

Implicaciones de la inclusión del feminismo en la tradicionalmente masculinizada escena internacional: Caso de México.

Implications of the inclusion of feminism in the traditionally masculinised international scene: Mexico's case.

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Resumen.

Las relaciones internacionales, están creadas desde un punto de vista parcial masculino. Su construcción basada en jerarquías, violencia y poder son producto de esa perspectiva. Si bien hay más mujeres en los espacios de relaciones internacionales desde hace algunas décadas, su inclusión no ha garantizado un verdadero enfoque feminista. En el caso de México, recientemente se ha apostado por incluir el feminismo en la agenda de la política exterior, sin embargo, su inclusión en un Estado tradicionalmente machista, puede ser cuestionable.

Palabras clave.

Feminismo, relaciones internacionales, política exterior, mujeres, perspectiva feminista, México.

Abstract.

International relations are created from a masculine point of view. Their construction is based in hierarchies, violence and power as a product of that perspective. While there are more women in the international relations sphere since a few decades ago, their inclusion has not guaranteed a true feminist perspective. In Mexico's case, recently there has been a tendency to include feminism in the foreign policy agenda, although its inclusion in a traditionally patriarchal State, might be questionable.

Key words.

Feminism, international relations, foreign policy, women, feminist perspective, Mexico.

Summary:

Introduction, I. Predetermined masculine views on international relations, II. Transformation within the international relations sphere, III. Mexico's case, IV. Feminists scholars on International Relations, Conclusions and Bibliography.

Introduction.

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International relations have been understood from a masculine view, given the patriarchal construction of society that privileged men into the positions that allowed the shaping of the world in a way that benefited them the most. This has been pointed out by feminist scholars in the international relations sphere that through their work aim to change those conditions and provide the experience of women to reconceptualise the understanding of politics towards more equal and beneficial circumstances.

The current performance of international politics could be associated with traditional masculine values like power, hierarchies and violence. A reformulation of those, from a feminist perspective will help through the development of this essay to help explaining in which ways can current behaviours and values be improved by looking at them with *gender lens*².

Consequently, I will be intending to explain the conventional masculine interpretation of the world, against how do feminist scholars believe international politics can be done differently. On that note, I also intend to use some interpretations by feminist scholars, focusing on examples of the foreign and defence policy of Mexico. The examples I have chosen to look at are Mexico's latest agenda as an elected member to the Security Council this year, supporting it on the proposal of a feminist foreign policy from the National Plan of Action for the UN's Resolution 1325.

The proposal for a feminist foreign policy –as an attempt of the State to present a feminist front on international politics– might sound interesting, but seems inconsistent with reality, given how much inequality is experienced by women in Mexico. On the other hand, the opportunity of participating in the Security Council right after having announced the new feminist foreign policy, could be an advantage when working for women's interests and shaping Mexico's foreign and defence policy maintaining a feminist perspective. However, as good as those notions sound, I will be pointing out the actual challenges that this laudable idea carry, because of the double standard demonstrated by the actions of the government of Mexico. Additionally, those considerations shall reflect the work of feminist scholars about international security.

Conclusively, I expect to be able to assess the potential of Mexico's foreign policy until now. And according to the feminist scholars' work on international security, I intend to point out the challenges that arise in the Mexican scenario through its participation in the Security Council.

² Cockburn, Cynthia, "The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace", in Wenona Giles, and Jennifer Hyndman (eds), *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, California, University of California Press, 2004, p. 24. <https://genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/research/continuum-violence-gender-perspective-war-and-peace>

