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**FEMINISM IN THE US FOREIGN POLICY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Feminism is a topic that is getting more and more actual every day. More people are out there standing for women's rights every day. The current paper studies the influence of feminism in the United States of America foreign policies. The main problem and question this paper asks raises are about the claims of former United States Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton. To be more precise, the claims that pursuing feminism in national and international politics could make the state itself as well as United States a less likely target of terrorism. The aim of the paper is to understand and identify what feminism is and how big of an impact it has on U.S. foreign policies. Furthermore, the author used a the state of Morocco as an example in order to look further into the claims of Hillary Clinton and if they can hold any water.

To get to the results, the author worked with different studies and articles. Both empirical and theoretical research is used, although empirical research is mainly used, as it is the best way to explore the truth behind United State's feminist foreign policy. The author narrowed the materials and made a conclusion.

Keywords: Feminism, U.S. foreign policy, women's rights, Hillary Doctrine, Morocco

## INTRODUCTION

Feminism as an ideology has a high impact in today's society as the studies have taken a more serious look into femininity, consumer culture, motherhood, sexuality, ecology, economy, modernism and religion. Feminism and its role in politics and international relations have stirred up many debates and discords even inside governments, such as the United States. This became even more true when Hillary Clinton served her time as the Secretary of State of the United States, as her views, claims and pursue of feminist foreign policy.

Hillary Clinton's claims, in short, are about role of women in national and international security, as she stated the following at TEDWomen event in 2010 : "Give women equal rights, and entire nations are more stable and secure. Deny women equal rights, and the instability of nations is almost certain. The subjugation of women is, therefore, a threat to the common security of our world and to the national security of our country." These claims also serve this paper as the hypotheses. Furthermore, based on Clinton's claims, it is possible to pose the following research questions:

- 1) What are the these rights of women that could lead a nation to a more prosperous and a safe place?
- 2) Do these claims have any truth behind them?
- 3) Since feminism and the rights of women are generally understood differently in parts like North Africa and the Middle East, then how do the claims of Hillary Clinton hold up in these regions?

To address and examine feminism as a phenomenon, mostly theoretical materials are relied upon in the paper. This also attempts to respond to the first research question. In order to get answers to the last two questions, empirical research is conducted on Hillary Clinton's foreign policy and a case study of Morocco is used as a testing ground to analyze how feminism has affected development there.

The paper is divided into three major chapters. The first chapter is about feminism in its core and is in three parts. The first part tries to explain what exactly feminism is in its most simplest form. The second part takes a look at the history at feminism starting from the ancient Greece and how it has developed all the way towards the days we live in right now. The third and the last part of the first chapter explains briefly what the theory feminism has to do with international relations.

The second chapter is divided into five different parts. First gives a quick overview of feminism in the US foreign policy as a whole. The second part explains the main points of the so called Hillary Doctrine, which are claims made by former First Lady and the Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton. These claims, as already mentioned, serve this paper as the hypotheses. Third part explains how gender inequality impacts peacebuilding processes, and domestic and interstate conflicts. Fourth part concentrates on how the violation against women's social, political and economic rights could make a country more violent and open towards extremist ideas. Fifth and the last part in the second chapter checks if the Hillary Doctrine has any truth behind it, using statistics to come up with the conclusion.

The third chapter focuses on the country of Morocco and its relationship with feminism as well as the United States. Morocco was chosen because of its contradictory actions towards women's rights, in a sense that Moroccan government has created all the frameworks and laws in order for women to have more chances in pursuing their rights in the country, however, the reality is arguably very different.

# **1. DEFINITION, DEVELOPMENT AND THEORIES OF FEMINISM**

Feminism as an ideology has a high impact in today's society- the studies conducted and published on feminism in the western World have taken a more serious look into femininity, consumer culture, motherhood, sexuality, ecology, economy, modernism and religion. (Androne 2012, 2)

Women not long ago were persecuted and ignored in various fields of life such as social, political and economical. Women needed an ideology, a theory for themselves, thought by them together with men who are not afraid and do not think that they themselves lose their value as a person or a citizen if women are treated the same as they are. (Ioana 2013, 455)

The feminist ideal itself is simple: it is a fight toward gender equality in all fields of life, however, nowadays feminism deals with far more complex issues around the World and is not only a movement from the west, but a global one. (Tasnim 2015) Furthermore, a feminist approach in foreign policy promotes a substantial and thorough gender equity in all parts of diplomacy. (Percival 2017)

## **1.1. Definition of feminism**

Defining feminism accurately is a difficult task since feminists themselves argue over how to define it properly. (Mehrpuoyan, Banehmir 2014, 200) In its most basic and core form, feminism is about the equality between sexes. The goal of feminism is to dust off the artificial generalizations of men and women. (Tasnim 2015)

The idea how people should act according their gender has been shaped by social and cultural

beliefs, and those beliefs have also affected laws as well as political and economic institutions, resulting in understandings that women and girls are objects to dominate, making men and boys more violent towards women. (Percival 2017) So, feminism in here make sure that women and feminine experiences are treated the same way as men and masculine experiences are. (Ioana 2013, 455)

The biggest issue in the way modern feminism is interpreted comes from the notion that people put it in the same melting pot with the feminist movements from the 1960's. The term is outdated is often correlated with bra burning and man-hate. (Tasnim 2015)

## **1.2. Development of feminism**

The roots of feminism go as far back as ancient Greece with Sappho, in the medieval times Hildegard of Bingen or Christine de Pisan. But Olympe de Gouge (d. 1791), Mary Wollstonecraft (d. 1797) and Jane Austen (d. 1817) are widely known as the foremothers of modern feminism. All the mentioned thinkers argued for the dignity, intelligence, and basic human potential of the female sex. However, it was only in the late nineteenth century when you could have started seeing real movements of feminism. (Rampton 2008)

