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# Women Searching for Missing Persons in Mexico. Guidelines for a Public Policy with a Gender Perspective

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## Abstract

The increase in the disappearance of people in Mexico has been the reason why women in various circumstances carry out actions at any risk to find their loved ones, others voluntarily join this cause; they are called seekers and their search leadership is forceful. In this study, it is noted that there are no official figures that identify how many there are and their various situations are posed as a public problem that requires a gender analysis to understand and reveal the dimension of their realities in which they operate under a context of abandonment violence, inequalities and discrimination that derive from structural causes in a patriarchal society. It is reflected that guidelines are proposed towards a public policy that recognizes their own identity and has a transforming effect to guarantee and protect their human rights as women.

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**Index terms**— women, gender analysis, public policy, disappeared persons, human rights.

## 1 Introduction

he starting point of this research is the phenomenon of the disappearance of persons in Mexico, which serves as a triggering basis for another problem: women in search of their loved ones. The focus of this study aims to reveal that it is necessary to address the realities experienced by women immersed in the search for persons based on the conceptual tools of Gender Theory in order to understand the dimension of their situation, which derives from the structural systems that give rise to gender gaps; these begin with discrimination and lack of recognition as members of a family.

The analysis based on their roles is a guide to know what kind of power relations they have been involved in before, during and after the disappearance of their loved ones. For this reason, the research departs from the victimological perspective, not to distort it, but to contribute methodological approaches with the objective of understanding the scope of this problem and to propose lines of action to transform it. Seen as a social process of human rights protection (Moyn, 2012), these women moralize through their social activism and make themselves heard as mandates of hope.

In the triangle of inequality, discrimination and violence, I place special emphasis on this last element, since there are documented cases of lethal violence that has led to state and social neglect. This must be reversed with awareness and commitment to prevent and eradicate violence through actions and omissions contrary to fundamental human rights: life, security and access to justice.

The gender analysis methodology aims to quantify the number of women involved in the search for people, identify who they are, detect the inequality of opportunities and the mechanisms that perpetuate them in this context, as well as to know their material needs, strategic interests, living conditions, their social position and, with this, explore a path that leads them to empowerment through alternative ways of solution.

In this sense, the proposal of a public policy with a gender perspective requires the design and construction of indicators that expose the realities of these women and dimension the problem, as well as serve as a basis for the projection of a public policy that transforms the situations of these women based on their human rights. The

fact of starting from the bottom rung of the stormy climb towards the search for people, added to the obstacles due to their gender condition, places them in a vulnerable condition.

The incorporation of gender markers is intended to raise awareness, generate commitment and propose actions to combat the aforementioned problems; they will also help define the scope of their measurement to expose situations that may arise and provide the basis for a public policy that generates changes in favor of women.

II.

## 2 Methodology and Results

This article followed the foundations of gender analysis and its theoretical tools in order to organize and interpret information (obtained from different sources) related to women searching for missing persons. The purpose of the articulated and schematized gender analysis is to get to the different types of inequalities such as sexism, subordination or other form of oppression—that “express, create or maintain inequality and discrimination” (García, 2013). It also allows considering information, in this case, required to cover all aspects involved in the situation of women searching for missing persons.

We hope to go beyond the roles by which these women have been identified (especially as mothers) by posing the following questions: a) How many and who are they? b) Does their gender have a differential impact on the search for people and on the problems that arise from the search itself? c) What is required to generate actions to transform the abandonment and violence in which they find themselves? and d) How to construct human rights indicators that describe and make visible the gender differences that affect them?

The purpose of these questions is to lay the foundations that, in the first place, recognize the stereotypes of gender differences as a public problem and establish the route towards a logical framework that responds to the realities of women by preparing the foundations of a transforming policy.

Finally, with regard to the findings, it is mainly recognized that violence is added to their circumstances, which result in the deprivation of life with impunity, lack of protection, state abandonment and social indifference. At the organizational level, the gender analysis highlights the lack of sensitivity and awareness of decision-makers regarding gender inequalities with respect to women.