Additionally, it is worth pointing out, that I do not intend to approach the larger debate on feminist perspectives, but to take useful scholarship into analysing the Mexican inclusion of “feminism” in their foreign policy. I am aware there is a broad amount of perspectives on feminism that deliberate over the essentialist aspect of the acceptance of masculine and feminine stereotypes and gender roles to explain human behaviour or social sciences problematics. Hence, the views of Fred Halliday, J. Ann Tickner, Isabel Heinemann, Iris Marion Young or Sarah Ruddick, help to clarify the predetermined masculinised views on international relations mainly based on Hans Morgenthau’s principles, from what could be considered an essentialist approach. Further on, I include different perspectives by feminist scholars from international relations. Some, have shaped the discipline and have an overall intersectional approach like Cynthia Enloe and Carol Cohn. Others like Jacqui True, Irene Tinker or Jane Jaquette are characterised by a liberal –and neoliberal in some cases– approach to include feminism in international relations. However, the purpose of this academic work is not directed to make an argument or an assessment over said deliberations, but to consider the relevant scholarship on this field of study that helps explaining the set-up of theories of where have the current circumstances of the international relations sphere come from.

I. Predetermined masculine views on international relations.

The international relations sphere has been shaped from a masculine view of the world. This focus might lead the actors into believing that the issues typically addressed by international relations are not related to women in any particular way and are not affected by gender circumstances. This is what Halliday³ explains as gender blindness from those actors in their political interactions.

Morgenthau’s principles on international politics are a good illustration of that mentioned *masculine* view. This is because according with Tickner⁴, there has been an important statement for several generations of the actors of the international relations sphere. The first principle, for example, explains that politics and society are governed by objective laws with roots in human nature and therefore they cannot be changed. It would be worth asking what human nature is he referring to, and who judges this claim of objectivity. Hill Collins⁵ has

³ Halliday, Fred, ‘Hidden from International Relations: Women and the International Arena’ *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, London, year 17, num. 3, 1988, p. 420. <https://journals-sagepub-com.proxy.lib.strath.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1177/03058298880170030701>

⁴ Tickner, Judith Ann, “Gender in international relations: feminist perspectives on achieving global security.” *Columbia University Press*, New York, 1992, p.430. <https://www.ces.uc.pt/ficheiros2/files/Short.pdf>

⁵ Hill Collins, Patricia, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd Ed., London and New York, Routledge, 2000, pp. 328-329.

estimated that, –on the case of the validation of scientific epistemology– the fundamental question, is precisely, who is judging the objectivity in question. Given it is white men who control this enterprise, their standpoint declares what shall be considered true or possible. All knowledge has to be upheld by their Western and Eurocentric conditions to be valid. Therefore, the other categories of people shall adhere to that appreciation of the world to be able to participate in an epistemological level.

It is worth looking at another popular conception of politics in Morgenthau’s second principle. Politics are supposed to be “*rational, objective and unemotional*”. Tickner⁶, overall explains the partiality in these general principles, since they are based on privileged assumptions of human nature. He leaves out how women would interact with these conceptions since the values portrayed in them are traditionally considered masculine, and women are just overlooked in his considerations. In addition to that, Hill Collins⁷ mentions that the scientific generalisations of objectivity are justified by the need to eliminate “*different values, experiences and emotions*” in order to decontextualize themselves and become detached observers and manipulators of nature. This framework, has to be followed by anyone who wants to be validated as a scientist. Attempts of challenging these conditions to provide diverse standpoints –like the ones of black women mentioned by Hill Collins– in epistemic work, challenge the masculine view of the world that is acceptable. I mention this example to measure how embedded positivist criteria is in formerly masculine institutions that avoid the inclusion of different experiences.

On the matter of international security, this masculine view of the world is especially prevalent through the idea of the nation. In western culture the family and the traditional roles and values that accompany the conception of this institution, have been an important part of the development of ideas that a country is supposed to be supported by Heinemann⁸. Likewise, nationalism helps to reinforce the notion of hierarchies that allow control and domination as explained by Halliday⁹. The notions of protectionism that act

⁶ Tickner, Judith Ann, *op. cit.* p. 431.

⁷ Hill Collins, Patricia, *op. cit.* p. 330.

