WHY DO COUNTRIES PURSUE A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY? A COMPARISON BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: THE CASE OF SWEDEN, CANADA, COLOMBIA, AND MEXICO

A Thesis

Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Political Science at the Faculty of Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (M.A.)

by:

Sonia So'imatus Sa'adah

02222110014

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

DEPOK

2023

QUOTE

"The believers, men and women, are Auliya' (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another, they enjoin (on the people) Al-Ma'ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam orders one to do), and forbid (people) from Al-Munkar (i.e. polytheism and disbelief of all kinds, and all that Islam has forbidden); they perform As-Salat (Iqamat-as-Salat) and give the Zakat, and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah will have His Mercy on them. Surely Allah is All-Mighty, All-Wise"

(At-Taubah: 71, English translation by Muhsin Khan).

ABSTRACT

WHY DO COUNTRIES PURSUE A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY? A COMPARISON BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: The Case of Sweden, Canada, Colombia, and Mexico

Sonia So'imatus Sa'adah
MA in Political Science
Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia, 2023
Email: sonia.saadah@uiii.ac.id

This study seeks to examine the necessary conditions for countries to pursue a feminist foreign policy. By applying the method of agreement and focusing on the cases of Sweden, Canada, Mexico, and Colombia, which integrate a feminist foreign policy, this research aims to observe why countries with different socioeconomic development statutes chose to adopt this political strategy. Scholars have argued that domestic politics and international politics are strongly intertwined. What happens in national politics can often shape a country's foreign policy to a certain degree. With this as a background, this study recognizes that domestic forces and transnational forces are interdependent and interconnected.
Thus, I argue that a strong feminist movement is a necessary condition for countries to pursue a feminist foreign policy. The interplay between pressure from domestic forces (feminist movements) and transnational forces results in a "pincers' effect" (Friedman, 2008), which leads states to put emphasize a gender-responsive foreign policy. In other words, the existence of a strong feminist movement is a required condition for countries to adopt a feminist foreign policy.

Keywords: *feminist foreign policy, necessary condition, Sweden, Canada, Mexico, and Colombia*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

"It always seems impossible until it is done" Nelson Mandela.

Finishing this thesis once seemed impossible. I would like to thank many people for supporting and helping me in pursuing my study at the Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia (UIII).

The first and formost, I would like to thank my thesis supervisors Philips J. Vermonte and Afrimadona who have been very kind, petiente, and supportive. I have been very lucky to be supervised by the best and by the very suppoortive and inspiring teachers. You are my academic paragons. I am also very thankful for the chair of my thesis defense Ella Prihatini and the examiner Rifqi Muna who are very thoughtful and helpful.

I would like to thank all my teachers at the UIII: Sirojuddin Arif, Djayadi Hanan, Ahmed Kuru, James Piscatori, and Nia Deliana. You have set a high bar of what a great teacher is that I aspire to follow.

I would like to thank Sarini, Ramita Paraswati, Murni Murpadila, Ananda Olga, Rifa Tsmarotul, Dwi Asih, Andiyani Kurnia, Libasut Taqwa, Magello Fenis, Aldi Nur Fadil, and all the kind people I met, thank you for your helps, times, and food. Thank you for NOT simply being kind to me, kindness is big.

I would like to thank Yai Fadlolan Musyafa' and Ibu Nyai Fenti Hidayah who have inspired me to continously learn, and my teacher Talkhah Mahsun who has supported me. I am also forever greatful for my first english teacher Umi Naenah, my third grade teacher Nek Titin, and my first Qur'an teachers Dede Jaenuri and Dian Wiratna who are also my uncles.

To my grandparents, my parents, my brother Sakti Sirullahi, thank you for your persistent belief in me, continous support, and love.

I dedicate this thesis to my grandparents Dedeh Aisyah and my late grandfather Ali Kirno, *Allah yarhamh*.

Depok, July 2023

Sonia So'imatus Sa'adah

ABBREVIATION

CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CFFP	Center for Feminist Foreign Policy
CIDA	The Canadian International Development Agency
CIM	The Inter-American Commission of Women (known by its Spanish acronym, CIM is one of the specialized agencies of the OAS)
ERC	Equal Remuneration Convention
FARC	The Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces
FFP	Feminist Foreign Policy
IACHR	The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (one of the OAS' bodies)
ILO	The International Labor Organization
IWDA	International Women Development Agency
NAC	The National Action Committee on the Status of Women
NAP	National Action Plan
OAS	The Organization of American States
RCSW	The Royal Commission on the Status of Women
SEDENA	Mexican Secretariat of National Defense (known by its Spanish acronym, SEDENA)
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNSCR 1325	The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
WBFDL	The Women's Bureau of the federal Department of Labour
WPS	The Women, Peace, and Security

VOW	Canadian Voice of Women for Peace
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TABEL OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Research Background

Most countries tend to ignore gender perspectives in their foreign policy. Yet, a recent development indicates that more and more countries are adopting feminist foreign policies (FFP). Initiated in 2015 under the leadership of Foreign Minister Margot Wallstrom, Sweden became the first country in the world to proclaim a specific interest in applying gender perspectives in its foreign policy. Several other countries followed Sweden's pursuit of gender-based foreign policy, such as Canada in 2017, the United Kingdom in 2018, France in 2019, Luxemburg in 2021, The Netherlands in 2022, Spain in 2021, Mexico in 2020, Chile in 2022, Liberia in 2022, Colombia in 2022 (UN WOMEN, 2022), and most recently Germany (CARNEGIE, 2023).

Some countries like Australia, the United States, and Norway do not explicitly describe their foreign policy as feminist; however, they do apply a pro-gender foreign policy (Aggestam, Rosamond, and Kronsell, 2018). The US under the Joe Biden administration, for example, created the Gender Policy Council to realize the government's commitment to gender equity and equality (Conley, 2022). This study, however, focuses on some of the countries that refer to their foreign policy as "feminist".

Paraphrasing Alexander Wendt, Steve Smith (2015) argues that foreign policy is "what states make of it". Foreign policy is the domain of choice, albeit limited; how actors interpret, decide, pronounce, and implement a policy as a response to phenomenological issues (Smith, 2015). According to the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA, 2021), FFP is a strategy by which governments prioritize gender equality in their dealings with one another, recognizing that gender equality is a predictor of peaceful and flourishing societies. FFP is described by the Center for Feminist Foreign Policies (CFFP, n.d.) as a political paradigm that centers on marginalized people and applies self-reflection to the foreign policy of a hierarchical global system.

FFP is a political program founded on human rights, women's rights, and the execution of the Women, Peace, Security (WPS) agenda (Aggestam, Rosamond, and Kronsell, 2018). The latter is mandated by United Nations Security Council resolution

(UNSCR) 1325 and subsequent resolutions, which is the first resolution focusing on the protection of women and girls from conflict and related gender-based violence, and the inclusion of women in all phases of conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding (IWDA.org). "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment" is also a stand-alone component of the UN Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDG).

It can be argued that FFP is the enforcement of international bills on women, mandating states to abolish all forms of discrimination and violence against women, encourage women's involvement and empowerment, and recognize different effects of policies on men and women. To measure its enforcement, the Swedish approach to FFP uses *rights, resources, and representations*, which will be discussed in the Swedish part of this study.

FFP is associated with Margot Wallström, Swedish Foreign Minister (2014-2019), because she was the first leader to pursue FFP. However, she is not the first person to initiate the policy (True, 2015). Prior to Wallström, Hillary Rodham Clinton as US Secretary of State (2009-2013) and William Hague as UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (2010-2014) applied a gender perspective on international security, development, and aid (True, 2015).

Hague made "tackling rape in warzone" his foreign secretary tenure lynchpin (True, 2015). Based on his experience as UJK's Shadow Foreign Secretary and Foreign Secretary for four years, he concluded that: *"…The cycle of rape and injustice was and is a major factor in perpetuating conflict and holding back development..."* (Hague, 2015, n.p.). He believed that:

> *" …The suppression of women's rights is the single greatest continuing injustice in the world, perhaps the world has ever known, certainly the greatest single source of untapped potential available to humanity, and the vital missing aspect of conflict resolution worldwide."* (Hague, 2015, n.p.).

Clinton also emphasized women's empowerment as a vital aspect of security, including as one of the six principles guiding US international development strategies, stating at the TEDWomen conference:

> *"Give women equal rights and entire nations are more stable and secure. Deny women equal rights and the instability of nations is almost certain. The subjugation of women is, therefore, a threat to the common security of our world and to the national security of our country."* (Clinton, 2010, n.p.)

FFP is distinct for two reasons (Aggestam and Bergman-Rosamond, 2016). The first is that by using the "f" word, FFP shifts politics from a mainstream to a more controversial orientation, especially by attempting to negotiate and challenge the global power hierarchy and gendered institutions defining current global institutions, as well as foreign and security studies. Second, it consists of a normative orientation of foreign policy that is based on an ethical framework and cosmopolitan norms of global justice.

Wallström considers feminism *"…a component of a modern view on global politics, not an idealistic departure from it"* (Wallström, 2017, n.p.). Women's involvement is significant in generating desired social, economic, and political outcomes. Studies have found that women, in relation to men, are less likely to support the use of force (Boer, 1985 and Smith, 1984). Hudson and Leidl (2015) revealed that the status of women in society is connected to the state's international behavior. They conclude that the best predictor of a state's peacefulness is not its level of democracy, wealth, or civilizational identity, but its level of violence toward women (Hudson and Leidl, 2015). Caprioli (2000) tested the relationship between militarism and domestic gender equality quantitatively and found that the domestic environment of equality between men and women leads to greater state pacifism. Muhammad Yunus and A. Jolis (1999) found that the credit given to women brings faster change and improves the family's living standard.

FFP is a current phenomenon that deserves more study and discussion. This research contributes to the study of FFP by identifying the necessary conditions for countries to pursue the strategy.

Maha and Patipeilohy (2020) analyzed the formation of Sweden's FFP through three levels of analysis: the individual, the state, and the international system. At the first level, Maha and Pattpeilohy referred to former Swedish Foreign Minister Wallström, who is female and has experience as a woman in politics. I argue that relying on individual-level analysis is a weak explanation, particularly the biological reason, because many male leaders are in support of gender-equal policies, such as Hague and Justine Trudeau. Moreover, in a democratic country, a policy needs to be appealing to the people. The second level of analysis refers to Sweden being known as a culturally gender-equal state with a robust political institution (Maha and Patipeilohy, 2020). And the third level refers to the

SDGs adopted by Sweden and other UN member states in 2015 (Maha and Patipeilohy, 2020).

In line with the second-level analysis of the significance of culture and institution, Richey (2001) argued that the state's identity and its development policy are intertwined; gender equality is a Danish identity, and it is applied in its development assistance.

Culture and good institutions can explain why Sweden and Canada pursue FFP. Nevertheless, they are not a good explanation for Mexico and Colombia's application of FFP. Thus, by comparing developed and developing countries, this study aims to discover the necessary conditions that drive them to pursue FFP.

I chose Sweden, Canada, Colombia, and Mexico as case studies because they implement FFP and represent different levels of socio-economic development. Sweden and Canada are advanced countries with well-established democracies, while Colombia and Mexico are developing countries with weak democratic institutions. Sweden and Canada are high-income countries with a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of $55,482 and $44,910.4 respectively, whereas Mexico and Colombia are low- and middle-income countries with GDP per capita of $9,755.6 and $6,857.8 (World Bank, 2022). Their Global Inequality Indexes (GII) in 2021 were also significantly different: Sweden ranked fourth, Canada was in 17th place, Mexico ranked 75th, and Colombia 102nd.

On the Democracy Index, which categorizes 160 countries as a "full democracy", "flawed democracy", "hybrid regime", or "authoritarian regime", Sweden and Canada ranked fourth and 12th, respectively, in 2022 and were considered to have full democracies. Mexico ranked 89th and was categorized as a hybrid regime, while Colombia ranked 121st and was identified as a flawed democracy (Democracy Index, 2022). According to the Global Peace Index (2021), which ranks 163 independent states based on their level of peacefulness, Canada and Sweden ranked 10th and 15th, respectively, while Mexico and Colombia ranked 140th and 144th.

B. The Argument

I argue that a strong feminist movement strengthened by transnational forces is a prerequisite for countries to pursue FFP. The pressure from domestic movements and international forces (the pressure from the bottom and above) resulted in the pincers' effect,

which turned states into gendered regimes and prompted them to pursue gendered-based policies (Friedman, 2008). The women's movements may respond to different issues such as women's representation in politics, femicide, and sexual violence. Although gender equality culture is important, it is not a fundamental condition. The feminist movement in Mexico is a reaction to high rates of domestic violence towards women, and the feminist movement in Colombia aimed to achieve an inclusive peace settlement between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).

In this study, the terms feminist and women's movement are used interchangeably because they show the injustices and violence experienced by women and the shared struggles they face to transform and change these conditions.

This study is arranged as follows: Chapter II offers the theoretical foundation; Chapter III details the research method; Chapter IV is the discussion, which consists of the four case study countries of Sweden, Canada, Mexico, and Colombia; and finally, Chapter V is the conclusion.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

A. Literature Review

According to research, women's participation leads to favorable social, economic, and political results (Reshi and Sudha, 2022, Dahlum and Mechkova, 2022). Involving more women in public and private decision-making raises a country's overall level of public sector effectiveness and accountability (Asuako, 2020). González-Malabet (2019) found that the security, education, and human development index of Medellín, Colombia, radically improved in only a decade, turning it into one of the best cities to live in South America, after Mayor Sergio Fajardo (2004-2009) added more women to his administration. Gender equality contributes greatly to economic growth by improving the stock of human capital, physical capital, market competitiveness, and agricultural productivity, according to a large body of literature on the relationship between gender equality and economic growth (Chatham House and Vivid Economics, 2010, White and O'Connor, 2017, 2010).

Gender-equal societies also enjoy better health. King, Kavanagh, Scovelle, and Milner (2020) reviewed studies on the relationship between gender equality and health using the convergence hypothesis, which states that the increasing level of gender equality will lead to a reduction in the health gap between women and men because their exposure and behavior will become more similar. They referred to Backhans et al. (2007) to argue that women will benefit from the role expansion effect and men will benefit from less masculinized beliefs and behavior. However, they argued that any benefits would be stymied if men do not take more non-traditional roles. Therefore, gender equality is also in the interest of men. In relation to men's health, gender equality is associated with better mental health, decreased overall mortality, improved overall self-rated well-being, and health-promoting behaviors such as increased physical activity and reduced alcohol consumption (King and Elliott, 2021).

Studies show that gender equality contributes to peace, and the likelihood of lasting peace increases if women are involved in the peace process (Krause, Werner Krause, and Bränfors, 2018). Hudson and Patricia (2015) argue that a country's level of violence toward

women is a strong indication of its international behavior — not its wealth, its level of democracy, or its civilizational identity. In favor of Hudson and Patricia (2015), Caprioli (2000) discovered that a country's international behavior is the externalization of its domestic culture, and a gender-equal society tends to be peaceful.

Additionally, the involvement of women is paramount not only because of its positive outcomes but also because women are more likely to suffer greater social and economic hardships. Though it's true that more men are killed in armed conflicts than women, war has both direct and indirect consequences — and its indirect consequences are often bigger than the direct ones (Plümper and Neumayer, 2006). Plümper and Neumayer (2006) argue that women suffer more in armed conflicts due to damage to their health, infrastructure, and the economy. Women also face dislocation and displacement during and after war. The authors find that armed conflict affects women worse than men overall and decreases women's life expectancy (Plümper and Neumayer, 2006). Additionally, women are more likely to suffer from severe sexual violence during war (J. Mertus, 1999), as well as hunger and poverty. Yunus and Jolis (1999) argue that hunger and poverty are issues that disproportionately affect women.

Therefore, the feminist approach questions the often-unseen androcentric or masculine biases by which knowledge has been traditionally constructed in every discipline (J. Ann Tickner, 2006). Rather than accepting that a state is a given unit of analysis, feminists investigate the constitutive feature of the "gendered state" and its implication for the militarization of women's and men's lives (Tickner, 2006). According to S. Laurel Weldon (2006), greater attention to feminist work is needed in order to give a better, more comprehensive view of international relations and states as well. For these reasons, as argued by Wallström (2014-2019) feminism is: *"...A component of a modern view on global politics, not an idealistic departure from it."* (Wallström, 2017).