The early days of the feminists in the 19th and early 20th century, women sought mainly the opportunity politics. To be more precise- the right to vote. This movement is known nowadays as the first wave of feminism. (Koukoulas 2016). The roots of the first wave go back as long as in the year 1848 when 300 men and women demanded equality for women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote the Seneca Falls Declaration outlining for new movement's ideology and political strategies. (Rampton 2008) It took the US nearly 70 years to grant the women right to vote by the 19th Amendment in 1920. (Koukoulas 2016)

When women started to tackle more controversial issues like reproductive rights and women's rights in work in the 1960's it started the second wave of feminism. It ended with the passing of Equal Rights Amendment in 1972. (*Ibid* 2016)

Up until the 1970's, women were only taken seriously as passive beneficiaries, as mother and



housewives. The fact that women from different cultures worked in agriculture and food production and the fact that there were much more flexible, sexual divisions of labour, were completely ignored. (Aguinaga *et al* 2013, 42)

This led to the first World Conference on Women in Mexico on July 2, 1975, at which the United Nations declared the next decade the “Decade of Women” and institutionalized women’s perspective as part of development. As a result, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) were created. (*Ibid*, 42)

An argument, similar to Hillary Clinton’s claims, were made in the 1970’s that if women achieved political power, it would mean the end of war. Margaret Thatcher’s Falkland War, however, destroyed that argument for a while. (Bunting 2011)

It was not until the mid-90’s when the constructed notions of body, gender, sexuality and heteronormativity were destabilized, and that situation was the factor behind the spawn of third wave feminism. A good way to characterize third wave feminism is: it’s possible to have a push-up bra and a brain at the same time. (Rampton 2008)

The late 80s and early to mid 90’s were the times when gender talks started to pop up more often in globalization debates and the approach known Gender and Development started close the gap between men and women, as women were previously seen in the domain of reproduction and men in salaried work and production. (Aguinaga *et al* 2013, 44)

Nowadays, women hold high leadership positions more than ever in the history of the World, however, the fight for equal grounds between men and women are far from over. (Koukoulas 2016)

The different waves achieved, for the most part, what they were after: more women in positions of leadership in higher education, business and politics; abortion rights; access to the pill that increased women’s control over their bodies; more expression and acceptance of female sexuality; general public awareness of the concept of and need for the women’s rights; a solid

academic field in feminism, gender and sexuality studies; greater access to education; organizations and legislation for the protection of battered women; women's support groups and organizations. An industry in the publication of books by and about women/feminism; public forums for the discussion of women's rights; and a societal discourse at the popular level about women's suppression, efforts for reform, and a critique of patriarchy. (Rampton 2008)

Feminist movements nowadays emphasize on the importance of understanding and general attitude toward all types women and men, and arguably this has been the biggest evolution in feminism yet- this movement is meant for all people to follow. Furthermore, this movement could be classified as the fourth wave of feminism. (Tasnim 2015)

### **1.3. Theory of feminism in international relations**

Feminist theory is a major branch of theory within sociology and international relations. Feminist researches give an important input to international relations- they make clear in which ways traditional theories of IR are incomplete, as they are unable to take into account half of the human population of Earth. (Buskie 2013)

Feminist theory looks at social problems, movements and other issues that are historically misinterpreted by the male dominant views in the social theory. Feminist theory focuses, among other, mainly on discrimination on basis of sex, objectification, economic inequality, power and oppression, and gender roles and stereotypes. (Crossman 2017)

Feminist ideas were, compared to other branches of the social sciences, introduced and utilized relatively late. The first theorists started their examinations on gender and its effects on international relations in the late 1980's. Due to the fact that the dominant theorists of IR were traditionally not dealing with gender, the early stage works of feminists in IR dealt with trying to display the crucial role of women in international politics, such as global economy and war. (Buskie 2013)

The feminist approach towards international relations are made up of many different views and are not bound by any single one, as the feminist theory in IR could be mainly divided in three:

- 1) Liberal feminists try to figure out how the presence or absence of women in different institutions and practices of global politics affects international politics. Liberal feminists also focus on equal rights, education and access to education for women. (Stefanovszky 2015; Buskie 2013)
- 2) Feminist critical theory has roots in Gramscian Marxism. It explores both the ideational and material manifestations of gendered identities and gendered power in global politics. Feminist critical theorists argue that understanding gender depends on the material conditions of women and men, and are looking to change the unjust socioeconomic system in the capitalist society. (*Ibid* 2015; *Ibid* 2013)
- 3) Postmodern feminist views shun away from dualistic views of gender, heteronormativity, and biological acceptance. (Ratliff 2006)

Feminist foreign policy does not only speak for the rights of women alone, rather than it is the first and most essential step towards change. Feminists in international politics realize that just having more women as heads of states will not change the World, according to them feminist foreign policy is expected to change the state interaction by over-turning gender relations. Furthermore, the pursuers of feminist foreign policy do not think that the rule of women would be more peaceful just because women are more caring, emotional, and emphatic. Thinking like that would actually make feminist foreign policy fruitless. (Kilinc 2016)

## **2. FEMINISM IN US FOREIGN POLICY**

Women's part in United States foreign policy creation and application has turned out to be progressively more noticeable. As of not long ago, international politics were wrangled about and executed by men, with practically zero respect for its effects on women. The post-World War II period might be viewed as the start of genuine implementation of human rights into international politics, and in this manner can likewise be viewed as the time when women's rights started to end up a piece of the global discussion. (Miyahara 2018)