⁸ Heinemann, Isabel, “Preserving the Family and the Nation: Eugenic Masculinity Concepts, Expert Intervention, and the American Family in the United States, 1900–1960”, in: Wendt, S. and Dominguez Andersen, P. (eds.), *Masculinities and the Nation in the Modern World*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, p. 71.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304985044_Preserving_the_Family_and_the_Nation_Eugenic_Masculinity_Concepts_Expert_Intervention_and_the_American_Family_in_the_United_States_1900-1960

⁹ Halliday, *op. cit.* p. 423.

parallelly for the family and the State as it is proposed by Young¹⁰, are also beneficial for the pursue of this hegemonic system. The masculine protector gains the weaker link's (women, citizens) glad subordination, motivated by fear from *the world out there and its dangers*. Young explains that this subordination comes from the adoration of the hero that out of pure chivalry and love for his family/nation will be brave and fight for their safety. This conception maintained men's control over all those *important* affairs before women got involved into politics; and more than that, it justified arbitrary State's actions in the name of the protection of their own or other vulnerable beings. An example of this can be the war in terror impulsed by President Bush after 9/11, rationalised through laudable justifications of protection and nationalism¹¹.

Hence, by dividing what is believed to be "feminine" and "masculine" roles in a successful way within the functioning of the State, it is possible for the dominant side, as sole participants of the public sphere, to decide over the issues that are more relevant for them. And like with scientific validation, the most *objective* issues in politics shall be the ones considered by the people that controls that arena. That way, a nation's interests become gender specific given they are decided by the standpoint of one gender, leaving the interests of the other one, outside of the "important" components of the international politics agenda¹².

II. Transformation within the international relations sphere.

Today there are many more women involved in the international relations sphere. Women gained prominence and a seat at the table of international issues through feminist activism that ultimately migrated to international networks and created organisations that allowed them to fight the inequality suffered by women through direct intervention with States¹³. Halliday narrates that the increasing influence of women in the international scene consolidated by the celebration the UN Decade of women between 1975 and 1985, was decisive for the widespread attention on the work related to women's matters. Still, there

¹⁰ Young, Iris Marion, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, Vol. 29, num. 1, 2003, pp. 1-25. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/375708?seq=1>

¹¹ Hunt, Krista, "The War on Terrorism", in Laura J. Shepherd (ed.), *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, 2nd edition, London and New York, Routledge, 2015, p. 492. <https://www.routledge.com/Gender-Matters-in-Global-Politics-A-Feminist-Introduction-to-International/Shepherd/p/book/9780415715218>

¹² Halliday, *op. cit.* p. 420.

¹³ Adams, Melinda and Thomas, Gwynn, "Transnational feminist activism and globalizing women's movement", *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, 2010.

<https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-490>

was a tendency to separate the issues of women from those that were considered global – or *neutral*–, and therefore, resistance to the scope given to those problematics¹⁴.

In the same way, the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, celebrated in 1993, established the participant States commitment for women’s human rights. The institutionalisation of women’s interests, ended up making gender perspective so integral in their processes, that became invisible, getting lost in bureaucracy and failing on intersectionality. Accordingly, while “women’s issues” were supposed to be taken under consideration for the international agenda, they continued to be on the side, as garnish on the plate of the *important* international affairs.

However, through the work of feminists on the international relations arena, it has been pointed out that there are many other ways to deal with gendered problematics, instead of treating them like an ornament within politics. Also, that there are many problematics that are in fact gendered, and need of a feminist perspective to be treated appropriately.

III. Mexico’s case.

Hereunder, I aim to bring to the discussion some elements from México’s foreign and defence policy, to analyse according to the reconceptualization of international security of feminist scholars.

On September of 2019, the Foreign Secretary of Mexico, announced at the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) the implementation of a feminist foreign policy. This policy is part of the National Plan of Action for the UN’s Resolution 1325¹⁵. Martha Delgado – Undersecretary for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights– explains that is also a part of their commitment with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Foreign Relations Secretary aimed to include feminist perspective in the formulation of Foreign policy through “*substantive equality, personal autonomy on decision making and the elimination of structural inequality and discrimination*”¹⁶. This reconfiguration is supposed to crosscut internal organisations, institutions and laws; as well as the country’s position and principles to do foreign politics¹⁷.

