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Overview and impact of young feminist organizing in Mexico: Rapid evidence assessment

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EVIDENCE SUMMARY September 2024

OVERVIEW AND IMPACT OF YOUNG FEMINIST ORGANIZING IN MEXICO **RAPID** EVIDENCE ASSESSMENT





Feministas Jóvenes Organizadas

INTRODUCTION

- In Mexico, young feminists and youth-led feminist movements are already leading the way and pursuing radical approaches to addressing social injustice, such as gender-based violence (GBV), lack of sexual and reproductive health care, and gender discrimination.
- Although young feminist organizations (YFOs) in Mexico are showing an increasing ability to advocate for and effect change, there is limited systematized evidence on YFO strategies and impact.
- This Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) provides an overview of the YFO landscape, strategies, and impact on policy and social change in Mexico from 2010 to 2023.
- This REA is part of a feminist participatory action research (PAR) project to assess the impact of YFOs in Mexico and Kenya. We defined young feminists as those aged 15 to 30.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations to advance our understanding of YFOs include:

- Support young feminists and YFOs in generating new knowledge on young feminist movements. There is a dearth of information published from their own perspective.
- Support young feminists and YFOs' anti-stigma advocacy and their recognition as relevant political actors.
- Respect and support the diversity of young feminists' and YFOs' agendas, which vary across national and local levels.
- Advance understanding of the diversity of YFOs' language and forms of organizing and collaboration. The latter are often more horizontal and care-centered than other social groups.
- Provide secure means of collaboration to avoid putting YFOs at higher risk (physical and emotional), as well as safeguard their personal data.
- Create funding mechanisms that are flexible, sustainable, and responsive to YFOs' needs.
 Donors need to ensure there is transparency in their funding mechanisms and allow funds to be channelled directly to YFOs.

METHODOLOGY

To conduct the REA, we reviewed, systematized, and synthesized academic literature, including qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods research to document and investigate the landscape, implementation areas, and/or advocacy strategies and impact of YFOs around various issues. We also reviewed information from nonacademic sources, such as press releases and newspaper and magazine articles.

This REA followed PAR principles by engaging members of the project's Feminist Advisory Panel (FAP) in the research process. FAP members included young feminists aged 15 to 30 years (YFOs, independent feminists, and researchers with expertise in gender and feminist issues). The FAP contributed actively to defining the REA's methodological design; revising initial research questions proposed by the Population Council; establishing inclusion and exclusion criteria; defining search terms; and identifying and suggesting search engines, media, and press sites. All of this was done to conduct an REA that is context-specific and reflects the issues and problems faced by YFOs.

We compiled a list of terms and concepts¹ that would easily and effectively identify information focusing on YFOs and the Young Feminist Movement (YFM) in Mexico from 2010 to 2023. A review of search engines and databases was carried out using the list of terms and concepts, including: *Feminist Press, The Project Muse, Gender Studies Database, GenderWatch* (*ProQuest*), *Women's Studies Archive, Scopus, Open Journal Systems, JSTOR, EBSCO, Latindex.*

We also searched within specialized magazines such as Debate Feminista, Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios de Género del Colegio de México (COLMEX), and online open libraries such as Biblioteca del Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios de Género (CIEG). In addition, we searched media sites and platforms such as **CIMAC**, **Pie de Página**, **Lado B**, **and Animal Político**.

Once the terms were tested and the search was performed, 711 academic texts were downloaded and uploaded into Covidence, an online analysis platform. We read the abstracts and selected 98 based on their relevancy, read them in their entirety, and entered the information most relevant to the study in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Information was included according to the guidelines for open educational resources (OER). In addition to the authors, we included the name of the organization, group, collective, or movement; the source of the publication; the subject matter of interest; the location; a summary of the sociopolitical context; size and characteristics of the sample; implementation strategies; and the results of implementation and promotion. We also extracted information regarding the articles' main results and conclusions.

We screened two specialized news websites: Pie de Página and CIMAC. Ninety-eight news articles were analyzed and included in the REA. The final database contains information from a total of 196 different sources. Based on the findings synthesized in the resulting database, a thematic synthesis of the literature was completed to characterize the strategies of youth-led feminist organizations and their impact on social policy and decision-making. Figure 1 summarizes the methodology.

