities as well as the revival of Islamism, which, more concretely, began in the 80s, with the anti-Soviet military coup<sup>47</sup>. As a response to the coup and inspired by the second wave of Feminist movements that happened in the West, a new movement started in Istanbul, mainly protesting against domestic violence and the conception of marriage in the 1926 Civil Law. The next elected government in 1983, with Prime Minister Turgut Ozal in the front, had to cope with these demonstrations, and, as a consequence, signed CEDAW<sup>48</sup> in 1985. Notwithstanding, the growth of conservatism also encouraged a growth within Islamist Orthodox Feminism<sup>49</sup>. In fact, this mobilization was one of the main supporters of the pro Islamist conservative party Justice and Development (AKP), which entered in the government in 2002 with president Recep Tayip Erdoğan<sup>50</sup>. This explains the several appeals that President Erdoğan has done to women homeworkers “celebrating their roles as mothers and wives”<sup>51</sup>. However, even if women’s visibility in Turkish politics has increased as a consequence of the AKP discourse, no major structural or representative change has happened

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<sup>45</sup> Sirin Tekeli, “The Turkish Women’s Movement: A Brief History of Success”, *Quaderns de la Mediterrània* vol.14 (2010): 120

<sup>46</sup> Gunnes N. Zytingolu and Richard F. Bonnabeau, “From Atatürk to Erdogan: Women in Modern Turkey”, in *Psychology of Gender Through the Lens of Culture*, ed. Saba Safdar, and Natasza Kosakowska-Berezecka (Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht and London: Springer, 2015), p.94

<sup>47</sup> Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycioğlu, *The Rising Tide of Conservatism in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009)

<sup>48</sup> The UN convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women

<sup>49</sup> There are two major Islamist Feminist movements: The Reformist, which questions the position of women within Islam, and Orthodox, which defends gender roles as traditionally interpreted in the Quran.

<sup>50</sup> Zeytinoglu and Bonnabeau, “From Atatürk to Erdogan: Women in Modern Turkey”, p.95

<sup>51</sup> Ipek Ilkcaracan, “Economic and Political Gender Gaps and The Rise of Populism”, *Journal of International Affairs* vol.72, n° . 2 (2019): 205

in Turkish politics<sup>52</sup>. On the other hand, it has been argued that this discourse “has facilitated a transformation of gender policies away from an emphasis on equality, to an emphasis on motherhood, cash transfers, and gender-specific work practices such as part time and home-based work”<sup>53</sup>.

#### 4.1.2. Mexico

Even though women in Mexico have a long history of fighting for their rights and gradually gaining recognition as political subjects with agency, it was not until the 70’s 2<sup>nd</sup> wave of feminism in the country that a strong movement to demand equality out of the domestic sphere began. Inspired in the 1968 student movement<sup>54</sup>, the first feminist groups and associations deriving from the movement started to be conformed in the early 70s. In this stage, women began to claim their rights to undertake university studies and achieve sexual liberties with demands such as abortion or the right to contraceptive medications. During this period of time, the political sphere of Mexico was dominated by one party which preserved power from 1929 to the year 2000, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The PRI ended up developing authoritarian practices, which, along with a progressive concentration of power and tendencies towards corruption delivered the conditions for what has been named an “hegemonic party system”<sup>55</sup>. During the period of 1940-1970, the introduction of economic oriented policies with the intention to foster the economic growth of the country also increased its internal inequalities<sup>56</sup>, being these one of the causes that brought students to take streets in 1968. The Tlatelolco massacre determined the beginning of PRI’s decline. After the elections of 1988, the PRI government faced, for the first time, a real opposition and entered in what has been named “the Mexican transition”<sup>57</sup>. In this period, the presence of more women deputies and

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<sup>52</sup> Ayşe Gunes Ayata and Fatma Tütüncü, “Party Politics of the AKP (2002-2007) and the Predicaments of Women at the Intersection of the Westernist, Islamist and Feminist Discourses in Turkey”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2008): 366

<sup>53</sup> Ilkkaracan, “Economic and Political Gender Gaps and The Rise of Populism”, p. 205

<sup>54</sup> Lulú Barrera and Daphne Beltrán, “Las mujeres del 68 y la revolución feminista emergente”, Luchadoras.mx, October 4, 2018, accessed April 18, 2020, <https://luchadoras.mx/68-y-la-revolucion-feminista/>

<sup>55</sup> Carlos López Benitez, “Auge y declive de los partidos hegemónicos: México y Polonia en Perspectiva Comparada”, *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, vol. 39 n° 156 (1994)

<sup>56</sup> Victoria Ontiveros, “El PRI, 70 años dominando México”, *El Orden Mundial*, August 25, 2019.

<sup>57</sup> Juan Molinar and Jeffrey Weldon, “Elecciones de 1988 en México: crisis del autoritarismo”, *Revista Mexicana de Opinión Pública*, vol 2014 n° 17 (July 2014)

senators was of significant relevance for the advancement in gender policies towards the promotion of equality<sup>58</sup>.

Even though PRI's permanence in government ended the year 2000 with the victory of the conservative *Partido Acción Nacional* (PAN), the patriarchal values existing in Mexican society continued to be present and found their maximum expression in high femicide and gender-based violence rates. In 2009, this sort of violence was so recurrent and periodically reproduced that it was brought to the Interamerican Court of Human Rights through the case of "The cottonfield". For the first time, the Republic of Mexico was held responsible for not protecting women from gender-based violence<sup>59</sup>.