¹⁴ Tinker, Irene and Jaquette, Jane, “UN decade for women: Its impact and legacy”, *World development*, Oxford, Pergamon Journals Ltd., Vol. 15, num. 3, 1987, pp. 419-427. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/0305750X87900362>

¹⁵ Secretaría de Seguridad y Protección Ciudadana: SSPC, “Plan Nacional de Acción para el seguimiento de la Resolución 1325 2000 del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU sobre Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”, 2021. <https://www.gob.mx/sspc/documentos/plan-nacional-de-accion-para-el-seguimiento-de-la-resolucion-1325-2000-del-consejo-de-seguridad-sobre-mujeres-paz-y-seguridad>

¹⁶ Delgado Peralta, Martha, “Mexico’s Feminist Foreign Policy and the 2030 Sustainability Agenda.” *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*, México, número 118, 2020, pp. 134. <https://revistadigital.sre.gob.mx/images/stories/numeros/n118/delgadoppf.pdf>

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

Additionally, Mexico was elected to participate in the Security Council as a non-permanent State for 2021-2022. This happening after the announcement of the feminist foreign policy has raised expectations given is a decisive opportunity to ratify their commitment to women's interests. The Ambassador H. E. Juan Ramon de la Fuente, that will be representing Mexico at the UN, has released a declaration of principles that will guide the participation of the State in the Security Council, according too, to Constitutional and UN's principles:

Self-determination of people; non-intervention; peaceful settlement of disputes; elimination of the threat or use of force in international relations; legal equality of States; international cooperation for development; respect, protection and promotion of human rights, and; fight towards international peace and security¹⁸.

Along with those, instead of focusing on particular agenda items, the Ambassador explains there will be six key priorities¹⁹ Mexico will pursue crosscutting all topics addressed by the Council. This is an interesting approach being one of those gender-perspective. Enloe²⁰ points out that: "*the debates are not the most relevant thing but the gender perspectives given to them*" and in this case, it could be interesting if after the announcement of the feminist foreign policy, feminism was protagonical. The key priorities are the following:

1. Peaceful settlement of disputes and mediation.
2. Respect for the rule of law.
3. Protection of vulnerable groups.
4. Promotion of a gender-perspective agenda.
5. Prevention and combating of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.
6. Improvement of the Security Council's working methods.

On the peace matter, Mexico had been known for handling a flexible foreign policy that would adapt to the circumstances it was facing, avoiding wielding strength on power

¹⁸ Arrocha Olabuenaga, Pablo and De La Fuente, Juan Ramón, "Mexico's Priorities as an Elected Member to the Security Council for 2021-2022.", New York, Just Security, 2020. <https://www.justsecurity.org/71241/mexicos-priorities-as-an-elected-member-to-the-security-council-for-2021-2022/>

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Enloe, Cynthia, "Theory Talk #48: Cynthia Enloe on Militarization, Feminism, and the International Politics of Banana Boats", in Schouten, P. & Dunham, H., *Theory Talks*, 2012. <http://www.theory-talks.org/2012/05/theory-talk-48.html>

dynamics or getting into conflict²¹. An example of these could be as Fauriol refers its unwillingness to getting involved with the United States in the East-West conflict during the twentieth century²². Some feminist scholars of international relations, have manifested that a more *feminine* approach to conflict can be beneficial, like Nancy Hartsock, Jane Jaquette or David McClelland, they all cited by Tickner²³. Hartsock explains that as men relate power with domination, women see it as an “*energy, capacity or potential*”. Jaquette, believes it is persuasion rather than coercion on which women base their power, given the access they have had to those instruments. For McClelland, women’s power tends to be “*shared rather than assertive*”. On this matter, Ruddick²⁴ also wrote that there are certain similarities between the characteristics developed by women through maternity, that are likely to be useful for the handling of a model of a State that replaces collective violence and tells alternative stories.

Of course, there are many gender stereotypes embedded on these affirmations; still, it is interesting to notice these considerations as those characteristics match some of the attitudes Mexico has had in the international arena. It could be noticed that as a less privileged country Mexico has surrendered violent power –understood for the sake of this statement as domination– wielding attempts in order to maintain some kind of stability with the international sphere, instead of choosing conflict.