 Terms and concepts included: "young women," "feminists," "feminism," "youth," "Afro-descendants," "Indigenous women," "women with disabilities," "lesbian," "women from the peripheries," "women who struggle," "Afro-Mexican youth," "teenage women," "dissidents," "women students," "student activism," "young feminist organized," "organized women," "women workers." We also used Boolean operators to combine keywords.

3 FIGURE 1. METHODOLOGICAL PROCESS



THE MEXICAN CONTEXT

Mexican women played a significant role in the Independence and Magonism movements, the latter of which led to the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Feminism in Mexico has a history of more than 100 years of political organizing (Damian and Jaiven 2011). In 1915, the magazine La Mujer Moderna (The Modern Woman) was first published, covering politics, sexuality, and women's education (Gargallo 2011). The first feminist conference took place in Yucatan in 1916. Mexican women gained the right to vote in 1953 through the suffrage movement. Over the years, feminist organizing has taken different forms, including self-awareness groups, union involvement, political party participation, left-wing political spaces, and feminist spaces from the 1960s to the 1980s, as well as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the 1990s (Gargallo 2004). Throughout the decades, feminists have advocated for political, educational, sexual, and economic rights, as well as freedom, autonomy, and lesbianism. Youthled feminist movements have become increasingly prevalent in Mexico in the past 10 years.

Mexico has been affected by widespread violence, growing social inequality, impunity, corruption, collusion between organized crime and public officials, and the ravages of the so-called "War on Drugs"--the militarized security strategies to combat organized crime that have been implemented since 2006 (Illiná 2020; Human Rights Watch 2022). The War Report (2017) argues that the violence suffered in Mexico corresponds to that of a "non-international armed conflict." in which the number of victims exceeds that of previous wars and could even exceed that of current main armed conflicts across the world. From a feminist standpoint, Rita Segato (2016) has also talked about a War Against Women, which in Mexico kills more than 10 women each day. Moreover, at least 560 socio-ecological conflicts affecting women have been identified between 2012 and 2017 (Navarro 2019).

The reviewed literature highlights the insecurity crisis and serious human rights violations in areas ravaged by armed conflict linked to drug and human trafficking, including the states of Nuevo León, Sinaloa, Veracruz, Chiapas, and border municipalities such as Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana on the Mexico-United States border and Tapachula on the southern border of the country. Mexican feminist activists organizing against the murders and disappearances of women in Ciudad Juarez and Chihuahua, including mothers of the disappeared, adopted the concept of *femicide*, **the murder of women for being female**, and used it to name the brutality of these homicides as specific forms of GBV in the climate of state-tolerated impunity that neglects these crimes (Monárrez 2009). The latter, added to the systematic impunity and misogyny of the justice system, encourages extreme violence against women. As a result, women are defending themselves.

MAIN FINDINGS

1. OVERVIEW OF YFOS IN MEXICO

This research aims to identify how **Young Feminist Organizations (YFOs) in Mexico** are organized and what strategies they use to produce the social changes they propose.

In Mexico, compared to young feminist NGOs and civil society organizations (CSOs), young feminist **collectives** are more common and **move toward more horizontal forms of articulation and representation** that are not necessarily legally constituted nor recognized by the State. Collectives are often **self-managed organizations, sustained by their own resources and work**. Some participate in community and neighborhood groups as a mechanism to alleviate social disadvantages derived from economic and gender inequalities. Of note are those that develop means of subsistence and participate in or organize bazaars or feminist markets in all their diversity.

Many YFOs are characterized by mutual support, creativity, sensitivity in collaborating with and accompanying other entities, and rebelliousness.

In relation to their functioning and articulation, YFOs often communicate with other organizations and collectives, independent feminists, and NGOs. Horizontal and network efforts typify YFOs, particularly during emergencies (assistance and denouncing of violence, response in case of police persecution or institutional violence, and sharing information about missing persons).

YFOs also establish **strategic alliances** with female officials, legislators, or key political figures, such as senators and deputies (Mexican representatives), to lobby and advocate with government institutions, including the National Women's Institute (INMUJERES,

as per its Spanish acronym), the Chamber of Deputies, and other justice implementation bodies.

Establishing emotional connections with peers stands out as an important component for young feminist collectives and their alliances. Within the processes of constructing YFOs' collective *"we," this corporealsensitive dimension can be found*, which produces, governs, and reproduces possibilities of action, commitment, and understanding of political action grounded in feminist sensibilities (Peláez and Flores 2022).