#### 4.2. Pillar I: Good Relations with Neighbours

While it is the international obligation of states to guarantee the Human Rights of each individual under their territory without discrimination, this reality is subject to irregularities, especially in the case of migration<sup>60</sup>. In this sense, the UN system defends the need for international, regional and local cooperation systems with the integration of different state and non-state actors<sup>61</sup>. In order to do so, the OHCHR advocates for a holistic approach that recognizes migrants' necessities as they emerge, and the need for a Human Rights approach when developing it. Consequently, this approach requires a gender sensitive perspective that takes into account the "multifaced ways in which gender shapes refugees' migration and resettlement experiences"<sup>62</sup>.

The PPI considers the analysis of "Good Relations with Neighbours" relevant to their study because "peaceful relations with other countries are as important as good relations between groups within a country. Countries with positive external relations are more peaceful and tend

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<sup>58</sup> Linda S. Stevenson, "La política de género en el proceso de democratización en México: eligiendo mujeres y legislando delitos sexuales y acciones afirmativas, 1988-1997", *Estudios Sociológicos*, vol. 17 n° 50 (May 1999).

<sup>59</sup> Santiago José Vázquez Camacho, "El caso "campo algodoner" ante la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos", *Anuario Mexicano de Derecho Internacional* vol. 11 (October 2010).

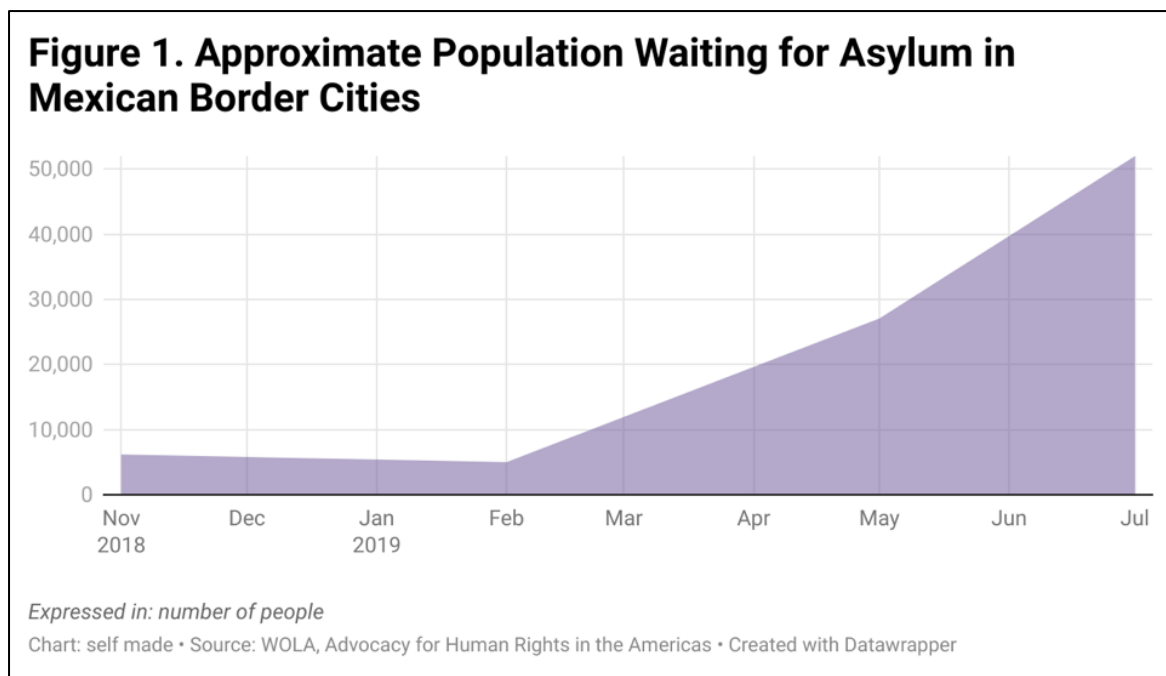
<sup>60</sup> Lee Swepston, Patrick A Taran and Ryszard I Cholewinski, *Migration, Human Rights And Governance: Handbook For Parliamentarians No 24* (repr., Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015), p.144

<sup>61</sup> Swepston, Taran and Cholewinski, *Migration, Human Rights and Governance*

<sup>62</sup> Marta Y. Young and K. Jacky Chan, "The Psychological Experience of Refugees: a Gender and Cultural Analysis", in *Psychology of Gender Through the Lens of Culture*, ed. Saba Safdar, and Natasza Kosakowska-Berezecka (Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht and London: Springer, 2015), p.18

to be more politically stable, have better functioning governments, are regionally integrated and have lower levels of organised internal conflict”<sup>63</sup>.

According to these two explanations, the cooperation between affected border countries is a key feature for dealing with this crisis. Therefore, the efforts to do so under a Human Rights based approach which takes gender into account represent a good relation between “neighbours”, as it demonstrates the shared responsibility to protect, respect and fulfil the rights and security of migrants. Consequently, the analysis of the US-Mexico and EU-Turkey migration policies, compared with their data on irregular border crossings and apprehensions, as well as asylum grants under a gender perspective, can contribute to the examination of their shared efforts towards the construction of a more peaceful society.