The second and fourth key priorities on the matter of the rule of law and gender perspective, have raised some attention. Mexico’s Ambassador has explained the importance of the feminist foreign policy implementation and has reassured it is a necessity that women have leadership positions to progress; at the same time, it is quite inconsistent with the response of the Mexican State to impunity and respect of women’s human rights. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)²⁵ made a set of recommendations²⁶ to Mexico, in terms of the concerning conditions of violence against

²¹ Fauriol, Georges, “Differing perceptions in foreign policy and security: the Mexican foreign policy tradition”, *California Western International Law Journal*, California, *Scholarly Commons*, Vol. 18, No. 1, article 13, 2015, pp. 75-79. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/232622506.pdf>

²² *Ibidem*, p. 92.

²³ Tickner, Judith Ann, *op. cit.* p. 434.

²⁴ Ruddick, Sarah, “On “Maternal Thinking.”” *Women’s Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 37 No. 3/4, 2009, pp. 305-308.

²⁵ Comisión Nacional para Prevenir y Erradicar la Violencia Contra las Mujeres: CONAVIM, Recommendations of CEDAW’s Committee to México, Ciudad de México, 2018. <https://www.gob.mx/conavim/articulos/las-recomendaciones-del-comite-cedaw-a-mexico>

²⁶ The recommendations of CEDAW consisted on:

- “Strengthen the public security strategy to fight organized crime.
- Improve knowledge of women's human rights through public campaigns and activities.
- Repeal all discriminatory legislative provisions against women and girls.

women, reported²⁷ by the National Human Rights Commission²⁸. On 2020, those recommendations still had not been followed²⁹, which demonstrates the lack of commitment to the state of emergency of violence against women that CEDAW detected. This first point is already conflicting since their aim is to recommend to the Security Council to work on international legal mechanisms to be binding, so States fully adhere to their international human rights commitments –which the Mexican State is already breaking–. Additionally, as a State that has just proclaimed to be working from a feminist foreign policy, it should be clearly including feminist perspective regulated in the law, rather than just including a declaration of laudable intentions that are not legally binding or give the citizens any legal mechanisms to demand its fulfilment as it is for other legal mechanisms designed in that way. Otherwise, as a mere item in a list of principles to follow by the representative in front of the UN, gender becomes once again a political obligation to please the *special*

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- Train, in a systematic and mandatory way, judges, prosecutors, public defenders, lawyers, police officers and public officials responsible for enforcing the law, at the federal, state and local levels, about the rights of women and gender equality, to end the discriminatory treatment of women and girls.
 - Adopt a general strategy directed at women, men, girls and boys to overcome the macho culture and discriminatory stereotypes about the roles and responsibilities of women and men in the family and in society, and eliminate intersectional forms discrimination against women.
 - Take urgent measures to prevent violent deaths, murders and enforced disappearances of women, in particular by combating the root causes of these acts, such as armed violence, organized crime, drug trafficking, discriminatory stereotypes, poverty and the marginalization of women.”

²⁷ Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos, Main concerns on women’s situation by the National Human Rights Commission before CEDAW’s committee of the Nineth Periodic Report of Mexico, Ciudad de México, 2018, pp. 56, <https://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/all/doc/Informes/Especiales/Informe-CEDAW-2018.pdf>
<https://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/all/doc/Informes/Especiales/Informe-CEDAW-2018.pdf>

²⁸ “From January of 2015 to 2016, a total of 5,118 homicides of women were registered. According to a 2018 report of the Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System there was an increase in the number of alleged victims of intentional homicide, from 2015 to 2017 and in 2018, there were 272 murders of women. Likewise, on the first month of this year (2018), almost 9 murders of women a day were registered on average.

[...]

The results of the National Survey on the Dynamics of Household Relationships (ENDIREH) of 2016, showed that in Mexico, almost 7 out of 10 women have suffered violence and that 43.9% of them have been attacked by their husband, partner or boyfriend.