The United States has made women and girls a foundation of their foreign affairs. Putting resources into women and girls isn't just the ethical activity, but also in addition the wise, vital activity for evolution; for social, financial, and political advances; and for progressing U.S. concerns. (Verveer 2012)

Through the perspective of constructivist feminism and realism, and in addition current shape of foreign policy activities between the United States and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) district, it can be resolved that women's rights issues have developed in significance in the global domain and are turning into an imperative piece of the foreign policy plan in the developed World, especially in the United States. (Miyahara 2018)

As the United States has advanced into the 21st century, women's rights, and additionally female portrayal in the global domain, has turned into a bigger headline by admitting that absence of support for half of the World's total populace may really be unfavorable to the World politics. (*Ibid* 2018)

Since arriving at the State Department on endless occasions, Clinton has declared that the privileges of women and girls are currently center to US foreign policy. (Bunting 2011) A considerable amount of her remarks can be directed back to the idealistic internationalism of 70's

women's rights (abortion rights, equal pay, pro-woman line et cetera). Incredibly, she has figured out how to bring the feminism for which she was looked down upon in the mid 90's, as the First Lady who did not stay home and bake cookies, into the core of the State Department and foreign affairs, and is still timing high assessment survey appraisals. (*Ibid* 2011)

In March 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton discharged the first Secretarial Policy Guidance on Promoting Gender Equality to Achieve the U.S. National Security and Foreign Policy Objectives. (Clinton 2011) The policy demands consulates and authorities to support investment and leadership opportunities for women in local and national government forms, civil society, and global and multilateral discussions; to release the capability of women to goad financial advancement by tending to the structural and social obstructions that keep women from adding to their fullest extent to formal and informal economies; and to draw on the full commitments of both women and men in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building. (Verveer 2012)

This direction supplements the U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security that President Barack Obama released in December 2011. The objective of these policies is to empower half the world's population as equal partners in preventing conflict and building peace in countries threatened by war, violence and insecurity. (*Ibid* 2012)

## **2.1. The Hillary doctrine**

“Hillary Doctrine” is a term invented by an American journalist and author, Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, in her article titled the same as the term itself. (Lemmon 2011)

The Hillary Doctrine, in particular, focuses on combating violence against women and girls around the world. Calling violence against women a very real, and urgent, problem. At a 2010 TEDWomen event, Clinton stated: “Give women equal rights, and entire nations are more stable and secure. Deny women equal rights, and the instability of nations is almost certain. The subjugation of women is, therefore, a threat to the common security of our world and to the national security of our country.” The Hillary Doctrine maintains that global violence against women is a national security issue by suggesting that a nation's instability is causally related to

both underdevelopment and gender inequality. Moreover, countries where violence against women is rampant are understood as fragile states and, thus, the breeding grounds for terrorism. (Mason 2013)

The idea of women's rights and US national interests may be connected, crawled its way to the official policy documents during Clinton's tenure as Secretary of State, as well as the inaugural Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review of 2010, which states: "The protection and empowerment of women and girls is key to the foreign policy and security of the United States". (United States Department of State 2010)

In order to understand how gender equality or lack thereof impacts conflicts in both domestic and interstate sphere, how are women's rights tied with peacebuilding and how different violation of rights could lead to a extremism, a deeper look into gender equality and women's rights should be taken:

### **2.1.1 Gender inequality and violence**

There is a positive correlation between gender inequality and violence- the greater the amount of discrimination against women there is, the greater the chance of a country falling into a conflict. The researches on the matter can be grouped in three different sets (Saiya *et al* 2015):

1. Effects of gender inequality on interstate conflict. These studies focus on how gender inequality within states creates norms of discrimination that manifest in international belligerency, leading to higher levels of interstate conflict. For example, Mary Caprioli found in her research "Gendered Conflict" (2000), that higher levels of gender equality lead to lower levels of militarism in international disputes. Furthermore, states with higher gender equality, measured by percentage of female leaders experience lower levels of severity in international conflicts and states with higher gender equality are less aggressive and less likely to use force first in international disputes. (*Ibid* 422; Caprioli 2000)
2. Effects of gender inequality on domestic issues. Caprioli (2005) noticed in her research a link between gender inequality, and conflict within a state, measured by fertility rate and female representation in the labor force. She discovered that the likelihood of internal conflict is nearly thirty times greater in states where only 10

percent of women are represented in the labor force compared with states where 40 percent of women enjoy the ability to work outside the home. Furthermore, she found that gender inequality was a better indicator of state security and peacefulness than measures of democracy, wealth, or presence of Islam. (Caprioli 2005; Saiya *et al* 2015, 422)

3. Impact of gender inequality on peace and peacebuilding. Although women make up about half the population in any society, they are excluded from the peacebuilding process, for the most part. For that reason, many scholars have tried to prove that women have an quintessential role in peace-building process. The following scholars: Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, Anne Marie Goetz and Rob Jenkins found that in states where women have a higher social status before a conflict, the chances of cooperation in post-conflict peacebuilding missions increases. (Gizelis 2009; Goetz, Jenkins 2015)

To sum up, these three sets of studies demonstrate that gender equality may not be merely a matter of development or social justice but can also have direct consequences for domestic and international security. Although a substantial amount of research has revealed an inverse relationship between women's rights and conflict, terrorism has been curiously absent from this scholarship. Terrorists seek to kill citizens, while those involved in war (civil or interstate) tend to avoid civilian casualties. American citizens and policymakers alike generally agree that international terrorism poses one of the greatest threats to the security of the United States. Finally, according to Eric Neumayer and Thomas Plümper in their 2010 research "Foreign Terror on Americans" (Neumayer, Plümper 2010) Americans throughout the world are disproportionately the victims of international terrorism when compared with most other developed countries. For these reasons, terrorism, though obviously not the only dimension of American national security, merits special attention, and is, perhaps, the most obvious way to test the Hillary Doctrine. (Saiya *et al* 2015, 423) Furthermore, the author of this paper would like to add to aforementioned Caprioli's words about gender inequality being a better indication of state security than the presence of democracy, wealth and Islam (Caprioli 2015), that gender inequality is a better indication of state security and peacefulness in presence of any type of religion and type of polity in a state.