In 2019, the Trump administration implemented the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP), also known as “Remain in Mexico Policy”. This policy gives US authorities the right to return irregular migrants without proper documentation to the border with Mexico, where “Mexico will provide them with all appropriate humanitarian protections for the duration of their stay”<sup>64</sup> until their immigration proceedings are approved. Similarly, Turkey and EU’s migration shared policy in 2019 continued as agreed in the 2016 deal, which approved “the rapid return of all migrants not in need of international protection crossing from Turkey into Greece and to take

<sup>63</sup> IEP, “Positive Peace Report 2019” p.16

<sup>64</sup> “Migrant Protection Protocols”. Department of Homeland Security, January 24, 2019, Accessed March 31, 2021, <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2019/01/24/migrant-protection-protocols>

back all irregular migrants intercepted in Turkish waters”<sup>65</sup>. Neither the MPP nor the EU-Turkey deal have a gender sensitive perspective. According to Professor Camacho, if migration policies do not acknowledge “the specific effects of migratory violence on women, the impact on them increases so by not acknowledging it, they are worsening it”<sup>66</sup>. However, the EU-Turkey deal contends the funding of humanitarian projects to help Syrian refugees with a gender perspective in some of its points<sup>67</sup>, which have accounted for a 5.2%. MPP has been criticized by humanitarian organizations working in the affected border cities, who have denounced it for denying the right to due process of migrants, as well as documenting several cases of assault, torture, rape and kidnapping linked to their returning<sup>68</sup>. The fact that this program had a 0.1 asylum acceptance rate, raised questions on the reliability of the proceeding<sup>69</sup>. On the other hand, other organizations have accused Mexico of using this agreement as a bargaining tool, leaving aside its responsibilities on the protection of refugees in its territory<sup>70</sup>. In the same lines, the Women’s Refugee Commission denounced the specific dangers women and girls were subject to under the EU-Turkey agreement<sup>71</sup>. Data showed that between 2017 and 2018, half of the victims of sexual violence during their migration route suffered it in Turkey and that 90% of the incidents reported were rape cases. In the case of Mexico, NGOs have reported high percentages of women who suffered extortion (43%), rape (60%) and sexual assault (80%) under the migration process<sup>72</sup>. Therefore, the difficult and violent situations at border cities in Mexico, where figure 1 shows a significant increase of migrants waiting, increases the danger they are exposed to.

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<sup>65</sup> European Council, “EU-Turkey statement”, News Release (March 18, 2016)

<sup>66</sup> Interview to Catheryn Camacho, March 2021

<sup>67</sup> Natalie Welfens, “Protecting Refugees Inside, Protecting Refugees Abroad? Gender in the EU’s response to Refugee Crisis”, *Political Studies Review* vol. 18 no.3 (2020): 518

<sup>68</sup> “Estados Unidos: las devoluciones a México son una amenaza contra los derechos y la seguridad”. Human Rights Watch, January 30, 2020, Accessed March 31, 2021, <https://www.hrw.org/es/news/2020/01/30/estados-unidos-las-devoluciones-mexico-son-una-amenaza-contra-los-derechos-y-la>

<sup>69</sup> Gustavo Solis, “Remain in Mexico has a 0.1 percent asylum grant rate”, *The San Diego Union Tribune*, December 2019. <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/border-baja-california/story/2019-12-15/remain-in-mexico-has-a-0-01-percent-asylum-grant-rate>

<sup>70</sup> International Crisis Group, Mexico’s Southern Border: Security, Violence and Migration in the Trump Era, May 2018, Available at <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/mexico/66-mexicos-southern-border-security-violence-and-migration-trump-era>

<sup>71</sup> Women’s Refugee Commission, “Ill-Conceived EU-Turkey Deal is Especially Dangerous for Refugee Women”, News Release (March 18, 2016)

<sup>72</sup> Anjari Fleury, “Fleeing to Mexico for Safety: The Perilous Journey for Migrant Women”, *United Nations University*, April 5, 2016, <https://unu.edu/publications/articles/fleeing-to-mexico-for-safety-the-perilous-journey-for-migrant-women.html>

## Figure 2. Number of Apprehensions by Gender in the US-Mexico Border

Male vs Female data from 2018 to 2019

■ Male ■ Female



Expressed in: number of people

Chart: self made • Source: US Border Patrol • Created with Datawrapper

Moreover, figures 2 and 3 show the increase of irregular migration in both borders. We can see in both of them that while more men continue to cross the border, the proportion of women who did so in 2019 compared to 2018 is higher for both cases. Concretely, the increase in the proportion of women irregularly crossing the border was of a 54%, compared to a 32% of men in Mexico and of 44% compared 28% of men in Turkey. Hence, we can see that since the application of the MPP policy in 2019, not only more migrants have been left to wait in Mexican border cities, but more women have tried to cross the border irregularly, a pattern that can also be appreciated in the case of Turkey. Thus, it can be perceived that women's efforts to irregularly cross the border have increased in both cases. An explanation of this can be the need to avoid being retained in border cities, waiting for a long process of asylum demand which, as previously explained, might entail exposure to violent situations.

## Figure 3. Irregular Migration to EU: Eastern Mediterranean Route

Male vs Female data from 2018 to 2019

■ Male ■ Female



Chart: self made • Source: Frontex News Releases • Created with Datawrapper

#### 4.3. Pillar II: Sound Business Environment

The IEP has defined Sound Business environment as “the strength of economic conditions as well as the formal institutions that support the operation of the private sector. Business competitiveness and economic productivity are both associated with the most peaceful countries”<sup>73</sup>. When analyzing these conditions, the PPI does not take into consideration the informal institutions and social structures that support this sector as well. Feminist care ethics suggest that “fostering and practicing care may reduce harm and conflicts, and prioritizing care in order to ensure that everyone’s needs are met, contributes to peace and stability”<sup>74</sup>. Consequently, when analyzing the strength of the conditions that support the existence of a private sector, the level of support to informal practices as well as the facilities given to women for their balancing also represent a good economic structure.