## 3 III.

The Trigger. The Systematic Disappearance of People in Mexico Different crises will mark the history of this 21st century, one of them is the dehumanization with multiple faces manifested in the disappearance of people as a mechanism of impunity used in various parts of the world. For the purposes of this study, the dimension of this phenomenon is the starting point for the analysis of the situation faced by many women in the country who are searching for missing persons. In Mexico, the rate of disappearances is on the rise. According to the official records of the National Commission for the Search for Disappeared Persons, during the period from March 15, 1964 to November 6, 2022, the official figure amounts to 107, 204 missing and unaccounted for persons—without taking into account underreporting, which suggests a higher number—(Comisión Nacional de Búsqueda de Personas Desaparecidas, 2022).

The impact is devastating because it is not limited to the victims, but transcends humanity, as highlighted by the Committee on Enforced Disappearances (CED) and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (Report of the UN Committee on Enforced Disappearances, 2022) when mentioning the joint responsibility of authorities and society to address this phenomenon.

In its report, it reported that, in 2020, the countries with the highest number of missing persons were, in first place, Albania, Bangladesh, China, China, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, France, India, Iraq, Ireland, Myanmar, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Islamic Republic of Iran, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey and Vietnam.

The disappearance of persons was characterized for being a strategy originally employed by authorities (the so-called forced disappearance) to cause fear to enemies in times of war, and the almost total impunity generated that the practice was employed not only by authorities, but also by criminal organizations and individuals in democratic times; such is the case of Mexico and Peru, main countries in Latin America that carry out such practice. In Mexico, for example, the General Law on Forced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search of Persons was published in the Official Journal of the Federation on November 17, 2017 (Ley de Desaparición Forzada de Personas, 2017); this is just a proof of the acts of dehumanization by authorities and society itself.

In the case of Mexico, most of the disappearances are attributed to criminal groups in complicity with authorities; in Peru, 67% of the complaints of this type correspond to women, girls and adolescents, a pattern that can be analyzed under a gender violence line (Infoabe, 2022). In any latitude, the trace of pain and impotence that each disappearance leaves for their loved ones is indescribable, which worsens, putting the focus of attention only in Mexico, before the expanded silence of a society that perceives it as a daily and even normalized event that subtracts dignity to the human sense.

Back to the regional context, two problems stand out in Central America: forced disappearance and the disappearance of migrants in Mexican territory or in their own countries. For example, Guatemala has 45 thousand cases of forced disappearance; El Salvador, 8 thousand. Likewise, according to the United Nations

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Committee on Enforced Disappearances (CED), the percentage of disappearances is divided as follows: In addition, this report highlights other aspects that aggravate the complexity of the criminal phenomenon, such as the forensic crisis, in which more than 52,000 unidentified deceased persons are reported. The figures speak for themselves about the dimension of this tragedy that hurts the families of missing persons and humanity. Despite the risks involved, many women go out in search of their loved ones; this is where the focus lies.

IV.