FFP is often applied because of the recognition that gender equality is an indicator of peaceful and prosperous societies (IWDA, 2021). Some may argue that FPP is "exclusive". However, knowing the necessity of empowering women and marginalized groups, as studies have revealed, we know that it is a necessary and smart policy. I argue that the women's and feminist movements can be likened to the spirit of Black Lives Matter in that neither claims to prioritize the importance of one group over another; a man's life is not less important than a woman's. The call for Black Lives Matters reveals the underlying

problem of discrimination experienced by black people. In the same vein, feminism highlights the structural and cultural problems rooted in societies that hamper and cost women severely. Pursuing FFP means acknowledging women's rights as human rights and systematically safeguarding the fundamental rights of women and girls (Luxemburg FFP, 2022).

Maha and Pattipeilohy (2020) examine the Swedish FFP through the three levels of analysis — individual, state, and international — that led the country to adopt the approach. They argue that at the individual level, the role of Former Foreign Minister Wallström, who is female (biologically) and has personal experience as a woman in politics, was a major influence in Sweden's push for FFP. At the state level, they assert that Sweden is a Catholic Lutheranism state, and both the state and the church have successfully installed the values of egalitarianism and universalism in society. At the international level, international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the UN Conference on Women in Beijing became the basis of Sweden's FFP pursuit (Maha and Pattipeilohy, 2020).

Although I agree with Maha and Pattipeilohy (2020) that women leaders may have a strong incentive to pursue feminist policies, the biological reason, I argue, is a weak one and is not enough to inspire women to enact FFP. Firstly, masculinism is a status quo, so it may politically benefit leaders to maintain the status quo. In the opposite regard, going against the status quo may be detrimental to their position or reputation.

And if we look at the case of Colombia, Mayor Fajardo added more women to hold office in his administration, and Canada's Prime Minister Trudeau proclaimed himself a feminist and established the Canada FFP under his administration. These are men who advocated for feminist policies. Nonetheless, I agree that culture, institutions, and regulations are significant factors that may lead to FFP. A study by Angevine (2020) revealed how a country's policies on women and gender issues at home may affect its policies abroad. The foreign policy of the US has expanded to address issues that affect women and girls around the world. Using a qualitative comparative analysis, she found that anti-abortion politics hampered the legislative process of women's issues in foreign policy, regardless of relevance. Domestic abortion politics at home shaped the boundaries of how global women's rights are represented in American foreign policy (Angevine, 2020).

In their study, Zhukova, Sundström, and Elgström (2020) compared the FFP of Sweden, Canada, France, and Mexico as their strategic narratives. They argue that these countries adopted international norms into their domestic context by constructing their strategic narrative that they will further deploy and boost their soft power overseas.

While their study focuses on how states use international law as a strategic narrative, my study questions why states want to apply international law.

However, the practice of FFP is not free from criticism. Victoria Scheyer and Marina Kumskova (2019) criticized FFP for failing to reflect the following: 1) political dialogue in conflict resolution, safety, and individual well-being as the focus of policy; 2) an empathetic community realized by state communities based on transparency, respect, global justice, and shared responsibility; 3) An inclusion and intersectional approach based on the expertise and experiences of civil society and local communities; 4) and gender analysis manifested in deconstructing power relations based on intersectionality. They noted that the US, Canada, Sweden, the UK, and Australia were engaged in the political economy of war. While Australia has claimed to ensure the protection of women in conflict and the promotion of women in peacebuilding, by applying punitive asylum seeker policies, it continues to practice foreign policy that contradicts its goal of women's protection. Scheyer and Kumskova added that although both women and men are vulnerable during transit, women are at a higher risk of experiencing opportunistic attacks and systemic gender-based violence. They argue that Australia should be more attuned to the gendered implication of its policy.

Criticism toward the practice of FFP is necessary; however, this does not mean that FFP should be abandoned. A feminist foreign policy gives a comprehensive view of global issues by including marginalized groups and recognizing the different effects of policies on men and women. Moreover, an abundance of studies has shown the link between gender equality and global prosperity and security. It is not only morally required but also essential for the economy and national security to unleash the potential of the other half of the population (Bigio and Vogelstein, 2014). Prioritizing women's advancement is critical for governments that seek to enhance national security, maximize the benefits of foreign aid, and strengthen stable and democratic allies (Bigio and Vogelstein, 2014).

B. Theoretical Framework

Scholars have recognized the interdependence of domestic politics and international politics (Hudson and Day, 2014). This study recognizes that countries face demands from domestic politics and pressure from international communities when establishing foreign policy. Therefore, both domestic and international forces are needed to convince them to pursue FFP. Robert Putnam (1998), Peter Gourevitch (1978), and Jon C. Pevehous (2003) have revealed, to different degrees, the connection between domestic and international politics in generating state policy. Both domestic and international dynamics can create "pincer pressure" or a ping-pong effect that can lead to the establishment of a regime that prioritizes gender equality and justice (Friedman, 2009). Putnam's two-level games theory is based on Richard E. Walton and Robert B. McKersie's findings on "behavioral theory" in negotiations (Putnam, 1988). They found that all negotiators understand they cannot work in the unitary-actor assumption, but they need to balance "the two tables" (Putnam, 1988). At the national level, domestic groups seek to advance their interests by pressuring the government to adopt policies that benefit them. At the international level, states aim to maximize their ability to satisfy domestic pressures while minimizing the negative consequences of foreign developments (Putnam, 1988). Central decision-makers cannot abandon each stage as long as their countries are interdependent and sovereign (Putnam, 1998).

Assuming that each side is represented by a negotiator who wants to achieve an agreement that is in favor of their constituents (Putnam, 1988), the two stages consist of:

1. Bargaining between the negotiators, which results in a tentative agreement.
2. Discussion between the constituents and their representative on whether to accept and ratify the agreement.

The agreement reached at stage one does not necessarily lead to the agreement at stage two. The demand at level two will likely hammer the agreement at stage one, and the need to ratify the agreement at stage two is a prerequisite for the bargaining at stage one to be fully accomplished. Putnam's approach equally recognized the intertwining of domestic and international politics as he argued that we need to see beyond the influences of domestic factors on international affairs and vice versa to generate theories that are able to integrate both spheres. However, stage two is a determinant factor as it determines whether an agreement will be ratified.

Prior to Putnam, Peter Gourevitch laid out his approach of the second image reversed (1978). He argued that international politics was often viewed in a passive way; it was the result of domestic politics rather than the factor that was able to influence domestic politics. As his paper implies, Gourevitch aimed to revise Waltz's second image by looking at international politics' effect on domestic structure. He argues that war and trade are two aspects of international politics that affect the character of domestic politics and recognize the role of ideas, and — obviously — foreign invasion, too. However, he focused on regime type and coalition pattern as the dependent variable as he examined the effects of international forces on regime type and coalition pattern (Gourevitch,1978).

Gourevitch referred to Alexander Gerschenkron's famous essay "Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective", which argued that the costs paid by early and late industrialized countries would differ; the more advanced the country's economy, the higher the price that must be paid by a newly industrialized country. Paying those costs requires greater collective mobilization, which — as a consequence — requires greater central-state control. He also argued that "coalitional analysis" could help us understand the process of policymaking. Gourevitch pointed out Hans-Ulrich Wehler's analysis of Bismarck's foreign policy as one of his examples. Bismarck's empire was facing various social forces: liberals, constitutionalists, socialists, Catholics, and particularists. Bismarck used nationalism and imperialism to keep his opponents divided and to persuade some of their members to join the conservative side (Gourevitch,1978). In the United States, the country's competition with the Soviet Union in the late 1940s and early 1950s was used as an excuse for domestic purges against leftists working in unions, universities, government, and industry, and the Soviet Union followed suit to keep its dissidents under control. (Gourevitch,1978).

Gourevitch (1978) revealed the significant force of international politics in shaping domestic politics. I tend to see foreign policy as the combination of international environment and domestic interests; however, Gourevitch's approach reveals the importance of international forces in shaping state policy.

Jon C. Pevehous (2003) explained the role of international organizations in democratization. He explained three mechanisms by which regional organizations may influence the process of democratization: 1) pressure from international organizations; 2)

international organizations can help calm the fears of groups by serving either as an external guarantor of rights and preference; 3) changing the behavior of elites through socialization.

Pevehous (2003) contributes to the missing explanation of the role of international organizations in the democratization process. However, he focuses on regional organizations, whereas in foreign policy, as Putnam argued, the final decision is made at the second stage — whether the agreement reached at stage one is favored by the interest groups. Nevertheless, he shows the role of regional organizations in changing the regime and its policy.

Colombia and Mexico are among the lowest ranking in the GPI — at 145th and 140th place, respectively — from 163 countries. However, both countries have a strong feminist movement. As a result of continuous internal and external forces, over the last 30 years, gender equality in Latin America has achieved significant progress; most notably by the integration of women and their interests into public sectors such as health care, the formal economy, and political participation (Domínguez R., 2021). External forces such as the UN women's conferences, which have been held since 1970, have supported the women's movement in the region (Domínguez R., 2021). The Encuentros Feministas (Feminist Forums), which began in 1981 in Bogotá, Colombia, and continued until 2017 in Uruguay, have aided in the expansion of this movement, as well as the formation of alliances across social, sexual, and ethnic divides (Domínguez R., 2021). Currently, they share one goal, namely o end gender-based violence, and are united under the slogan and hashtag *Ni Una Menos* (Not One Less) (Domínguez R., 2021). And in Latin America, the *#metoo* movement is the most successful in Mexico (Domínguez R., 2021).

Realizing that voting rights did not accommodate their interest in public life, the second-wave feminist movement in Canada demanded that the government establish the Royal Commission for the Status of Women in Canada in the 1960s. This marked the government's recognition of women's involvement in politics (Goodhand, 2017). Similarly, women's movements in Sweden made gender issues visible through their struggle for women's suffrage and consistently demanded high representation of women in politics (Russell and O' Cinneide, 2003). Women's movements are important domestic actors in pushing the state to apply gender-based policies. They respond to gender-based violence experienced by women, women's suffrage, femicide, and other related injustices and inequality experienced by women. The "above" pressures are coming from regional

organizations, institutions, as well as international organizations that urge states or incentivize them to adopt gender-based policies. The pressures from both domestic and international communities generate what Friedman (2009) called "the pincers' pressure", which may incentive a country to be more gender conscious.

Therefore, I argue that a strong feminist movement — either as a response to domestic feminist issues such as women's representation in politics, femicide, and sexual violence, or a peaceful settlement — is a necessary condition for countries to apply FFP. Although gender equality culture is important, it is not a fundamental condition. The feminist movement in Mexico is a reaction to the high rates of domestic violence toward women, and the feminist movement in Colombia aimed to achieve an inclusive peace settlement between the government and FARC. The high femicide and violence rates in these countries reveal that gender equality is not yet part of their culture and identity.

It is important to note that many significant social phenomena take a long time to emerge, sometimes an extremely long time (Pierson, 2014). Assuming the immediate cause and effect of phenomena may cause us to miss important things or misunderstand what we see (Pierson, 2014). Unlike tornadoes, which have a short causal process and immediate effect, most social phenomena are slow-moving processes (Pierson, 2014). The continuous struggle for human rights by movements and regional and international actors contributes to the generation of cultures and policies that are likely to be in favor of the new challenges faced by domestic and transnational actors. Thus, although this study focuses on one significant political phenomenon that spurred and shed light on gender issues, it recognizes that the struggles prior advocates of human rights faced have contributed to the enhancement of women's rights by introducing and creating a culture of justice and equality, as well as policies that the government produced in response to those pressures.

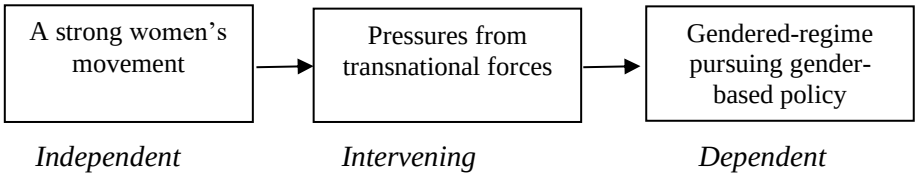
In identifying the necessary conditions for countries pursuing FFP, feminist movements that demand justice and equality, and are strengthened by regional and international institutions and organizations, shed light on gender issues and prompt regimes to be gendered regimes. In response to pressures from the domestic movements and international communities, these regimes are incentivized to apply gender-based policies.

C. Hypothesis

International conventions are laws without sanctions (Merry, 2003). However, the close examination of these conventions reveal that they have a cultural role by setting values and

principles both in formal and public settings, and by demonstrating how countries apply the conventions (Merry, 2003). The process of ratifying, making, and presenting reports, as well as discussing the reports, generates new cultures and norms (Merry, 2003). The enforcement of the conventions by a state, however, depends on the pressure exerted by national and transnational forces (Merry, 2003). Based on Merry's approach, I hypothesize that: *A strong women's movement strengthened by transnational forces is a necessary condition for countries to pursue FFP.*

Figure 1. The Variables



This study identifies two transnational forces. The first comprises regional and international conventions and the pressures states face from relevant regional and international organizations to abide by those conventions. The second is the relevant international political conditions influencing the countries observed.

International conventions — and regional conventions, too — have constructed the standard of international norms. CEDAW adopted in 1979 by the UN is an international bill of rights for women aimed at eliminating violence against women, which violates the principle of the equality of rights and respect toward human dignity (Merry, 2003). Some of its articles explicitly call on states to prompt cultural change in gender roles. In the second article (f):

> *"To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women."* (United Nations General Assembly, 1979, n.p.)

The member states of the Organization of American States (OAS) abide by the Convention of Belem do Pará, which entered into force in 1995, to abolish all forms of violence and discrimination toward women (The OAS, 1994).

UNSCR1325 reiterates the significant role of women in preventing conflict and conflict resolution, negotiation of peace, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and post-conflict reconstruction, and emphasizes the crucial involvement of women in all initiatives of sustaining and promoting peace. The resolution is the foundation of an inclusive peace settlement.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

A. Method

A good research method should be chosen based on its ability to answer research questions and not the reverse (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Therefore, to find the necessary conditions of why countries with different socioeconomic developments pursue FFP, this study applies the Method of Agreement to discover the cause of a phenomenon in the sense of a necessary condition. Mill defined this method as:

> "*If two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree, is the cause (or the effect) of the given phenomenon."* (Mill, 1974, Book III, p. 390)

By this method, we can search for a single factor that is common among several situations, and if a single circumstance is found in all positive instances, by the Method of Agreement, we can deduce that the circumstance is the cause of the phenomenon (Heuveln, 2000). However, we do not know whether the linkage found in every case is a sufficient condition for the phenomenon to occur. Nevertheless, in the situations we examine, the condition is required.

I also applied a process-tracing method to trance the causal mechanisms. The analytical value added to process-tracing is that it enables me to make causal inferences based on how the causal process works in the cases studied (Beach and Pedersen, 2019). By using this approach, the analytical attention is switched from causes and outcomes to the hypothetical causal mechanism in between; mechanisms are not causes but rather causal processes initiated by causes and link them to the outcomes in a beneficial relationship (Beach and Pedersen, 2019).

I trace the historical origins that made gender issues visible and silent political issues in the case study countries. In Sweden, the women's suffrage movement was a critical juncture and women persistently demanded high representation of women in politics. The women's movement's struggle for representative public policy in Canada in the 1960s was a landmark of public support for women's rights in Canada. The murder of

women in Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s integrated the gender approach into the struggle for human rights, and in Colombia, the peace negotiating process between the government and the FARC (2012-2016) was a critical juncture that made the gender approach visible. It was shown that in these countries, women's roles were initially invisible and insignificant, and the women's movements referred to international laws to justify their demands and gradually changed the norms of the significance of women's involvement in politics and in the peace process through their slogans and campaigns.

The data used in this study are secondary sources: The previous studies, the government, regional and international organizations' reports, as well as the relevant news.