**Figure 4. Time Spent in Paid and Unpaid Work 2018**

Country/Gender	Time Spent in Unpaid Work		Time Spent in Paid Work		Time Spent in Total Work	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mexico	131,4	331,3	478,3	236,3	609,8	567,6
Turkey	67,6	305,0	358,3	133,9	425,8	439,0

*Expressed in: minutes per day*  
 Table: self made • Source: OECD stat • Created with Datawrapper

Figure 4 shows a substantial difference between values associated with men and women. In this sense, women devote more time in informal non-remunerated practices and significantly less than men in paid work. In second place, the length of paid maternity and paternity leaves in both countries suggest more facilities for women to develop care work rather than men, as shown in Figure 5. In this case, we can see how only one week of leave is given to men in both cases in comparison to 12 and 16 weeks of leave for women. Even though the fact of having sufficient time to conciliate the care of a child and their paid occupation are pointers of emancipation for women, the fact that the same facilities are not given to men relegate women to the position of caregivers.

<sup>73</sup> IEP, “Positive Peace Report 2019”, p.16

<sup>74</sup> Tove Pettersen, “Feminist care ethics: contributions to peace theory”, in *Routledge Handbook of Feminist Peace Research* ed. Tarja Väyrynen, Swati Parashar, Élise Féron and Catia Cecilia Confortini. (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), p.28



**Figure 5. Length of Paid Maternity/Paternity Leave 2018**

	Length of Paid Father-specific Leave	Length of Maternity Leave
Mexico	1	12
Turkey	1	16

*Expressed in: weeks*  
 Table: self made • Source: OECD stat • Created with Datawrapper

In the case of Turkey, care politics have been an instrument used by the AKP party to attract the votes of women homemakers, a big part of Erdoğan’s electors<sup>75</sup>. As part of this, he has approved several policies for women who undertake these practices. Some of them being the cash-transfers support (2007) or the extension of maternity leave to an unpaid leave for up to 6 years<sup>76</sup>. These policies have been denounced for “ironically promoting women to stay outside of the labour market through extended maternity leave, and encouragement of part-time, home-based employment”<sup>77</sup>.

For Mexico, the majority of the policies for the conciliation of care practices are included in the social protection policies and programmes implemented by the Social Development Secretary. However, these practices are found on an unarticulated logic characterized by a large institutional fragmentation based on segmentation on the beneficiaries and the duplicity of the programs<sup>78</sup>. More concretely, the way in which the provision of care has been organized in this country creates disadvantages for women’s employment opportunities, especially in low-income families. In these cases, the majority of opportunities for employment found by women are informal and of underemployment<sup>79</sup>. On the contrary, Mexico City has done important progress in this sector by articulating a plan that has served as a source of orientation for future state level actions proposed in PROIGUALDAD 2020-2024<sup>80</sup>, with actions such as the increase

<sup>75</sup> Ilkcaracan, “Economic and Political Gender Gaps and The Rise of Populism”, p. 205

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. 204

<sup>77</sup> Ibid

<sup>78</sup> Sughei Villa Sánchez, *Las Políticas de Cuidados en México: ¿Quién Cuida y Cómo se Cuida?* (Ciudad de México: Fundación Friedrich Ebert-México, 2019).p.11

<sup>79</sup> Villa, *Las Políticas de Cuidados en México*, p.26

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

of the paternity leave, the creation of places for lactation or the reduction of working hours on Fridays<sup>81</sup>.

#### 4.4. Pillar III: Well-functioning Government

The PPI defines a well-functioning government as the one which “delivers high-quality public and civil services, engenders trust and participation, demonstrates political stability and upholds the rule of law”<sup>82</sup>. Therefore, a well-functioning government is one that does not discriminate on a basis of gender in its laws nor in public policies and “adopts and strengthens sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels”<sup>83</sup>. In order to apply a gender perspective to this pillar, the existence of discriminatory laws which limit women’s empowerment and opportunities will be studied in the following lines, complemented by the study of the evolution of gender-based policies from the respective governments.

CEDAW’s 2018 recommendations for Mexico pointed out the absence of strategies for educative, economic and labor empowerment of women, especially in low-income families, rural areas, indigenous communities and disabled persons<sup>84</sup>. These recommendations were given the same month that Andrés Manuel López Obrador (“AMLO”) and his party, *Movimiento Regeneración Nacional* (MORENA), entered into Government. Even though his government is structured under equalitarian quotas of men and women, the promotion of gender equality was not a priority during his campaign. Few proposals were made to fight structural and cultural violence compared to those aiming to address direct violence. Once AMLO entered into governance, his first actions in this field started with the reduction of several budgets on gender topics such as the Program of Maternal, Sexual and Reproductive Health, as well as the National Center for Gender and Health Equity<sup>85</sup>. At the same time, the designation of the director of the Women’s National Institute and the president of the National

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<sup>81</sup> ONUMUJERES, *El Trabajo de Cuidados: Una Cuestión de Derechos Humanos y Políticas Públicas*. Mexico City (May 2018)

<sup>82</sup> IEP, “Positive Peace Report 2019” p.16

<sup>83</sup> UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “Goal 5. Achieve Gender Equality and Empower all Women and Girls”, United Nations, Accessed April 7, 2021. <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal5>

<sup>84</sup> “Comité CEDAW Emite Observaciones A México Sobre Derechos De Las Mujeres Luego De 9ª Revisión”, ONU Mujeres | México, 2021, <https://mexico.unwomen.org/es/noticias-yeventos/articulos/2018/07/comunicado-cedaw>

<sup>85</sup> Karen Castillo, “Mexicanas llegan al 8 de marzo con zozobra: no ven que a AMLO le interese la agenda de género”, *Sinembargo.mx*, March 8, 2019. <https://www.sinembargo.mx/08-03-2019/3543905>

Commission for the Eradication of Violence against Women took place after a one-year delay. As a matter of fact, his expected plan for the promotion of gender equality PROIGUALDAD was presented in 2019 but finally created in 2020. Consequently, it can be argued that one of the characteristics of López Obrador's government in relation to the promotion of gender-sensitive policies has been postponements and delay<sup>86</sup>. Hence, his commitment to the promotion of gender-equality can be assessed as medium-low and not a priority for his government<sup>87</sup>. In addition, as expressed by Professor Camacho, "his view on security is set up in criminals portrayed as men and towards narcotraffic and criminal organizations. He does not consider women's security in this perspective"<sup>88</sup>. Besides, the president's relation with the feminist movement has done nothing but to deteriorate in recent years. His government has been widely criticized by feminists and his answers have continuously targeted the movement and associated it with conservative right-wing "provocative and authoritarian" oppositions<sup>89</sup>. This populist discourse is very similar to that of Erdoğan in his anti-gender politics, which will be discussed in the following lines.

