

# The various readings of the concept of gender-based political violence in Mexico (2010-2020)

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**Abstract:** Political violence by gender reasons constitutes a menace for the rights of women acting in the political sphere and has harmful effects in society. However, it is difficult to understand what should be considered political violence. The aim of this text is to examine different perspectives about the meaning of gender-based political violence. The discussion is supported on reviews of scholarly research, books and articles published in Mexico between 2010 and 2020, driven by an analysis of the central points of the concept. The core issues of this discussion contribute to understand the social construction and institutionalization of gender-based political violence, particularly in the Mexican academic and political spheres, and to highlight its relevance for democratic procedures.

**Key words:** gender-based political violence, gender, political culture, women rights, political participation.

**Resumen:** La violencia política en razón de género constituye una amenaza para los derechos de las mujeres que participan en la esfera política y tiene efectos nocivos en la sociedad. No obstante, resulta difícil aproximarse a lo que debe ser considerado como violencia política. El objetivo de este texto es examinar distintas perspectivas sobre los significados del concepto; su discusión se sustenta en la revisión de estudios académicos, libros y artículos publicados en México entre 2010 y 2020, mediante un análisis que marca puntos nodales en el concepto. Los ejes centrales de la discusión contribuyen al entendimiento de su construcción social e institucionalización, particularmente en los ámbitos académico y político, y destacan su relevancia para los procedimientos democráticos.

**Palabras clave:** violencia política, género, cultura política, derechos de las mujeres, participación política.



## Introduction

In the last decades of Mexico, there has been an increase in the use of the concept of *gender-based political violence* to ascribe cases where women find obstacles to exercise their political rights. A problem in the discussion is the imprecision and ambiguity in its use, which shows the lack of consensus about basic questions that define it; this text attempts to make an approximation of how the concept has begun to be read in Mexican academia and society. In order to explain its social construction, the theoretical perspectives and frequent ways of approaching its study are identified. One of them is related to the increase of women participation in politics, space that through history had been male-dominated, but which, fueled by international trends and feminist movements has allowed for the increasing presence of women. Another path is related to the notion of women's empowerment (Fernández, 2017; Novo, 2010); in which, women's capacity for agency and their possibilities of entering into masculine spaces due to their personal skills and leadership traits allow them to stand out in politics. The third path can be explained by the excessive violence that shakes the national territory and is reproduced in gender violence, as an expression of culture. In all of them, the notion of human rights is implicit with special attention to political rights, marking the possibility that all people should have, regardless of their gender, to enjoy rights under equal conditions (Fernández, 2015).

The first path considers that the greater presence of women in politics has made the phenomenon of political violence visible and, paradoxically, has provoked resistance in political actors and institutions in a struggle for spaces of power, positions and hierarchies, which translates into discrimination, aggression, vulnerability and disadvantages, as manifestations of what is called "gender-based political violence".

From the perspective of empowerment, the recognition of inequality and discrimination against women as a social and cultural construct encourages actions aimed at transforming unequal relations between women and men. Empowerment is seen as a process that seeks to change the distribution of power in the public sphere and to break down the barriers to political participation. It is also understood as a public policy strategy that configures mechanisms against inequality at a personal, collective and community level (Rowlands, 1997). Thus, their empowerment is an important factor for the equitable, democratic and sustainable development of societies. In the third path, political violence is perceived as a derivation

of the general violence that prevails in the country and is seen as a transfer of cultural patterns to political spaces.

With these elements, based on the idea of its social construction and the gender perspective as theoretical-methodological frameworks applied to political violence, we review here the conceptual perspectives that are part of the general perception of its meaning, which arise from the frequent uses in academic discourse and in society. Within the framework of social construction, it is recognized that the way in which the world we live in is understood is the result of the set of ideas, meanings, values and practices that have been established in societies as part of human activity, which are shared, internalized and appropriated, individually and collectively (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; 1997; Yáñez, 2010).

The order in which daily life is inserted and developed integrates and gives meaning to actions, and is socialized through various mechanisms;<sup>1</sup> social representations about the role of women in social life are part of the value systems that give meaning to actions; relationships are constructed within the cultural context and can be seen as social practices (Vázquez and Díaz, 2012). From this perspective, the concept of *gender-based political violence* has been inductively shaped by experiences of participation in political action (Krook and Restrepo, 2016a), and its meaning is linked to the way in which the role of gender is constructed in public life.

Violence against women who enter politics has been present throughout history, and their free participation has been a prolonged process in which they have faced severe and sometimes violent restrictions. Its study has been approached from different perspectives, among which political (Millet, 1971), structural (Galtung, 1969; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2008)<sup>2</sup> and relational approaches stand out; most approaches associate it with the ideas of power, domination or force, placing it in the field of political relations.

1 The position follows the classic thesis of Berger and Luckmann (1967 and 1997) that the experiences and knowledge of reality are the consequence of socialized processes, institutionalized and internalized by the subjects and constructed from the social point of view from the interaction between relationships, habits and social structures (Yáñez, 2010). Meaning is modeled by social action; political and economic institutions confer, transmit and make obligatory certain meanings associated with the ends that are in their areas of responsibility, which are internalized as common values and shared interpretations of reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1997).

2 Galtung (1969) conceptualized violence as the set of structures through which societies institutionalize harm, placing the subordination and discrimination of women in this sphere. Bourdieu and Wacquant (2008) point out that social structures naturalize domination through symbolic violence.

From these angles, violence against women operates as a mechanism of power that maintains domination and submission (Scott, 1996).<sup>3</sup> Other interpretations (Butler, 2004; Conway *et al.*, 1996)<sup>4</sup> explain it as a result of political culture; Pateman, (1995) and Lagarde (1996) perceive democracy as a coercive sexual-social contract, they make visible democratic systems that confine women and tolerate, not formally, but *de facto*, gender inequality. In Mexico, studies on the obstacles women face in accessing a commission are those of Sam (2003 and 2002); Barrera (2011, 2008 and 2003) addresses exclusion and social control. Meanwhile, Massolo (2007) examines the factors that hinder political participation in the local space. In contrast to the current use of the concept, which involves various dimensions of violence at different levels and spaces, the studies mentioned above point to particular aspects and contexts of violence.

The situation faced by women in politics is not new; until 1890 there was not a single country in the world where women could vote. Mobilizations to obtain this right are recorded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, framed in episodes of struggle and violence, as in the case of the suffragettes in Great Britain, who faced insults, fines, warnings, arrests, imprisonment, aggression and beatings (González, 2009). Rules had to be changed and freedoms had to be won; at the same time, the process generated theoretical approaches to its causes and manifestations. Currently, the concepts are reconstructed within the framework of the growing number of women accessing and competing for spaces and power in political spheres. The statement on the theoretical construction of the concept considers a distinction between the experiential notion of violence present throughout history and the scientific “concept” constructed as a theoretical exercise within a specialized field.

The interpretations of the concept are permeated by the gender vision, which highlights the violence that women suffer in various spheres of public and private life, particularly that faced by those who participate in politics. It should be emphasized that the concept is the result of construction processes in each political and social sphere, in the form of institutional arrangements

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3 Scott (1996: 292) explains that gender, as a constitutive element of social relations, articulates power relations. Gender is a factor of domination and establishes the distribution of power over material and symbolic resources.

4 Butler (2004) considers the social configurations of gender as constantly reproduced practices more or less negotiated in each culture; thus subjects in the structures of politics are constructed through exclusionary practices. For Conway *et al.* (1996), practices have fulfilled exclusionary functions in political life.

between the actors and their environment. This article is based on a review of academic texts recently published in Mexico, whose main content is political violence.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, there are numerous publications in non-academic media, whose review exceeds the scope of this analysis.

Substantively, this is an exploratory study that analyzes academic perspectives on gender-based political violence against women. Of all the texts, 46 include in the title the terms: political violence, gender-based political violence, and political violence against women. The most frequently used keywords are: political violence against women or gender-based political violence, women, women mayors, gender quotas.<sup>6</sup> The publications correspond to the period 2010-2020 when an increase in the number of studies using this concept was detected.

Selected texts were published in scientific journals registered in the Scielo and Redalyc databases that retrieve production in Latin America, as well as Scopus; manuals, guides and protocols published by the Chamber of Deputies, INE and some state electoral institutes were included; It was considered that this type of publications show the legal perspective on political violence. Specialized books on the subject were identified and also included in the analysis.<sup>7</sup> The search criteria were: 1) studies on gender-based political violence in Mexico, 2) published in the period 2010-2020, 3) written in Spanish. The descriptors used for the search reproduce the views that have emerged from academia on the concept of gender-based political violence: violence, political violence, gender, political participation, gender-based violence, violence against women, political participation, women (see Annex 3). The sample is made up of 64 studies, 27 of which are articles, 21 book chapters, 6 books, a workbook, an evaluation of the electoral process at the subnational level and eight documents including protocols and manuals for dealing with political violence (see Graph 1). It is noted that the general frameworks and the lines that structure the text were derived as abstractions that allow moving from the field of diverse discursive expression to an articulated discussion on common principles.