B. The Study Case

I chose Sweden, Canada, Colombia, and Mexico because they are countries that explicitly launched FFP and have different socioeconomic conditions. Sweden and Canada are advanced countries with well-established democratic institutions, while Colombia and Mexico are still developing countries with weak democratic institutions. Viewed from their economy, Sweden and Canada are high-income countries with a GDP per capita of $55,482 and $44,910.4l, respectively, while Mexico and Colombia are low- and middle-income countries with a GDP per capita of $9,755.6 and $ 6,857.8 (World Bank, 2022). Their GIIs are noticeably different: Sweden and Canada rank fourth and 17th, respectively, while Mexico and Colombia are in 75th and 102nd place, respectively.

According to the 2022 Democracy Index, categorizing countries as a "full democracy", "flawed democracy", "hybrid regime", or "authoritarian regime" based on their functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties, Sweden and Canada are ranked fourth and 12th, respectively, and categorized as full democracies. On the other hand, Mexico is ranked 89th and categorized as a hybrid regime, and Colombia is ranked 121st and identified as a flawed democracy (Democracy Index, 2022). Sweden and Canada are among the most peaceful countries in the world, ranking 10 and 15 respectively, while Mexico and Colombia rank 140 and 144, respectively, out of 163 countries (Global Peace Index, 2022).

By comparing these countries, I can identify the necessary conditions for countries to pursue FFP.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

SWEDEN

A. Swedish FFP: An Overview

The concept of FFP is not entirely new. Although its implementation by states is a recent phenomenon, FFP can be found in academic discourse prior to Sweden's launch of its FFP in 2014 (Zhukova, Sundström, and Elgström, 2022). The content of FFP is not new either, as international organizations have laid out conventions on women's protection, the enhancement of women's involvement in public life, and women's empowerment economically, as argued by Alwan and Weldon (Zhukova, Sundström, and Elgström, 2022). For example, the first convention of women's rights was held in Mexico, the World Conference on Women in 1975, which recognized the importance of integrating women in solving economic, political, and social issues and called to build an international community based on equity and justice (UN Mexico Conference Report, 1975). This means FFP was one of the manifestations of the norms of international conventions in action (Zhukova, Sundström, and Elgström, 2022).

Although the current Swedish government abandoned its FFP under Foreign Minister Tobias Billstrom (BBC News, 2022), Sweden remained an important country in the study of FFP. This is because Sweden is not only the first country to pursue the policy, but it also created a comprehensive FFP that made other countries look up to it. Canada, for example, in evaluating its FFP, considered following Sweden's FFP to guarantee the success of its FFP (Anthony and Korsch, 2020).

Sweden had an ambitious goal with its FFP by becoming: *"…The strongest voice for gender equality and full employment of human rights for all women and girls."* (Swedish Foreign Action 2015-8, p. 3).

The primary goal of Sweden's FFP is to give men and women the same power to influence society and their own lives (Swedish Foreign Action 2015-8).

The approach and the core of Sweden's FFP are based on the three Rs (Swedish Foreign Action 2015-8): 1) *right*, the foreign service works to ensure that all women and girls can fully exercise their rights, particularly by preventing all forms of violence and

discrimination harming their freedom; 2) *representation*, the foreign service promotes women's influence and participation in decision-making at all levels and in all fields, and it actively seeks out dialogue with women's representatives at all levels, including in civil society; 3) *resource*, the foreign service will guarantee that resources are used to support gender equality and equal opportunities for all women and girls, as well as promote targeted measures for different target groups (Swedish Foreign Action 2015-8).

To ensure that decisions are made based on truth, facts, and analysis, another R is used: reality (Swedish Foreign Action 2015-8).

In its external objectives in the 2019–2022 action plan, the Swedish Foreign Service aimed to contribute to all women's and girls' 1) full enjoyment of human rights; 2) freedom from physical, psychological, and sexual violence; 3) participation in preventing and resolving conflicts, and post-conflict peacebuilding; 4) political participation and influence in all areas of society; 5) economic rights and empowerment; and 6) sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR).

Sweden's commitment to gender issues is reflected in its development cooperation and humanitarian aid (Poh-Janre, 2017). Through its development cooperation, the Swedish government has paid more attention to women's economic empowerment, which was prioritized in the 2015-18 Sweden International Development Cooperation Agency's (Sida) action plan for gender integration, and in the 2016 and 2017 Swedish FFP action plan (Poh-Janre, 2017). More resources were also given to support social security systems for the economic empowerment of women (Poh-Janre, 2017). Sexual and reproductive rights and health were also a concern of the Swedish government. Sweden took responsibility and leadership in the She Decides initiative in response to then-US President Donald Trump's restoration and drastic expansion of the Global Gag Rule (Shedecides.com, 2017). Sweden also asserted that it would stop giving aid to any organizations that supported Trump's anti-abortion rule (Kentish, 2017).

After launching its FFP, for the purpose of promoting women's participation in the peace process, the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs formed a female peace negotiator network. When Sweden presided over the UN Council, the Council decided to make sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) a reason for sanctions (Poh-Janre, 2017).

B. Women's Suffrage Movements in Sweden (1884-1921)

Sweden is widely known as a gender-equal state. Equity and equality are the fundamental values of Sweden and other Nordic countries (Edward, 1991). However, the idea of women's suffrage was once alien and questioned in Sweden (Wängnerud, 2012). Similar to other Nordic countries, women's representation in politics is high in Sweden. However, like in any other country, women's political participation is achieved through a gradual political process. "Politics is for men" was a global shared belief.

Women's suffrage is an important milestone in Swedish politics and its road to formal political institution was started in the late 1800s (Freidenvall, 2013). Fredrik Borg, a liberal, introduced the first formal bill in parliament proposing female suffrage in national elections in 1884 (Wängnerud, 2012). By referring to the election at the municipal level, which was gender neutral, Borg argued that women who acquired the same qualification as men should be given the right to vote because — as men did — they also contributed to the common good in industry, administration, science, and art. For these reasons, women should have the right to vote, too (Wängnerud, 2012). Prior to Brog, Adolf Hedin, a liberal politician, made an appeal in parliament in 1866 to give women national political rights; however, his request was ignored (Wängnerud, 2012).

The bill sparked the first discussion about women's suffrage in parliament, and most politicians did not understand what it was all about; they wondered about its reason and urgency. Moreover, other countries did not give women the right either (Wängnerud, 2012). Some of them even gave sexist responses (Wängnerud, 2012).

One year later, the Fredrika Bremer Society was established, the first feminist organization focusing on women's economic security (Wängnerud, 2012). In response to conservative's proposition that men over 40 years old or married should be granted two votes in national elections, the organization established the National Association for Women's Franchise (NAWF) in 1902, which was characterized as a women's movement, a social liberal movement, an adult education movement, and a social protest movement (Wängnerud, 2012). It consisted of women from various parts of society, mostly married and middle-class women (Freidenvall, 2013). Women's mobilization and education were at the heart of its activity (Wängnerud, 2012). The movement organized thousands of women across Sweden and campaigned for their political rights and for running for election by writing petitions, taking part in demonstrations, and gathering public hearings

(Freidenvall, 2013). Swedish suffragettes held comparatively few protest meetings and did not publicly confront the ruling elite (Wängnerud, 2012). They adopted a "positive" outlook and sent letters of gratitude when MPs took action in support of their cause, especially during the early years of their struggle (Wängnerud, 2012).

The International Women's Suffrage Alliance met in Stockholm in 1911 with the Nobel prize winner in literature, Selma Lagerlöf, as keynote speaker, revealing the insanity of denying political rights to such individuals (Wängnerud, 2012).

The controversy over women's right to vote reemerged in 1902 (Freidenvall, 2013). Male lawmakers argued that married women's votes were unnecessary as they would be an extension of their husbands' rights (Freidenvall, 2013). Moreover, most men did not get the right to vote, and their suffrage was labeled "the big suffrage question" (Freidenvall, 2013). The second line of argument spurred women to mobilize as it revealed that men's suffrage was superior to women's (Freidenvall, 2013).

According to Christina Florin, an expert in Swedish women's history, women started to be aware of their right to vote as more women got an education (Sweden, 2021). They viewed suffrage as a symbol of the possibilities for them in other fields, such as education and the economy (Sweden, 2021).

Signe Bargmane was an important player in the collection of almost half a million signatures of women supporting suffrage (Sweden, 2021). The drive for change paid off in 1919-1921 when the coalition government consisting of Liberal and Social Democrats introduced universal and equal suffrage (Freidenvall, 2013). Reform was introduced gradually; the first was granted to men in 1907-1909 and subsequently to all women in 1919-1921 (Freidenvall, 2013).

The first universal election was conducted in 1921, and five women were elected to Parliament, accounting for 2% of the legislative body: Kerstin Hesselgren to the first chamber, and Bertha Wallin, Elisabeth Tamm, Nelly Thüring, and Agda Östlund to the second chamber (Freidenvall, 2013).

The prominent contribution of the NAMF was not the introduction of women's political rights, but it made the gender dimension visible in the politics of Swedish society (Wängnerud, 2012).

C. The Women's Movements and the Struggle for Women's Political Representation

Prior to the 1960s, Swedish social democracy was more deeply motivated by the idea of advancing women's status in light of their differences rather than based on equality (Lewis and Åström, 1992). Pre-World War II Swedish supported the idea of the distinction between men and women in thinking about their relationship, primarily influenced by Ellen Key who adopted the viewpoint of 19th-century medical and social scientists (Lewis and Åström, 1992). Women's special knowledge of motherhood should be the basis of their contribution to society. The most profound goal of Swedish social democracy was to build "the people home", which encompassed the idea of the state and society as a good family home, where no one is privileged and each person cooperates (Lewis and Åström, 1992)

In 1930-1940, this view was challenged by Alva and Gunnar Myrda in their book, "Crisis in the Population Question" (Lewis and Åström, 1992). They argue that society's greatest asset is its human asset; they recognized women's contribution as a mother. However, they contended that women have the same right to advance their talents in every sector, including paid employment. Thus, if states want middle-income women to have babies, they need to support women in the pursuit of their careers (Lewis and Åström, 1992). They aimed to reconcile the concept of difference and equality within a single strategy, and their justification is that women's contribution to the labor market and the population is needed by the state (Lewis and Åström, 1992).

This view of "women stay at home" was reflected in women's parliamentary representation in 1921-1971, which was considered as obligatory to fulfill women's representation, and a gender-balanced Parliament was far from reality (Freidenvall, 2013). In these times, women's involvement was viewed as symbolic as their main contribution was in caring for the household (Freidenvall, 2013).

Numerous campaigns were run by women activists to persuade political parties to nominate female candidates (Freidenvall, 2013). For example, in the late 1920s, a group of women associated with the Liberal Party and its MP Elisabeth Tamm established a list of women for the election of local councils in 1927 and for the parliamentary election in 1928. They gained no more than 0.5 percent of the vote. In 1938, the movement eventually established the Committee for Increased Female Representation, which aimed to increase people's awareness of women's representation (Freidenvall, 2013).

During the 1944 and 1948 electoral campaigns, the Committee lobbied for more women in politics (Freidenvall, 2013). With its slogan “Without Women, No Rule by the People” and continued public hearings, it gradually shifted the view of women’s role in politics from a “mare representative requirement” to a “true representation of the people” (Freidenvall, 2013). The movement popularized the term "the 51% minority", which indicated that the majority of the population — women — was a minority in terms of decision-making (Freidenvall, 2013). With this view, the underrepresentation of women in Parliament is considered a flaw in Swedish functioning democracy (Freidenvall, 2013). Through this frame, they shift the responsibility of reaching a well-representative Parliament from individuals to the parties (Freidenvall, 2013).

a. The Support Stocking Network *(Sto¨dstrumporna)*

In the first 50 years of this democratic breakthrough, the number of female MPs increased slowly and gradually (Freidenvall, 2013). In the 1950s, the proportion of women in Parliament exceeded 5% in the first chamber and reached the 10% threshold in the second chamber (Freidenvall, 2013).

In the 1970s, the number of women MPs increased by seven percentage points, from 14% to 21% in the 1974 parliamentary election, and in 1975, the 25% threshold was reached (Freidenvall, 2013). Historians described the period as the “bloodless revolution”, or the renaissance of the women’s movement, with the debate of gender equality flourishing in the media as well as politics (Florin and Nilsson, 1999).

However, an unexpected drop in the number of women MPs occurred in the 1990s. Their representation fell from 38% to almost 33% in 1991 in what was the largest setback for women in Parliament since 1928 (Freidenvall, 2013). Right after the election, women politicians were angry and worried about the consequences caused by their weaker position in Parliament and, for this reason, they established a network called the Support Stocking (*Sto¨dstrumporna*), which aimed to improve women’s representation in the legislative body and to prevent the new coalition government headed by the moderate from dismantling the public sector and women-friendly policies (Freidenvall, 2013). The network’s organizers comprised mostly of academics and publicists, and mostly leftists. They were not party members and represented a wide range of political views but were united by their priority of

increasing the political representation of women (Freidenvall, 2013). The network believed that the problem and solution for women's underrepresentation in Parliament were rooted in gender; the parties failed to nominate women due to the political culture and power held by men, and, therefore, the solution for this issue would be the establishment of a women's party (Freidenvall, 2013).

The threat from the Support Stocking network eventually drove the Social Democratic Party to introduce the practice of positive action before the 1994 election. Through this measure, the Swedish government set a world record by having 44% of its Parliament made up of women. The Social Democrats and the Left Party applied positive action by alternating women and men on the list of candidates. The Liberal, Right Wing, and Green Party did not use formal positive action; however, in practice, women's representation stood at 30% in all political groups in Parliament.

To this day, women's representation in Sweden remains among the highest in the world. The highest figure was achieved in 2006 (47.3%), and although there was a decline in the next eight years, 45% in 2010 and 43.6% in 2014, women's representation remained stable at 46.1% in the 2018 and 2022 elections (Statista, 2022).

D. The Swedish-Gendered Regime, External Forces, and FFP

Since the 1960s, Sweden has been known for its passion for equality (Eduards, 1991) and continuously ranks among the highest in various gender equality indexes and measures. It can be argued that women's awareness of the significance of women's representation in politics has contributed to a culture of equality in Sweden. Since the early struggles of women's suffrage, women realized that political right is the key to opening other opportunities for women. They persistently struggled for higher women's representation in Parliament, such as by establishing the Committee for Increased Women's Representation in 1938 and the Support Stocking network in the 1990s. Since the introduction of women's suffrage in 1919, compared to other non-Nordic countries, Swedish women have played a significant role, and by 1965, their representation in Parliament had reached almost 11% (Bergqvst and Vindlay, 1999). Women had been from the "inside"; the women's movements and the female MP were able to build networks and alliances to shape public debate and build gender equality (Bergqvst and Vindlay, 1999).

Gender equality is manifested in a variety of Sweden's policies. For example, sexual violence is caused by a lack of gender equality and is, in itself, a barrier to reaching gender equality (Skilbrei, 2021). For this reason, the Criminal Code in Sweden is used as a tool to realize gender equality. Sweden is recognized for its phenomenal laws on maternity and paternity leave. As Gad (2014) put it: *"Feminism comes to the forefront of Swedish politics."*

However, the early responses of MPs to the bill of women's suffrage revealed the role of international norms; that it was ridiculous to give women political rights. Substantial evidence showed that the exclusion of women from politics was a standard of civilization by the mid-to-late 19th century, and Western countries considered other civilizations to be "savage civilizations" for giving political rights to women (Towns, 2010). Women's political rights, which were once considered a criterion for a savage civilization, have been a standard of appropriate behavior among states and the requirement of democracy since the end of World War I (Larsen, 2021). Prior to Sweden giving women political rights in 1919, other Nordic countries had already given women the right to vote, such as Finland (1906), Norway (1913), Denmark, and Iceland (1915) (Nordic.info, n.d.). The rising number of countries giving women political rights may have urged Sweden to follow their paths, and through the "framing" used by the feminist movements in their campaigns, they gradually changed the importance of women's involvement.