The case of Turkey is a very particular one. The AKP party, which has now been in power for 18 years, has experienced a transformation from a center-right party towards a nationalist-populist party<sup>90</sup>. During Erdoğan's first years in government (2002-2011), policies promoting gender equality were developed as part of the political rapprochement to the European Union's standards of acceptance<sup>91</sup>. Consequently, legal changes such as the law against domestic violence (2007) and the signing of the Istanbul Convention (2011) took place during these years, even though the party was already developing a conservative discourse placing women at the center of the family and private spheres<sup>92</sup>.

From 2011 onwards, a period of transition and polarization took place in part as an answer to certain political events that happened in the subsequent years. Some of these were the Gezi

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<sup>86</sup> Castillo, "Mexicanas llegan al 8 de marzo con zozobra: no ven que a AMLO le interese la agenda de género"

<sup>87</sup> Interview to Catheryn Camacho, March 2021

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Francesco Manetto, "El conflicto de López Obrador con el feminismo marca un 8 de marzo de indignación y protesta", *El País México*, March 8, 2021. <https://elpais.com/mexico/2021-03-08/el-conflicto-de-lopez-obrador-con-el-feminismo-marca-un-8-de-marzo-de-indignacion-y-protesta.html>

<sup>90</sup> Alev Özkazanç, "Gender and Authoritarian Populism in Turkey: the Two Phases of the AKP Rule", *Open Democracy*, February 3, 2020. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/rethinking-populism/gender-and-authoritarian-populism-turkey-two-phases-akp-rule/>

<sup>91</sup> Özkazanç, "Gender and Authoritarian Populism in Turkey: The Two Phases of the AKP Rule"

<sup>92</sup> Ayata and Tütüncü, "Party Politics of the AKP (2002-2007) and the Predicaments of Women at the Intersection of the Westernist, Islamist and Feminist Discourses in Turkey"

resistance movement, and the rise of the People’s Democratic Party (HDP), which is a coalition form the left-wing and the Kurdish movement. These two events triggered the transformation of AKP’s government towards a more authoritarian regime. According to Özkazanç, this authoritarian response also used a hyper-masculine discourse. For instance, the case of Gezi proved the vitality of feminist movements and hence, “Erdoğan not only resorted to the narrative of the nation as threatened by external powers but also to a more specifically Islamic-populist rhetoric revealing alarmist gendered fantasies”<sup>93</sup>. Moreover, his repeated discourse of the women “family-mothers” vs “alien women”, which he relates to the secular feminist movement, represents a gendered dichotomy that reproduces relations of power, under Confortini’s proposals. This has been qualified by Özkazanç as “Patriarchal Authoritarianism” and has come hand in hand with an evolution of politics promoting anti-genderism. Examples of these are the abolition of the State Ministry for Women in 2011, which was replaced by the Ministry for the Family and Social Policies, or the recent withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention this year (2021). Concretely, this progressive regression has resulted in an increase of femicide and domestic violence cases, aspect that will be developed in the following and last pillar.

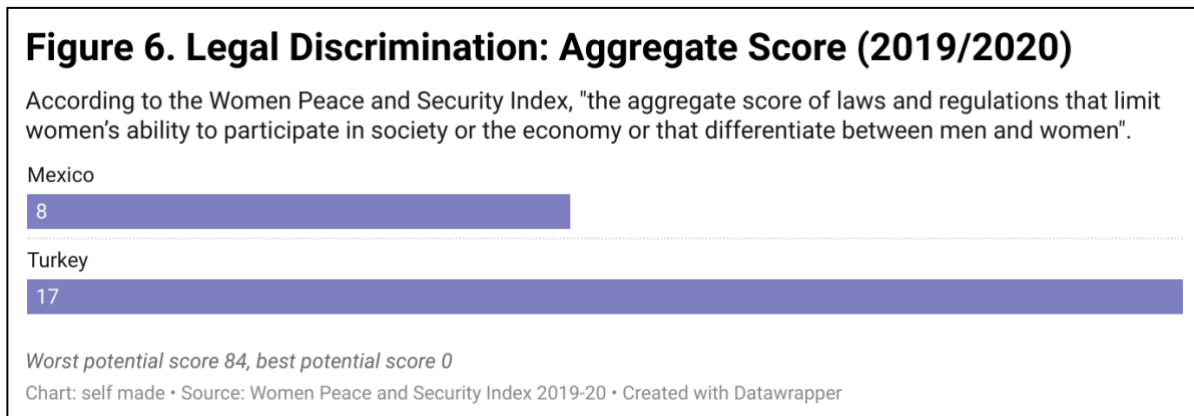


Figure 6 shows the aggregate score of discriminative laws existing in both countries. It can be perceived that Turkey has a significantly higher number of discriminatory laws compared to Mexico and this can be seen as product of the evolution towards anti-gender politics previously explained.