## 4 The Search Engines. A Gender Approach a) Why talk about them?

The disappearance of a loved one leads to the active participation of men and women to find the person they have lost; however, in Mexico the leadership of women in the discovery of clandestine graves has stood out (Nmas, 2022). It is recognized that they have been a key piece in the search for missing persons; with the visibility they have obtained worldwide, they have achieved normative and institutional advances. Their actions give meaning to the verb 'to search' which, within its meanings, means "to do what is necessary to find or locate a person" (RAE-ASALE, 2022). In this sense, and without forgetting the context in which women operate, a "seeker" can be defined as a brave woman who does what is necessary to locate someone, despite the risk of losing her own life; for this reason, on many occasions they have been compared to Antigone because of the sacrifice this character made in Sophocles' tragedy. 1 The searchers call themselves in different ways according to the collectives to which they belong and Participation in the search for missing persons is supported by the Guiding Principles established by the UN Committee on Enforced Disappearances, with the aim that such practice "can be carried out fully and safely, with freedom to form or join organizations and associations whose purpose is to contribute to establishing the conditions of enforced disappearances and the fate of missing persons" (UN, 2019, p. 4); however, in the national case, these Guiding Principles have not been applied. 1 Sophocles' tragedy presents this dichotomy between the interests of the State and the inescapable mourning that comes to a person when he or she has lost a loved one. The tragedy has been considered as a watershed of the ethical and moral principles that guide society. In the subject expressed in the present article, it is linked to the right to burial, to the possession of the physical remains of a person and to the clarification of his or her death. with which they self-define themselves with accurate precision in wars; one of their various appellatives is "excavators", a name with which they seek to make evident the challenges that with pain, love, fear and strength they carry out in the face of disappearances. At the regional level, the world remembers in Latin America the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo that took place during a dictatorship that marked terrible pages in the history of Argentina; their struggle left lessons of love and persevering humanity in the face of the search for their loved ones. In Mexico, unfortunately, disappearances are accompanied by stigmatization of the victims themselves, impunity framed by complicity between authorities and criminal organizations, and even the disappeared are often held responsible for their circumstances without considering the value of human meaning. Nevertheless, the searchers take on with dignity the duty that would correspond to the State by searching for the disappeared without stigmas and with sorority. 2 The concept of gender is understood as an identifier of inequalities based on a biological determinism between men and women, in order to reject and reverse them (García & Constant, 2020). Therefore, it is necessary to move away from the womanist vision Those who have already located their loved ones continue the search in solidarity with many others who have not succeeded and others join this cause aware of the risk they run, as Cecilia Flores narrates in an interview when she denounces the threats she has received from organized crime and authorities (Barragán, 2022). Unfortunately, the vast majority of women searchers find themselves under these circumstances and, in many cases, the threats are carried out with impunity prevailing.

Their realities should not be ignored, they require an analysis and a response that is not limited to the rights of victims contemplated in the national legal framework; it is necessary that, in the first place, they are identified as women whose lives are complex in themselves; women who experience inequalities, discrimination and violence (often before, during and after the disappearances) for the simple reason of being women. For all of the above, it is essential to use the conceptual tools of Gender Theory to dimension the situation. that considers, among other things, aspects that are only "women's issues"; it is necessary to distinguish the reality with its multiple inequalities. As a concept that arises from social construction, it needs to be part of this study.

Being a man and being a woman can have multiple and diverse meanings that respond to cultural and social aspects (such as race, age, social class, ethnicity, migrant status, disability, economic situation, etc.) and to the social gender order established by power relations based on sex. As far as Mexico is concerned, a patriarchal society persists in which women find themselves in an inferior position in society in relation to men, without full human integration being consolidated.

Women searchers, in addition to their active participation in the disappearance of persons, are in charge of different tasks, among them, the care of their families; this fact leads them to confront the differences in power relations based on gender through winding roads. In other words, there are special characteristics that require conceptual gender tools that expose their circumstances and include cross-cutting criteria to make these particularities visible. b) Sizing a public problem: How many seekers are there?

Returning to the questions posed earlier (see Methodology and Results), the first question that should be answered is: how many women seekers are there? There is no census or registry of them in the country, but

## **7 A) THE PRODUCTIVE ROLE B) THE REPRODUCTIVE ROLE C) ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNITY ROLE D) THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY ROLE**

their presence in society is increasingly visible in collectives, groups and mobilizations; there are cases of women who are given coverage in the media or even in documentaries to learn about their search actions. The National Registry of Victims (RENAVI) is an administrative unit of the Executive Commission for Attention to Victims (CEAV) whose task is to create a national registry of victims and register their data and human rights violations at the federal level.

Similarly, at the state level there are registries that register and record the victims in a registry and the violation of human rights at the state level. None of these registries includes a register or database that includes the number of people who are searching for their relatives (even less, that is structured in different sections for men and women); if there were, it would show the striking difference in the search actions of civil society, in this case, of the victims themselves.

As already mentioned, the official number of missing persons (107,204 as of November 2022) suggests that the number of women searchers will continue to grow as much as the tragedy of disappearances; however, so far, the registry is absent. In spite of this, many of these voices that represent all of them are clearly heard clamoring to find their relatives, friends and acquaintances alive, demanding truth and justice in the face of the crime against humanity they have been affected by. The problem is not only theirs.