### **2.1.2 The anti-American terrorism**

There are different ways in which political, social and economic rights for women on the international scene could ease up the level of anti-American terrorism. The concept of women's rights are collectively contributed the same way by all three, but they all exhibit unique ways in which women's rights could be violated. (Saiya *et al* 2015, 423)

The denial of political rights to women is the first way that could lead to a greater anti-American level of terrorism. Women's political rights include a number of internationally recognized rights including the rights to vote, run for office, hold government positions, join political parties, and petition governmental officials. There are two ways in which the denial of this specific right might help engender terrorism: the impeding of a "feminine approach" to leadership and the quashing of the free marketplace of ideas. (*Ibid*, 423)

Firstly, Robert Shapiro and Harpeet Mahajan argued that women are more peaceful than men, resulting in behaving differently in their ways to politics compared to men, owing to women's natural ability for dialogue, cooperation, egalitarianism, reconciliation, and non-militarism. (Shapiro, Mahajan 1986) Furthermore, when women are in positions of power, they have the power to turn the pursued policies of the state towards a nonviolent direction. This has the effect of removing a major motivation for terrorist activity. (Regan, Paskeviciute 2003)

Secondly, denying women the access to political rights, approximately half of the population, diminishes the marketplace of ideas. That creates a system, where male-dominated views, ideologies and actions are not challenged. (Saiya *et al* 2015)

According to Kenworthy and Malami, if women are given the chance to vote, they most likely elect other women to office. This ensures that the cycle of repression and violent reaction is put down by empowering pacific approaches to politics through the election of women. (Kenworthy, Malami 1999)

So, if women have the tendency of moving toward peace, one could argue that countries that devalue women's rights have the higher risk of experiencing terrorist activities. (*Ibid* 424) As Caprioli argued, treating women differently domestically, creates biased norms that could lead



the state to acting aggressively in the international stage. (Caprioli 2003)

Moreover, states that practice gender-based restrictions are also more likely to export the ideas to their neighboring countries, thus paving a road toward terrorism or other radical ideologies. Actions like that exist, due the absence of female veto counterparts. States are able manifest their violent measures while communicating with other countries. (Saiya *et al* 2015) Saudi Arabia, for example, has spent colossal amounts of money, over 70 billion dollars to be more exact, in order export their Wahhabi theology around the world. This fanatical doctrine only feeds Sunni extremism further by backing the construction of mosques, schools and cultural centers throughout the world – from Brussels to Yvelines, from Kosovo to China, the United Kingdom, Afghanistan or Africa. This same ideology not only supports the submission of women but also preaches the importance of destroying all non-Muslims. (Tresca 2017)

United States being the biggest target of international terrorists comes with no surprise, due to their superpower status, role in globalization and controversial policies around the World, especially in the Third-World regions. Although, anti-Americanism can exist in each and every country in the World that are affected by the US foreign policy, it is still fair to believe that states with empowered women are less likely to pursue anti-American policies and export their ideas to other countries. (Saiya *et al*, 424)

Majority of the states in the World allow women to their rights to politics, nonetheless this does not mean that they all provide social right for women. For example, in Pakistan women can vote and even have the access to get elected, as happened earlier in 2018 when Kirshna Kumari Kolhi got elected to the Pakistani Senate. Kolhi was the first Hindu woman ever to achieve such a feat. (Boston Globe 2018)

Socially, however, women are not treated as equal to men by large segments of the population, commonly viewed as subservient to their male counterparts and confined to strict gender roles. Women's social rights include, but are not limited to, the rights to equal inheritance, marriage equality, property ownership, traveling abroad, obtaining education, and participating in the community. They also include freedom from certain practices like female genital mutilation, forced sterilization, domestic violence, and sexual harassment. The Hillary Doctrine

hypothesizes that where the security of women within society is threatened, so too will be the security of the state (Saiya *et al* 2015; Hudson *et al* 2008)

One potential explanation for the connection between the social marginalization of women and terrorism concerns the place of women in the home - the place where children first learn social interactions. If boys witness their mothers and sisters being treated in a manner that is unequal or violent, they are likely to absorb those values in their interactions with females later on in life. In contrast, societies, where women are treated fairly and in a nonviolent way, the children will be exposed to the importance of dialogue, discussion, and reasoning as a way to resolve a conflict. (*Ibid*, 424) In societies, where women are featured in widespread repression, the normalization of violence is an acceptable mean of resolving a conflict. (Farouk 2005)

Furthermore, as is the case with political equality, if the perspectives of women are silenced as a result of cultural tradition, the marketplace of ideas will be stifled. If women are more averse to resorting to terrorism, societies that regulate women also limit important potential voices of moderation at the societal level. This allows more radical and violent ideas to spread more effectively across society. (Saiya *et al* 2015)

Many civil society groups for women such as PAIMAN Alumni Trust and Women without Borders have used women strategically in order to reverse the radicalization process in the societal level and identify for potential terrorist activities in their community. The presence of these grassroots, female-led initiatives represent an important but underused tool in the fight against terrorism. (Bhulai 2017; Saiya *et al* 2015)