<sup>93</sup> Özkazanç, “Gender and Authoritarian Populism in Turkey: The Two Phases of the AKP Rule”

#### 4.5. Pillar IV: Acceptance of the Rights of Others

The PPI values the acceptance of rights of others through the reasoning that “peaceful countries often have formal laws that guarantee basic human rights and freedoms, and the informal social and cultural norms that relate to behaviours of citizens”<sup>94</sup>. The index uses a gender-specific indicator in this pillar, the Gender Inequality Index. However, it only analyses women’s disadvantages through empowerment, reproductive health and the labour market. With the intention to provide a deeper insight that represents the status of the informal social and cultural norms of the two societies, this section proposes the inclusion of the Gender Social Norms Index (GSNI), developed by UNDP, which measures gendered beliefs, biases and prejudices. Moreover, the comparison of these results with the levels of femicide in both countries will help to give an idea of the effects of cultural violence in the acceptance of the rights of women, since femicide is “the ultimate consequence of gender inequalities and the masculine control over bodies”<sup>95</sup>.

**Figure 7. Gender Social Norms Index - UNDP**  
Last period available (2010-2014)

	Share of People with biases			Share of people with bias by dimensions			
	At least 1 bias	At least 2 biases	No biases	Political	Economic	Educational	Physical Integrity
Mexico	87.70	51.00	12.80	41.40	29.35	20.70	75.55
Turkey	96.52	85.70	3.48	76.02	80.25	32.04	77.56

*Expressed in %*  
Table: self made • Source: UNDP- GSNI • Created with Datawrapper

The GSNI, which “captures how social beliefs can obstruct gender equality among multiple dimensions”<sup>96</sup>, shows that generally the Turkish society is more biased towards the acceptance of women’s rights. More concretely, the Economic dimension shows the greatest bias for this country. This can be understood as an effect of the enhancement of the role of women as caregivers and “housemakers” promoted by the Turkish government, which might act as a constrain of their rights to economic emancipation, as explained in Pillars II and III. On the contrary, Mexico’s most significant bias is found on the Physical Integrity dimension, this clearly correlates with Figure 8, in which the number of femicides for 2019, although having

<sup>94</sup> IEP, “Positive Peace Report 2019”

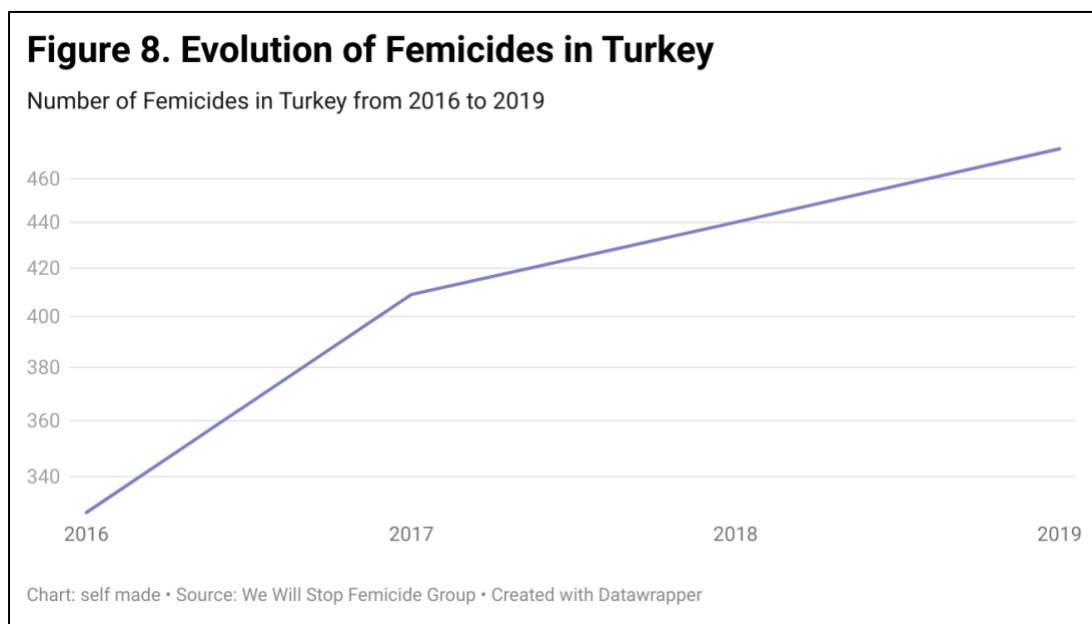
<sup>95</sup> Sonia Herrera, “Despatriarcalizar y Acuerpar la Seguridad en México”, *Por la Paz* no. 37 (2019)

<sup>96</sup> UNDP, 2020 Human Development Perspectives: Tackling Social Norms, New York, 2020. p. 7

decreased, remain on alarming numbers. Even if the number of femicides in Mexico remain in high, there is a clear difference between both countries' evolutions, having for Mexico a sustained decrease since 2017, and, for Turkey, a continuous increase.

Under Galtung's triangle, the cultural violence shown in Figure 7 derives in the increase of direct violence, as seen in the case of Turkey (Figure 9). The repeatedly discriminatory discourses promoted by AKP officials and Erdoğan himself<sup>97</sup> have consequences on the biases on gender beliefs in society. This can also be explained under Confortini's third proposal on how language and violence are mutually constituted. As concluded by Meltem Ince and Mehmet Hulusi in their research:

“In Turkey, [...] patriarchal beliefs have been directly linked to the increased violence towards women and femicide. [...] Men's propensity to control women in every area of life has continued, and the violence, femicide and torture are masked by cultural, religious, patriarchal and traditional ideologies”<sup>98</sup>.