The 1994 election made gender equality a prevalent political issue. The intense mobilization of women to acquire equal representation and their threat to establish their own political party prompted the Social Democrat Party to apply positive action (Jezierska and Towns, 2018). In the middle of the 1990s, gender equality was integrated into a significant component of Sweden's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and official representation of the Swedish state (Towns, 2002). Before that, gender equality or women's rights had never been discussed as a "Swedish matter" (Jezierska and Towns, 2018).

The trend of countries branding themselves may have influenced Sweden to use gender equality as its brand and identity in the 1990s (Towns, 2002). For example, in this period, Japan branded itself as "Cool Japan" and Canada as "The True North Strong and Free" (Town, 2002). The pressures from women's movements not only drove some parties to take positive actions, strengthened by international forces, it also officially integrated gender equality into the Swedish identity.

Sweden has placed itself as a "moral superpower", a notion that has been a consistent feature in its official representation (Nilson, 1991). Scholars have identified Sweden with social democratic internationalism; as a prosperous democratic state that has a sense of duty and solidarity toward developing countries and world communities (Rosamond, 2018).

Swedish internationalism may explain why the country pursued FFP. As argued by Alwan and Weldon (2017), international conventions upholding women's rights, preventing violence against women, increasing their participation in public life, and economically empowering women have laid out the standards and norms underlying any FFP (in Zhukova, Sundström, and Elgström, 2022). Applying FFP means practicing international conventions (Zhukova, Sundström, and Elgström, 2022).

CANADA

A. Canada FFP: An Overview

Canada's House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development (2016) recommended that the government make women, peace, and security Canada's foreign policy priority. In its 2016 report released in October, "An Opportunity for Global Leadership: Canada and the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda", the committee acknowledged that the women, peace, and security agenda will likely generate stable, inclusive, and just societies. The House (2016) argued that the need for this policy rose when UNSCR 1325 was adopted in 2000 and that more international communities suffered from the increasingly disproportionate impact of armed conflict on civilians, particularly women and girls, and the intensifying complexities of violence in the 21st century.

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Justine Trudeau and the Minister of International Development and La Francophonie, Marie-Claude Bibeau, Canada introduced its first Feminist International Assistance Policy in 2017, which focuses on economic assistance. Canada based this policy on the SDGs that aim to eradicate poverty by 2030 and aligned it with the Paris Agreement on climate change, which aims to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and safeguard the environment (Canada's first Feminist International Assistance Policy, 2017).

Poverty eradication is the primary goal of Canada's feminist assistant policy. Therefore, women and girls are the main targets of the policy as they are the most vulnerable to poverty, violence, and climate change. By implementing this strategy, Canada hopes to ensure that women and girls are given the tools they need to realize their full potential and earn their own incomes, which would benefit their families and the economy as a whole.

Canada's FFP recognizes that promoting gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment is the most effective method to create a more tranquil, inclusive, and prosperous global community. Canada's FFP facilitates equitable access to and control over the resources that women and girls need to maintain economic and social equality (Canada's first Feminist International Assistance Policy, 2017).

The policy covers six areas (Canada's first Feminist International Assistance Policy, 2017):

Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls

This is the core of the policy; it will support efforts to reduce sexual and gender-based violence, strengthen women's organizations and movements that are advancing women's rights; enhance governments' capacities to provide services to women and girls, and improve gender analysis. A feminist approach does not limit the focus of the policy to women and girls, but it is the most effective way to fight the root causes of poverty affecting everyone, inequality, and exclusion.

Human dignity

In promoting human dignity, the policy supports access to equal health care, nutrition, education, and other forms of humanitarian assistance that better address the needs and potential of women and girls.

To foster growth that works for everyone

By helping women increase their access to economic opportunities and resources, the policy will enable them to be economically independent and take control of their own lives.

To promote environmental and climate action

The policy will promote government planning and initiatives that address climate change mitigation and adaptation, improve women's leadership and decision-making, and open up economic opportunities for them in the clean energy sector.

To support inclusive governance

By upholding the rule of law, preserving human rights, and creating strong institutions, the policy will seek to abolish gender discrimination. The policy supports greater involvement of women in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, helps to increase women's participation in the security sector, and enforces a zero-tolerance policy for sexual violence and abuse by peacekeepers in order to strengthen global peace and security.

B. Women's Movements in Canada and External Pressure

When it comes to human rights and gender equality, Canada is one of the leading and most progressive countries on the matter. However, decades ago, it would have been unimaginable for the topic of women's participation in politics to become an object of study and discussion, let alone, the country's international policy.

Canadian women got their right to vote in 1916 provincially and in 1918 federally (Nancy Janovicek and Melanee Thomas, 2019). Compared to other English-speaking countries, the suffrage movement came late in Canada; however, its success came easily (Bacchi, 1982). There were over 22 suffrage organizations at their height in 1914, with 10,000 members, or 0.2% of the population. But the first suffrage association — disguised as the Women's Literary Society — never received widespread support (Bacchi, 1982). Additionally, its strategies were mild in comparison to those of the British suffragists, such as petition gathering, holding mock legislatures, and selling postcards. (Bacchi, 1982). Even holding a protest on its own territory was too cautious for the movement (Bacchi, 1982).

The relatively easy success of the movement can be attributed to this display of patients, and more importantly, the movement did not call for radical change (Bacchi, 1982). The movement did not operate in a vacuum; this era of the suffragists was the era of white supremacy, and its demand was in the tone of the era (Bacchi, 1982). The suffragists argued that as the "home protector", women needed to vote to bring maternal influence into the wider world because the world intruded into their sphere and took many of their duties, such as the production of food and education of the young. Therefore, they

needed to vote to ensure those tasks were performed properly (Bacchi, 1982). This argument was in line with the nationalist-imperialist notion that recognized the role of women as mothers protecting "the race" (Bacchi, 1982). Social conservatives advocated for women's suffrage as they related the movement to good Christian womanhood, which would restrain the pace of social change and tame social deviants. In this period, the suffrage movement was categorized as "maternal feminism" or the first wave of feminism (Bacchi, 1982).

In the second wave of feminism (1960-1985), women's movements campaigned for a greater social transformation, such as for peace and disarmament, equality of education and employment, birth control, as well as ending violence against women (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2016).

The period was started by VOW, a Canadian feminist movement established not long after the Cold War and committed to the abolition of nuclear weapons. It was established as a response to the Canadian prime minister's willingness to station US missiles that would be capable of carrying multiple weapon types in northern Ontario and northern Quebec in 1960 (Bashevkin, 2022). VOW argued that Canadian women and women in the world had the responsibility to safeguard and enhance human life on the planet; women should oppose nuclear weapons because they threaten world peace (Bashevkin, 2022).

In the 1960s, the number of women from working-class families who attended universities increased. This widened a disparity among women that has lasted for the last 40 years, with a small number of them earning significantly higher than the majority. It also led to a rise of professional women who wanted to advance other women, challenging school curricula by creating anti-sexist and anti-racist pedagogy, staffing women, taking feminist politics into the political arena, and working for women in the labor's movement and other women's movements (Luxton, 2001). With the growing women's movements, young women confronted the deeply embedded sexism in education, and in 1970, with their increasingly sophisticated critiques, they established Women's Studies as an academic wing of women's movements (Luxton, 2001).

It was in the 1960s that women in Canada demanded more representation in public life (Bargvisq and Findlay, 1999). They recognized that voting did not diminish the barriers limiting them to participate in public life nor were their interests integrated into public

policy (Bargvisq and Findlay, 1999). By the 1960s, women were severely underrepresented in political parties, government bodies, and institutions (Bargvisq and Findlay, 1999). Leaders of well-known women's organizations that supported women's equality, therefore, claimed that the Royal Commission was required to raise awareness of women's issues and encourage the government to take action (Bargvisq and Findlay, 1999).

Author and journalists Doris Anderson, who took charge of the women's magazine *Chatelaine* in 1957, used the publication to increase awareness about women's rights (Goodhand, 2017). In her memoir, Anderson, an advocate of women's rights, recalled: "*I planned to do what no American magazine dared — give my readers something serious to think about, something to shake them up a little."* (Goodhand, 2017, n.p) *Chatelaine* featured stories on topics such as the best jobs for women going back to work and where they could get those jobs, and in 1966, it published an article in support of Laura Sabia and Margaret Hyndman, calling for the establishment of the RCSW (Goodhand, 2017). Sabia, the president of the Canadian Federation of University Women, threatened to march more than 2 million women to then-Prime Minister Lester Pearson's office, and Hyndman was a prominent Toronto lawyer (Goodhand, 2017).

Days after the papers were published, the Liberals created Canada's first female-chaired royal commission, the RCSW, with CBC journalist Florence Bird, or Mrs. John Bird, as its leader (Goodhand, 2017). The seven commissioners consisted of five women who were assigned to:

> *"Inquire into and report upon the status of women in Canada, and to recommend what steps might be taken by the federal government to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society."* (Goodhand, 2017, n.p.)

In its report, the Royal Commission's principle was clear and concise: *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights,"* (in Goodhand, 2017, n.p.), which equates with the UNDHR. The commission issued some recommendations. In politics, the government should appoint at least 10 women to the Senate as soon as possible, and it had to appoint more women as judges, as well as encourage more women to be involved in politics (Schlesinger, 1971). It based its plea for both sexes in politics based on the theory that: *"No country can make a claim to having equal status for its women as long as government lies almost entirely in the hands of men."* (Schlesinger, 1971, p. 257)

Another recommendation was for the federal and provincial governments to investigate and issue a new law that will give equal wages to the same job and the same responsibility for men and women (Schlesinger, 1971). The commission also recognized the role of minorities by recommending that the government establish and introduce courses for people of Eskimo and Indian descent, teaching them English and French, and encouraging them to get an education (Schlesinger, 1971).

To pressure the government to implement the recommendations of the RCSW report in Canada, women's movements established the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) in 1971.

The pressure on the Royal Commission was reinforced by increasing demands from the UN and the International Labour Organization (ILO) to address the issue of women's rights, particularly the under-representation of women in the federal government (Bargvisq and Findlay, 1999), and non-discrimination. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was among the early conventions guaranteeing the protection of human rights. The 1951 ILO Equal Remuneration Convention (ERC) was the basis of international law for equal salaries for men and women in equal-value work, which was ratified by Canada in 1972 (ILO, n.d.). The ERC was backed up by a supervisory system to ensure its implementation by rarifying countries and to find out how to improve its application (ILO, n.d). Under the 1958 ILO Convention on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation), equal treatment is mandated by international law. This was ratified by Canada in 1964 (ILO, n.d.).

It is important to note that in the 1960s, women's studies were still in their infancy and Canada's government was predominately made up of men. It can be argued that politicians did not really grasp what was happening and how to deal with social movements (Bégin, 1992). The Royal Commission was not supported by an explicit conceptual framework or shared philosophy, other than the commitment to equal rights and the pragmatic approach (Bégin, 1992). Nevertheless, it had an important role in creating and accelerating the process of feminist evolution in Canada (Bégin, 1992). The issue of the status of women gained public support and no politicians could neglect the new electoral reality (Bégin, 1992).

During the 1970s, social democratic parties started to recognize their female activists and the issues important to them, such as by incorporating feminist claims into

their programs and increasing women's representation as candidates and in their internal governing bodies (Fraud, 1998). Some parties such as Parti Socialiste Frangais (PSF) and the Norwegian Labor Party (NLP) allocated 10% and 40% of party positions to women, respectively, and many democratic parties applied quotas for party positions and candidacies (Fraud, 1998).

C. The Canadian-Gendered Regime and FFP

Before Canada launched its FFP in 2017, it had pursued a gender-based foreign policy. Through CIDA, formed in 1968, Canada aimed to reduce poverty and contribute to a more safe, equitable, and thriving world. To achieve these purposes, CIDA prioritized its efforts on basic human needs, supporting infrastructure for the poor, human rights, full participation of women, democratic governments, the private sector, and environmental protection (Morrison, 1998).

It can be argued that in the 1970s, Canada was not a "mature" gender-equal state yet; nevertheless, it was among the first states that made gender equality a political priority (Morrison, 1998). It confirms the findings of previous studies that identified internationalism as the central feature of Canada's foreign policy (Heather and Turenne-Sjolander, 2012; Munton and Keating, 2001), and that Canada generally maintained a high level of support for international law and international institutions (Carvin, 2007).

Since the 1970s pro-gender norms have been embedded in Canada's development foreign policy (Parisi, 2020). Based on Resolution 1325 and responding to the escalation of armed conflicts around the world, Canada's House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International recommended in 2016 that the government adopt WPS as its foreign policy priority.

MEXICO

A. Mexico FFP: An Overview

Mexico Secretary of Foreign Affairs Marcello Ebrad pledged in his address to the UN General Assembly in September 2019 that his country would pursue an FFP (Delgado, 2020). In January 2020, during the annual meeting of ambassadors and consuls, this pledge became a reality with the official announcement of Mexico's gender-equality-based international policy (Delgado, 2020**)**. This announcement made Mexico the first country in

Latin America to implement an FFP, following a small group of countries such as Sweden, Norway, and France.

By adopting the core tenets of feminism in its foreign policy, such as substantive equality, personal autonomy in decision-making, the removal of structural disparities, and the eradication of discrimination, it aims to build a fairer Mexican society and contribute to world equality (Delgado, 2020**)**. The FFP benefits the most vulnerable Mexican groups and brings greater visibility to social phenomena such as structural inequalities (Delgado, 2020**).**

Mexico's FFP has both domestic and international implications. At home, it will affect Mexico's societal and governmental structure, with the government aiming to achieve gender equality in staffing within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Delgado, 2020**).** At the international level, it will influence Mexican bilateral and multilateral commitments (Delgado, 2020**).**

Mexico has five goals that it aims to achieve at the domestic level (NAP, 2021**)**: 1) a gender-based foreign policy perspective and feminist agenda that will advance Mexico's position as a global leader in gender issues; 2) achieving gender parity at work through organizational change and parity within the Foreign Ministry; 3) a Foreign Ministry that. Is free from violence and with collective action to create a working environment safe from gender-based violence; 4) making feminist leadership visible and building awareness of women's contribution to Mexico's foreign policy; and 5) last but not least, an intersectional feminist approach to all foreign policies.

And in international politics, it will influence Mexico's bilateral and multilateral commitment (Delgado, 2020). For example, Mexico and France co-hosted the Generation Equality Forum in 2021, a platform to evaluate policies on gender equality to enhance future policies (Delgado, 2020**)**.

The WPS agenda is the framework of any FFP (Aggestam, Rosamond, and Kronsell, 2018), and Mexico's first 1325 National Action Plan (NAP) was enacted in 2021 (Peace Women). Its development was spearheaded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Navy, the Ministry of Security and Citizen Protection, and the National Institute for Women (Peace Women). The primary goal of the NAP is to encourage women's active participation in conflict prevention at all levels and in the UN, efforts to maintain, rebuild, and consolidate peace (NAP, 2021).

However, Mexico recognized that the WPS agenda is not restricted to conflict and post-conflict situations, but that the dissemination of International Humanitarian Law is always relevant (NAP, 2021).

The four primary WPS pillars form the framework for the NAP (Peace Women): Prevention, Participation, Protection, and Relief and Recovery. The NAP outlined the objectives of the Mexican government and the actions it will pursue to achieve those objectives.

The government has trained 11,670 public officers to raise awareness about gender equality and gender-based violence among their ranks. The Mexican Secretariat of National Defense (SEDENA) offered a series of related courses and workshops, such as "Strengthening Gender Equality", "Equity and Gender Violence", "Gender Relations, Building Equity Between Women and Men", "Prevent Harassment and Sexual Harassment", and so on (PNA-MPS Report, 2021). Security personnel, including 42,987 police officers (PNA-MPS Report, 2021), were trained to specialize in the immediate response, investigation, and prevention of crime against women, girls, boys, and adolescents, with 288 training sessions and/or workshops held incorporating gender content in relation to the building of peace and security for women. These were just some of the measures taken by the government.