Their courage becomes a sacrifice in the face of the helplessness of the authorities and of society itself.

### **5 c) A public problem from a gender analysis. Who are they?**

The answer to this question will require identifying them and, in order to know this population, it will be necessary to construct indicators that allow dimensioning their reality; this requires variables that guarantee that the measurement is reliable and valid (Walker, 2017), under a gender approach that quantitatively and qualitatively measures the realities of women seekers. The data obtained from victim registries that collect information on sex, age, type of victim (direct, indirect, potential or collective), scope (federal or local), subject, among others, are not sufficient. There are no variables that provide strategic information to measure the situation of the female victims, therefore (even though it is still insufficient), open sources of their own testimonies are used for the purposes of this study.

Understanding the reality of these women requires a methodology under a gender analysis that generates useful information for the proposed objectives. Under this reflection, "it is necessary to know the scope, characteristics and evident or hidden forms of inequality in order to design or implement efficient interventions that make it disappear" (García & Constant, 2020).

Historically, women have been subjected to multiple inequalities due to their tasks and responsibilities within the family. An important aspect that must be considered is that many women play diverse roles and face their needs in conditions of poverty, deficient health services, insecurity and the roles they have to fulfill (a historical task in the division of labor based on the determinism of the sex into which they are born). For this reason, I consider it particularly necessary to delve a little deeper into their roles within society.

V.

## **6 Gender Roles**

As mentioned in the previous section, it is necessary to delve a little deeper into the roles that a woman plays in all the spheres and social groups in which she finds herself. Moser's framework (Moser, 1993), which is based on the triple role of women, is useful (in this case, we will frame it in terms of women seekers):

### **7 a) The productive role b) The reproductive role c) Organizational community role d) The political community role**

In the case of the productive role, we find women who carry out sporadic and occasional activities or work, either in the production of goods or generating services for self-consumption or commerce, but always focused on meeting the needs and contributing to the sustenance and well-being of the family to which they belong.

The reproductive role refers to mothers or those women who have caregiving tasks -a topic extensively addressed by Camila Ruiz Segovia and Melissa H. Jasso (2020) in the Mexican context. This research also highlights their protagonism in the truth and justice agendas in the country-and unrecognized or unpaid domestic responsibilities in the home.

However, the community organizational role is distinguished by the tendency to be involved in nonwage-earning activities, generally of goods for collective consumption and basic services. For this reason, it is important to distinguish the community and unpaid service roles of the women searchers whenever, thanks to their actions, clandestine graves have been found, identifying and delivering bodies to other families of missing persons. This role has caused, in many cases, the murders of women after constant threats and violence by criminal organizations and some authorities; despite this, a phrase with love and pain is repeated: "that and more is done for a child" (Universidad Veracruzana, 2020). From this angle, it is noticed that just as the clandestine graves represent "a degree of social decomposition and dehumanization that has been reached as a product of a combination of factors" (González, 2019), also the situation through which each one of them goes through represents a sample of a society in crisis of humanity.

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In the political community role, women tend to be community leaders; there is a clear participation in decision making and organization at political levels. In this case, their collaboration in meetings with authorities and international organizations to generate actions to search for missing persons is notably active.

In addition to the description of the different roles applied in the study of women searchers, other aspects to be addressed in order to understand the gender analysis (according to Moser's analytical framework) are the following aspects: ? To know their living conditions. Reference is made to the material needs of the situation in which the women live. In many cases, the women searchers lack the basic elements or services for their own subsistence and that of their dependents. ? Understanding their social position. This approach takes into account the status or symbolic hierarchical position of women foragers in society. ? Recognize their material needs. This refers to the full awareness of the lack of means of well-being in accordance with the characteristics of being a woman; that is, based on the tasks associated with their gender roles. ? Identify their strategic interests. Priority is given to the concerns attributed to them because of their gender.