5 See Annex 1. Summary Table. Studies on political violence in Mexico (2010-2020). All annexes and graphs can be found at the end of this article (Editor's note).

6 See Annex 2. Theoretical and methodological approaches.

7 The databases reviewed are those that register the scientific production in social and political sciences in Latin America, therefore it is considered a reliable sample of the way in which the concept of political violence has been assumed in the academy in Mexico; however, the selection leaves out numerous articles from cultural and scientific journals, as well as chapters and books published in other institutional media; obviously this limits the proposal and the interpretation of the analyzed sector.

The presentation first presents the general concepts of violence and gender-based violence, and then delves into the perspectives that condense the central ideas of the concept of *gender-based political violence*.<sup>8</sup> The following section explores studies of political violence in Mexico, identifies its conceptual frameworks and the components that permeate the current debate. The incursion into the discussion of political violence should not be seen as a mere reflexive exercise, since without advances in conceptual precision, the study of its components is an impossible task; besides its academic interest, there is a substantive interest in the purposes of social justice and democracy that are part of national aspirations.

## Gender violence

In a broad sense, violence is a concept that is not easy to capture, as it is polysemic and characterized by its ambiguity. In plain terms, it refers to the use of force on someone or something for a particular purpose, and implies behavior that can harm others. Its etymological origin comes from the Latin *violentia*, which translates as “the continued use of force”. The World Health Organization (WHO) states that “violence is the intentional use of physical force, threats against oneself, another person, a group or a community that results in or is very likely to result in trauma, psychological harm, developmental problems or death” (WHO, 2019: 1).

In an approach towards violence against women, in Mexico there are a significant number of surveys that seek to measure it in different dimensions of the web of social interactions (Castro, 2012; Castro and Casique, 2009). Their contribution consists in making visible that it is not an individual matter; they are generally oriented toward the field of public health; therefore, their objective is not to explain it, but to establish measures to prevent it. In fact, since 1996, the World Health Assembly has considered it a public health problem, establishing concrete goals and prevention measures (PAHO, 2003).

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8 Although several studies in Latin America address the concept as *violence against women*, for Mexico it was considered appropriate to use the term *gender-based political violence*, which is a broader and more inclusive category (Adrián, 2015). The adoption of the concept in academia points in the same direction as the country's regulatory bodies, which seek the recognition of the political-electoral rights of all citizens, without distinction or discriminatory practices based on issues of gender identity or expressions, under conditions of equality and promoting participation in national public life (INE, 2018).

The United Nations defines violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (WHO, 2019: 1).

Some studies place it at the symbolic or cultural level; from feminist anthropology, Segato (2003) points to an invisible violence and the series of structures that produce and multiply it; violence against women resides in a patriarchal culture, which establishes frameworks that allow it to be legitimized and naturalized. Thus, violence is situated at the level of social relations and at the level of culture.

Others warn that studies around violence face as challenges the inability in the formulation of public policies for its prevention and the limitations of the research conducted from academia (Bermúdez and Evangelista, 2018); and that it is necessary to conceptualize “the types of violence in general, and violence towards women in particular” (Castro, 2012: 21). With this intention, they differentiate between forms of domination or oppression and expressions of violence, and distinguish gender-based violence from other forms of violence against women (Castro and Riquer, 2003; Castro, 2012).<sup>9</sup> Such challenges show the need to advance in its conceptual definition and to identify the forms in which it is expressed.

### *The notion of gender-based political violence and the evolution of the concept*

Various analyses consider that politics is a tense space characterized by violence in different dimensions and levels (Pereira, 1974; Talancón, 2009), especially when it comes to political violence and electoral processes (Massolo, 2007; Calderón, 1994). On *violence against women in politics*, Krook (2017: 50) and Brockmann (2017: 266) agree in pointing out that the concept arises in Bolivia in the 2000s, and is related to the denunciation

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<sup>9</sup> The distinction between violence against women and gender-based violence is important, as they are different notions. In the first case, it occurs against women simply because they are women and is reproduced in spheres such as the family, society or the State. The second refers to a social construction based on stereotypes that are associated with a particular sex; Adrián (2015) points out that it allows the inclusion of other social categories such as race, ethnicity, class, social status, religion, as well as weaving other intersectionalities such as minorities, identities and sexual orientations and even involving violence against men, girls and boys so it is a broader and more inclusive term.

made by a group of Bolivian councilwomen, by publicizing “the harassment and violence suffered by women in rural municipalities”.<sup>10</sup>

Krook and Restrepo (2016b) warn that this is a recent phenomenon, but one that is gaining ground at the international level. They define it as “any type of physical or psychological aggression exercised by party officials and other political actors against women, with the aim of hindering their presence in public life” (Krook and Restrepo, 2016a: 130-131). The authors point out that the aim is clearly to prevent their participation, and distinguish between violence against women in politics because they are women (whether they are candidates, activists, militants or voters) and violence against women in elections (in campaigns or when they assume political positions). They propose that their analysis should consider four dimensions: physical, psychological, economic and symbolic violence.

For Cerva (2014: 6), gender-based political violence is constituted by “all those aggressive actions and/or behaviors committed by a person, or by third parties, that cause physical, psychological or sexual harm against a woman or her family for the simple fact of participating in the political sphere”.

In the stated ways of conceiving political violence it is noticeable that there is still no consensus on its meaning; what there is agreement on is that it should not be the cost that women have to pay for participating in politics, and that addressing this phenomenon will allow the development of a democratic culture, practices and institutions (Krook and Restrepo, 2016b). Other studies on political violence in Latin America include Tello (2019), Quiñones (2018), Albaine (2017), Brockmann (2017), Cueva *et al.* (2017), Del Valle (2017), Freidenberg and Del Valle (2017), Freidenberg (2017a), Piscopo (2017), Otálora (2017), and García (2014). They show that its meaning was initially focused on the harm inflicted on women and that it is now perceived as the set of obstacles to the exercise of their rights. It is also interesting to note that the discussion of the concept has been taking root in Latin American countries, while in European and Asian countries, as well as in the United States and Canada, it has been minimal.

It is observed that the notion of political violence alludes to a type of violence that is sometimes ungraspable and aims to discourage women from being or being politically active; it is a violence that is not very punishable,

10 The case of Bolivia is paradigmatic for several reasons, such as the constitution of the Association of Bolivian Councilwomen (Acobol) in 1999, which allowed the exchange of experiences on gender-based political violence; as well as for the strong activism it promoted among its participants and because it was the first country to pass legislation in 2012 prohibiting harassment and *political violence against women*.

characterized by the existence of a lot of tension, because the political sphere is a male environment (Astelarra, 1990; Tarrés, 1998; De Barbieri, 2003; Fernández, 2014); and because institutions are not gender neutral and there is resistance to abandon cultural patterns (García, 2017; Tagle, 2017; Fernández, 2014; De Barbieri, 2003). In the end, it can be read that both stereotypes and culturally ingrained gender roles constitute obstacles for women accessing the political sphere and performing in positions of power (García, 2017; Narcía, 2017; López, 2017; Fernández, 2014; Lagunes, 2014; Massolo, 2007). In these studies there is coincidence in highlighting the substantive line represented by culture as a component of the concept.

For García (2014), *gender violence against women* in institutional policy spaces is a phenomenon that has become visible, due to the complaints of women who have experienced it. García (2014) distinguishes different expressions in the public sphere: one is direct (visible) and manifests itself in forms of harassment to prevent them from exercising their function, as well as intimidation, threats, physical violence against them or family members, destruction of their property, disparagement of their opinions and discriminatory treatment by the media. Another is indirect, when women politicians are subjected to greater demands than men, when information is withheld from them, when their pay is withheld or their budgets limited, when their personal lives or physical appearance are judged. Alanís (2017: 233) mentions that the concept of *political violence against women*:

includes all those actions and omissions (including tolerance) that, based on gender elements, and given within the framework of the exercise of political-electoral rights, have the purpose or result of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of political rights and of the prerogatives inherent to a public office.

In the same sense, the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico (CNDH, 2018: 2) established that:

Political violence against women includes all those actions or omissions by public servants that are directed at a woman because she is a woman (because of her gender), have a differentiated impact on her or affect her disproportionately, with the purpose or result of undermining or annulling her political-electoral rights, including the exercise of her office. Political violence against women may include, among others, physical, psychological, symbolic, sexual, patrimonial, economic or feminicidal violence.