B. Femicide and Feminist Movements in Mexico

One of the most high-profile cases in Mexico that shone the spotlight on gender issues was the killings of women in Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s. What made them so significant was that they integrated the gender perspective into the struggle for human rights for the first time (Ensalaco, 2006). In 1993, the city saw events akin to the political repression that occurred in Central and South America in the 1970s and 1980s: people vanished, family members searched in agony, bodies were found days, weeks, months, or even years after they vanished, and the criminals responsible for the crimes went free. (Ensalaco, 2006). The fundamental distinction is that the victims in Ciudad Juárez were women, most of whom were young, who were murdered by males because they were women, not political opponents murdered by government agents (Ensalaco, 2006).

This distinct pattern of murdered women was first discovered by D. H. Russell, an American feminist, in 1976. She defined it as: "*I chose the new term femicide to refer to the killing of females by males because they are female."* (Russell, 2011, n.p.)

Although the term "femicide" was already well-known in the Anglo-Saxon world, Russell gave it a substantial political connotation and elevated its importance within the larger feminist framework (Grzyb, Naudi, and Marcuello-Servó, 2018). Another definition by J. Radford (1992) is that femicide is a form of sexual violence committed by men against women that is motivated by misogyny. By categorizing sexual violence as a form of violence, it highlights men's desire for power, dominance, and control and situates sexual violence by men within the broader context of patriarchal oppression of women (Radford, 1992).

Women's organizations gathered following the femicide in Ciudad Juárez to protest pervasive gender violence and to call for justice (Prieto-Carrón, Thomson, and Macdonald, 2007). For example, Norma Andrade and Marisela Ortiz worked together to form Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa, Justicia para Nuestras Hijas, a grass-roots group that embraces Marisela Escobedo, who was killed while demanding justice for the femicide of her daughter in 2010 (Ensalaco, 2006). The mothers of Ciudad Juárez united in urging the state to carry out its duty, which is to protect and preserve the safety of its citizens (Ensalaco, 2006).

Women’s movements not only pushed the government to reform the justice system, but they also performed several functions the government failed to fulfill. The government was absent in providing counseling and related professional help to the families of the Ciudad Juárez victims, so Esther Chavez established the Casa Amiga Crisis Center to offer such support (Ensalaco, 2006). The organization discovered other sexual violence victims not related to Ciudad Juárez and sought their help, too (Ensalaco, 2006). Programs for nutrition, health, education, and housing were also offered by Nuestras Hijas de Regreso (May Our Daughters Return Home), all of which were based on the framework of an integral human rights approach to the issues in the community (Ensalaco, 2006).

One of the earliest groups concerned with femicide in Ciudad Juárez was a group of women's organizations focusing on sexual and reproductive rights (Madigan, 1999). The 8 of March Feminist Group, founded by Esther Chavez, was the first to openly record and criticize violence against women in Ciudad Juárez (Madigan, 1999). In 1999, the Casa Amiga Crisis Center was created by the 8 of March after it concentrated on abductions and disappearances and found an apparent pattern (Madigan, 1999). In the summer of 1997, Astrid Gonzalez's Citizens Committee against Violence also started to condemn such

crimes and demonstrated in Ciudad Juárez in November (Ensalaco, 2006). One of their demands to Governor Barrios was the establishment of community programs to stop violence against women and the establishment of a special prosecutor's office with sufficient financial and technical capabilities (Ensalaco, 2006). However, the authorities did not grant those demands until the discovery of more victims and the formation of victims' associations (Ensalaco, 2006).

This documenting effort is highly significant as the government did not start to document femicide crimes or recognize them. Based on their experience, the victims' association had evidence of the incidents, how the government failed to respond to missing person complaints, conduct thorough investigations, and treat the families with respect. (Ensalaco, 2006). This information played a crucial role in the submission of individual complaints to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) and served as the foundation for the well-publicized reports of Amnesty International, the UN special rapporteurs, and the IACHR (Ensalaco, 2006).

a. Femicide to Feminicidio

The acknowledgment of femicide by the people of Mexico is a milestone in the country's struggle for human rights. By recognizing femicide, Mexico has acknowledged the root of the problem of the killing of women: patriarchal and misogynistic cultures and norms. Nowadays, the media is more likely to categorize the killing of women as femicide (García-Del Moral, 2020). Feminist researchers look at femicide as an analytical method to examine the sharp rise in the number of murdered poor and young women in Ciudad Juárez in the early 1990s (Lagarade, 2010). This concept allowed feminist scholars from Mexico to identify a connection between the killing of young women that are subject to patriarchal culture and the symbolic process that justifies men's ownership of women's bodies and the devaluation of femininity (García-Del Moral, 2015).

By conducting this analysis, feminist scholars developed the word *feminicidio* to describe how governmental institutions support the inequity that leads to the systematic killing of women and its impunity (García-Del Moral, 2015). *Feminicidio* is the national problem constituted "genocide against women" that stems from the state's failure to guarantee that women can live free from violence and, therefore, the state should be held accountable (García-Del Moral, 2020). This concept is radical

as it aims to end state impunity itself by criminalizing public servants who are indifferent and irresponsible — and never held accountable — in responding to and investigating femicide cases (García-Del Moral, 2020). By coining the term *feminicidio,* the movements named the problem and shamed the Mexican government (García-Del Moral, 2020).

In their campaign, Ni Una Más activists adopted the term "femicide" and argued that the failure of the Mexican government to effectively address the killings and disappearances of women in the state of Chihuahua constituted violations of women's human rights (García-Del Moral, 2016). Local feminist activists and the victims' relatives banded together in the late 1990s to launch the Ni Una Más campaign (No One More), which called attention to the Chihuahua State Prosecutor's Office employee who had engaged in serious irregularities during the murder investigations of 104 women between 1993 and 1998 (Bejarano, 2002). The movements grounded their demand for human rights in the authoritative international and regional norms and conventions — CEDAW and the Belém Do Pará Convention — by framing the incident as *feminicidio* (García-Del Moral, 2016).

The Special Commission to Monitor the Investigations into the Homicides of Girls and Women in Ciudad Juárez was established by the legislature in 2003 (De Los Ríos, 2010). The proposal to establish a Special Commission to Make Known and Monitor Feminicides in Mexico and Efforts to Secure Justice in Such Cases (Comisión Especial para Conocor y Dar Seguimiento a las Investigaciones Relacionadas con los Feminicidios en la Republica Mexicana y a la Procuración de Justicia Vinculada) was approved by the Chamber of Deputies. (De Los Ríos, 2010). It was the first time the word *feminicidio* was used in an official government document (De Los Ríos, 2010).

A significant piece of legislation pertaining to women's human rights was passed in Mexico in 2007: the General Law on the Access of Women to a Life Free of Violence (GLAWLFV) (García-Del Moral, 2020). In order to prevent, deter, and end violence against women, the General Law mandated cooperation between the federal government, the states, federal districts, and local governments (Refworld). It recognized *feminicidio* violence as a violation of human rights both in the public and private sphere and linked it to the state's tolerance of gender violence (García-

Del Moral, 2020). The GLAWLFV also provided a mechanism for the Warning Declaration of Gender Violence, as an urgent and direct mechanism intended to compel authorities of all levels of government to pursue effective actions of investigations and prosecutions that will result in the clarification of the facts, the arrest of criminals, and the protection of femicide victims' access to justice (CEPAL, 2012).

On April 30, 2012, the House reformed the GLAWLFV and the Federal Criminal Code that codified *feminicidio* as a crime (García-Del Moral, 2020). In the same year, the government officially started to record and keep track of victims of femicide (Linnea Sandin, 2020).

However, this did not mean that the law-making process was without challenges. Some scholars have argued that the Mexican Federal Congress itself is a gendered institution (Bolzendahl 2014 and Lovenduski, 2005). Resistance on the side of conservative legislators, especially men, was found in various literature on the introduction of legislation on gender violence (García-Del Moral, 2020). They threatened to leave Congress to sabotage the law's passage by arguing that it would be discriminating against men and destroy families (García-Del Moral, 2020). Nevertheless, domestic and external forces eventually drove Congress to pass such laws.

C. Regional and International Forces

Latin Americans have used regional institutions to bring about transformation in women's rights (Friedman, 2009). The two women's rights units of the Organization of American States (OAS) have been active in both establishing regional norms on violence against women and promoting their national adoption and implementation. For instance, between 1993 and 2000, nearly all democratic countries in Latin America passed a law that prohibited domestic violence, with Mexico passing the Reform of Civil and Penal Code on Intrafamily Violence and Rape in 1997 (Friedman,2009).

Violence against women, as we know it today, did not emerge as a given. In the early 1970s, violence against women was not understood to be connected. It denoted a wide range of practices in diverse contexts, from household to police brutality. Activists in different countries had their own concerns about violence experienced by women, such as rape and domestic battery in the US and Europe, female genital mutilation in Africa, dowry

death in India, and female sexual slavery in Asia (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Violence against women had to be constructed and popularized so people could think of it as the same in some fundamental ways, and transnational activists turned to a basic common denominator; the belief in the importance of the protection of the bodily integrity of women and girls that is central to liberalism and human dignity and shared by all cultures (Keck and Sikkink, 1998).

The UN was not the first organization that defined the term "violence against women"; the earliest "official" definition was given by the OAS in the Convention of Belém do Pará (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). It defined violence against women as: "*...Any act or conduct, based on gender, which causes death or physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or private sphere"* (the OAS, 1994).

The Convention took a feminist perspective by drawing attention to the violence experienced by women "based on their gender. It underlined the need to end violence against women everywhere and the state's responsibility in doing so by stating that violence against women is *"...a violation of their human rights"* (the OAS, 1994). This Convention is also a hard law, which means it binds the state once it is ratified (Keck and Sikkink, 1998), and Mexico ratified the Convention in 1998 (CIDH).

The other body of the OAS is the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (referred to as the Court), which are responsible for upholding the 1948 American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the 1969 American Convention on Human Rights (Friedman, 2009). Different from the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM), which is a political body, the IACHR is an independent body. The seven IACHR commissioners elected by the OAS General Assembly do not represent their country of origin (Friedman, 2009). Aside from promoting regional statutes and monitoring human rights, the IACHR is authorized to receive petitions from individuals whose right to protection was ignored by authorities, and if the IACHR finds that the petition is "acceptable", it can investigate and give recommendations to states and, in urgent cases, adopt protective measures (Duhaime, 2007). The Court then may issue advisory opinions on regional human rights statutes including the compatibility of national laws, as well as applying measures to the people in immediate danger — and their judgments are binding under international law (Duhaime, 2007).

The Stop the Impunity campaign asked the IACHR's rapporteur on women's rights to visit Ciudad Juárez in December 2001 (Ensalaco, 2006). The commission has the power to carry out on-site investigations, release critical assessments on Ciudad Juárez's overall state of affairs, and, most crucially, hear individual complaints alleging human rights violations (Ensalaco, 2006). The hearing of individual complaints can result in the matter being sent to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, which will issue a binding decision and lead to political repercussions (Ensalaco, 2006). In fact, the women of Ciudad Juárez turned to the Inter-American Commission to acquire a critical report on the overall situation and to present a case to the Inter-American Court that may potentially set precedents (Ensalaco, 2006). The IACHR's rapporteur on the rights of women, Marta Altolaguirre, gave a damning report:

> *"The denial of an effective response both springs from and feeds back into the perception that violence against women — most illustratively domestic violence — is not a serious crime. The lack of an effective official response is part and parcel of the larger context of discrimination. Addressing the killings necessarily requires addressing the larger problems of violence and discrimination based on gender through, first and foremost, prompt, and effective access to justice." (IACHR, 2002).*

Prior to the IACHR's arrival, the UN paid a visit to Ciudad Juárez (Ensalaco, 2006). One of the first organizations to request the participation of outside observers was the Latin American Federation of Associations for Relatives of the Detained-Disappeared (FEDEFAM) affiliate in Mexico in 1999 (Ensalaco, 2006). The UN special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, and arbitrary executions, Asma Jahangir concluded:

> *"The special rapporteur noticed that the deliberate inaction of the government to protect the lives of its citizens because of their sex had generated a sense of insecurity amongst many of the women living in Ciudad Juárez. At the same time, it had indirectly ensured that perpetrators would enjoy impunity for such crimes. The events in Ciudad Juárez thus constitute a typical case of gender-based crimes which thrive on impunity. The arrogant behavior and obvious indifference shown by some state officials in regard to these cases leave the impression that many of the crimes were deliberately never investigated for the sole reason that the victims were 'only' young girls with no particular social status and who, therefore, were regarded as expendable"* (Jahangir, 1999).

The immediate cause of the IACHR's and UN's visit was the presidential election (Ensalaco, 2006). Vincent Fox, conservative National Action Party candidate, framed his future administration as genuinely democratic and committed to human rights and the rule

of law during his campaign — and he won the election (Ensalaco, 2006). Although women have always accounted for 52% of the population, the Ciudad Juárez femicides made women's issues a fundamental aspect of winning the 2000 presidential election. The demands of women's movements for justice and equality, and the pressure from regional and international bodies, made the killing of women a prominent campaign issue (Ensalaco, 2006). For the first time, leaders of the National Feminine Civic Association were invited to meetings with most presidential candidates to express their concerns about women (Thompson, 2000).

In October 2003, Fox, then-Mexican President, responded to the Inter-American Commission's report by appointing a special commissioner at the federal level to coordinate the pending state investigations (Ensalaco, 2006). The commissioner, Maria Guadalupe Morfin, almost immediately announced her openness to the payment of "a symbolic reparation for damages, for negligence, to the victims' families" (The New York Times, 2003). This was a clear message to the Inter-American Commission, which has the authority to demand reparations after reaching a conclusion about the Mexican state's responsibility in an individual complaint proceeding, that the Mexican government wished to avoid the embarrassment of a commission finding of state responsibility (Ensalaco, 2006). Then, at the beginning of 2004, Fox appointed a director in the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic to investigate the unpunished crimes, raising the investigation to the federal level for the first time (Lawyer to Probe, 2004).

D. The Mexican-Gendered Regime and FFP

According to Richey (2021), a state's identification with gender issues affects its policies, as its identity, gender discourse, and international development policy are interwoven and mutually constitutive. Richey (2021) may explain why Sweden is pursuing an FFP, since based on some measurements depicting gender equality, Sweden is one of the most gender-equal countries in the world, gender equality is part of the Swedish identity, and the country has advanced democratic institutions. However, her approach could not explain why Mexico is pursuing an FFP; it does not have advanced democratic institutions yet, nor is gender equality a part of Mexican culture.

Machismo is a patriarchal belief. Common in Mexico and other Latin American countries in general that defines how men should behave to be considered "manly" and feel

that they are masculine (Welsh, 2001). Machismo cultural attitudes are reinforced by newspapers, commercials, and songs reproducing the myth that justifies violence against women, such as that "women like to be beaten", "she provoked him", and that "he was drunk or under the influence of drugs" (URNG, 2005). This attitude is reflected in the production of popular culture after Ciudad Juárez, which suggested that the crimes against women would continue until men and women performed their proper roles and relations. Thus, women who came home late (due to work or other reasons) or who did not wear "proper" clothes were seen as asking to be killed (Volk and Schlotterbeck, 2010). The authorities' response also showed this *machismo* culture, which affected their poor performance in responding to reports of missing women and cases of violence against women, (Ensalaco, 2006) and giving perpetrators impunity.

The killing of women and girls in Ciudad Juárez marked a fundamentally important change in Mexico because for the first-time, the gender approach was incorporated into the struggle for human rights (Ensalaco, 2006) and femicide was widely recognized (García-Del Moral, 2020).

It also showed the importance of women's movements in driving Mexico to apply CEDAW and Belem do Pará Convention. Mexico ratified CEDAW in 1981, which means that by international law, Mexico was obliged to abolish all kinds of violence toward women since 1981. However, the case of Ciudad Juárez revealed the systemic discrimination experienced by women, costing their lives. By framing the campaigns as *feminicidio*, the movements shamed the Mexican government for failing to protect women from violence and discrimination and tolerating crimes committed against them (García-Del Moral, 2020). This is radical as it aims to end state impunity itself by criminalizing public servants who are indifferent and irresponsible — and never held accountable — in investigating cases and allowing women to continue to be killed without impunity (García-Del Moral, 2020).