[...]

According to this survey, of the 46.5 million women in 15 years or more who reside in the country, 30.7 million (66.1% on average) have suffered at least an incident of violence: almost half (49%) emotional violence, followed by 41.3% who declared having suffered sexual violence; 34% physical and 29% economic, patrimonial or discrimination against throughout his life, in at least one area and exercised by any aggressor. The above means that in Mexico almost 7 out of 10 women have suffered violence, most of it emotional and sexual.” *Ibidem*, pp. 5-6.

²⁹ Soledad Jarquín, Edgar, *Simulation policy of the Mexican State: social organizations*, Ciudad de México, SemMéxico, 2021. <https://www.semmexico.mx/?p=32433>

interests of a group (the 51.4% of the population³⁰) less important than what they consider are the *main* affairs.

Furthermore, the principle of protection of vulnerable groups, does not include anymore the *womenandchildren*³¹ category. Although it is still coming from a protectionist State perspective as it explains its aim for the protection of civilians from terrorist organizations and armed groups. And the fifth principle on “weapon control”, like the sixth of “participating on the improvement of the security council’s methods” are also inconsistent with Mexico’s current crime figures of murder –mainly those by firearm’s– and insecurity, that are higher than they had ever been before³², and there are no specifications of their gendered circumstances or the gender perspective that shall be applied for the armed conflict lived in Mexico by narcotraffic.

Mexico’s internal security politics are very unreliable to be one of the countries that ratified the *Complete Nuclear Test Ban Treaty* on 1999, and the *Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and of their Destruction* on 1974, between other disarmament politics³³. This inconsistency shows a tendency to pretend for the outside (internationally) attitudes that are not reflective of the inside (locally). Likewise, it can be presumed that Fauriol’s considerations about Mexico’s avoidance of conflict were accurate. For this country, the masculine appearance of the possessing of weapons do not seem to be of particular interest as it could be for other countries as a masculinity show off³⁴. Instead it seems to be in search of validation from the international community for keeping a peaceful political stand in a belick world. Meanwhile, its performance in the national sphere is almost criminal because of its disrespect of human rights and the very rule of law that –theoretically– holds so high up.

IV. Feminists scholars on International Relations.

³⁰ Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos, *op. cit.* p. 5.

³¹ Cohn, Carol, “Why Is It So Hard to Get Women to the Peace Table?.” 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kgGEIhNSHJQ> and Enloe, Cynthia, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd edition, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014, p. 1.

³² Najar, Alberto, *Violence in Mexico: how to explain the new record in the number of homicides*, México, BBC News Mundo, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-49079323>

³³ Secretaría de Seguridad y Protección Ciudadana: SSPC, *Plan Nacional de Acción para el seguimiento de la Resolución 1325 2000 del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU sobre Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad*, México, 2021. <https://www.gob.mx/sspc/documentos/plan-nacional-de-accion-para-el-seguimiento-de-la-resolucion-1325-2000-del-consejo-de-seguridad-sobre-mujeres-paz-y-seguridad>

³⁴ Cohn, Carol, “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1987, pp. 687-718. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174209>

As Enloe³⁵ explains, certain international concerns are thought to be unaffected by women's inequality. So, in this case, –even with a *feminist foreign policy*–, the institutional inclusion of gender perspective or feminism is being mainstreamed³⁶ by just making it a discursive resource without any substantial results. Of course, the gender requisite make the State look good in front of the international community but without any adequate process or course of action that enforces it, it runs the risk of being just ignored by the representatives. On this matter, it has been proposed by many of the feminist scholars of international relations that for gender politics to work in these international arenas there are certain factors needed:

- More “*gender specialists or officers (insiders) and women's movements or advocates (outsiders)*”³⁷
- The involvement of “*feminist-informed*” women, engaged in international politics, that understand of “*war, economic crises, global injustices and elite negotiations*”, interested in the experiences of different women and motivated by curiosity and proper interest for change.³⁸
- Women participating on the peace table –or positions of decision making– to be actually preoccupied for the women they are representing rather than just being females; for them to be heard and for the agreements concerted by representatives actually getting implemented.³⁹