2. ISSUES AND DEMANDS AROUND WHICH YOUNG WOMEN IN MEXICO ORGANIZE

Some of the issues YFOs organize around include violence against women, femicide, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), girls' and women's agency, economic autonomy, climate justice, gender equality, lesbofeminism, feminist art, LGBTQI rights, Indigenous peoples' rights, human rights defenders, migrant women's rights, and women's mobility and sports (cycling, football).

The organization of young women against sexual violence, including harassment, comments about their bodies, lascivious looks, as well as sexual abuse and rape by peers and teachers alike, is prominent in schools and universities. Since 2016, young feminist activists have initiated various efforts to combat sexual violence. These young women also emphasize the poverty, disqualification, stigmatization, and exclusion that female students suffer. Moreover, they address the dismantling of budgets allocated to public education, resulting in the loss of meaningful opportunities for pursuing nonpauperized life paths (Valencia 2013; Cerva 2021). The demand for the decriminalization of abortion and the right to decide had been a notable struggle among young women, which ultimately led to the decriminalization of abortion nationwide by the Supreme Court in September 2023. Legal, safe, and free abortion was demanded through slogans and symbols such as the green scarf and on significant days such as September 28 (International Safe Abortion Day).

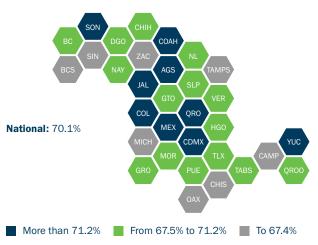
Sexual freedom continues to be a demand among young women, especially those who endure lesbophobia and homophobia on the street, while gender self-determination and the breaking of gender binarism, the notion that there are only two sexes (male and female), continue to be individual and collective demands. Young women have also banded together in the struggle against **femicide** and **violence against women**. The increase in femicides has undoubtedly been at the forefront of this new wave of feminist mobilization, but these crimes have gone hand-in-hand with other **forms of gender-based violence** that are increasingly unacceptable and intolerable for women (harassment, forced touching, nonconsensual sexting, dissemination of personal images of sexual content or "packs," and gaslighting), especially for new generations of young women who are extremely threatened by these acts in their daily lives. Figure 2 shows the prevalence of violence against women across Mexican states.

Harassment, rape, kidnapping, trafficking, intimidation, discrimination, and abuse in multiple settings (work, school, and family) have been unmistakable signs of a permanent siege against women, which, far from diminishing, has worsened in recent years (Álvarez 2020).



Photo: Paulina Márquez González, Mexico City, 2024

FIGURE 2. PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE TOWARD WOMEN AGED 15 YEARS AND OLDER, BY STATE IN MEXICO, 2020-2021



Source: National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), México, 2021

5 3. TACTICS AND STRATEGIES YFOS EMPLOY TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES

YFOs' strategies in Mexico are carried out in different spaces. Taking to the streets and holding public demonstrations continue to be relevant and impactful actions. A feminist presence in the streets has been important in recognizing and achieving the demands of YFMs in Mexico. During marches, younger feminists, including middle and high school students, stand out for actions such as the use of creative and original banners many of which have become emblematic; pasting posters on public walls; the use of graffiti and glitter; and alteration of monuments and heritage sites. Other successful strategies have been the use of emblematic objects and colors (such as the green handkerchief or the feminist symbolism of purple), creative performances in public and institutional spaces, and the use of costumes in marches and public demonstrations.

Congregating in symbolic spaces, such as around femicide memorials, the Mothers' Monument, and the *Glorieta de las Mujeres que Luchan* (Roundabout of Women Who Fight), the latter two in Mexico City where the occupation of the National Human Rights Commission headquarters also took place, has been a strategy to make visible the demands of young women. YFOs often use diverse strategies of direct action to serve the broader women's movement.

Often, **physical action** has been combined with **actions in virtual/digital spaces**. An example of this was the use of hashtags such as **#NoNosCuidanNosViolan** (They Don't Take Care of Us; They Rape Us), referring to police violence, and the use of slogans such as **"First the women, then the walls"** following the criticism and stigmatization on social media of YFM's alteration of spaces and monuments, such as the Angel of Independence, Benito Juárez's Cenotaph, the Palace of Fine Arts, and the gates of the National Palace. These spaces are often protected (by local governments) with fences during public demonstrations and marches.