The issue was also on the discussion table at the Tenth Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (2008) and was seen as a constraint to parity and democracy. On that occasion, and for the first time, women politicians from Latin America presented their testimonies to analyze the impact on their political careers (Lagunes, 2014).

In the current view, an act of *political violence* is gender-based when it is directed at a woman, based on gender stereotypes or roles; when it has a differentiated impact on women; when it affects women and men differently; and when it affects them disproportionately. Such violence can take place in any sphere: political, economic, social, cultural or civil. It includes the public and private spheres, and can take place in: the family, domestic unit, interpersonal relationship, in the community, in a political party or institution. It can be symbolic, verbal, patrimonial, economic, physical, sexual, psychological, and also be carried out through information technologies or in cyberspace (Mena *et al.*, 2017; Narcía, 2017). It can be perpetrated:

by any type of person or persons, by the State or its agents, hierarchical superiors, work colleagues, political parties, the media and its members. Violent action may be directed at a person or group of people, their family or their community (Freidenberg, 2017a: 20).

Some forms of violence even occur when they exist,

fraudulent registrations of women candidates who resign their positions in order to hand them over to male alternates; due to party demands that women sign blank resignations before registering them as candidates; in the registration of women as candidates in traditionally losing districts, despite the fact that this is prohibited by electoral laws; due to lack of access to resources to finance campaigns, information is hidden, proposals submitted by women are dismissed and disqualified; there are discriminatory verbal assaults, harassment, physical attacks, sexual violence and even murder, and forced or threatened resignation or resignation by other authorities (Freidenberg, 2018: 59).

This vision shows the transition from the concept of aggression and the use of physical or symbolic force against women to its meaning as acts that violate equal opportunities. The link between the concept of gender-based political violence and human rights principles, particularly the exercise of political rights as goals of justice and democracy, is also visible.

### **The human rights perspective**

The relevance of human rights for today's societies is the result of different trajectories that begin with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, as the universal normative framework for equality and fundamental freedoms, which was gradually extended –through international agreements– from individual rights to civic, political and social

rights (OHCHR, 2006).<sup>11</sup> With this movement, the principles and social demands for equity and justice for women permeated the normative frameworks of national States, highlighting intentions to ensure their rights.

In addition to these processes, in the evolution of the concept of political violence, there has been a shift towards considering that its meaning is associated with the fact that people's rights may be affected. The premise of this text is that women are exposed to varying degrees of violations of their fundamental rights to health, education and food, as well as their freedom to exercise political rights and lead secure lives. Violence entails restrictions on the recognition and exercise of the ability to exercise political rights in conditions of freedom and equality.

Thus, one of the central components of the concept of political violence is the idea of limiting the exercise of human rights.<sup>12</sup> Since 1993, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women has recognized the right of women to live a life free of violence. The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (1996) established that violence against women was a matter of violation of rights and urged the countries of the region to take measures to guarantee them, as well as to establish policies to promote the protection of victims. In Mexico, significant steps were taken to ensure equal rights: of note are the reforms to the constitutional text in 2011, which modified the ways to protect the human rights of all persons; the 2014 political-electoral reform established in the Magna Carta the principles of equity and parity in political-electoral processes; and especially the 2020 decree,<sup>13</sup> which included a special chapter aimed at defining and typifying

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11 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, instituted within the framework of the United Nations in 1948, gradually became a valuable tool to guide the search for human development, well-being and equal opportunities. Changes in the conception of human rights and their expansion were embodied in the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966; as well as in special agreements and conventions, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 1953; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1981; the American Convention on Human Rights, 1969; the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women.

12 We have chosen to use the term *human rights*, because human rights are universal in nature, and it is considered that their dimension includes the following meanings: *fundamental rights*, *civic rights*, *political rights*, *social rights*, which some studies restrict to specific legal systems (Carbonell, 2012).

13 The Decree of the General Congress (DOF, 2020) establishes reforms and additions to, among other laws, the General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence, the General Law on Electoral Institutions and Procedures and the General Law on Political

political violence. It is important to reiterate that integrating the vision of the violation of women's human rights represents a notable advance in the evolution of the concept, since it is not limited only to individual aggression, but opens up to actions that limit freedom and the possibilities of being as a social and collective affectation.

### **The culture perspective**

Another central axis of the concept of political violence associates it with cultural patterns rooted in societies; Beramendi *et al.* (2015: 55) warns that "violence against women is the product of a culture that diagrams relations of power and subordination between males and females". For Cerva (2014: 4), gender-based violence "is a consequence of gender inequality and is expressed in discrimination, different opportunities and responsibilities in the access and control of resources sustained by the sociocultural notion of the masculine as superior to the feminine". For Adrián (2015:17), gender is a social construction that involves stereotypes associated with sex and which are anchored to cultural manifestations.

### **The normative perspective**

From a normative point of view, analyses of legal frameworks and definitions are contributed to the social construction of the notion of gender-based political violence. Such principles, formulated as legal prescriptions, have been incorporated into existing electoral rights in the form of codes or protocols for recording acts of political violence, in order to identify cases and punishable actions. It should be noted that integrating the notion into legal precepts has made it possible to link the international discourse on women's rights with the particularities of national States, thus advancing in the precision of the concept.

Another important point is to consider that it is the formal and informal norms that capture the expressions of the phenomenon, through the form assumed by the institutional arrangements between government structures, parties and the relationships between competing actors, shaping schemes of inclusion or exclusion for participating sectors, groups or individuals.

The review of the texts framed in this perspective shows that frequently the frameworks that in national legislations promote the incorporation of Parties. And to other laws related to the definition and classification of *political violence against women based on gender*.

women in political life do not prevent or sanction it, since in the face of the affirmative actions planned to achieve greater equity, actors and political parties react negatively (Castro, 2017; Saldaña, 2017; Hernández, 2017); conditions in which non-sanction and violence itself can be seen as tactics to prevent women's political participation (Krook, 2017; Krook and Restrepo, 2016a). This derives that affirmative actions, such as quota laws, do not help to keep the political sphere as a neutral playing field, but as one where there are resistances and violent reactions (Krook, 2015; Krook and Restrepo, 2016b).

### **The substantive axes of the concept**

While the previous sections highlight the conceptual perspectives and pathways that are central to the concept of gender-based political violence, it is worth reflecting on some of the ideas without which it is difficult to elucidate what is meant by political violence. The first of these leads to pointing out its nature as actions harmful to women, which are configured as obstacles to the free exercise of their political rights. Thus, the link between the notion of violence and the idea of affecting rights is consubstantial to its definition.

Another premise arises from their appropriation as processes of transference of patterns of inequality, injustice and discrimination against women, which are present in the cultural patterns of societies and which extend to their participation in politics. This assumption ascribes to gender-based political violence a certain structural character, which is part of a process of naturalization that hinders its identification, precision and sanction. It should be noted that, although the aim is not to arrive at a general definition, it is essential to advance in basic conceptual lines that will make it possible to examine and measure it. In this sense, the axis of the reflection rests on the recognition of cultural differences in the roles of participation, but the principles of equality and justice are privileged over the differences.

Finally, the reflection leads us to accept that in the social construction of the notion of political violence there are normative components embedded in the international discourse on human rights, cultural components, components derived from the dissemination of the gender perspective and the empowerment of women, and components derived from the particular environments in which women's political participation takes place.

## **Readings of the notion of political violence in Mexican academia**

It has been expressed that gender-based political violence is a phenomenon recently made visible in Latin American countries; in the Mexican context, much of the academic literature records that cases of this type of violence have been present for some time, but like other forms of violence it has become naturalized, and the incorporation on a larger scale of women in the political sphere has allowed the phenomenon to be perceived in public life (Vargas and Palazuelos, 2019; Alanís, 2017; Saldaña, 2017; Hernández, 2017). In order to make the social construction of the concept visible, this section analyzes the literature from 2013-2020, based on the central components already identified.

The normative perspective is predominant and characterizes most of the texts; some highlight the paradoxes faced by women who enter politics in Mexico (De Dios, 2017). There is talk of gender equity while in practice women face unequal scenarios with obstacles to exercise their political rights. As an example, the National Electoral Institute (INE, 2015) analyzed the parity registration of candidacies in the 2014-2015 electoral contest at the federal level, with a section dedicated to examining the case of the “Juanitas”, as an expression of political violence and as evidence of the diversity of obstacles to prevent women’s political participation and simulate compliance with the law.