Mexico is also a member of the OSs and abided by the Convention of Belem do Pará, which came into force in 1995 (Enes SARAC and Muge CINAR, 2021). However, the killings in Ciudad Juárez showed that the authorities remained indifferent in responding to cases of femicide. When eight more bodies were found in 2001 after violence erupted in a cotton field in Ciudad Juárez, the campaign became transnational (García-Del Moral, 2020). Mexico became the object of an (ongoing) transnational feminist advocacy

campaign called Alto a la Impunidad: Ni Una Muerta Más! (Stop Impunity: Not One More Woman Murdered!) in 2001 (García-Del Moral, 2016). Three of the bodies that were found became the basis of a complaint made before the (IACHR), which declared that Mexico had failed to prevent, investigate, and punish those who were responsible for the human rights violations committed against the young female victims, given its knowledge of the systemic pattern of violence against women in the city (in García-Del Moral, 2020).

This does not mean that the CEDAW and Convention of Belem do Pará were irrelevant. By framing the issue as *feminicidio*, the movements placed their demand for human rights within authoritative international and regional norms and conventions, such as CEDAW and the Belém Do Pará Convention (García-Del Moral, 2016). The combination of domestic pressure from women's movements and external pressure from the UN, the OAS, and various regional and international organizations led to a change in the Mexican regime to become a gendered regime. Femicide and violence against women have become a prominent political issue. In the 2000 election, as Thomson (2000, n.p.) put it*: "Women became the darlings of the candidates in Mexico."* Women's votes were significant because they accounted for 52 % of the population; however, for the first time, leaders of the National Feminine Civic Association were invited to meetings with presidential candidates to express their concerns about women (Thompson, 2000).

Mexico aimed to gain legitimacy at home by realizing the demands of feminist movements and abroad by presenting itself as an accountable government through the incorporation of *feminicidio* into the criminal code (García-Del Moral, 2016). By adhering to regional and international conventions, Mexico presented itself as an actor committed to upholding these norms. Femicide and violence against women remain a severe problem in Mexico and a salient political issue. On average,10 women are killed every day and tens of thousands are still missing (Reuter, 2022). In 2018, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador won the election on a platform of ending corruption and impunity in Mexico (Sesin and Alvarez, 2018). He addressed the challenge that Mexican women are facing and recognized that indigenous women are particularly prone to suffering from domestic abuse and poverty (Romero and Gonzales, 2019). He received over 53% of the vote (Brocchetto, Griffiths, and Beech, 2018).

In 2019, the Glitter Revolution emerged in response to the alleged rape of a girl by four police officers on August 3, 2019 (Philips, 2019). On August 16, 2019, protesters

marched to the Ángel de la Independencia, carrying banners and leaving a trail of glitter behind them as they demanded justice. They burned a police station, broke glass, and damaged public transportation (Rios, 2022). For some protesters, leaving physical marks and damaging public spaces was a direct confrontation with the city, revealing which is more important: protecting city landmarks or prioritizing a woman's life (Rios, 2022). Cultural heritage can be restored, but the lives of women who have been violated, assaulted, raped, and killed cannot be brought back (Rios, 2022).

Officials condemned the revolution, and some labeled the protesters as "feminazis" who did not represent the people (Rios, 2022). Mayor Claudia Sheinbaum initially called the protest a "provocation", which received massive criticism online and led to the viral hashtag "demanding justice is not a provocation" (Aljazeera, 2019). Sheinbaum eventually apologized and met the women activists to discuss how the authorities can improve their response in dealing with violence against women (Aljazeera, 2019).

In September 2019, Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs Marcelo Ebrard Casaubon claimed that Mexico was a feminist country and would pursue an FFP (SRE, 2019). Pursuing an FFP may emphasize the country's commitment to decreasing violence against women both at home and abroad by contributing to a gender-equal society and applying a gender approach. Sexual violence became one of the main concerns of the Mexican FFP (see Report PNA-MPS, 2021)

Chihuahua is the first city in the world to ban misogynist lyrics in music (FitzGerald, 2023). Violators are fined up to 1.2 million pesos ($72,000; £56,000), which will be donated to municipal women's programs and domestic abuse shelters (FitzGerald, 2023). State officials have argued that Chihuahua is one of the Mexican cities that are on high gender alert because of the high rate of violence against women (Busby, 2023).

In summary, violence against women has been recognized as a prominent issue in Mexico. In response, the country's feminist movements have raised awareness about gender issues and silent political issues. Strengthened by regional and international conventions and pressures from various organizations, they have influenced the government into becoming a gendered regime that adopts a gender approach in its domestic and international policies.

COLOMBIA

A. Colombia's FFP: An Overview

Colombia implemented the FFP in 2022 to fulfill its commitment to the full implementation of the 2030 Agenda for SDGs, particularly on gender equality and women's empowerment (UN Women, 2022). By using a gender transformative approach, this policy aims to advance gender equality, women's political involvement, and respect for human rights, including vulnerable groups, such as LGBTIQ+ people and ethnic minorities (The MFA).

Three main concepts govern the Colombian FFP: (1) Participatory, encouraging women to actively participate in the decision-making process in both public and private concerns; (2) Pacificist, in accordance with the Colombian Peace Agreement; (3) and Intersectional, acknowledging the numerous and intersecting forms of discrimination (The MFA).

Through its FFP, Colombia seeks to encourage a critical examination of social norms, gender dynamics, and stereotypes in order to identify and strengthen norms that support equality and create empowering environments for women and girls (The MFA).

B. Women's Movement and Civil War

Colombia suffered from the longest conflict in the Western Hemisphere (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). After years of political bloodshed, the Liberal and Conservative Parties came to an agreement on a power-sharing plan in 1958, and under this plan, citizens were only allowed to affiliate with one of the parties (Trujillo 2006). The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN), two of the more well-known guerilla groups, did not identify with the previously listed two parties that caused this prolonged conflict (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018).

Peace negotiations between the government and the FARC in 2012-2016 were an important political event, as the pressure applied by the country's women's movements, which were supported by external forces, generated what is considered to be one of the most inclusive peace agreements in history (Ruiz-Navarro, 2019). Prior to this period, women had organized themselves in response to conflicts. For example, in 1996, women from 315 organizations came together to establish La Ruta Pacifica (Herman, 2008) in response to cases of extreme violence toward women that were being underrecognized. In 2002, activists came to an agreement on a 12-point agenda through the Women's Emancipatory Constitution (WEC), which included the shared experiences of women

living in civil conflicts, such as economic marginalization, cultural discrimination, and exclusion from the political and judicial processes (Herman, 2008).

Then-President Pastrana agreed to hold talks with the FARC in 1999 after receiving 10 million signatures from women and other civil groups urging the government to pursue peace talks (Herman, 2008). Although women were the initiator of the peaceful settlement, they were not included at the table (Herman, 2008). When peace talks between the two parties collapsed and Uribe promised during his presidential campaign on February 20, 2002, to defeat the guerrilla military, supporters of the peace settlement were labeled as guerrilla sympathizers (Bouver, 2016). However, many women's organizations continued to support political solutions and set the stage for future negotiations (Bouver, 2016).

Peace negotiations between the Colombian government and FARC took place in Havana, Cuba, in August 2012. At the end of 2016, President Juan Manuel Santos and FARC leader Rodrigo Londoo Echeverri finally signed a final deal, bringing an end to more than 50 years of armed conflict that had uprooted more than 6 million people and claimed over 8 million lives (Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus Víctimas, 2015). The armed war resulted in 450,000 fatalities and 122,000 missing persons from 1985 to 2018 alone (Skretteberg, 2022).

Nevertheless, at the beginning, women were once again not properly represented in the peace talks (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). Two women were chosen to serve as alternate negotiators in place of the previous government's all-male negotiating team: Luca Jaramillo Ayerbe and Elena Ambrosi Turbay (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). And for FRAC, five of its main negotiators were men. Only two were women assigned as collaborators: Dutch national Tanja Nijmeijer and Shirley Méndez (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018).

The original members of the negotiating delegation delivered a message sent by Rodrigo Londoo Echeverri, the main leader of FARC, known as "Timochenko": *"The debate between men who know war makes things easier."* (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018, p. 93).

The team members' profiles showed they had some kind of relationship with the Colombian defense sector and armed forces (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). At the beginning of the settlement, it was widely believed that war was the affair of men and the negotiation process for peace belonged to them (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018).

In response, women founded Mujeres para la Paz (Women for Peace) in October 2012, and in December, they held the National Meeting of Women for Peace in Bogotá, which was attended by various women's rights NGOs such as Casa de la Mujer, Red Nacional de Mujeres Excombatientes, Corporación Humanas, and Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). They voiced their support for the peace process, asserted their participation in the negotiations, and denounced the patriarchal system that oppressed them and used violence against them (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). They sent one shared message: "Peace without women does not go!" (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018).

In December 2012, both parties organized a meeting titled "Comprehensive Agricultural Development with a Territorial Approach", discussing rural reform agendas (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). Once more, women's movements insisted that they be included in the peace process and asked that social, cultural, and economic structures be transformed because they have contributed to women's oppression (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). They stressed that in order to resolve the issue of women's access, control, and land reclamation and to advance their inclusion in political discourse, the negotiating parties must do so (Céspedes-Báez and Jaramillo Ruiz, 2018).

Coalition 1325, established by women's organizations in 2011 to monitor the Colombian government's compliance with UNSCR 1325 in peace negotiations, complemented Mujeres por la Paz by publishing a yearly report on the government and FARC's compliance with the resolution (Ruiz and Monroy, 2021). Its 2012 report revealed the absence of women in the peace negotiation process (Ruiz and Monroy, 2021), and the 2013 report confirmed that neither of the opposing parties' goals included women or took gender equality into consideration (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018).

More than 2,000 women from various organizations gathered in Florencia, Caquetá, Colombia, in May 2013 and produced a joint statement titled "Colombian Women's Manifest for Dignity and Peace" (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). They expressed their frustration at the government and FARC's refusal to consider their demand for an inclusive settlement while continuing to support the peaceful settlement (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018).

Women's organizations had numerous meetings and activities throughout 2013, and in November, Mujeres para la Paz organized a public march in Havana calling for

inclusive discourse and the promotion of inclusive peace (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). Eventually, the Colombian government and FARC responded to their demand by involving two women in the process: Nigeria Rentería Lozano from FARC and María Paulina Riveros Dueñas from the government (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). Although their number seemed insignificant, their involvement was an important milestone due to the patriarchal overtone of the peace negotiations and Colombian society (Gómez and Montealegre, 2021).

Lozano's and Dueñas's involvement did not reduce the participation of women's movements in the peace process (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). In February 2014, they ratified the Ethical Pact for a Nation in Peace, which placed a strong emphasis on the development of pluralistic, tolerant societies that respect cultural and ethnic diversity (Céspedes-Báez, and Ruiz, 2018). In May 2014, there was the National Summit of Women and Peace, attended by more than 400 women highlighting the importance of continuing the conversations until the parties reach a final peace agreement (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018).

On June 7, 2014, the Colombian government established a sub-commission on gender, an advisory body consisting of five members from each party. The panel was created as a result of women's organizations and supporters exerting constant pressure on the government and making numerous visits to the Havana negotiation team (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). The High Commissioner for Peace stated:

> *"The sub-commission on gender, integrated by both delegations, was created to revise and warrant, with the support of national and international experts, that the final agreement has a proper gender perspective."* (in Céspedes-Báez, and Ruiz, 2018, p. 97)

The sub-commission had three core tasks: to ensure that the language in which the agreement was written was inclusive; to gather testimonies from 301 women's organizations sending 7,172 proposals to the government during the peace process; and to establish over 120 affirmative gender-equality measures (Ruiz and Monroy, 2021). The sub-commission was strengthened by direct communication with women's movements, victims of armed conflict, Colombian ex-combatants, and other countries that took part in the peace process (Gómez and Montealegre, 2021).

C. The Inclusive Peace Agreement and External Forces

The Colombian peace agreement is recognized as one of the most inclusive, progressive, and comprehensive peace settlements in history, particularly when it comes to gender inclusivity (Bramsen, 2022). It recognizes and protects the rights of marginalized groups:

> *"Emphasizing that the new Final Agreement places special emphasis on the fundamental rights of women, of vulnerable social groups such as indigenous peoples, girls, boys and adolescents, communities of African descent and other ethnically differentiated groups; the fundamental rights of the small-scale farmers, both male and female, and the essential rights of persons with disabilities and of those displaced by the conflict; and the fundamental rights of the elderly and of the LGBTI community."* (The Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 2016, p. 3)

One of the significant landmarks of the agreement is that it recognizes women as subjects of rights and as social and political actors who are not only affected by the armed conflict differently from men but also as important agents of peacebuilding (Gómez and Montealegre, 2021). The second point of the agreement on political participation acknowledges that women are facing greater social and institutional barriers generated by deep-rooted discrimination, inequality, exclusion, and subordination. Therefore, the situations of women in all contexts should be accounted for, and to ensure women's representation, the government can adopt several measures. The first point of the Agreement on Comprehensive Rural Reform focuses on the well-being of countryfolk, sexual and reproductive rights, and giving access to land ownership, with the most affected regions by the war and women-led households treated as a priority (Vargas and Pérez, 2018). It recognizes that in order to eliminate structural impediments, equality for men and women must be promoted.

The gender-based approach is one of the guiding principles of the agreement, which emphasizes the protection of women, children, and adolescents who are affected by criminal organizations. By this approach, the risks faced by women that harm their lives, freedom, integrities, and safety will be considered. Not just women, but other vulnerable groups are also the concern of the agreement; by the principle of strengthening justice administration, it recognizes that ending the conflict and creating lasting peace need effective justice administration in dealing with gender-based violence and in ensuring freedom from stereotypes for LGBTQ+ groups. The fifth point of the agreement mentions the establishment of the Truth Commission, which will examine the root of violent conflicts and their effects on different groups, especially women and LGBTQ+ groups.

The external forces that strengthened the demand of feminist movements for an inclusive peace agreement are:

1. *UN Resolution 1325*

The Security Council of the UN pushed its member states to develop follow-up plans for Resolution 1325 of 2000 on WPS (Rakel Oion-Encina, 2020). Instead of the government adhering to the UN's call for follow-up plans, the women's movements assessed the government and FARC's compliance with the resolution in the negotiation process by establishing Council 1325 in 2011 and publishing a yearly report of their compliance (Ruiz and Monroy, 2021). By including the standard of inclusive settlement in the resolution, feminist movements strengthened their demand for inclusivity as a shared value across the world. They also received technical and financial assistance from various transnational corporations and organizations to strengthen the ability of women's movements and enable them to hold regional meetings, workshops, and national summits, as well as monitor research and reports (Oion-Encina, 2020).

2. *The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*

Amid the peace process, then-Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos vowed in his speech at the *El Futuro de las Américas* forum hosted by the Clinton Foundation in Miami that Colombia would be able to achieve a peace settlement — and he was right (Gehring and Koch, 2016).

Although Santos recognized that Colombia was a failed state (Gehring and Koch, 2016), he was a visionary leader. In the 2010s, he pledged that Colombia would be a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) because he wanted the country to be a part of the global community under the most demanding standards (Santos, 2014). He recognized that joining the OECD would be an important step for Colombia; it would be the third OECD country in Latin America after Mexico and Chile, which in 1994 and 2010, respectively, had joined the organization (Gehring and Koch, 2016). As an OECD member, Colombia would have numerous advantages: acquiring mechanisms for monitoring public policies, gaining greater levels of trust from other countries to generate economic benefits, and — as Santos pointed out — urging Colombia to maintain a particular standard (Gehring and Koch, 2016).

On April 28, 2020, Colombia officially became a member of the OECD, a prestigious international organization. Being a member state would make the cost of war higher for Colombia (Javier Corrales, 2016), which would incentivize the government to maintain peace.

3. *European Union*

The EU provided financial and technical support to territories in conflict via the Peace and Development Program from 2004 to 2010, and promoted the Regional Development, Peace, and Stability program from 2011 to 2015, as well as the New Territories for Peace from 2012 to 2017 (Amaya-Panche, 2021). Currently, the EU endorses the implementation of the Agreement through the European Trust Fund for Peace (Amaya-Panche, 2021).