The above elements are important to recognize the reality of the female searchers, some of whom, dedicated to informal commerce, have seen their income reduced due to the time they spend searching, which impacts the activities they carry out in terms of gender order; likewise, the effects of the pandemic have had repercussions on many of them. As domestic workers, the activities they can perform to earn any remuneration are the main support for their families, but these activities are incompatible with the search activities. Some others claim: "Searching for the disappeared was not my life project: mother of a migrant" (IBERO, 2022). More is required than the provision of a basic food basket (in the best of cases) to address their situation, although most of them do not even receive such support. There is no knowledge of the situation of each one.

None of the women are exempt from psychological or even physical harm. The health of many of them has been undermined, as they do not have the resources or social security services to combat the illnesses that afflict them. Likewise, the social abandonment of the family members of the searcher adds to the situations they have to cope with when they move away from the activities and roles they performed within their families before the search process began. If they participated in any type of free community recreational event, they are likely to be stigmatized and re-victimized for the disappearance of their family members or loved ones.

Other matrices that contribute to gender analysis and make it possible to examine resources, benefits and decisions are those mentioned by García Prince: a) Access matrix, which refers to the capacity to use certain tangible goods; b) Participation matrix, which refers to the intervention in the processes that affect the lives of the people involved; and finally, c) Control matrix, which refers to the capacity to decide on their use, results and exploitation (García & Constant, 2020). In order to exemplify the information, the following table is provided: Table 1: Examples of Matrices

## 8 Access to?

The seekers must have access to housing.

Participation in ? Decide on their participation in the sites with respect to the search actions.

## 9 Control over ?

On the destination of resources or support received.

## 10 Own elaboration a) Identification of the gender gaps in which women seekers find themselves

Gender gaps respond to a quantitative analysis of the existing inequalities in the elements we have mentioned: access, participation and control of the resources referred to by García Prince. Recent data show that Mexico ranks 31st in the gender gap ranking (Expansión, 2022), thus representing the inequality of opportunities and resources between men and women in the country. On the contrary, they need to be measured and the practices and stereotypes that discriminate them need to be modified.

In this sense, it seems relevant that women searchers have elements that promote the establishment of a real and effective process of empowerment and that transform their conditions of inequality based on gender. Although they can participate in the searches and in some decision-making during the research process, it is also necessary to go beyond that, to their integrity as women, in order to strengthen the place, they have in a social environment and eliminate the inequalities that affect them.

Since this is a gender analysis, planning will be necessary in which there will be adequate actions aimed at transforming some circumstances, prior to knowing and evaluating the problems surrounding these women. For this reason, it will be essential to construct indicators that produce information to learn about their situations and the obstacles to the exercise of their rights.

## 11 b) Violence against women seekers

It is not possible to fail to expose the violence experienced by women seekers and that arises from power relations in the face of a gendered social order; the risks are manifested with expressed or silent, but patent threats. Some experts reveal that, according to official figures, from December 1, 2018 to September 30, 2022, there have been

## 12 C) GUIDELINES FOR A TRANSFORMATIVE PUBLIC POLICY

14 479 violent deaths of women of which 3 662 are investigated as femicides and 10 817 as intentional homicides, which indicates that only 1 in 4 violent deaths of women are investigated as femicide (Navarrete & Arista, 2022).

Unfortunately, women searchers are part of these figures; at the time of this investigation, two searchers (Blanca Esmeralda Gallardo and María Carmela Vázquez Ramírez, mothers of the disappeared) were murdered and their deaths remain unpunished. The last of these occurred on November 6, 2022, in the municipality of Abasolo, Guanajuato, when she was searched in her home and riddled with bullets. She had joined the Collective of Missing Persons of Pénjamo, Guanajuato, in search of her son Osmar, who disappeared on June 14, 2022.

With the intention of making clear the memory of some of them, since there is no record of murdered women searchers either, I will mention the following cases, data recovered from journalistic information: Zenaida Pulido, murdered on July 19, 2019 in the coastal community of Pichinlinguillo, Municipality of Aquila, state of Michoacán. 43-year-old woman. She was part of the collective Familiares Caminando por la Justicia (Relatives Walking for Justice). Subsequently, her family suffered further attacks. Activist and searcher. María del Rosario Zavala, murdered in February 2020, when she had been searching for her missing 16-year-old son for 10 months. Two years later, another of her sons was shot and killed. Aranza Ramos. A member of the Colectivo Madres Buscadoras de Sonora, she was murdered on July 15, 2021 in the community of Ortiz, in Guaymas, Sonora. She was looking for her husband Brayan Omar Celaya Alvarado, who disappeared on December 6, 2020.