Torres (2016) reviewed the regulatory framework that promoted parity and the implementation of quotas, and examined political violence against female candidates in Chiapas during the 2015 electoral race. Hevia (2015) reviewed the political rights of women in Mexico and the legal reforms that have made it possible to increase their presence in politics; she also reviewed the reforms to electoral legislation in the last 25 years and analyzed them based on the recommendations of international organizations, declarations, agreements, assemblies, international conferences and feminist movements that promoted alliances, agreements and pacts to promote greater political participation. Hevia (2015) concludes that despite the implementation of quotas, women’s political participation and representation are constantly hampered by political harassment. The study by Alanís (2017) conceptually addresses political violence and raises the obligations of jurisdictional authorities in the face of it. She also makes a documentary review of the international and national laws that protect women’s political rights, as well as the reforms to the INE in electoral matters. Her contribution is to point out the lack of a law that criminalizes and punishes it, which is detrimental to democracy and the country’s project.

Other research focuses on its legal conceptualization (Álvarez, 2017), on the implementation of political-electoral reforms that have enabled greater participation of women in politics (Saldaña, 2017), and on the need to legislate effectively to eradicate it considering the multidimensionality of the phenomenon (Hernández, 2017).

A qualitative study employing gender perspective and participant observation was conducted by the Autonomous University of Chiapas (UNACH, 2018), where empirical evidence was collected on gender-based political violence in the 2017-2018 electoral process in southeastern Mexico: Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, Quintana Roo and Yucatan. The study included interviews with electoral system operators, as well as an analysis of local legislation in each case. The results showed that: gender-based political violence is not quantitatively visible in institutional information systems, but presents alarming situations. The states in the southeastern region of the country have been pioneers in promoting women's political rights. In the region, those who hold public office do so under unequal conditions with respect to men. Few cases of gender violence reported to local prosecutors' offices are reported, and it is noted that indigenous women, a vulnerable sector that participates in these processes, require special attention. The study by Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas (UNACH, 2018) states that most cases of political violence occur at the municipal level, and that it is the presidents and trustees who exercise political violence against women.

Added to these efforts of understanding is that in order to promote female leadership and contribute to parity democracy in Colima, the Electoral Tribunal of the Judiciary of the Federation and UN Women (2017) published a fact sheet to describe the situation of political violence in relation to women's participation and gender parity; and that in the State of Mexico, the Observatory of Political Participation of Women in the State of Mexico (2019) developed a care guide for these cases. Protocols for Attention to Gender-Based Political Violence were also published in this entity, as an emergency measure while awaiting the approval of legislative reforms to provide attention, punishment and comprehensive reparation for the harm caused to women. The Protocols draw on different national and international sources and jurisprudence 48/2016, issued by the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary. During 2019, the Chamber of Deputies published a document with the initiatives received on gender violence, which seek to typify it (Cámara de Diputados, 2019), and the manual *Violencia política en razón de género*, with the aim of preventing it (CELIG, 2020).

A common feature in these readings is the observation that parity measures and their establishment in Mexican legislation have led to significant progress in increasing women's political participation, but are not sufficient to prevent the processes of exclusion, discrimination and violence faced by women politicians. The existence of protocols does not succeed in preventing or eradicating it; therefore, it is essential to establish clear rules to sanction it.

Reflection on the meaning of political violence in the normative perspective allows us to see it as discriminatory actions or misuse of political power to the detriment of women; a framework in which violence would be exercised by deficient electoral institutions, political parties or instances of political or governmental representation that do not comply with the rules.

From a human rights perspective, a series of studies have been carried out in Mexico focused on showing how and why political violence against women undermines equality between women and men, and represents obstacles to democracy. Among such studies are those of Freidenberg (2017b: 19), which seek to know and make visible the most common problems faced by women "who do politics in Latin America: harassment and political violence". Her method is the case study, to analyze comparative experiences in Mexico and Bolivia. Freidenberg and Osornio (2017: 275) also examine "the unintended consequences of efforts to improve the level of political participation and representation in Mexico." For this purpose, they analyze cases of political violence in different entities of the country based on secondary sources of information (journalistic notes). The study shows that the greater the political participation of women in non-symbolic positions, with real capacity to make decisions, the greater the political violence against them. In 2018, the CNDH (2018) published a protocol to address gender-based political violence as a tool aimed at political parties, social organizations, women's groups and human rights defenders, in order to promote citizen participation, a culture of denunciation and better justice for women (CNDH, 2018).

This category also includes the evaluation of the incidence of political violence in the 2017-2018 electoral process of the Electoral Institute of Mexico City, which was conducted with a cross-cutting gender approach, enunciating the need to recognize, respect and effectively protect the human rights of all people, as a fundamental requirement for the construction of a democratic society. Among his contributions is to distinguish three dimensions of political violence: 1) violence against women in politics, as violent behavior and crimes in the political context that apparently do not have a discriminatory gender bias; 2) political violence against women,

which occurs in the context of political activity and seeks to restrict the political rights of women, who are affected directly or indirectly (their family members and collaborators); 3) *gender-based political violence*, which occurs when a woman's political rights are affected, and the violent conduct has features of gender discrimination (IECM, 2019: 20). One of its findings is the high incidence of acts of violence against women and men recorded in Mexico City in the 2017-2018 electoral process, especially among female candidates and pre-candidates. The results of this evaluation show that most of them were not elected. A different reading from a human rights perspective is the book by Vargas and Palazuelos (2019), which describes the systematic struggle of women politicians in Mexico to overcome the obstacles that prevent their access to and permanence in public office. The work discusses women's political participation in relation to the structural inequality they historically suffer and the violence that hinders the exercise of their political-electoral rights.

Finally, there are studies that focus on the cultural perspective and consider aspects such as political culture, machismo, the political rights of indigenous peoples and the media as perpetrators of violence. Among them, Cerva (2014) observed that women lacked political capital and trajectory as militants; therefore, in case they were elected, it was easier for men to take over their candidacies, or they were sent to constituencies that were considered lost. Cerva (2014) points out that despite progress in legislative matters there are negative reactions in political parties to accept quota laws, which generates a hostile political environment for women. Its findings are based on the follow-up of data from the 2012 federal election, complemented with in-depth interviews. The results show that in order to comply with the gender quota, processes of political violence were configured in the:

conformation of the lists, likewise, during the campaign (specifically in the supports provided to them by the parties in terms of financing and protection; as well as in the accompaniment of the party and in the abandonment of the partisan structure at the time of counting the votes (Cerva, 2014: 15).

Cerva (2014) indicates that once elected, they are integrated into secondary commissions, with unimportant issues, or in traditionally female ones; all this takes place in terms of a particular political culture.

Lagunes (2014) describes the situations experienced by women who enter the public world and the barriers that prevent them from fully enjoying their political rights. Her analysis is ethnographic, interviews women politicians, and gives voice to those who have suffered violence throughout their careers and who held public office at the time of the interview. The situations of

violation described range from verbal violence (insults, disqualifications, slander, discrediting, lack of listening) to beatings and exclusion. Lagunes (2014) states that gender-based political violence is not a new issue, but it is one that is rarely talked about, because no female politician wants to be a victim.

Narcía (2017) addresses the issue of *gender-based political violence* in media content with a sample of four federal entities: Oaxaca, Chiapas, State of Mexico and Veracruz, since they held elections in 2014 and 2017, and since the political-electoral reforms that established the principle of parity were implemented in 2014. Narcía (2017) examines how the media can be used to perpetrate gender-based political violence. Their results show that they contribute to political violence by using discriminatory, sexist and non-inclusive language, by denying them the right of reply, or by broadcasting gender stereotypes, sexual scandals or privileged talk about intimate life over professional performance, also because less air time is allocated to women on radio or television. Narcía's (2017) strategy consisted of reviewing content in press media and social networks such as Facebook and Twitter, analyzing journalistic notes, and conducting interviews with victims of political violence, reporters and journalists.

Castro (2017) reflects on the process of implementing parity in candidacies for elected office in Chiapas during the 2014-2015 electoral process. She points out that the greater presence of women in public seats has a symbolic-political impact for the institutions, warns that the local political culture is altered and that the political monopoly of men is disrupted. Espejel and Diaz (2017) address violence against women in politics by conducting descriptive and qualitative research that provides empirical evidence. They argue that this type of violence weakens women's political rights and shows the persistence of inequality between women and men. Their findings show that parity in our country has allowed an increase in women's political participation, but has given rise to different types of violence, due to the legal vacuum that exists to prevent, eradicate and punish it.

Finally, López (2017) reflects on political violence from a perspective that considers the uses and customs of communities and indigenous peoples. Documented several cases of political violence against women in Oaxaca, as well as the obstacles and difficulties in access to justice for indigenous women. Her analysis exposes the insensitivity of political actors and institutions in hindering indigenous women from fully exercising their rights.