4. *Other contributing countries*

The Forum for Women and Development (Fokus) is a Norwegian organization that has implemented UN Resolution 1325. Fokus has been active in Colombia since 2011 (Scanteam Report 2011-2016). The Norwegian government funded Laura Cardozo, a personal consultant to Victoria Sandino and FARC's gender advisor, and three gender experts to support negotiations: Cubans Magalys Arocha Dominguez, Norwegian Hilde Salvesen, and Swedish Camila Riesefeld. These experts organized several meetings, including one with FARC and other former insurgents from throughout the globe, and became the guarantor of Colombia's peace process (Ruiz-Navarro, 2019).

Sweden, a guarantor of the agreement implementation, provided around SEK 67 million (US$6.12 million), equivalent to 6.6 million euro, for the peace process (Ruiz-Navarro, 2019). Swedish-Norwegian Fund for Support to the Colombian Civil Society (FOS) was established to assist Colombian organizations working on initiatives to advance peace, strengthen victim reparation work, defend human rights, and strengthen democracy within the context of peace consolidation (Ruiz-Navarro, 2019).

D. The Colombian-Gendered Regime, the Peace Agreement, and FFP

It can be said that the persistent pressure for a peace settlement from feminist movements, strengthened by international forces such as UN Resolution 1325, the OECD, EU, and other supporting countries, influenced the Colombian government to transform into a gendered regime pursuing gendered-based policies.

At the beginning of the peace talks in 2012, the government neither acknowledge the role of women nor involved them in the negotiating process, even though women had persistently been advocating for a peaceful peace settlement, such as by collecting 10 million signatures that led President Pastrana to hold talks with FARC in 1999 (Herman, 2018). When the peace talks failed and presidential candidate Uribe promised to defeat FARC in the war, the women's movements still encouraged a peaceful peace settlement. Urebe, however, labeled supporters of the peace talks as rebel sympathizers (Herman, 2018). Additionally, the initial negotiating teams in 2012 reflected both parties' belief that war and peace were the affairs of men, and therefore: *"The debate between men who know war will make things easier."* (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018, p. 93).

In response to that, women established Mujeres por la Paz in October 2012, and in December, they held the National Meeting of Women for Peace in Bogotá that generated one strong message: Peace without women does not go! (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). They also established Coalition 1325, which assessed the government and FARC's compliance with UN Resolution 1325 to achieve an inclusive peace agreement (Ruiz and Monroy, 2021). Throughout 2013, they frequently held meetings and events to voice their support of a peaceful peace process, as well as their exasperation with the government and FARC's abandonment of them (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz, 2018). Some of their demands were the structural transformation of the political, cultural, and economic system that had marginalized them to guarantee their engagement and to recognize their contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP), as well as to the economy of care (Céspedes-Báez, and Ruiz, 2018). They also called for a plural and tolerant society (Céspedes-Báez and Jaramillo Ruiz, 2018). Their persistence throughout their campaigns was reflected in their slogan: *"Neither war that destroys us nor peace that oppresses us."*

Eventually, the government granted their demands in 2013 by appointing two women, Nigeria Rentería Lozano and María Paulina Riveros Dueñas, from the government, which marked a milestone for the inclusive peace process given the patriarchal overtones

of the peace negotiations and society culture (Gómez and Montealegre, 2021). And in 2014, the government established a sub-commission on gender, which aimed to ensure that the agreement has proper gender standpoints (Céspedes-Báez, and Ruiz, 2018).

The agreement manifested the aspirations of the women and transformed the government's public policy approach. It prioritized the development of rural areas most affected by conflict in a highly centralized country, promoted the active participation of the people to enhance the legitimacy of the peace and boost public confidence, and applied an inclusive perspective by incorporating the gender, ethnicity, and experience of marginalized groups (Johanna Amaya-Panche, 2021). More importantly, it recognized that war harms women and men differently and the institutional and structural barriers women face in participating and contributing to the country (as outlined in the Agreement).

By international law, Colombia had been obliged to generate an inclusive peace settlement. On July 17, 1982, Colombia signed CEDAW, which was ratified on July 17, 1991. The contents of the agreement are in line with CEDAW: the fundamental rights of women, rural women, equal opportunity for women, equality for women, justice for women, non-traditional opportunities for women, financial access, and political participation of women (Cornelia Weiss, 2020). Nevertheless, the initial negotiating process of the government did not include women properly or a gender perspective. The UN also urged its member states, including Colombia, to develop follow-up plans for UN Resolution 1325 of 2000 on WPS. The government not only did not design any follow-up plans but also did not refer to the resolution in its peace-making process (Ruiz and Monroy, 2021).

Women's movements used CEDAW and Resolution 1325 as the standard and as their justification for an inclusive peace settlement. Although Colombia abandoned its international legal obligations, the movements demonstrated the importance of international norms in promoting the inclusion of peace treaties (Otto, 2010). By using international regulations, women's movements strengthened their justification of an inclusive settlement and received international support that gave financial and technical aid. The pressure from the women's movements, various institutions, and parties turned the Colombian government into a gendered regime that generated one of the most inclusive peace agreements in history.

The Colombian gendered-regime government saw benefits in applying gender standpoints in the pact of peace. As the country suffered from conflicts and violence, the gender approach of the agreement will reframe its image and make it the world reference on the subject of WPS (Cuestas, 2018). President Santos recognized the economic benefits of peace, which he called "peace dividends." He pointed out that war is extremely expensive, costing Colombia 25.9% of its GDP in 2021 alone (EIP, 2021). He also noted that peace could bring other economic benefits, such as increased trust and confidence from other countries, which could lead to increased investment and trade. Additionally, he said that Colombia's aspiration to become a member of the OECD would incentivize the government to achieve and maintain high standards.

Gender equality has not been the culture and the identity of Colombia yet nor does it have an advanced democratic institution. *Machismo* is still deeply rooted in the country and prolonged armed conflicts worsened the situation for women. Although Colombia made significant improvements, when compared to other developed countries, it does not yet have a good political institution. Therefore, although culture and institution matter, they are not the necessary conditions for Colombia to apply gender-based policies. Women's movements made gender issues visible and important, and with the assistance of international norms and transnational institutions, they have transformed a macho country into one that pursues gender-based policies.

In reaching its peace agreement, Colombia received support from countries whose cultures prioritize gender equality and have pursued feminist foreign policies, such as Sweden and Norway. Gender equality and feminist approaches are not only enforced by international institutions and regulations but using them as the basis for foreign policy is widely recognized and on the rise among developed states. By pursuing a feminist foreign policy, Colombia may benefit by restoring its image as a state that abides by international and regional laws. It may also receive financial and technical support from states and organizations that support the empowerment of marginalized groups, enhance women’s representation, and support women’s movements.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Borrowing Haass' term (2014), foreign policy begins at home. The four cases revealed that the visibility of gender issues driven by the pressures of women's movements has influenced the countries' foreign policy in pursuing gender-based foreign policy. They confirmed previous studies by Caprioli (2000) and Hudson and Patricia (2015) that countries' international relations practices are externalizations of their domestic culture, and domestic gender issues can affect a state's gender policy abroad (Angevine, 2020).

The women's movements in these countries were responding to different problems; the women's movements in Sweden dealt with women's representation in politics, Canadian women demanded representative public policy, Mexican feminists responded to femicide, and Colombian women demanded their involvement in the peace negotiation process and wanted an inclusive peace settlement.

The four cases showed the significance of women's movements and the countries observed presented different stages of gender equality culture. In 1960, Sweden was already known for its passion for gender equality (Edward, 1991), which was partly contributed by women's awareness of the significance of women's representation since their early struggles for political rights. Nevertheless, gender parity in politics would not be a significant issue without the demands of women's movements. Particularly in the 1990s, gender equality became a prominent election issue (Jezierska and Towns, 2018). Gender equality was eventually integrated into the Swedish foreign minister documents in the same period, influenced by the international trend of state branding (Jezierska and Towns, 2018). In the 1960s, it can be argued that Canada was not a gender-equal state yet and women were significantly underrepresented in politics and government institutions (Briskin and Eliasson, 1999). Nevertheless, pressure from women's movements and the UN drove the government to create the RCSW, and the issue of women gained public support (Kodar, 2012).

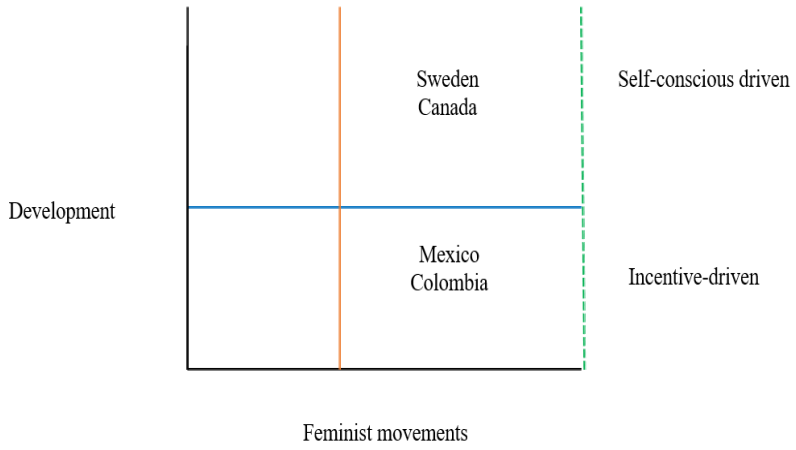
Mexico and Colombia are ranked 75th and 102nd, respectively, in the 2021 GII, while Sweden and Canada rank much higher at fourth and 17th place, respectively. The former two countries are among the least peaceful in the world and are home to some of

the most dangerous cities. By basing their demands on international and regional conventions, CEDAW and Belem do Pará, Mexico's women's movements showed that the Mexican government failed to protect women from violence (García-Del Moral, 2020). And strengthened by transnational organizations, they turned gender issues into visible and significant political issues. The women's movements in Colombia referred to UNSCR 1325 to justify their demands for an inclusive peace settlement. In the negotiation process, Colombia was supported and helped by countries and organizations that have made gender equality significant to their policies, such as Norway, Sweden, and the EU

I define FFP as the enforcement of international bills on women that are manifested in the Swedish FFP's three approaches: the rights of women, representation of women, and resources for women. The various international conventions on women have set the standard of international norms and generated cultures, and various measures on the gender-equality index strengthen gender equality as international norms.

Based on their level of development and the strength of their feminist movements, the countries can be categorized as followed:

Graph 1. The Level of Development and Feminist Movements



Future studies may investigate FFP that may be pursued by countries with high development and weak feminist movements, and probably in countries that are less developed with weak feminist movements. Nevertheless, this study showed that strong

women’s movements strengthened by transnational forces are a required condition for countries to adopt a gender-based foreign policy.

One of the weaknesses of this study is that it does not identify the different performances of the OAS in Colombia and Mexico. The OAS is the only regional organization that has a binding treaty for its members, particularly the Convention of Belem do Pará. In Mexico, the OAS had a significant role, while in Colombia, the OAS has been mostly silent about this conflict (Herz, 2008). A future study may investigate the different performances of the OAS in Mexico and Colombia regarding two issues: femicide and peace settlements. However, this study revealed that transnational pressures, whether from international and regional conventions or international and regional organizations, as well as relevant international politics, have strengthened the demands of women's movements at home.

Bibliography

Briskin, L., & Eliasson, M. (Eds.). (1999). *Women's organizing and public policy in Canada and Sweden*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Reshi, I. A., & Sudha, T. (2022). Women Empowerment: A Literature Review. *International Journal of Economic, Business, Accounting, Agriculture Management and Sharia Administration (IJEBAS)*, *2*(6), 1353-1359.

Dahlum, S., Knutsen, C. H., & Mechkova, V. (2022). Women's political empowerment and economic growth. *World Development*, *156*, 105822.

Jezierska, K., & Towns, A. (2018). Taming feminism? The place of gender equality in the 'Progressive Sweden'brand. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *14*, 55-63.

White, K., & O'Connor, P. (2017). Gendered Success in Higher Education.

The World Bank. (2022). GDP per capita (constant 2015 US$). *The World Bank*.

Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy (CFFP). n.d. "What is Feminist Foreign Policy." https:// centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/feminist-foreign-policy.

Romero, Luis Gómez and González, María de la Macarena Iribarne. (2019, July 11). Mexican president López Obrador Has a Woman Problem. *The Conversation*.

Gob.Mex. (2020). Conceptualizing Feminist Foreign Policy: Notes from Mexico. *The Mexican Government.* https://www.gob.mx/cms/uploads/attachment/file/545654/Note_6-Feminist_foreign_policy.pdf.

Duhaime, Bernard. (2007). "Protecting Human Rights: Recent Achievements and Challenges." In Governing the Americas: Assessing Multilateral Institutions, ed. G. Mace, J.-P. The´rien, and P. Haslam. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 131–50.

Prieto-Carrón, M., Thomson, M., & Macdonald, M. (2007). No More Killings! Women Respond to Femicides in Central America. *Gender and Development*, *15*(1), 25–40. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20461179

The MFA. (n.p) Colombian Feminist Foreign Policy: Pacifist, Participatory, and Intersectional. 475037b3-cda8-4686-997a-c01267482e51_Concept note. Side-Event. Colombian Feminist Foreign Policy.pdf (windows.net)

UN Women. (2022). Feminist Foreign Policies: An Introduction. https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/Brief-Feminist-foreign-policies-en_0.pdf

Beach, D., & Pedersen, R. B. (2019). *Process-tracing methods: Foundations and guidelines*. University of Michigan Press.

Aggestam, Karin, Annika Bergman Rosamond, and Annica Kronsell. 2018. "Theorising Feminist Foreign Policy." International Relations 33 (1): 23–39.

Amnesty International. (2003). Intolerable Killings: Ten Years of Abductions and Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Amnesty International.

Muñoz, Anaya A. (2011). Explaining high levels of transnational pressure over Mexico: The case of the disappearances and killings of women in Ciudad Juárez. The International Journal of Human Rights 15(3): 339–358.

Angevine, S. (2021). Aborting Global Women's Rights: The Boundaries of Women's Representation in American Foreign Policy. *Politics & Gender*, *17*(4), 799-826. doi:10.1017/S1743923X20000112

Fraser, Arvonne. (1987). U.N. Decade for Women: Documents and Dialogue. Westview.

Backhouse, C., & Flaherty, D. H. (Eds.). (1992). *Challenging times: The women's movement in Canada and the United States*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Bashevkin, S. (2022). Second-Wave Women's Movements as Foreign Policy Actors: Assessing Canadian Feminist Interventions before 1995. Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne De Science Politique, 55(2), 300-321. doi:10.1017/S000842392200018X

Bégin, M. (1992). The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada: Twenty Years Later,". *Challenging Times. The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, 21-38.

BERGQVIST, C., & FINDLAY, S. (1999). Representing women's interests in the policy process: Women's organizing and state initiatives. *Women's Organizing and Public Policy in Canada and Sweden*, 119.

Bhattacherjee, Anol. (2012). Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices.

Bolzendahl, Catherine. 2014. Opportunities and expectations: The gendered organization of legislative committees in Germany, Sweden, and the United States. Gender & Society 28 (6): 847–76.

BOUVIER, V. M. (2016). GENDER AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN COLOMBIA'S PEACE PROCESS. US Institute of Peace. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12265

Brysk, A., & Mehta, A. (2014). Do rights at home boost rights abroad? Sexual equality and humanitarian foreign policy. *Journal of Peace Research*, *51*(1), 97–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313500805

C. Bergqvst and S. Vindlay. 1999. Representing Women's interest in the policy process: women's organizing and state incentives in Sweden and Canada 1960-1990. *McGill-Queen's University Press.*

Caprioli, M. (2000). Gendered Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, *37*(1), 51–68. http://www.jstor.org/stable/425725

Caprioli, M. (2000). Gendered Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, *37*(1), 51–68. http://www.jstor.org/stable/425725

Caroline Freund and Melise Jaud. (2014). On the Determinants of Democratic Transitions. in Ishac Diwan. Ed. Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Uprisings. *World Scientific.*

Carvin, S. (2007). Make Law Not War: Canada and the Challenge of International Law in the Age of Terror. *International Journal*, *62*(3), 608–619. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40184863

Catherine Reeve, "Latinas Lead the World in Networking," Chicago Tribune, 10 July 1994, Womanews section, p. 1.