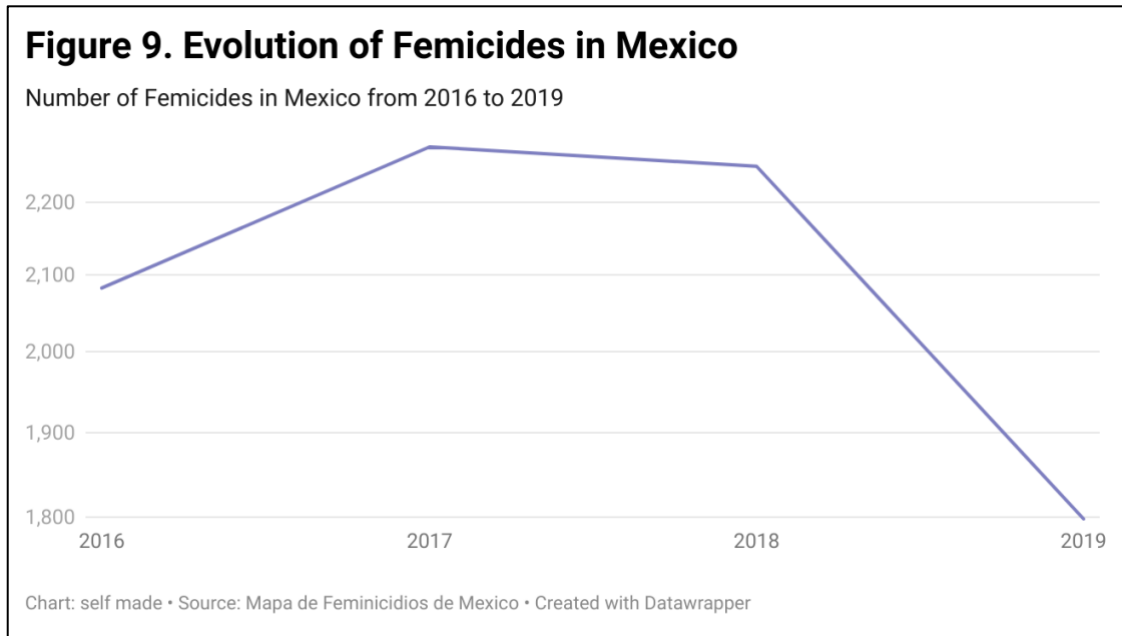


For Mexico, the slight decrease of femicides is notable. However, high numbers prevail. Therefore, the assessment is that most likely the decrease has come with the arrival of López

<sup>97</sup> Balki Begumhan and Begüm Zorlu, “Populism and Femicide in Turkey”, *London School of Economics and Political Science*, August 17, 2020.

<sup>98</sup> Meltem Ince Yenilmez, and Mehmet Hulusi Demir, “The Challenge of femicide and violence against women in Turkey”, *International Journal of Contemporary Economics and Administrative Sciences* vol.6, n°.1-2 (2016): 21

Obrador and his intention to address the issue. However, and as explained in pillar III, the postponement of gender-based policies towards the reduction of inequalities is a constraint and results in the not so significant decrease of the femicide rate.



## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this project suggest that the Positive Peace Index has wide margins for incorporating a gender-sensitive perspective in, at least, 4 of its pillars. The inclusion of such perspective has brought to the table new subjects of inquiry for Galtung's "triangle of violence" under gendered lenses. This has been the case, for instance, of the relations between gendered social norms -understood as cultural violence-, and femicides -understood as direct violence-, as shown in Pillar IV through the case of Mexico. In it, the bias in physical integrity can be related to the high average of femicides. Similarly, anti-gender discourses -Pillar III- in Turkey have also proven to have effects in women's physical integrity, as shown in Pillar IV, but also in their role in the economy -Pillar II-, being this understood as structural violence. In other words, there is a degree of interrelation between political, social and economic gendered dynamics. In this sense, and as argued by Confortini, we can see, through the case of Turkey, that language and discourses influence direct violence and that an economic structure that fosters women to stay in the private sphere also increases their exposure to domestic violence. Equally important, the lack of a structure for the conciliation of care tasks, as seen in Mexico, is a source of economic inequality and limits women's empowerment. In the case of migration, all the beforementioned structures still prevail and increase the danger women are exposed to. All this proves that the different sorts of gender-based violence explained before are interconnected -as explained in the Literature Review- and thus, can be analysed under Galtung's triangle. Hence, the need for a gender-sensitive approach in all these fields is of significant importance.

Consequently, the proposed study of public and private gendered dynamics, as argued by the Feminist Theory of IR, has proven to upgrade the inclusiveness of the analysis of Positive Peace. Indeed, both the Peace Theory debate explained in section 3, and the Case Studies suggest that gender studies not only can come together with peace studies, but most importantly, can enhance them.

Conversely, the countries' comparison has shown both similarities and differences. On the one hand, similarities have been identified in the case of migratory policies and its effects, as shown in Pillar I. On the other hand, differences have been found in the evolution of gender social norms and femicide rates in which different tendencies have been shown for each country. More concretely, the established comparison shows certain features that can be explained



through the concept of the Continuum of Violence. First of all, gender-based violence follows a Place Continuum, since similar forms of violence are not only appreciated in countries of different regions, but also in different places of the same country (being them in border locations, or inside the household). Secondly, these forms of violence coexist in different degrees (cultural, structural and direct), and are exerted by a multiplicity of actors (governments, legislation, and economic structures, among others), allowing for a Scale Continuum. Third, they do not depend on a specific period of time but have coexisted throughout history (time continuum). As a result, the countries' comparison acquires a new dimension through this concept.

Some of the biggest limitations this project has experienced have been in the gathering of data, specifically in Pillar I, in the case of the European border data and Frontex. In the same way, the lack of government's transparency in providing data on femicides resulted in the use of local sources such as Femicidios.mx. Last, the language barrier found in the research of primary and secondary sources in the case of Turkey.