In the axis that considers the relationship between political violence and women's empowerment, Tagle (2017: 202) places her reflection on the efforts that have been made in Mexico to guarantee the exercise of "women's political rights throughout history", and on the failures in ensuring their full exercise, by reviewing what happened with parity measures recently. She points out that full rights would imply other types of relationships and other ways of exercising power between women and men, as well as a new type of institutions and a new political culture.

Fernández (2014) analyzes from a citizen's point of view the candidacies in the 2012 federal elections in Mexico, and finds that it is permeated by gender stereotypes and prejudices, which to some extent has an impact on violence against women politicians; she also shows the disadvantages faced by female candidates according to the opinion of voters. For their part, Mejía and Flores (2016) apply the gender approach to the analysis of the 2015 elections and examine the process of candidate selection in the parties, the selection of historically losing districts and delegations, and follow up on the elected candidates in Mexico City. Their results indicate that parity was not achieved.

Mena *et al.* (2017: 98) reflect on the "manifestations of political violence in the 2015 electoral contests in Chiapas", through a qualitative study with information from unusual sources in social research, as they take up accounts of violence through social networks, journalistic notes and Internet search engines. Their results show that the simulation of political parties in complying with the gender parity law reproduces and accentuates inequality in formal politics, and generates new forms of violence against women. Mena *et al.* (2017) explain that gender-based political violence is a systematic mechanism that operationalizes the annulment of women's political participation.

### *Marks and meanings on the map of readings*

A significant mark in the readings denotes that in the last decade, studies on *gender-based political violence* increased in Mexico, especially after the 2014 political-electoral reform, and after the 2018 federal elections (see Graph 2). Another mark shows that most of the studies focus on the regulatory framework (39.1%) and are oriented toward legally defining the concept; they also point to the need for adequate protocols and, in particular, laws that sanction and promote its eradication (see Graph 3). An interesting finding in the texts published during 2020 is that they are qualitative studies (21.9%)

that show political violence against women localized in specific territories and incorporate primary sources of information, seeking to recover testimonies of women who have been violated for joining the political sphere, even though they mostly use secondary sources of information (68.8%). It should also be noted that among the central conceptual categories for the examination of this field, in addition to violence, there are those of political participation, parity, gender quotas and gender perspective, all with different meanings.

In general, studies from a human rights perspective (17.2% of the sample) consider that gender-based political violence goes against the universal principle of respect for rights, which is detrimental to the democratic construction of the country.

In the cultural perspective (17.2% of the sample), the complexity of the relationships that gender-based political violence weaves, inserted in the structural problems of inequality, discrimination, vulnerability and other delegitimizing components that are present in local political cultures, stands out. In the perspective of empowerment (14.1% of the sample), the brand emphasizes how women politicians in our country challenge both tacit and explicit rules and norms of the system that regulates the political sphere; they highlight leadership traits, although they do not deny the existence of violence. Finally, in the representations of political violence from a gender perspective (14.1% of the sample), it is clear that gender stereotypes, roles and biases predominate in the political culture, which permeate the perceptions of actors and institutions and feed back into the existence of political violence.

A significant mark in all the readings is the conceptual dispersion, as ten different ways of referring to *gender-based political violence against women* were distinguished (see Graph 4).

## Conclusions

A review of the readings on political violence in Mexican academia shows it as a notion that is being reconfigured by integrating other central concepts; simultaneously, its growing importance in the political sectors is noted, but it can be seen that it has not involved the rest of society in its repercussions; that is, it is seen as negative or anecdotal events that affect specific groups in political spaces, therefore, they are viewed as external in their repercussions on the social order. The general overview reveals that a good part of the analyses have been constructed by the agencies and institutions involved in the electoral processes, and therefore their meanings are linked to particular

conceptions of these processes, which do not allow to fully capture their complex nature.

In the set of readings, the internal character of struggle and competition for power, positions and hierarchies in the institutions, as well as in the interactions between political actors, is perceived, leaving out other social spaces that, undoubtedly, also play a relevant role in the networks that give support and continuity to the actions of political violence. Finally, it is clear that academic interests are centered on the description of the cases, and are based on secondary sources with notable gaps in their understanding and explanation.

An indispensable point for reflection is that gender-based political violence, like other forms of violence, occurs in a continuum that ranges from subtle to extreme violence, which makes it difficult to typify and define, and even more difficult to determine what can and should be punishable as a specific form of violence.

The aforementioned features show that the conceptual construction of violence has leaned more to the side of procedural politics than to the side of an integral and substantive vision; this seems logical because other notions with which it is linked are equally ambiguous and polysemic. This means that if there are difficulties in defining and measuring women's empowerment, or in explaining the gaps between men and women in a society, it is even more difficult to translate these notions into a concept or definition of gender-based political violence.

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## Annex 1

**Summary Table (Studies on Political Violence in Mexico 2010-2020)**

| No. | Year  | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                          | Authors                                          | Type    | Theoretical approach            | Methodology/ Method                            |
|-----|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | 2010  | Cultural framework             | Mujeres y gobiernos municipales en México. Lo que sabemos y lo que falta por saber           | Vázquez García, Verónica                         | Article | Women's political participation | Exploratory study (bibliographic)              |
| 2   | 2011a | Empowering Framework           | Mujeres en campaña. Cómo postularse y no morir en el intento                                 | Vázquez García, Verónica                         | Article | Feminist institutionalism       | Qualitative methodology                        |
| 3   | 2012  | Empowering Framework           | Los desafíos de llegar y de ejercer un cargo. Mujeres mexicanas en los albores del siglo XXI | Barrera Bassols, Dalia y Blanca Suárez San Román | Article | Women's political participation | Qualitative methodology                        |
| 4   | 2013  | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política contra las mujeres en México                                              | Díaz R., Vanía Citlali de                        | Article | Gender and parity quotas        | Analysis of the federal legal framework        |
| 5   | 2014  | Cultural framework             | Acoso y violencia política. Testimonios de síndicas y regidoras veracruzanas                 | Barrera Bassols, Dalia                           | Article | Women's political participation | Qualitative methodology                        |
| 6   | 2014  | Cultural framework             | Participación política y violencia de género en México                                       | Cerva Cerna, Daniela                             | Article | Gender-based political violence | Analysis of the 2012 federal electoral process |
| 7   | 2014  | Empowering Framework           | Mujeres al poder. El impacto de la mayor representación de mujeres en políticas públicas     | Daltón Palomo, Margarita                         | Book    | Gender perspective              | Electoral process analysis                     |
| 8   | 2014  | Gender Perspective Framework   | Mujeres candidatas en la mira: percepciones y representaciones ciudadanas                    | Fernández Poncela, Anna María                    | Article | Gender perspective              | Qualitative methodology                        |

| No. | Year | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                                              | Authors                                                | Type         | Theoretical approach                          | Methodology/ Method                                               |
|-----|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9   | 2015 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política contra las mujeres en México. Análisis con perspectiva de género. Proceso electoral 2015-2016 | Instituto Estatal Electoral- Hidalgo                   | Manual       | Not applicable                                | Not applicable                                                    |
| 10  | 2015 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Impacto del registro paritario de candidaturas en el proceso electoral federal 2014-2015                         | Instituto Nacional Electoral                           | Book         | Gender and parity quotas                      | Analysis of the federal political electoral reform 2014-2015      |
| 11  | 2015 | Gender Perspective Framework   | Igualdad bajo el microscopio. Análisis de género en las elecciones 2015. Paridad e igualdad sustantiva           | Mejía, Nancy y Brando Flores                           | Book         | Gender and parity quotas                      | Analysis of the 2015 electoral process                            |
| 12  | 2016 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Protocolo para atender la violencia política contra las mujeres                                                  | Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación | Protocol     | Not applicable                                | Not applicable                                                    |
| 13  | 2016 | Human Rights Framework         | Presidentas municipales en México: Acoso y violencia política (2010-2016)                                        | Barrera Bassols, Dalia y Georgina Cárdenas Acosta      | Article      | Violence and women's access to elected office | Exploratory study (hemerographic)                                 |
| 14  | 2016 | Cultural framework             | Género y violencia política en los gobiernos locales del Altiplano Central mexicano                              | Sam Bautista, María Magdalena                          | Article      | Gender perspective                            | Qualitative methodology                                           |
| 15  | 2016 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política en las elecciones subnacionales mexicanas. El caso de Chiapas en 2015                         | Torres Alonso, Eduardo                                 | Article      | Gender and parity quotas                      | Analysis of the federal and subnational legal framework (Chiapas) |
| 16  | 2017 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política hacia las mujeres. Respuesta del Estado ante la falta de una ley en México                    | Alanís Figueroa, María del Carmen                      | Book chapter | Political violence                            | Analysis of the national and international legal framework        |