Céspedes-Báez, L. M., & Jaramillo Ruiz, F. (2018). 'Peace without women does not go!' women's struggle for inclusion in Colombia's peace process with the FARC. Colombia Internacional, 94 (94), 83–109. https://doi.org/10.7440/colombiaint94.2018.04

CÓBAR, J. A., BJERTÉN-GÜNTHER, E., & JUNG, Y. (2018). *ASSESSING GENDER PERSPECTIVES IN PEACE PROCESSES WITH APPLICATION TO THE CASES OF COLOMBIA AND MINDANAO*. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24464

Dahl, A.-S. (2006). Sweden: Once a Moral Superpower, always a Moral Superpower? *International Journal*, *61*(4), 895–908. https://doi.org/10.2307/40204222

Dahlerup, Drude, and Monique Leyenaar (eds), *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies* (Oxford, 2013; online edn, Oxford Academic, 26 Sept. 2013), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199653898.001.0001, accessed 18 May 2023

De Boer, C. (1985). The Polls: The European Peace Movement and Deployment of Nuclear Missiles. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *49*(1), 119–132. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2748936

De Boer, C. (1985). The Polls: The European Peace Movement and Deployment of Nuclear Missiles. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *49*(1), 119–132. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2748936

Delgado, Martha. (2020). Mexico's Feminist Foreign Policy.

Diana Marcela Gómez & Diana María Montealegre (2021) Colombian women's and feminist movements in the peace negotiation process in Havana:complexities of the struggle for peace in transitional contexts, Social Identities, 27:4, 445-460, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2021.1924659

Dianne Otto. (2010). Power and Danger: Feminist Engagement with International Law Through the UN Security Council [Legal Study Research Paper, the University of Melbourn].

Duflo, E. (2012). Women Empowerment and Economic Development. *Journal of Economic Literature*, *50*(4), 1051–1079. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23644911

Eduards, Maud L. (1991). Toward a third way: Women's politics and welfare policies in Sweden. Social Research 58 (3): 677-705.

EIP. 2022. Global Peace Index.

Ensalaco, M. (2006). Murder in Ciudad Juárez. Violence Against Women, 12(5), 417–440. doi:10.1177/1077801206287963

Felipe Jaramillo Ruiz, & María Catalina Monroy. (2021) Gendering foreign policy in Colombia's peace process with the FARC, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 23:3, 418-439, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2020.1864222

Friedman, E. J. (2009). Re(gion)alizing Women's Human Rights in Latin America. Politics & Gender, 5, 349–375.

García , D.P., & Ugalde, AV. (2021). Mexico's First Women, Peace, and Security National Action Plan: An Assessment. GIWPS.

García-Del Moral, P. (2016). Transforming Feminicidio: Framing, Institutionalization and Social Change. Current Sociology, 64(7), 1017–1035. doi:10.1177/0011392115618731

García-Del Moral, P. (2020). Practicing Accountability, Challenging Gendered State Resistance: Feminist Legislators and Feminicidio in Mexico. Gender & Society, 089124322094821. doi:10.1177/0891243220948217

Gehring, H., & Koch, M. C. (2016). On the Path from Failed State to OECD Member? Colombia's Way towards a Brighter Future. In G. Wahlers (Ed.), The

Globalisation of Terrorism (pp. 95–110). Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10109.9

Gómez, D.M. & Montealegre, D.M. (2021). Colombian women's and feminist movements in the peace negotiation process in Havana:complexities of the struggle for peace in transitional contexts, Social Identities, 27:4, 445-460, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2021.1924659

Haass, R. N. (2014). *Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order*. Basic Books.

Herman, M. (2008). Protagonists and Victims: Women Leading the Fight for a Democratic Colombia. *Feminist Review*, *88*(1), 122–127. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400381

Htun, M., Lacalle, M., & Micozzi, J. P. (2013). Does Women's Presence Change Legislative Behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983–2007. Journal of Politics in Latin America, 5(1), 95–125. https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802X1300500105

Htun, Mala, Marina Lacalle, and Juan Pablo Micozzi. 2013. Does women's presence change legislative behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983–2007. Journal of Politics in Latin America 5 (1): 95–125

Hudson, Valerie M., and Patricia Leidl. 2015. The Hillary Doctrine: Sex and American Foreign Policy. Columbia University Press.

ILO. (n.d). Applying and promoting International Labour Standards. https://www.ilo.org/global/standards/applying-and-promoting-international-labour-standards/lang--en/index.htm

ILO.(n.d). Ratifications for Canada. https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11200:0::NO:11200:P11200_COUNTRY_ID:102582

Jahangir, A. Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 1999/35. Addendum. Visit to Mexico E/CN.4/2000/3/Add.3

Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors (2018) Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace, International Interactions, 44:6, 985-1016, DOI: 10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386

Johanna Amaya-Panche (2021). IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE AGREEMENT IN COLOMBIA Challenges for peacebuilding and reconciliation. EUISS.

Jolis, A., & Yunus, M. (1999). Banker to the Poor.

Juliana Restrepo Sanín. (2018). Colombia: Civil Confict, Violence, and Women's Political Participation. GAP.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

King, T. L., Kavanagh, A., Scovelle, A. J., & Milner, A. (2020). Associations between gender equality and health: a systematic review. *Health promotion international*, *35*(1), 27–41. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/day093

Krook, M. L. (2019). GLOBAL FEMINIST COLLABORATIONS AND THE CONCEPT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS. Journal of International Affairs, 72(2), 77–94. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26760833

Lagarde M (2010) Preface: Feminist keys for understanding feminicide: Theoretical, political, and legal construction. In: Fregoso RL and Bejarano C (eds) Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Americas. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. xi–xxv.

Larsen, E., Moss, S. M., & Skjelsbæk, I. (2021). *Gender equality and nation branding in the Nordic region* (p. 232). Taylor & Francis.

Wängnerud, Lena. (2012). How Women Gained Sufffrage in Sweden: A Weave of Alliances. In The Struggle for Female Sufffrage in Europe. Blanca Rodríguez-Ruiz Ruth Rubio-Marín. *Koninklijke Brill NV*.

Freidenvall, Lenita . Sweden Step by Step—Women's Inroads into Parliamentary Politics. Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies.

Freidenvall, Lenita. Gender Equality without Legislated Quotas in Sweden. Transforming gender citizenship.

Lisbeth Aggestam, 'Introduction: Ethical power Europe', International Affairs, 84:1 (2008), pp. 1–11.

Lovenduski, Joni. 2005. Feminizing politics. *Polity Press*.

Luxton, M. (2001). Feminism as a Class Act: Working-Class Feminism and the Women's Movement in Canada. *Labour / Le Travail*, *48*, 63–88. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25149161

Maha, I. F., & Pattipeilohy, S. C. H. (2020). Kebijakan Luar Negeri Feminis Swedia (2014-2018). *Journal of International Relations, 7*(1), 1-12.

Meg Russell and Colm O'Cinneide. 2003. Positive Action to Promote Women in Politics: Some European Comparisons. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly,* Vol. 52, No. 3, pp. 587-614.

Merry, Sally Engle. 2003. Constructing a global law: Violence against women and the human rights system. Law & Social Inquiry 28 (4): 941–77.

Mertus, J. (1999). War Crimes Against Women: Prosecution in International War Crimes Tribunals. By Kelly Dawn Askin. The Hague, London, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1997. Pp. xviii, 455. Index. $133; £84. *American Journal of International Law*, *93*(3), 740-744. doi:10.2307/2555278

Mill, J.,S. (1974). A System of Logic. *University of Toronto Press*.

Morrison, D.R. 1998 . Aid and Ebb Tide A History of CIDA and Canadian Development Assistance. *WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY PRESS*.

Munton, D., & Keating, T. (2001). Internationalism and the Canadian Public. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne De Science Politique, 34*(3), 517-549. doi:10.1017/S0008423901777992

Nordic.info. (n.d). Feminism in the Nordics: An historical overview to 1990. *Nordic.info*.

Oion-Encina, Rakel (2020). Resolution 1325 in the Agency of Colombian Women in the Peace Process of 2012-2016. Journal of International Women's Studies, 21(6), 332-344. Available at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol21/iss6/21

Parisi, L. (2020). Canada's New Feminist International Assistance Policy: Business as Usual? Foreign Policy Analysis, 16, 163-180.

Pevehouse, J. (2002). Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization. *International Organization, 56*(3), 515-549. doi:10.1162/002081802760199872

Plümper, T., & Neumayer, E. (2006). The Unequal Burden of War: The Effect of Armed Conflict on the Gender Gap in Life Expectancy. *International Organization, 60*(3), 723-754. doi:10.1017/S0020818306060231

R., Edmé Domínguez. (2021). Mexico and Latin America from #MeToo to #NiUnaMenos. in THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF THE POLITICS OF THE #METOO MOVEMENT. *Taylor & Francis*.

Read, Jen'Nan & Gorman, Bridget. (2010). Gender and Health Inequality. Annual Review of Sociology. 36. 10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102535.

Richey, L. A. (2001). In Search of Feminist Foreign Policy: Gender, Development, and Danish State Identity. Cooperation and Conflict, 36(2), 177–212. https://doi.org/10.1177/001083601400422351

Russell, M., & O'Cinneide, C. (2003). Positive Action to Promote Women in Politics: Some European Comparisons. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly, 52*(3), 587-614. doi:10.1093/iclq/52.3.587

Ruth, Arne. 1984. The Second New Nation: The Mythology of Modern Sweden. Daedalus 113: 53–96

Skilbrei, M. L. (2021). Keeping Sweden on top: Rape and legal innovation as nation-branding. In *Gender equality and nation branding in the Nordic region* (pp. 75-89). Routledge.

Smith, Heather, and Claire Turenne-Sjolander. 2012. Canada in the world: Internationalism in Canadian foreign policy. Oxford University Press.

Smith, Heather, and Jérémie Cornut. 2016. The status of women in Canadian foreign policy analysis. Journal of Women, Politics & Policy 37 (2): 217–233.

Smith, Steve. (2010/2015). Foreign Policy is What States Make of It: Social Relation and International Relation Theory. in Kubálková, V. (2001). Foreign Policy in a Constructed World. Routledge.

Smith, T. W. (1984). The Polls: Gender and Attitudes Toward Violence. *The Public Opinion Quarterly, 48*(1), 384–396. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2748632

Steven S. Volk and Marian E. Schlotterbeck's "Gender, Order, and Femicide: Reading the Popular Culture of Murder in Ciudad Juárez" .

Stienstra, D. (1995). Can the Silence Be Broken? Gender and Canadian Foreign Policy. *International Journal, 50,* 103 - 127.

Stienstra, Deborah. 2017. Lost without way finders? Disability, gender and Canadian foreign and development policy. In Obligations and omissions Canada's ambiguous actions on gender equality, ed. Rebecca Tiessen and Stephen Baranyi, 115–140. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Susan McKay (1998) The Effects of Armed Conflict on Girls and Women, Peace, and Conflict, 4:4, 381-392, DOI: 10.1207/s15327949pac0404_6

TOWNS, A. (2002). Paradoxes of (In)Equality: Something is Rotten in the Gender Equal State of Sweden. *Cooperation and Conflict*, *37*(2), 157–179. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836702037002975

Towns, A. (2010) Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

U.N. Women. 2022. Feminist foreign policies: An introduction.

Van Heuveln, B. (2000). A Preferred Treatment of Mill's Methods: Some Misinterpretations by Modern Textbooks. *Informal Logic*, *20*(1).

Vison of Humanity. (n.d). Understanding the dynamics of femicide in Mexico. *Vison of Humanity.*

Wahid, A. (1999). The Grameen Bank and Women in Bangladesh. *Challenge*, *42*(5), 94–101. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40721973

Zhukova, E., Rosén Sundström, M., & Elgström, O. (2022). Feminist foreign policies (FFPs) as strategic narratives: Norm translation in Sweden, Canada, France, and Mexico. *Review of International Studies*, *48*(1), 195-216. doi:10.1017/S0260210521000413

United Nations General Assembly. (1979, December 18). Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. *OHCHR*.

Organization of American States (OAS). (1994, June 9). Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women ("Convention of Belem do Para"). https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38b1c.html [accessed 4 August 2023]

UN Commission on Human Rights. (1999, November 25). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 1999/35, Addendum : Visit to Mexico*, 25 November 1999, E/CN.4/2000/3/Add.3, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/54044a6a4.html [accessed 27 July 2023]

The New York Times. (2003, November 14). Reparations Proposed in Mexican Killings. *The New York Times.*

Chatham House and Vivid Economics. (2010, June 15). Evidence for Action: Gender Equality and Economic Growth. Chatham House and Vivid Economics.

Clinton, H. R. (2010,December 8). Remarks at the TEDWomen Conference. US Department of State. https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/12/152670.htm

CEPAL. (2012, July 17). Femicide and Impunity in Mexico: A Context of Structural and Generalized Violence.

Gad, Viola. (2014, September 12). Feminism Comes to the Forefront of Swedish Politics. *TIMES*.

Hague, William. (2015, February 10). William Hague launches new Women, Peace and Security Centre at LSE. Gov.UK. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/william-hague-launches-new-women-peace-and-security-centre-at-lse

The Canadian Encyclopedia. (2016, September 16). Women's Movements in Canada: 1960–85. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.

Govt. Colombia. (2016, September 30). SUMMARY OF COLOMBIA'S AGREEMENT TO END CONFLICT AND BUILD PEACE.

Javier Corrales. (2016, September 30). The government in Bogotá was winning the war. So why did it decide to give concessions to the rebels anyway? Foreign Policy.

Wallström , Margot. (2017, March 7). Why a Feminist Foreign Policy is Needed More than ever. Women Peace.

Brocchetto, M., Griffiths, J., and Beech S. (Mon July 2, 2018). Lopez Obrador scores landslide victory as Mexico votes for change. *CNN*.

Sesin, Carmen and Alvarez, Christopher. (2018, November 30). In Mexico, López Obrador takes office, vows to "end corruption and impunity". *NBC News*.

Meehan, S.T (2019, February 12). Canadian International Development Agency. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.

Catalina Ruiz-Navarro. (2019, February 14). A feminist Peace in Colombia? *The Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung.*

Al Jazeera English. (2019, August 23). Will Mexico's 'glitter protests' change rape culture? The Stream. *Youtube.*

Thom, Philips. (2019, August 26). Mexico's 'Glitter Revolution' Targets Violence against Women. *The Guardian*.

Asuak, Jennifer. (2020, December 4). Women's Participation in Decision Making: Why it Matters. *UNDP Ghana.*

Forsås-Scott, Helena. (2021, March 8). Feminism in the Nordics: An historical overview to 1990. *Nordics.info*.

Enes SARAC and Muge CINAR. (2021, April). MAIN FEATURES OF THE INTER-AMERICAN CONVENTION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN. *OSF*.

Sweden. (2021, September 15). How Swedish Women Got the Right to vote. *YouTube*.

Argen, David. (2021, September 20). Ten women and girls killed every day in Mexico, Amnesty report says. *The Guardian*.

Rios, Lorena. (2022, March 8). How A Feminist Uprising Reshaped Mexico City. *Bloomberg*.

Isabel Bramsen. (2022, April 12). Controversies of Inclusion in the Colombian Peace Process: The Balancing Act of Introducing New Norms and Gaining Popular Support. Peace Research Institute Oslo.

Reuter. (2022, August 31). Violence against women in Mexico rises to over 70%, study finds. *Reuter*.

Skretteberg, Richard.(2022 ,November 24). Colombia: From War to "Total Peace?". Norwegian Refugee Council.

Abigail Higgins. (2023, January 12). American Women Fought for Suffrage for 70 Years, It Took WWI to Finally Achieve It. *History.*

Sandin, Linnea.(2020, 19 March). Femicides in Mexico: Impunity and Protes. *CSIS.*

Busby, Mattha. (2023, August 1). Mexican city of Chihuahua bans misogynist lyrics in live music venues. The Guardian.

FitzGerald, James. (2023, August 2). Mexican city to fine performers of 'misogynistic' songs. *The BBC*.