Even though this paper has proposed different topics to include in the PPI, there are still many realities -where feminist studies engage with- that could also be studied. That is the case of minority and indigenous conditions, militarisation and masculinity (in the case of Turkey, significant attention could be paid to the Kurdish issue) or "glass ceilings". Future investigations could try to provide a gender-sensitive approach in the four remaining pillars. Moreover, the recalculation of the index with the inclusion of these indicators could show added evidence on possible changes in the rankings. Finally, the analysis of other countries' contexts and conditions under the same perspective could help prove the added-value of a gender-based approach.

Assuredly, this investigation has shown different forms of gendered violence of substantial relevance and the need to take them into account when constructing a positive peace that is durable and just. As Annika Björkdahl puts it, "uncovering the gendered hierarchies of conventional understandings of peace and revealing the gender dynamics of contemporary peacebuilding practices requires that peace research is strengthened and informed by a gender perspective"<sup>99</sup>. In this sense, Positive Peace does also feature women's experiences not only

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<sup>99</sup> Björkdahl, "A gendered Reading of Peace"

through practices that put care and security in the centre, but also through discourses, international cooperation and structures for emancipation.

## 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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## 7. ANNEX: Interview with Professor Catheryn Camacho

### Description of the Interview:

- Interviewer: Paula Jou Fuster, undergraduate student at Blanquerna University.
- Interviewee: Catheryn Camacho Bolaños. Coordinator of the center for Security, Intelligence and Governance in Mexico's Technological Autonomous Institute. She has been advisor of the Foreign Affairs commission in the Senate of the Republic of Mexico and has worked in the Mexican embassy of San José (California) in charge of the department of migratory affairs.
- Affiliation with Interviewee: Former Professor of the Interviewer in her Exchange program.
- Interview setting: Conducted online in March 2021.

### Interview:

Interviewer: The Positive Peace Index is said to calculate the institutions' attitudes and structures within a country that promote positive peace. It takes into account 24 indicators which are divided in 8 topics; however, more than half of these indicators are economic centered and only one is gender specific. With this information, would you say that the experiences of women are fully represented in the index?

Interviewee: I don't think so. There are substantial differences between the problems that affect women. Even though this index is trying to comprehend all the matters, I believe it should be more inclusive regarding the kind of violence that is specifically affecting women, like domestic violence, for instance.

Interviewer: would you say that this sort of Indexes that measure peace and analyze all countries with the same indicators and under the same parameters are able to grasp all the complexities of local scenarios within each country? For instance, in the case of Mexico?

Interviewee: I don't think so, because even though they try to make a measure that is an average, the complexity of every country does not let you make general assumptions. I think that is one of its complications. However, I do believe that this kind of projects or measurements are necessary and the only parameter that allows you to make comparisons. On one hand I believe they can be very useful because they can make interesting measures,

however, I do not think they can entirely include the specific things that differentiate the countries.

Interviewer: Would you say that they take a systemic international approach that is able to provide comparisons among countries but, on the other hand, it is very difficult that they can really represent the realities in the specific countries.

Interviewee: That is right, yes.

Interviewer: Do you think that the efforts towards the reduction of gender-based violence and gender inequalities in a country could, or should be taken into account as an attitude, institution or structure that promotes positive peace? For instance, the role of local organizations or the number of public policies with that intention.

Interviewee: Yes, of course. I believe that all that work can enrich all the measures and the index in general because they can provide a local perspective from reality, and I think that is missing and I don't think the index can provide comparisons if it does not have a local perspective of what is going on inside the countries. And I believe the work that all these institutions make can reflect the truth in all these countries.

Interviewer: Has López Obrador's presidency made a difference on policies for women and the reduction of gender inequalities?

Interviewee: I don't think he has made any difference; I believe he is leaving it aside even though it is a very important matter here in Mexico because there are high indexes of violence, specifically domestic violence and even more during the pandemic.

Interviewer: Would you rather say that some of his discourses are masculinized?

Interviewee: Yes, I think so.

Interviewer: Would you say that the way in which he portrays security threats is also masculinized?

Interviewee: Yes, I believe so. I don't believe he actually understand what is going on in the country in regards to security, so if he doesn't even understand what is going in security, I don't think he has the capacity to produce policy programs that can help women. His view on security is pretty much set up in criminals portrayed as men and towards narcotraffic and criminal organizations. Therefore, I don't think he is considering women in this perspective.

Interviewer: Does the Remain in Mexico policy have a different impact to women than men?

Interviewee: Yes, it does have a different impact. A policy that does not consider the specific effects of migratory violence on women, perpetrates the impact of this violence increase so by not acknowledging it, this policy is worsening it.

Interviewer: Would you say it is worse for women than for men?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: In which ways do you think it impacts women differently?

Interviewee: Because when you don't have a policy that is aimed to protect women from these special kinds of violence that is being suffered by them, I believe that the problem is made bigger. I think that this approach to crime is counterproductive for women.

Interviewer: Do you think it is party of Mexico and the US common responsibility to create a migration policy that ensures that Human Rights are not violated in the border?

Interviewee: Yes, it is because Human Rights are universal. All countries have responsibilities to protect them.

Interviewer: How do you think this sort of policies could have a gender-sensitive approach that tackles women?

Interviewee: Actually, I don't know. I believe that human rights are universal. But if you make or design specific policies aimed to protect those human rights, it's most likely that women



will be protected. Because women are located in the most vulnerable populations so if you are trying to protect human rights of the vulnerable populations, it will be there.

Interviewer: Do you think that the violence that is suffered in the US-Mexico border is going to change with Biden's administration?

Interviewee: I hope so, because I believe he is more caring about what is happening in the border and immigration policies. However, it will also depend on López Obrador's foreign policy and his priority. I'm worried he does not have that priority. Since the policy shall be shared by both countries, Biden's intentions won't solve anything without the Mexican government's cooperation.