| No. | Year | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                                                                   | Authors                                                                          | Type         | Theoretical approach             | Methodology/ Method                                                       |
|-----|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 17  | 2017 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política contra las mujeres. El caso de Baja California                                                                     | Álvarez Torres, Cheryl                                                           | Article      | Electoral political rights       | Analysis of the 2015-2016 Subnational Electoral Process (Baja California) |
| 18  | 2017 | Cultural framework             | Paridad y violencia política. Los retos de las mujeres indígenas de Chiapas                                                           | Castro Apreza, Inés                                                              | Book chapter | Gender and parity quotas         | Qualitative methodology                                                   |
| 19  | 2017 | Human Rights Framework         | La violencia política hacia las mujeres: el problema, los debates y las propuestas para AL                                            | Freidenberg, Flavia                                                              | Book chapter | Political violence against women | Qualitative methodology                                                   |
| 20  | 2017 | Human Rights Framework         | Las consecuencias imprevistas de la participación: la violencia política contra las mujeres en México                                 | Freidenberg, Flavia y María Cristina Osornio Guerrero                            | Book chapter | Electoral political rights       | Exploratory study (hemerographic)                                         |
| 21  | 2017 | Human Rights Framework         | Guía de Actuación ciudadana para identificar y denunciar la violencia política contra las mujeres                                     | INE-IEPC Guerrero                                                                | Manual       | Gender and parity quotas         | Not applicable                                                            |
| 22  | 2017 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política contra las mujeres: ¿Leyes especiales o medidas multidimensionales?                                                | Hernández, María del Pilar                                                       | Book chapter | Electoral political rights       | Exploratory study (hemerographic)                                         |
| 23  | 2017 | Cultural framework             | Mujeres sobrevivientes del machismo                                                                                                   | Lagunes Huerta, Lucía                                                            | Book chapter | Inequality-Equal opportunities   | Qualitative methodology                                                   |
| 24  | 2017 | Cultural framework             | Violencia política hacia las mujeres indígenas en los municipios de Oaxaca                                                            | López Vences, Rita Bell                                                          | Book chapter | Electoral political rights       | Analysis of the 2015-2016 electoral process (Oaxaca)                      |
| 25  | 2017 | Gender Perspective Framework   | Manifestaciones de la violencia política de género en las contiendas electorales 2015 en el estado de Chiapas. Notas para el análisis | Mena Farrera, Ramón Abraham, Juan Iván Martínez Ortega y Ariadna Martínez Olvera | Article      | Gender perspective               | Quantitative-qualitative methodology                                      |

| No. | Year  | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Authors                                                                             | Type                                                                                        | Theoretical approach                                         | Methodology/ Method                                  |
|-----|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 26  | 2017  | Cultural framework             | Violencia política contra las mujeres en contenidos mediáticos                                                                                                                                                                                     | Narcia Cancino, Elva                                                                | Electronic book                                                                             | Gender-based political violence in media content             | Qualitative methodology                              |
| 27  | 2017  | Empowering Framework           | Violencia política contra las mujeres y el rol de la justicia electoral                                                                                                                                                                            | Rodríguez Mondragón, Reyes y Anna Cárdenas González de Cossío                       | Book chapter                                                                                | Gender-based political violence (Concept under construction) | Exploratory study (bibliographic)                    |
| 28  | 2017  | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Legislar: una herramienta para erradicar la violencia política contra las mujeres en México                                                                                                                                                        | Saldaña Pérez, Lucero                                                               | Book chapter                                                                                | Political violence                                           | Analysis of the federal legal framework              |
| 29  | 2017  | Empowering Framework           | Estrategias para romper los candados contra las mujeres "de" y "en" los partidos políticos en México                                                                                                                                               | Tagle Martínez, Martha                                                              | Book chapter                                                                                | Gender and parity quotas                                     | Exploratory study (bibliographic)                    |
| 30  | 2017  | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Protocolo para la atención de la violencia política contra las mujeres en razón de género                                                                                                                                                          | Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación-Instituto Nacional Electoral | Protocol                                                                                    | Gender and parity quotas                                     | Not applicable                                       |
| 31  | 2017  | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Foros Regionales, Fortalecimiento de capacidades para la transformación de liderazgos femeninos hacia la construcción de una democracia participativa y libre de violencia. Participación política electoral de las mujeres en el estado de Colima | Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación-ONU Mujeres                  | Manual (has a chapter dedicated to Political Violence against Women on the Basis of Gender) | Gender and parity quotas                                     | Analysis of the subnational legal framework (Colima) |
| 32  | 2018  | Human Rights Framework         | ¿Cómo nos fue con la paridad? Los alcances logrados, 2017                                                                                                                                                                                          | Cárdenas Acosta, Georgina                                                           | Book chapter                                                                                | Political participation and parity                           | Analysis of political-electoral reforms in Mexico    |
| 33  | 2018b | Human Rights Framework         | La violencia política contra las mujeres, de la antigüedad al proceso electoral 2017-2018                                                                                                                                                          | Cárdenas Acosta, Georgina                                                           | Book chapter                                                                                | Political violence                                           | Analysis of the 2017-2018 electoral process          |

| No. | Year | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                                                       | Authors                                           | Type         | Theoretical approach            | Methodology/ Method                                                 |
|-----|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 34  | 2018 | Human Rights Framework         | Violencia política contra las mujeres en razón de género                                                                  | CNDH México                                       | Manual       | Not applicable                  | Not applicable                                                      |
| 35  | 2018 | Human Rights Framework         | Derecho Humano a la igualdad <i>vs</i> Violencia Política de género                                                       | Granados Hernández, Julia Isabel                  | Book chapter | Inequality-Equal opportunities  | Exploratory study (bibliographic)                                   |
| 36  | 2018 | Human Rights Framework         | Entre cuotas y violencia de género: avances y retrocesos en la participación política de las mujeres en México            | Gilas M., Karolina y Alma Verónica Méndez Pacheco | Article      | Gender and parity quotas        | Analysis of the 2017-2018 federal electoral process                 |
| 37  | 2018 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Necesaria tipificación de la violencia política en razón de género. Avances nacionales sucintos                           | Fromow Rangel, María de los Ángeles               | Book chapter | Electoral political rights      | Analysis of the first report on Political Violence in Mexico (2018) |
| 38  | 2018 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | La demanda de las mujeres de participar en igualdad de condiciones y sin violencia en la vida política de sus comunidades | Lizarrá González, Adriana                         | Book chapter | Inequality-Equal opportunities  | Analysis of the federal legal framework                             |
| 39  | 2018 | Human Rights Framework         | Legitimidad de la reincorporación a un cargo público representativo en Chenalhó, Chiapas                                  | Ocampo Muñoz, Manuel Gustavo                      | Article      | Electoral political rights      | Subnational framework analysis (Chiapas, Chenalhó)                  |
| 40  | 2018 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política contra las mujeres en México. Cifras y casos del proceso electoral 2017-2018                           | Ravel Cuevas, Dania Paola                         | Article      | Women's political participation | Analysis of the 2017-2018 federal electoral process                 |
| 41  | 2018 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Erradicar la violencia política por razón de género                                                                       | Saldaña Pérez, Lucero                             | Book chapter | Violence                        | Analysis of the federal legal framework                             |