Some educational spaces also become places of young feminist organizing, especially as places to denounce and resist the gender violence experienced inside them. Young feminists organize within universities holding public events and protests, exhibitions, and debates, often engaging the student community. Young feminists also organize seminars, assemblies, courses, and workshops.

Young feminists have denounced the inexistence or ineffectiveness of protocols for attending to GBV and, in some cases, participated in the design of such protocols. The movement has received support from feminist professors and sympathizers, many of whom are also young people, who join in by teaching classes on gender issues, providing support to some students who approach them, participating in forums, and combine forces with other feminist networks.

Examples of the organizational capacity of young feminist students are the takeovers of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) in 2019-2020 and the Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM) in 2022. Likewise, young feminist students have organized events to commemorate important dates, such as the International Day for the Elimination of all Forms of Violence against Women (November 25) and 8M and 9M (March 8 and 9), the latter known as the "Feminist Strike" or "A Day Without Us Women." To a lesser extent, formal complaints have been filed before university courts and criminal complaints have been brought against aggressors. In Mexico, no legal actions have been taken in educational settings, however public denunciations and "escraches" (nonviolent complaints at the residences or workplaces of perpetrators, oftentimes public officials) are commonplace.

Within educational institutions, including public high schools, teenagers and young women have carried out marches, rallies, strikes, and takeovers of facilities. They have made condemnations and denounced violence using various media, including university publications, publications on Facebook pages, written testimonies and denunciations on clotheslines, public performances, press conferences, and statements in outlets such as newspapers (Larrondo and Ponce Lara 2019). They have often made public the names of professors and colleagues accused of sexual violence. Likewise, other actions have included mass student mobilizations to protest femicides, public demonstrations and virtual manifestos denouncing harassment by university authorities and professors, and strategies to demand a larger budget to guarantee

Photo: Paulina Márquez González, Mexico City, 2024

security within university facilities (Mingo 2020; Cerva 2021).

On the other hand, YFOs' **presence in institutions of justice**, such as the Attorney General's Office in Mexico City, also known as the "bunker," has been very important. They carry out other strategies such as **independent legal follow-up support of individual cases**, participation in working groups with the government, and providing training for the public sector, sometimes voluntarily or nonpaid. Examples of the latter are training workshops for women lawyers and rights promoters on positive law and traditional community norms from a feminist and decolonial perspective. The latter refers to a delink from hierarchies in knowledge (Deridder, Ménard, and Eyebiyi 2022).

It is important to highlight the **use of information technologies and social networks**, in which digital protests have greatly impacted achieving objectives and articulating the causes of the Young Feminist Movement in Mexico.

The materialization of feminist collectives' political demands through digital platforms like Facebook and Instagram requires a faster pace than other daily activities. Collectives disseminate their slogans, struggles, and strategies through Facebook, Instagram, and blogs. They also resort to digital mobilizations that have great impact through the use of hashtags such as: **#MeToo**, **#NoMeCuidanMeViolan** (They Don't Take Care of Me; They Rape Me), **#NiUnaMenos** [Not One (Woman) Less], **#VivasNosQueremos** (We Want Us Alive/We Love Ourselves Alive), **#FeminicidioEmergenciaNacional** (Femicide National Emergency), **#24**, **#MiPrimerAcoso** (My First Sexual Harassment), #SiMeMatan (If I'm Killed) or **#LaCalleEsNuestra** (The Streets Are Ours).

4. IMPACT OF YFOS

Young Feminist Organizations have had a **great impact** in different areas such as:

- Law creation and access to justice
- Change in sociocultural norms
- Political incidence
- Violence against women conceptualization and resistance
- Rights recognition

The young feminist movement, which includes YFOs, independent feminists, feminist NGOs, collectives, and CSOs, has impacted law creation and access to justice. For example, the enactment of laws including: the creation of the National Register of Minors Orphaned by Femicide and Homicide, approved in December 2020 by the Federal Chamber of Deputies, and the approval of the Ingrid Law, which regulates punishment for public servants who leak, disseminate, or reproduce photographs, evidence, and objects related to investigation case files. Likewise, in November 2020, the Olimpia Law was approved, through amendments to the Federal Criminal Code and the General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence. This law recognizes digital violence and punishes crimes that violate the sexual intimacy of women through digital media.