Women could also be very important leverage in fighting against terrorism as part of the law enforcement. Usually, police and counter-terrorism groups inhere mostly of men. Women, however, are able to cultivate unique networks and build trust among other women- something that men necessarily cannot do. Moreover, women feel more safe and comfortable reporting about crime and other suspicious activities to a female police office, rather than to a man. That mean, if women have the ability to become law enforcement officers in their respective communities, it will vastly help to prevent terrorist activities and the spread of extremist ideologies. (Hancock, Nemat 2011)

The biggest and most important reason why a certain state, group of people or community would seek the ways of anti-American terrorism has to be related with the field of education. States where students are taught solely by men, the teachings most likely include using traditional social and gender norms highlighting aggression, power and the importance keeping the gender status quo. Not only do these norms drive social conflict, but they can also sow seeds of violent anti-Americanism. (Saiya *et al* 2015)

Some educational institutes in the Islamic World are infamous for injecting violent anti-Americanism among the children they educate. In these institutes, student are taught that Muslims and non-Muslims cannot exist side-by-side and God has chosen them in order to clear the World from infidels and the children are informed that the greatest threat to Islam is no other than the United States itself. (*Ibid*, 425)

If women, however, have the ability to educate and obtain education themselves (as teachers and/or mothers), it leads to situation where female educators can play important role in countering extremist ideologies even before it has hatched as they are in a position where they can flip the ideas of glorifying violence. (Greenwald *et al* 2015)

The third and final tie between suppression of women and terrorism is concerned with the economic rights. The economic rights include the ability of women to manage their own monetary questions, freely enter into contracts, start and maintain businesses, and operate as legally equal partners in regard to financial matters of the family and inheritance. There are two ways to theorize the gender empowerment in the economic field: personal (familial) and national. (Saiya *et al*, 425)

As they say: wealth is power. Therefore, if women have the access to the monetary decisions within their families they gain themselves a position where they can function as someone that could veto a radicalization process. If a woman has at least the same amount financial power as her husband, she would have a great voice in her family. This is an important point because women are often the first to notice behavioral changes and symptoms of radicalization in their family members and are thus often the first line of defense against terrorism. (*Ibid*, 425-426)

According to the World Bank's World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development, granting women the freedom of gaining access to the same level economic power and education paves the way for a more productive and competitive state. Also, increasing women's positions through economic means leads to positive improvements, notably for children. Lastly, the previous two points makes it more possible for women to take part in politics. Having political power for women is excellent for a country that wishes to diminish radicalization within itself as already mentioned in previous chapters. (World Bank 2013)

As states with greater economic equality tend to be wealthier, they lean towards being more stable, prosperous and have less chance of having terrorist activities within its borders and outside as well or as said by Hillary Clinton herself: "When women have equal rights, nations are more stable, peaceful and secure." (Takeyh, Gvosdev 2002; Clinton 2010)

Economic equality within the countries around the globe is especially important for the United States, as poor and unstable countries drift towards growth of terrorism, and as mentioned multiple times before, United States is the terminus ad quem for international terrorists. (Krieger, Meierrieks 2015)

Taking into account all the previously mentioned points and proof on how discriminating women could lead a country into a less peaceful state, the author of this research agrees and does see the correlation between gender inequality and the peacefulness of the country.

### **2.1.3 Testing the Hillary doctrine**

A test was also conducted by Saiya, Zaihra and Fidler in order to find out if Hillary Clinton's claims had any quantitative truth behind them. 156 countries in total during the time frame 1981-2005 were analyzed using dependent and independent variables. The dependent variable used the International Terrorism: Attributes of Terror Events (ITERATE) dataset that focuses on international terrorist attacks but due to the nature of this their work, only the attacks against the citizens of United States or United States itself were taken into account. The independent variable are taken from the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset. It evaluates the extensiveness of laws pertaining to these rights, government practices toward women, or how effectively the government enforces the laws. (Saiya *et al* 2015)

The results were, in large part, as expected- supporting Hillary Clinton's claims, as far the statistical part goes. Although the test conducted was much more thorough, an example of a simplified statistic can be brought out to paint the broader picture: countries' levels of political, social, and economic rights for women are huge indicators of the quantity of terrorist events including Americans. The percent change in the incident rate of terrorist attacks directed against Americans is a 49 percent decrease for every unit increase in women's political rights, a 40 percent decrease for every unit increase in women's social rights, and a 55 percent decrease for every unit increase in women's economic rights. (*Ibid*, 428)

To sum up the work of Saiya, Zaihra and Fidler- their study gathers a strong support for the claims of Hillary Clinton and her so called Hillary Doctrine, and also gives further confidence to the author of this research to believe in the connection between the discrimination of women and the spread of terrorism. This study, however, does not claim that gender inequality is the only variable behind anti-American terrorism, only that the existence of laws that codify traditions preventing society at large from seeing women as less valuable than men tends to fuel terrorism against Americans more often than countries where these restrictions do not exist. (*Ibid*, 429)

### **3. MOROCCO AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH FEMINISM AND THE US**

The statistics brought out by Saiya, Zaihra and Fidler undeniably support the claims of Hillary Clinton. Nonetheless, the statistics cover the years 1981-2005 which means a closer look at the current situation is a must. Women from the MENA region have their everyday lives being challenged by many different issues, such as militarised masculinity within their state, proliferation of arms and an enabled environment for exploitation and violence. (PeaceWomen 2017) However, there are some countries within MENA that are trying to defy the norms of a “typical Islam nation”, one of them being Morocco. (United Nations MENA 2017)

For a country located in the Middle Eastern and North African region, Morocco is way ahead of its neighbors in terms of wealth and development. The fact that Morocco is relatively close to Europe, together with their lush history, art and culture, attracts thousands of tourists every year, bringing in millions of dollars in revenue for Moroccan government. (Prior 2017)