Ana Luisa Garduño. Also, an activist for the femicide murder of her daughter in Morelos; she actively participated in the exhumation of irregular graves in Morelos in the municipalities of Tetelcingo Jojutla, in addition to the genetic identification, transfer and burial of bodies found in the Forensic Medical Service of the entity. Brenda Jazmín Beltrán. Member of the Guerreras Buscadoras de Cajeme Collective. She had been looking for her brother since 2018. She was found dead from asphyxiation in a Ciudad Obregon motel in 2022.

Rosario Lilián Rodríguez. 44-year-old woman who was looking for her son Fernando Abixahi Ramirez Rodriguez who disappeared in 2019. Member of the group Corazones sin justicia, killed in August 2022 as part of the commemoration of the International Day of the Victims of Enforced Disappearance. Blanca Esmeralda Gallardo. She was looking for her missing daughter and was murdered on October 4, 2022 in Puebla. She was a member of the collective "A dónde van los desaparecidos". After the murder, activists promised to continue the search for her daughter. The protective measures they should have had were absent (Martínez, 2022).

As can be seen, most of them joined collectives in the face of abandonment, inefficiency and, in many cases, out of fear of the authorities themselves. The names of the collectives and organizations to which they belong identify the causes they pursue: "Las rastreadoras", "A dónde van los desaparecidos", "Corazones sin justicia", "Madres buscadoras de Sonora", "Madres guerreras", among others. The collectives express a search strategy from the civil society, preponderantly headed by women who prefer not to be mentioned due to insecurity and fear.

The achievements of these collectives have a high impact on the success of the searches, therefore, in the research of the author María Teresa Villarreal ??artínez (2016)

### 12 c) Guidelines for a transformative public policy

As I have previously pointed out, the situation faced by women seekers is a problem that requires a public policy that institutes "courses of action aimed at solving common problems or problems of general interest" (Del Tronco, 2018). For Aguilar Villanueva (2007, p. 13), public policies are strategies that "pursue objectives based on fiscal resources collected [...] they are government decisions that incorporate the opinion, participation, co-responsibility and money of private parties in their capacity as voters and taxpayers".

Based on these conceptual foundations and recognizing the elements that make up a gender analysis, a process of government actions and decisions aimed at women seekers is required that includes a MED/WID development approach with the objective of integrating them into the development process that empowers them and makes it possible to transform unequal relations between men and women.

In the generation of actions that recognize the situations of women seekers based on their gender condition, it is considered that a public policy with a gender approach would promote a social process with different components that would allow improving the conditions of equal opportunities and empowerment of such women.

With the intention of reaching this process, it is necessary to design a methodology that is useful to address such a public problem from a gender approach based on a logical framework (García, 2013) and thus generate a vision that reaches reality or, at least, comes as close as possible to it. In order to build this planning tool, it is necessary to analyze the objectives, alternatives and produce a project matrix.

In the first instance, it is essential to identify the target population, create information based on indicators that are strategic and reliable for this purpose; therefore, human rights measurement indicators must be considered, which have the objective of knowing the reality of the characteristics that allow the dimensioning of the public problem.

With the appropriate methodology in the construction of a public policy, it is expected to show the consequences of discrimination both in people and in the achievement of development objectives. Likewise, it will be necessary to have alternative projects to modify the inequalities, discrimination and violence that women seekers experience as women.