As for the **impact and change on sociocultural norms**, the young women's feminist movement has succeeded in **raising awareness about patriarchal violence and violence against women** and its visibility in various spaces, such as in schools and universities, at work, in relation to the customs and traditions of Indigenous peoples, and in the domestic sphere, among others.

It has also played a fundamental role in breaking the silence about the seriousness of violence against women in Mexico, influencing public opinion, political agendas, and the media (Cerva 2020). Young feminist and organized women have managed to participate in spaces where they were once absent (i.e., policymaking spaces) and gain the recognition and respect of a broad cultural sector, including emerging artistic spaces in Mexico.

In terms of the impact that YFOs have **had in the political arena, they have made political messages more accessible** so they are understood by a greater number of people. They have also demanded a change in men's behavior in these spaces, which has, in turn, **led to a transformation of the political hierarchy**, for example through the challenge to traditional values and roles, the recognition of women's participation in the decisionmaking process, the recognition of the need to fight against sexual violence, and regarding gender parity in political arenas (Lamas 2022). In 2019, women's struggles in Mexico made history with the incorporation of gender parity at all state levels, both vertically (legislative, executive, and judicial) and horizontally 7 (at community, municipal, state, and federal levels). That same year, gender-based political violence was recognized as a crime and the mechanisms to combat it were created. In October 2020, the General Council of the National Electoral Institute (INE) approved the guidelines for national political parties to prevent, address, punish, repair, and eradicate gender-based political violence against women (INE 2021).

The feminist movement has had a major impact on the reconceptualization of violence against women and the analysis of social resistance in the legal sphere. In terms of communication and culture, the cultural roots of gender-based violence have been revealed and the normalization embedded in gender relations has been challenged. In the sociopolitical sphere, where gender inequality is combined with class inequality: the State is challenged, and authorities are held responsible for omissions, impunity, and cover-ups, and more specifically, progress is made via reforms aimed at guaranteeing women's safety, combating gender-based violence, typifying crimes deriving from this violence, and enforcing the corresponding sanctions (Álvarez 2020).

The impact of YFMs has also been observed in other areas, such as in rural settings where the movement has contributed to changes in the machista [sexist] conceptions of administering justice. For example, in Zapatista communities (Indigenous autonomous communities from the state of Chiapas, in southern Mexico), where feminist women or "women who fight" have a significant presence, the presentation of witnesses in rape claims has ceased to be a requirement (Olvera 2019). The feminist struggle has also had an impact on gaining rights in collective struggles, such as the right to own land, to political participation, and to organize in armed struggle (Bellamy 2021). Young community feminism has contributed to women's agency in different ways: in the social and symbolic sphere through their participation in decision-making; in the material sphere, by seeking better means of subsistence and fighting against economic violence; and through a reappropriation of the body, recognizing women's rights and knowledge (Rincón et al. 2017).

5. STRENGTHS OF THE YOUNG FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN MEXICO

The diverse articulation of feminism, which includes abolitionist, abortion rights, trans, lesbian, nonbinary,

bisexual, and intersex perspectives, has become a cornerstone of YFM. Some of the strengths of YFOs are their efforts to **recognize the discursive diversity within the feminist movement**, their different political ideas and ways of stating them, and the implications of their political values in constructing personal identity.

The **use of digital social networks** is an important element of social action and cohesion, especially evident during the COVID-19 pandemic. Digital social networks allow for the articulation of YFOs' strategies and efforts at the local, national, and global levels. These platforms and spaces for interaction contribute to establishing more horizontal forms of organization and convening across barriers; they also help a diversity of young women meet and build broad connections.

Technological tools and social networks allow for collaboration between feminist groups that helps to strengthen ties, weave networks, create community among feminist women, and make the movement more horizontal and democratized.

Another strength pointed out by the YFOs themselves is that they have sought to **diversify and decentralize the spaces** in which they have a presence. For example, in recent years in Mexico City, commemorations not only take place in the Zócalo (the Main Square and center of political power), but move throughout the city with different initiatives, allowing others to join in.

YFOs' collaboration with broader **human rights movements** is similarly notable, including participation in national protests from other sectors, such as students or workers, and communication with sectors and individuals with real decision-making power and influence in the country's politics and legislation.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that the Latin American feminist movement has stood out for its constant political action and link with academic environments (Femenías 2011; Cejas 2011), unlike some European feminist movements whose link between academics and activists has been complicated.