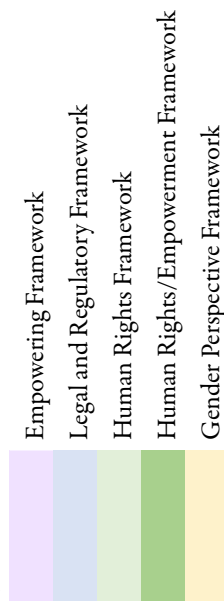
| No. | Year | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                                                          | Authors                                                                | Type                   | Theoretical approach            | Methodology/ Method                     |
|-----|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 42  | 2018 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Observación y seguimiento de la violencia política contra las mujeres en razón de género en la región sureste. Informe Final | Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas-Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas | Electronic book        | Gender perspective              | Qualitative methodology                 |
| 43  | 2018 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Participación política y violencia contra las mujeres                                                                        | Zavaleta Salgado, Ruth                                                 | Book chapter           | Women's political participation | Analysis of the federal legal framework |
| 44  | 2019 | Cultural framework             | Breve recorrido por la histórica violencia política de género en México. Un caso actual de análisis: Ciencia                 | Álvarez Olarte, Abigail                                                | Book chapter           | Women's political participation | Exploratory study (bibliographic)       |
| 45  | 2019 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Dificultad probatoria en casos de violencia política en razón de género                                                      | Barrientos Zepeda, Eva                                                 | Book chapter           | Gender perspective              | Analysis of the federal legal framework |
| 46  | 2019 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Iniciativas sobre violencia política de género                                                                               | Cámara de Diputados                                                    | Dissemination material | Not applicable                  | Not applicable                          |
| 47  | 2019 | Empowering Framework           | Las presidentas municipales en México 2017. Un panorama                                                                      | Cárdenas Acosta, Georgina                                              | Article                | Gender perspective              | Qualitative methodology                 |
| 48  | 2019 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Paridad y participación política                                                                                             | Cárdenas Acosta, Georgina                                              | Article                | Gender perspective              | Quantitative methodology                |
| 49  | 2019 | Cultural framework             | Violencia política de género en la prensa escrita en México 2015                                                             | Castillo Durán, Jorge Luis y Shepanie Torres Gómez                     | Article                | Violence, setting, framing      | Quantitative methodology                |
| 50  | 2019 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política en razón de género                                                                                        | Centro de Estudios para el Logro de la Igualdad de Género              | Manual                 | Not applicable                  | Not applicable                          |
| 51  | 2019 | Cultural framework             | Violencia contra las mujeres en política en México: una propuesta de análisis desde las caras partidistas                    | Espejel Espinoza, Alberto y Mariela Díaz Sandóval                      | Article                | Inequality-Equal opportunities  | Qualitative methodology                 |

| No. | Year | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Authors                                                                                                          | Type         | Theoretical approach            | Methodology/ Method                    |
|-----|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 52  | 2019 | Empowering Framework           | Violencia política de género                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Iglesias Gutiérrez, Estrella A.                                                                                  | Book chapter | Women's political participation | Exploratory study (bibliographic)      |
| 53  | 2019 | Human Rights Framework         | Evaluación de la violencia política contra las mujeres en el contexto del proceso electoral 2017-2018, en cumplimiento a la resolución de la Sala Superior del Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación, recaída en el expediente del recurso de Reconsideración identificado con la clave alfanumérica SUP-REC-1388/2018 | Instituto Electoral de la Ciudad de México                                                                       | Evaluation   | Not applicable                  | Quantitative methodology               |
| 54  | 2019 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | López Sánchez, Anabel                                                                                            | Article      | Violence                        | Qualitative methodology                |
| 55  | 2019 | Empowering Framework           | Los dilemas de la participación política de las mujeres en México                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Rosaldo Toledo, Mónica y Lizeth Pérez Cárdenas                                                                   | Article      | Women's political participation | Analysis of the 2018 electoral process |
| 56  | 2019 | Gender Perspective Framework   | Violencia política contra las mujeres: el precio de la paridad en México                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Vargas G., Gabriela y Silvia G. Palazuelos                                                                       | Book         | Women's political participation | Quantitative methodology               |
| 57  | 2019 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Guía de Atención en casos de violencia política contra las mujeres por razones de género en el Estado de México, atribuciones y procedimientos                                                                                                                                                                                          | Tribunal Electoral del Estado de México- Consejo Estatal de la Mujer y Bienestar Social -Estado de México- IIEEM | Manual       | Not applicable                  | Not applicable                         |
| 58  | 2020 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política en razón de género en el proceso electoral 2017-2018 en CDMX                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Banderas Miranda, Ana Elisa                                                                                      | Article      | Gender-based political violence | Qualitative methodology                |
| 59  | 2020 | Empowering Framework           | Violencia política de género en Tlaxcala. Legisladoras en las elecciones de 2018                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Castellanos Salazar, Ana Bertha y Angélica Casarín Martínez                                                      | Article      | Democracy                       | Qualitative methodology                |

| No. | Year | Classification                 | Name of the article                                                                                                                  | Authors                                                      | Type     | Theoretical approach            | Methodology/ Method                                                                          |
|-----|------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 60  | 2020 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política en razón de género y nulidad de las elecciones en México                                                          | Gilas M., Karolina                                           | Article  | Violence                        | Analysis of the 2016, 2017 and 2018 subnational electoral process                            |
| 61  | 2020 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | La lucha contra la violencia política de género en Guanajuato                                                                        | Hernández García, María Aidelé y María Guadalupe Pérez Solís | Article  | Women's political participation | Analysis of the subnational legal framework (Guanajuato)                                     |
| 62  | 2020 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Frente a la paridad, la violencia política                                                                                           | Hernández Téllez Josefina                                    | Article  | Inequality-Equal opportunities  | Analysis of the 2018 subnational electoral process (Mexico and Hidalgo)                      |
| 63  | 2020 | Human Rights Framework         | Violencia política contra las mujeres en Chihuahua, observancia de los derechos humanos en las regidoras de Ciudad Juárez, 2016-2018 | Sarabia Ríos, Cecilia y Rosa Isabel Medina Parra             | Article  | Gender perspective              | Qualitative methodology                                                                      |
| 64  | 2020 | Legal and Regulatory Framework | Violencia política contra las mujeres y paridad de género: de la presencia en el poder a la transformación de la política            | Vázquez Correa, Lorena y Martha Patricia Patiño Fierro       | Workbook | Electoral political rights      | Analysis of legal reforms on gender-based political violence against women and parity (2020) |

Source: Authors' elaboration based on the studies analyzed.

Classification



## Annex 2

### Theoretical approaches and methodologies

| Theoretic                                                                   | Quantity  | Percentage | Methodology                                               | Quantity  | Percentage   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Violence                                                                    | 13        | 20.3       |                                                           |           |              |
| Political participation                                                     | 11        | 17.2       | Qualitative                                               | 14        | 21.9         |
| Gender quotas and parity                                                    | 10        | 15.6       | Analysis of electoral processes (federal and subnational) | 12        | 18.8         |
| Gender perspective                                                          | 9         | 14.1       | Analysis of the legal framework (federal and subnational) | 12        | 17.2         |
| Political-electoral rights                                                  | 7         | 10.9       | Exploratory studies (bibliographic-hemerographic)         | 9         | 14.1         |
| Not applicable (protocols, guidelines, evaluations)                         | 8         | 10.9       | Not applicable (protocols, manuals, guides)               | 8         | 14.1         |
| Inequality/Equal opportunities                                              | 4         | 7.8        | Quantitative                                              | 4         | 6.3          |
| Democracy                                                                   | 1         | 1.6        | Analysis of political-electoral reforms                   | 3         | 4.7          |
| Feminist institutionalism                                                   | 1         | 17.2       | Quantitative-qualitative                                  | 2         | 3.1          |
| <b>Total</b>                                                                | <b>64</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>Total</b>                                              | <b>64</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Techniques                                                                  | Quantity  | Percentage | Information sources                                       | Quantity  | Percentage   |
| Information analysis (bibliographic and/or hemerographic review)            | 32        | 50.0       |                                                           |           |              |
| Interviews (semi-structured, flexible)                                      | 10        | 15.6       | Secondaries                                               | 44        | 68.8         |
| Not applicable (protocols, manuals, guides)                                 | 10        | 15.6       |                                                           |           |              |
| Descriptive statistical analysis                                            | 4         | 6.3        |                                                           |           |              |
| In-depth interviews, field diary, and participant observation (ethnography) | 4         | 6.3        |                                                           |           |              |
| Survey                                                                      | 2         | 3.1        | Primaries                                                 | 20        | 31.3         |
| Case studies                                                                | 1         | 1.6        |                                                           |           |              |
| Profiles and political trajectories                                         | 1         | 1.6        |                                                           |           |              |
| <b>Total</b>                                                                | <b>64</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>Total</b>                                              | <b>64</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

Source: Authors' elaboration based on the studies analyzed.