So, to this point, there is some agreement from the scholars' proposals that I chose to cite. More women with feminist understanding that represent women's interests are needed in the international relations sphere. The next problematic to point out from the list of key priorities is not the list itself, but who takes it to the Security Council. While the current Mexican government has proclaimed itself to be a “feminist government” just because it promised equal quotas of men and women, his acting in relation to women's needs have been the opposite to that. A fair example is the naming of a woman as the head of the Governmental Secretary, a very important position for the Mexican government, but eliminating some of her functions and delegating them to the Secretary of Foreign Relations, functions that are outside of the Foreign Affairs sphere⁴⁰. This correlates to the previous factors listed. There can

³⁵ Enloe, Cynthia, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁶ True, Jacqui, “Mainstreaming Gender in International Institutions”, in Laura J. Shepherd (edt.) *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, 2nd edition, London and New York, Routledge, 2015, pp. 227-239.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 232.

³⁸ Enloe, Cynthia, *op. cit.* p. 14.

³⁹ Cohn, Carol, 2018, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰De La Rosa, Yared, *How parity is AMLO's cabinet?*, México, Forbes México, 2021. <https://www.forbes.com.mx/que-tan-paritario-es-el-gabinete-de-amlo/>

be women in positions of prominent power and decision making but as long as they are not working from feminism or their environment is not letting them have actual autonomy within their decisions, the change is not substantial.

Hence, the mentioned feminist foreign policy and the gender perspective principle that is supposed to crossover all the topics of the Security Council's agenda, is presumably a way to jump in the international trend of gender advocacy. This considering that the Mexican State's internal security policies for women are terribly troubled by corruption, violence and impunity, which is why is very hard to take this new initiative seriously.

Conclusion.

The embedded conceptions of objectivity and positivist institutions have established a particular dynamic within international relations. This dynamic has allowed men to dominate the execution of affairs and make the establishment's conditions unbreakable to belong to them. Feminist scholars have challenged those conditions and created their own conceptualisations to widespread attention to women's interests, and to crosscut traditionally considered masculine topics with feminist theory, demonstrating how they were gendered.

Some of the considerations of the feminist scholars of international relations revolve around the fact that is necessary to procure having more women with feminist understanding in positions of decision making. It is not enough for a representative to be female, but she should also be feminist. Also, to have women who represent other women's interests in an intersectional way, that do not traditionally are taken in consideration in those spaces and to have wider understanding of the specific circumstances lived by different women.

The masculinised institutions resist to include feminist perspectives in substantial ways. Although, the use of gender for politics have mainstreamed its inclusion to the point where is not really enforced appropriately. Mexico as a country that experiences so much inequality and violence against women, has also intended to pretend showing a feminist front, but with not substantial change to the reality of Mexican women and women's interests in the international sphere. This can be appreciated through the lack of commitment to the recommendations made by the CEDAW to improve the conditions of security of women in their internal politics.

Therefore, the announcement of a feminist foreign policy last year, comes as a surprise to a generally indifferent State. Since the policy was announced, there have not been actions that prove in which ways is Mexico's government going to enforce the principles and

expectations⁴¹; it does not even respond to feminist scholarship's reconceptualisations of international politics, to be calling itself "feminist".

The Mexican State's participation in the Security Council, is a good opportunity to prove their commitment and interest on working through an integral feminist performance, but while there is a key priority that mentions gender, it is not clear how will there be any real feminist implementation.

Mexico's foreign policy seems to be a simulation to look good in front of the international community through gender policies and disarmament agreements. Meanwhile the State cares little for women's security and wellbeing and more for being an amicable fellow among the international actors –whilst in the local sphere women are being killed for being women every day–. Unless there is an actual involvement of women in the representation of Mexican's interests at the Security Council, this intervention will probably be one more failed social policy from a consistently patriarchal government that uses gender to pursue its own interests rather than to represent women's affairs.

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⁴¹ Delgado Peralta, Martha, *op. cit.*

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