Since the Syrian civil war, when IS started to gain greater influence not only in Syria but also in the MENA region, the countries that once were living in a relative peace and prosperity have experienced a rise in terrorist activities and extremist World views, one among them is, of course, Morocco. According to Moroccan government, the official number of ISIS fighters from Morocco is 3500 (2000 of them also have an EU passport) and are actively pursuing for the goals of the Islamic State. (ICG 2017) Furthermore, more than 70% of the population are aged 30 and under and out of those people, more than 1/5 are unemployed. In other words, there are a lot of fertile ground for extremists to recruit desperate young men and women into their jihadist activities. (Boulter 2016)

Lately, Morocco has come under the scrutiny of several international organizations for lack of effective implementation of the written law and the loopholes in it. Crippling its reputation as an

open, tolerant, and progressive country. (Hites, Hanafi 2017)

Despite all the issues that Moroccan government is facing, there has not been a single intrastate terrorist attack since 2011, (MWN 2017) proving that Morocco is doing many things correctly in order to achieve such a feat.

According to United Nations Survey on gender equality conducted in four states in the MENA region (Morocco, Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt), the men in Morocco are open towards women working outside of their homes and the chance to participate in politics. More than 75% of men support equal education for both men and women and more than 50% believe in equal rights for a married couple. In addition, women challenge the norms of the domestic life, work and the opportunity to engage in jobs for public leadership. (United Nations MENA 2017)

Despite of the gap in the daily childcare amount, Moroccan men would like to do more but cannot because of work and more than 50% say that they spend too little with their children. More than 80% of men and women are in favour for parental leave for fathers. (*Ibid* 92)

Taking a look back at the Hillary Doctrine - there are three rights for women that could potentially make a state more stable- political, social and economic. Here is how the three rights match up with women of Morocco:

Political rights for women in Morocco are arguably their strongest suit of the three mentioned before. There are two political parties in Morocco that advocate for gender equality, with political participation and leadership being part of their idea of gender equality - the PJD (Justice and Development Party) and Justice & Charity. (Haitami 2013)

Since the modification of the Moroccan constitution in 2011, the renewed state recognizes gender equality and equal political power for women. Women not only take part from politics as active citizens but also as representatives in the parliament. In total 21% of women are represented in the Moroccan Parliament since the 2016 election. (Agouchtim 2016)

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the new Moroccan constitution created the perfect

platform for women take part in politics. To have 21% of women in the parliament is impressive, especially in an Islamic state like Morocco. The proportion is on par even with many European countries, such as Monaco, Romania, Lithuania and Bosnia & Herzegovina. (The World Bank 2017)

Social and economic rights are something that the government of Morocco has advertised a notable amount. Family code is something that was changed in 2014 and it contained numerous updates like setting the minimum age to enter into a marriage to 18 years of age, equal rights and obligation between the spouses, the right for women to have legal custody of the children if father is absent and the right for children to get their mother's side inheritance. (Moroccan Ministry 2016)

Morocco also ensures equal opportunities between genders in access to all levels of education. The percentage of girls achieving primary education is 98,5% and 86,7% on the secondary level of education. (*Ibid*, 14)

Furthermore, in the field of social rights, Morocco claims to also ensure equal access to healthcare services and countering violence against women. (Brand 2018) Women's maternal health revolution in Morocco- a term invented by Juhie Bhatia, is a great example of how the importance of women's healthcare has risen in Morocco since the 1990's, as by 2010, Morocco had lowered the maternal death rate by over 60% since the year 1990, which is an overwhelming accomplishment. (Bhatia 2012)

In the economic area, Morocco is trying to reduce poverty and marginalization, support widows in precarious conditions with custody of their children. Also, tribal women have the rights for property ownership, something that they did not use to have not long ago. (Moroccan Ministry 2016)

In addition, according to the International Monetary Fund, if Morocco blends more women into their economy, their growth could potentially be substantial. If there would be the same amount of both sexes in Moroccan economy, the average GDP per capita would be 50 per cent higher, as projected by the IMF. (IMF 2017)



The government of Morocco has already implemented the family code revision, as mentioned previously. Moreover, a full salary maternity leave for 14-weeks has been in force since 2004 (United Nations 2014), and the first and most advanced gender budgeting initiative in the Central Asia and Middle East region was launched in Morocco in 2002. It uses fiscal policies at the national and local level in order to fight the gender inequality and advance women's situation. (Kolovich, Shibuya 2016)

Although Morocco has made vast advancements in their policies regarding women's rights, the IMF suggests that a lot could be still done, mostly the following (IMF 2017):

1. Investments in public healthcare facilities could open up women's free time in order to take part more in the educational and economical life;
2. Equal tax deduction system for both men and women;
3. Conditional transfer programs that help women and girls achieve better education in both rural and urban areas.