### Annex 3

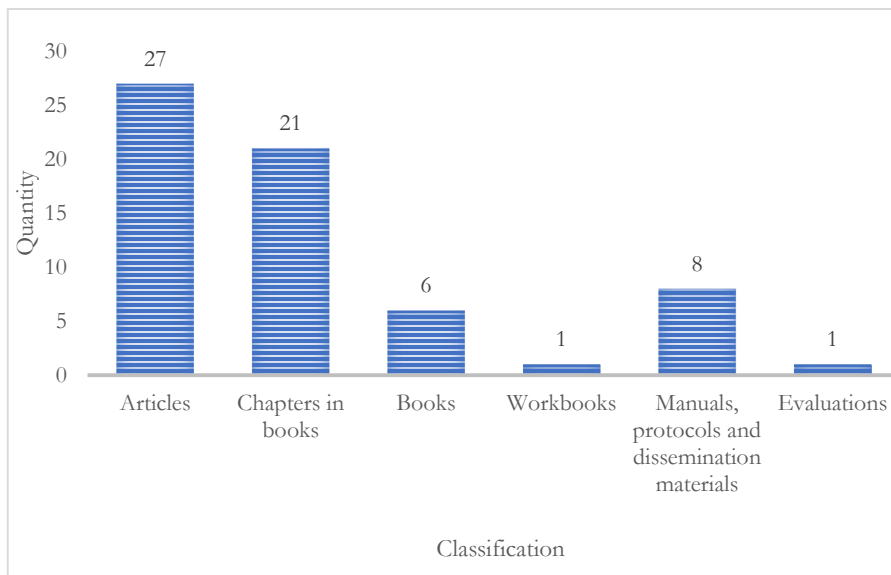
#### Key words

| Keywords                                                                       | Quantity | Percentage |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------------|
| Not applicable (book chapters, books, manuals, protocols)                      | 38       | 59.4       |
| Political violence against women /toward women/Gender-based political violence | 11       | 17.2       |
| Women                                                                          | 4        | 6.3        |
| Mayors/Cabildos/Popularly Elected Offices                                      | 2        | 3.1        |
| Gender Quotas/Gender                                                           | 2        | 3.1        |
| Political participation                                                        | 2        | 3.1        |
| Political violence                                                             | 2        | 3.1        |
| Rights                                                                         | 1        | 1.6        |
| Parity                                                                         | 1        | 1.6        |
| Development Policies/Women                                                     | 1        | 1.6        |
| Total                                                                          | 64       | 100.0      |

Source: Authors' elaboration based on the studies analyzed.

## Graphic 1

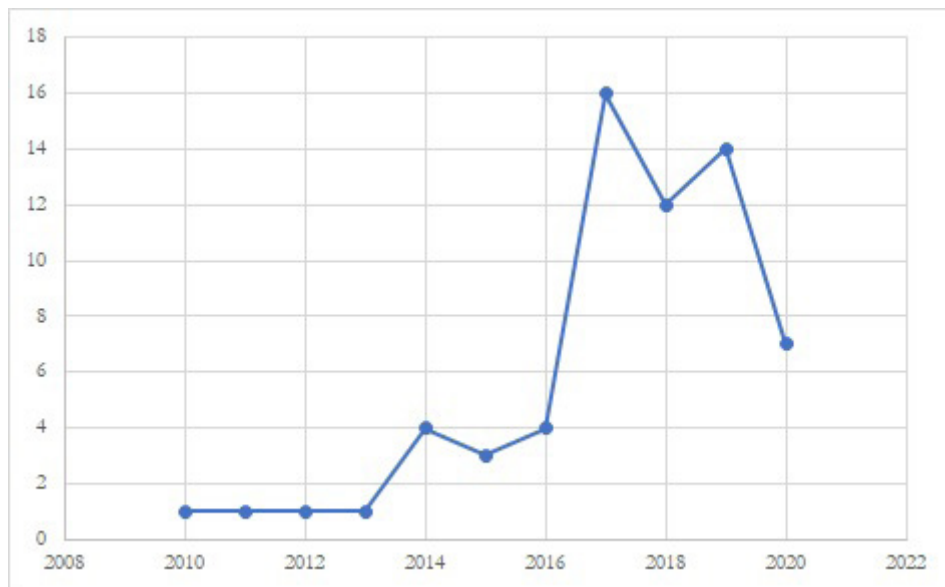
**Studies by type of text (2010-2020)**



Source: Authors' elaboration based on the studies analyzed.

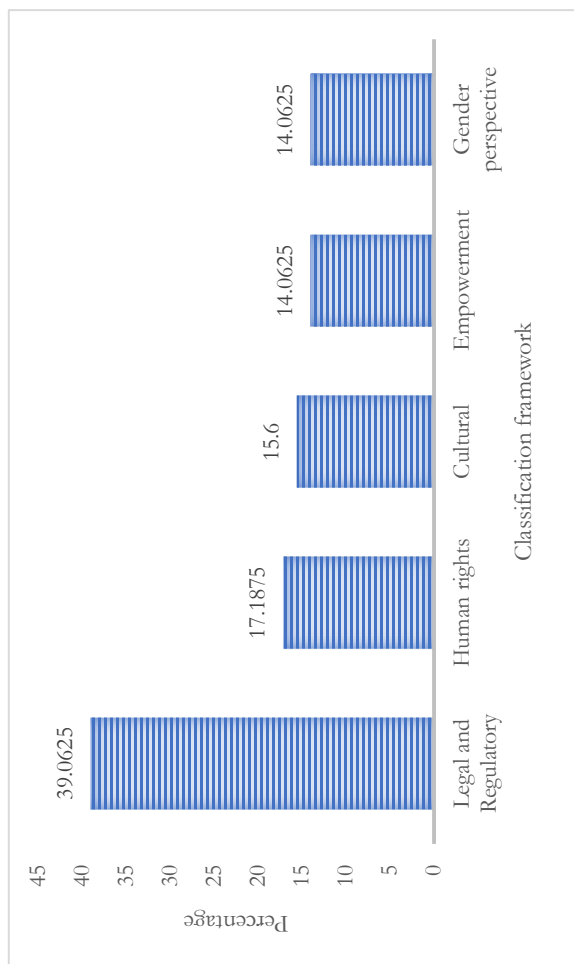
Graphic 2

**Studies by year of publication (2010-2020)**



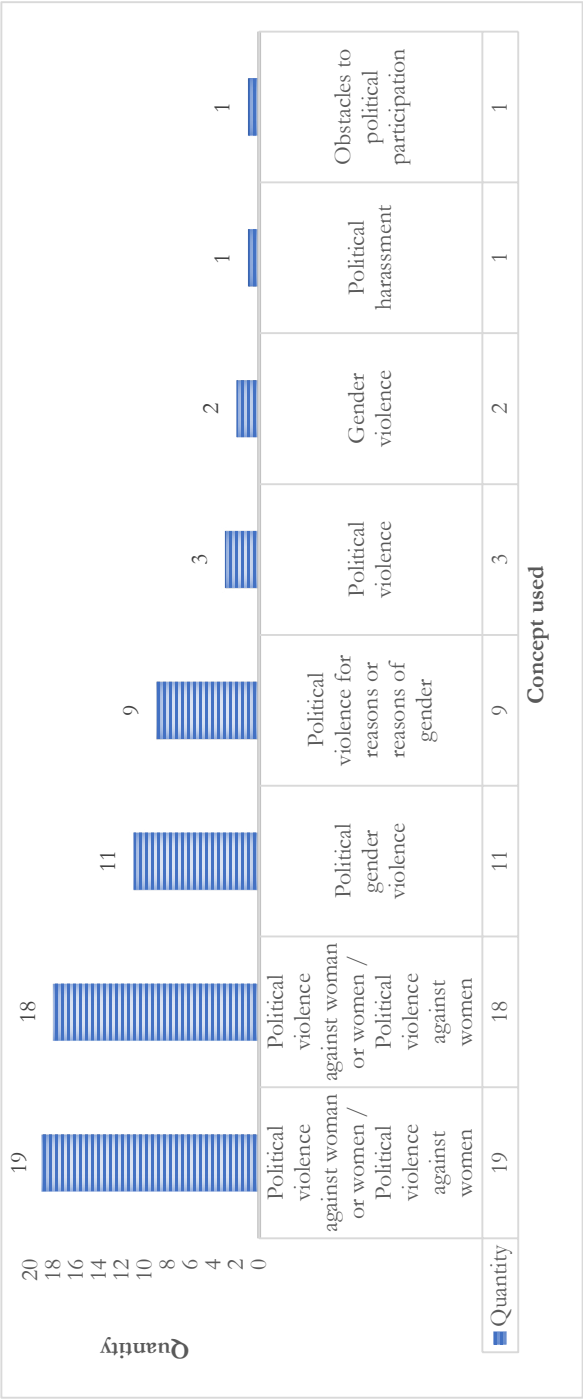
Source: Authors' elaboration based on the studies analyzed.

Graphic 3  
 Studies according to the predominant perspective (2010-2020)



Source: Authors' elaboration based on the studies analyzed.

Graphic 4  
Concepts used in publications (2010-2020)



Source: Authors' elaboration based on the studies analyzed.

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article/view/885; Aguilar Pinto, Emma del Carmen *et al.* (2017), “Mujeres, empoderamiento y microcrédito. El programa de microempresas sociales de Banmujer en Chiapas”, in *Agricultura, sociedad y desarrollo*, DOI: 10.22231/asyd.v14i3.646 Available at: <http://revista-asyd.mx/index.php/asyd/article/view/646>.