Another great strength of YFOs in Mexico is their **ability to gain** the necessary knowledge to perform their tasks better and to face challenges. For example, young women's collectives and organizations have developed technical knowledge and legal and political expertise,

strengthening their critical ability to question authority, speak in public, and engage in public relations and social action. Often advised by experts in different fields, **they have developed their own methods for carrying out their tasks**, such as civilian searches for human remains carried out by women searchers and providing follow-up support in cases of sexual violence (Velazco-Domínguez and Castañeda-Xóchitl 2020).

Recognizing and resignifying community and other cultural elements of the Indigenous tradition have become enriching and unifying elements of the feminist struggle. This is borne of an appreciation for, and critical recognition of, the communal sense with which Indigenous women live and work, always thinking of and serving others, othered groups (individuals that are viewed as different from and alien to mainstream populations), and family and community members alike.

YFM's repertoire of actions is expanding, ranging from demonstrations to performances organized by different collectives and movements without specific and unified leadership. Language becomes more direct and confrontational, resulting in a greater impact on public opinion and a more direct provocation of authorities' attention, more forcefully demanding the assurance of equal rights for women across the country from the nation-state.

6. DIFFICULTIES AND RISKS FACED BY MEXICAN FEMINIST ORGANIZATIONS AND COLLECTIVES

Young feminists face **constant fatigue and threats** due to organizing in a context of extreme violence against women. This directly affects their capacity for action and puts collective participants' physical integrity, mental health, and emotions at risk (Peláez and Flores 2022). In addition, they are faced with the apparent fragility of the achievements they have secured considering the advance of conservative groups and religious fundamentalist agendas, for example, with these groups' direct impact on limiting access to abortion in some Mexican states and the neighboring country, the United States.

The criminalization of feminist public protest

has had a strong presence both on the ground and in socio-digital media. Young women, who often use masks and hoods for self-protection while participating in direct-action interventions in urban spaces and during police confrontations, have been defamed as hooligans, criminals, and other miscreants. Some organizers and activists have been **arrested** during acts of protest and, in some cases, even imprisoned. In general, they face **insults** and other forms of harassment on online platforms, as well as **stigmatization** for being politically organized women and, in some cases, for being sexual dissidents or gender nonconformists.

In physical settings, especially educational or academic spaces, young women have also been criminalized (Cerva 2021). Female students who have organized against the gender-based violence they face in their schools and universities have been stigmatized and repressed, often with direct or indirect sanctions that affect their educational trajectory.

The **COVID-19 pandemic** came at a time of growing public presence of YFOs, after one of the most massive marches recorded in the country on March 8, 2020. The quarantine and fear of contagion that followed the COVID-19 outbreak reduced mobilizations in public spaces, affected the organization of young women in student spaces, and made it difficult for the women to meet physically. Statistics of gender-based violence in domestic and familial settings grew, as made visible through the hashtag #NosotrasTenemosOtrosDatos (We Have Other Data) as well as those mediated by communication technologies.

SUMMARY

This Rapid Evidence Assessment sought to clarify the landscape and impact of YFOs in Mexico and provide a summary of key emerging issues.

- YFOs continue to face security risks, stigmatization, and criminalization across the country.
- → Young feminists are effective social change agents.
- They advocate for gender equality, a life free of all types of gender violence, and the real recognition of the rights of women, sexual minorities, and gender dissidents.
- Their presence in social media, public events, demonstrations, and academic and advocacy spaces has been and continues to be pivotal for advancing social justice.
- Their political advocacy and ability for public organizing, both in physical and virtual spaces, stands out.
- Their ways of organizing are more horizontal than in previous generations, often focusing on transforming gender relations in their immediate context and at the community and local levels.
- → YFOs are more critical about the State and their representatives than previous generations. Nevertheless, they also collaborate with key actors for advocacy, which has contributed to transforming local frameworks.

GLOSSARY

Collective: Young feminist group with a self-designated name; often a horizontal organization featuring collective decision-making.

Escraches: Nonviolent complaints made at the residences or workplaces of violence perpetrators.

Femicide: Misogynous killing of women by men (Russell and Radford 1992; Lagarde 2006; Monárrez 2009).

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