The social and economic rights in Morocco, as mentioned previously, have been criticized by several international organizations, such as the United Nations, Human Rights Watch and the IMF (HRW 2017; UN 2017) for the lack of implementing their laws to ensure the aforementioned rights for women, and numbers seem to agree, especially in the educational sphere: for such a relatively developed country, the literacy rate for women is dreadful- 58,5% in 2015. (CIA 2015) The horrible situation in literacy rate is scary for more than one reason. In addition of it showing a greater issue of Moroccan education, it is also a source of imprisonment for women in the country. Women in Morocco more often than not do not have the chance to educate themselves past the middle school level, hindering their ability to advance in society. (Priori 2017)

Furthermore, violence against women and economic inequality in Morocco is still an everyday topic and a dark reality. (United Nations MENA 2017) Even though, the government of Morocco adopted a law on combating violence against women in 2016 (improved in February of 2018), it still has many gaps that should be addressed, according to Human Rights Watch. (HRW 2018) The law criminalizes some means of domestic violence, inaugurates prevention system and offers protections for the survivors. However, in order for the criminal prosecution to happen, the

survivor has file for the prosecution, and not many can do that. In addition, the law does not set out duties for the police, prosecutors or even the investigative judges. The funding for women's shelters in the law insufficient. (*Ibid* 2018)

As one can see, Morocco is a very intriguing state in a sense of feminism and its implementation. On one hand you can see that the government is making policies toward gender equality and human rights, but on the other, Morocco seems to not put enough effort into implementing many of those already mentioned laws in reality. However, the country has not seen a terrorist attack since the 2011- and for that reason, the author of this paper has made a conclusion that this proves the notion of gender equality diminishing the chances of terrorist activities. It should be mentioned, feminism is not the only form of countering terrorism in Morocco. (Bennis 2017)

### **3.1. US relations with Morocco**

United States and Morocco have had diplomatic relations since 1777 when Morocco was the first nation in the World to seek ties with USA and recognized them as sovereign nation on 20th of December 1777. Formal relations begun since the 1786, when the King of Morocco Mohammed III signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the US. This treaty is still the longest running relationship in history for both the US and Morocco. (Jowija 2013)

The fact that Morocco and the United States have been in such a long diplomatic relationship makes it clear why and where the feminist influence comes from. Especially since Hillary Clinton became the Secretary of State in 2009. As mentioned previously, Morocco renewed their constitution toward a more gender equal one in 2011 and one could argue that it was a direct influence from the United States and Hillary, specially since the Hillary scandal with the King of Morocco in May 2015. (Stein 2016)

In 2018, the Trump administration allocated 18 million dollars for Moroccan government to help them pursue their anti-terrorism and anti-radicalization policies even further. (Kasraoui 2018) According to the United States Department of State Country Reports, Morocco has a broad strategy for countering terrorism that include regional and international partnership, and policies that prevent radicalization. Since the Casablanca attacks in 2003, countering terrorism in

Morocco has been in the forefront for the Moroccan government. Although, the country still faces threats from terrorists, they are mainly from small, independent cells or from ones that are affiliated with ISIS. (U.S. Country Reports 2016)

As previously mentioned, Moroccan extensive approach to counter extremism includes prioritization towards economic and human development goals, as well as controlling the religious sphere. Youth developments, legal, social and political empowerment for women have also been the keys on why the United States might feel safe having a partnership with Morocco. For those reasons, Morocco is a reliable security-exporting partner in North Africa, and the only African nation to take part in the Defeat-Isis Coalition with real military contributions. Also, Morocco is the executive force to make sure that countries like Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Senegal get proper security and law enforcement trainings. Not to mention, Morocco participates in the 5+5 Defense Initiative, which brings together five African (Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia) and European (France, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain) countries in order to talk about security issues the Mediterranean. (*Ibid* 2016)

According to United States Census Bureau the total exports to Morocco in 2017 were 2,1 billion dollars. (U.S.C.B 2018) The main articles of export from the United States to Morocco were mainly agricultural products, motorized vehicles, services and mineral fuels. (U.S.T.R 2016) At the same time, in 2017, those other four countries that belong in the 5+5 Initiative-Algeria, Libya, Mauritania and Tunisia have 1 billion, 130 million, 127 million and 500 million dollars respectively, proving that Morocco is not only a valuable partner in security-trade, but also real trade as well. (U.S.C.B 2018)

Yet, with all the trade and trust the United States seems to have with Morocco, the real situation between Morocco and the United States do not seem to be in the best of places, according to U.S State Department's Annual Report on human rights. (U.S.D.S 2018)

So, if we look at all the facts and statistics that were previously brought out, it seems that Moroccan feminist pursues might very well be a facade initiated by United States in order for them to get an international and national support, to have a trustworthy security-partner in the region. (Bennis 2017) Furthermore, Morocco is one of the biggest trade partners as well for the

U.S in the region, as the two have an effective free trade agreement between each-other since 2004 (U.S.T.R 2018). One also cannot shy away from the fact that Morocco has strong ties with the NATO and the CIA, (Jowija 2017) and is geopolitically located in a very strategic place. For those reasons, one could certainly argue that the United States is hypocritical (as the U.S tends to criticise other nations with the same issues), and is turning the other cheek when dealing with the realities of feminism in Morocco.

On the other hand, Morocco has proven with hard facts that their country is relatively safe and the current state of terrorism in intra-and interstate sphere is vastly diminishing, and as mentioned many times, a large part of the credit has been given to their pursues in addressing human rights' issues as well as implementing more women in Moroccan everyday life, in all fields of expertise. This serves as an important counter-argument against the claim that United States' actions are hypocritical and with lucrative interests.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper, was to understand feminism as a whole and its impact on the United States foreign policy. Also, the reason why United States is pursuing such a thing was also a big goal to find out with the research.

Giving a definition to feminism is pretty difficult task. Feminism in the most basic way is about the equality between sexes. The goal of feminism is to dust off the artificial generalizations of men and women.

Not long ago women were persecuted and ignored in various fields of life such as social, political and economical. To overcome this, women needed an ideology, a theory for themselves. This could only be achieved together with men whom weren't afraid to treat women the same way as society was treating men.

The aim of this paper, once again, was to understand feminism as a whole and its impact on the United States foreign policy. Also, the reason why United States is pursuing such a thing was also a big goal to find out with the research done. Furthermore, the paper tried to answer if the United States had reached any of its feminist foreign policy goals.