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## 13 d) Proposals

It is necessary to have information and a diagnosis of the situation of women seekers in order to generate efficient actions with respect to their circumstances; however, derived from these (which come to light in different media and which have been taken up in this research), the following general and perfectible proposals are presented, which are intended to provoke reflection on actions that contribute to the social reaction to the figure of such women, whose situations are a public problem:

1. That the work performed by the women searchers, in addition to being a right of victims, be recognized as work for the community and, therefore, deserving of remuneration that meets their needs, given the impact this activity has on their lives and the importance of these women as leaders in the searches. Even more so, considering that the search for missing persons is an obligation of the State as it is a crime against humanity.
2. That there be a list with the number of specific women searchers that is part of the National Search Registry (RENAVI), which should include variables that indicate their living conditions, economic position, material needs and strategic interests. Likewise, women from civil society who join the searches should not be left out of the registry, in order to generate mechanisms that provide greater security and protection measures at the federal and state levels.
3. That the legal frameworks that make their human rights as women seekers effective be reviewed and adapted, and that coordination and cooperation processes be carried out between state and federal entities and international organizations to improve them and supervise their compliance.
4. That the methodology of a logical framework be used in the design of a public policy with a gender perspective that identifies and responds to the material needs and strategic interests of the women seekers and, thus, articulates efforts between civil and academic society, institutions and authorities at all levels of government.
5. Promote awareness in the society in which the searchers operate towards the prevention of disappearances, allocating more space for media coverage and, in this way, promote workshops and courses with experts in forensic science in the search and identification of missing persons, in which the participation of the searchers is contemplated.

VI.

## 14 Conclusions

The situation of the women searchers needs to be shown as a public problem based on the tools provided by the Gender Theory. To do so, it is possible to dimension their realities with the differential impact that occurs in the environment in which they are located as women, either as victims and/or participants or in the context of abandonment and violence that affects them.

Based on the above, the construction of a public policy is required under a gender analysis that identifies their roles, material needs, strategic interests, social position, living conditions and reveals the inequalities, discriminations and violence that affect women; it is necessary to transform the circumstances in which they find themselves from their situation as victims.

To achieve this transformation, it is necessary to make adjustments in legal, administrative, institutional and budgetary frameworks that recognize how their work transcends socially and emphasize the guarantee of the human right that every person has: to be sought with the persistence, conviction and tenacity as they do, dignifying the value of every person. However, we must not forget the reality of the reality of the women searchers, which is marked by abandonment, inequalities and violence on the part of the State and society. Their identities run the risk of being omitted in order to be identified as members of a family.

There is a need to construct indicators to measure and monitor the protection of the human rights of women searchers as women. They need to be recognized as women and their human rights must be respected and protected; the logical framework methodology offers, for public policy planning, different paths that respond to the diverse situations that make the situation of women searchers more complex in the face of a gendered social order.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>2 Solidarity. 2. Among women, especially in situations of sexual discrimination and sexist attitudes and behaviors (RAE-ASALE, 2022).3 "Es una acepción utilizada por ciertos hombres con significados diversos para definir a las mujeres que defienden los derechos de las mujeres, o para referirse a las mujeres como personas vulnerables que necesitan protección"(Mayorga, 2018, 204).

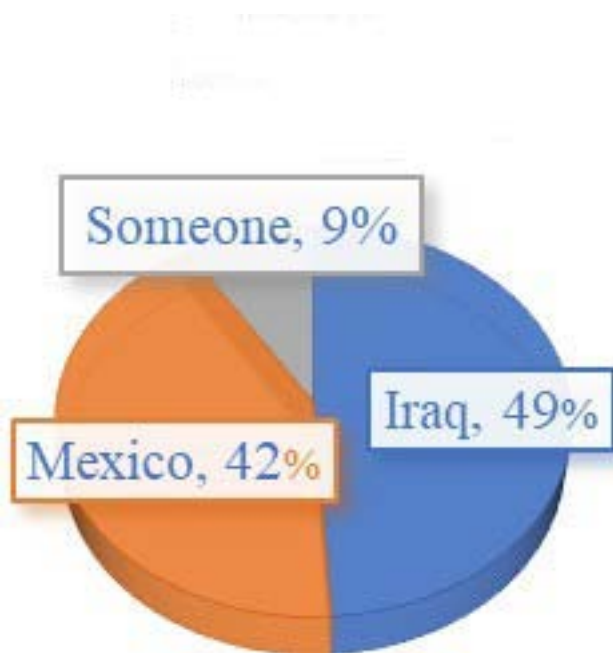


Figure 1:

Figure 2:



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## 14 CONCLUSIONS

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