Giving one clear definition on feminism is pretty difficult to do but in its most basic and core form, feminism is about the equality between sexes. The goal of feminism is to dust off the artificial generalizations of men and women.

Feminism as an ideology has a high impact in today's society as the studies have taken a more serious look into femininity, consumer culture, motherhood, sexuality, ecology, economy, modernism and religion. Women not long ago were persecuted and ignored in various fields of life such as social, political and economical. Women needed an ideology, a theory for

themselves, thought by them together with men who are not afraid and do not think that they themselves lose their value as a person or a citizen if women are treated the same as they are.

The roots of feminism come all the way back from ancient Greece with the philosopher Sappho. Feminist ideas were also represented in the middle ages with Hildegard of Bingen and Christine de Pisan. The titles of true foremothers of modern feminism, however, belong to Olympe de Gouge (d. 1791), Mary Wollstonecraft (d. 1797) and Jane Austen (d. 1817). The development of modern feminism can be explained with four waves of feminism: First wave of feminism fought for the rights of women to vote. Second wave dealt with reproductive and workplace rights of women. Third wave emerged when the destabilization of the constructed notions of body, gender, sexuality and heteronormativity occurred. The fourth wave emphasizes the importance of understanding and general attitude toward all types of men and women.

Feminist theory is a major branch of theory within sociology and international relations. Feminist theory looks at social problems, movements and other issues that are historically misinterpreted by the male dominant views in the social theory. Feminist theory focuses, among other, mainly on discrimination on basis of sex, objectification, economic inequality, power and oppression, and gender roles and stereotypes.

The United States has made women and girls a foundation of their foreign affairs. Putting resources into women and girls isn't just the ethical activity, but also in addition the wise, vital activity for evolution; for social, financial, and political advances; and for progressing U.S. concerns.

Since arriving at the State Department on endless occasions, Clinton declared that the privileges of women and girls are the center to US foreign policy. A considerable amount of her remarks can be directed back to the idealistic internationalism of 70's women's rights (abortion rights, equal pay, pro-woman line et cetera).

The idea of women's rights and US national interests may be connected, crawled its way to the official policy documents during Clinton's tenure as Secretary of State, as well as the inaugural Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review of 2010, which states: "The protection and

empowerment of women and girls is key to the foreign policy and security of the United States”.

In March 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton discharged the first Secretarial Policy Guidance on Promoting Gender Equality to Achieve the U.S. National Security and Foreign Policy Objectives. The policy demands consulates and authorities to support investment and leadership opportunities for women in local and national government forms, civil society, and global and multilateral discussions; to release the capability of women to goad financial advancement by tending to the structural and social obstructions that keep women from adding to their fullest extent to formal and informal economies; and to draw on the full commitments of both women and men in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building, thus creating the now famous term “Hillary Doctrine, by Gayle Tzemach Lemmon.

Hillary’s claims can be proven as there is a positive correlation between gender inequality and violence- the greater the amount of discrimination against women there is, the greater the chance of a country falling into a conflict. Furthermore, the reasons for anti-American terrorism in terms gender inequality can be looked through three different violations of women’s rights- political, social and economic. Not granting women to those rights is effectively shutting down 50% of population, no matter the country, and creating viewpoints on how to solve conflicts, building peace, growing economy et cetera thus paving the way for spreaders of extremist ideologies.

The claims of Hillary Clinton were also put under evaluation as a test was conducted by Saiya, Zaihra and Fidler. In total of 156 countries during the time frame of 1981-2005 were analyzed. The results were, in large part, as expected- supporting Hillary Clinton’s claims, as far the statistical part goes. Although the test conducted was much more thorough, an example of a simplified statistic can be brought out to paint the broader picture: the percent change in the incident rate of terrorist attacks directed against Americans is a 49 percent decrease for every unit increase in women’s political rights, a 40 percent decrease for every unit increase in women’s social rights, and a 55 percent decrease for every unit increase in women’s economic rights.

This paper also looked further into Moroccan-US relations and how the feminism in Morocco holds up the ideas of Hillary Clinton. United States and Morocco have had diplomatic relations

since 1777 when Morocco was the first nation in the World to seek ties with USA and recognized them as sovereign nation on 20th of December 1777. The fact that Morocco and the United States have been in such a long diplomatic relationship makes it clear why and where the feminist influence comes from. Especially since Hillary Clinton became the Secretary of State in 2009 and Morocco subsequently renewing their constitution toward a more gender equal one in 2011.

Although, Morocco has not experienced a terrorist attack since 2011, proving once more the hypotheses of this paper, the reality of the situation of gender equality in Morocco is something else. The social and economic rights in Morocco, have been criticized by several international organizations, such as the United Nations and Human Rights Watch for the lack of implementing their laws to ensure the aforementioned rights for women, and numbers seem to agree, especially in the educational sphere: for such a relatively developed country, the literacy rate for women is dreadful- 58,5% in 2015. The horrible situation in literacy rate is scary for more than one reason. In addition of it showing a greater issue of Moroccan education, it is also a source of imprisonment for women in the country. Women in Morocco more often than not do not have the chance to educate themselves past the middle school level, hindering their ability to advance in society. Furthermore, violence against women and economic inequality in Morocco is still an everyday topic and a dark reality.

This raises a question and perhaps a possible topic for a further research: Is the United States turning the other cheek towards its allies that are only on the outside level trying to pursue human (and women's) rights, and as long as they are being a "good ally", providing enough material and political gain for the United States, there is a reason to ignore their dark realities.

All in all, this paper answered the questions raised by the author in a fair matter and confirmed to the author many times that women's rights and stability of a state are in a correlation. Also, this research should be understandable to whomever reading it.



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