



WOMEN & POLITICS IN THE AMERICAS

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION & POLICY
AGENDAS IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

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**Women & Politics in the Americas: Political Representation and
Policy Agendas in the Executive Branch**

Project Directed by

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Cover design by Ashlyn S. Webb

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Professor Rodríguez received a bachelor's degree from the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Mexico, and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley. Her scholarly work has focused on governance, democratization, and political change in Mexico. In addition to numerous books, articles, and book chapters on Mexican politics and public policy, she is the author of *Decentralization in Mexico: From Reforma Municipal to Solidaridad to Nuevo Federalismo* (1997). Her work includes path-breaking research and two books on women in Mexican politics: *Women's Participation in Mexican Political Life* (1998) and *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics* (2003). Her books have also been published in Spanish in revised and updated editions. Currently she is working with her graduate students on a major research project on the female presidents of Latin America.

In 2000 Professor Rodríguez received jointly with Professor Peter Ward the *Ohtli* Medal, the highest honor granted by the Mexican government outside Mexico. In 2002 *Hispanic Business* named her as one of the 100 most influential Hispanics in the United States and one of the top 20 Hispanic women.

Special Acknowledgments

Laura Spagnolo, who is from Argentina and earned both a Master's degree and a PhD in Public Policy at the LBJ School. Laura was fully engaged with the research and writing of the report, particularly with the Argentina case study.

Santiago Téllez, who is from Colombia and is currently pursuing a PhD in Public Policy at the LBJ School. Santiago's technical skills were invaluable to this project and the preparation of this report.

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Executive Summary

This report is the culmination of a two-semester group research project as part of the graduate course “Women and Politics in the Americas.” Dr. Victoria E. Rodríguez led the research during the academic year 2013–2014 at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at The University of Texas at Austin. The report analyzes the extent of women’s engagement in political activities in the executive branch of government throughout the Americas, and is divided in two main sections. The first examines women’s representation worldwide and sets the international context for the Americas analysis. The second section focuses on specific case studies of women who have held executive power in the Americas. The report concludes by pulling together the main findings of the individual case studies and assessing the common themes that emerge from our analysis.

Foreword

The Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs has established interdisciplinary research on policy problems as the core of its educational program. A major part of this program is the nine-month policy research project, in the course of which one or more faculty members direct the research of ten to twenty graduate students of diverse backgrounds on a policy issue of concern to a government or nonprofit agency. This “client orientation” brings the students face-to-face with administrators, legislators, and other officials active in the policy process and demonstrates that research in a policy environment demands special talents. It also illuminates the occasional difficulties of relating research findings to the world of political realities.

This project, which took place during the 2013–2014 academic year, is the first of its kind to be conducted at the LBJ School. The research builds on an extensive body of scholarly work on women’s political representation worldwide, but is unique in that it is the first attempt to systematically study the presence and performance of women in the executive branch of government, as the vast majority of scholarly work on gender and politics has to date focused on the legislative branch. This project is also unique because it goes beyond analyzing the rise of women to political power by tracing their career trajectories; instead, it focuses on the policy agendas and policy priorities of the women holding the top political office in their respective countries. The focus on policy agendas and policy analysis is consonant with the priorities and mission of the LBJ School, and we are proud to open a new avenue of policy research and analysis with this report.

The curriculum of the LBJ School is intended not only to develop effective public servants, but also to produce research that will enlighten and inform those already engaged in the policy process. The project that resulted in this report has helped to accomplish the first task; it is our hope that the report itself will contribute to the second.

Finally, it should be noted that neither the LBJ School nor The University of Texas at Austin necessarily endorses the views or findings of this report.

Robert Hutchings
Dean

Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the three largest countries in South America have elected female presidents: Michelle Bachelet governed Chile from 2006 to 2010 and was reelected for a second term from 2014 to 2018; Cristina Fernández de Kirchner was elected to the presidency of Argentina in 2007 and then reelected for a second term in 2011; and Dilma Rousseff was elected president of Brazil in 2010, then reelected for a second term in 2014. In Central America, Laura Chinchilla served as president of Costa Rica from 2010 to 2014. That these women have reached the highest and most visible political office in their respective countries may lead the average observer to conclude that women have reached full political representation and have leveled gender imbalances in political institutions. This research project seeks to ascertain if this is actually the case.

This report is based on individual and group research efforts and is the culmination of a two-semester group research project as part of the graduate course “Women and Politics in the Americas,” led by Dr. Victoria E. Rodríguez during the academic year 2013–2014 at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. The policy research project seeks to analyze the extent of women’s engagement in political activities in the executive branch of government throughout the Americas. The authors of this report carve out a space within the literature to answer these questions: How are women elected to the head executive position? And, upon being elected, do women govern differently than their male counterparts? The overall purpose of this project is to make a scholarly contribution to the literature on women in executive power.

Structure of the Report

The present report is divided in two main sections: the first part provides an international contextualization, followed by a more complex analysis of female leadership in the Americas. The chapters in this first part describe women’s worldwide political representation, examining the establishment and impact of quota legislation and assessing efforts to institute corporate and political parity in specific regions.

Following the international context, the report narrows its focus to the Americas. The second part of the report contains the six case studies in the Americas, which support the conclusions reached in the final chapter. For comparative purposes, each case study uses the same analytical framework to examine the impact of female leadership in the country. Over half of the countries included in this report currently have or until very recently had female heads of states: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Costa Rica. The case studies that investigate countries that do not have women as head of state or government—Canada, the United States, and Mexico—examine female leaders at the provincial or state level to assess the impact of female leadership in the executive branch in the region.

The final chapter of the report explores common themes in the descriptive, substantive, and symbolic value of female leadership in the Americas. Here the authors present the major findings of the report, drawing comparisons between women in executive leadership across the Americas.

Methodology and Literature Review

In the past thirty years, there has been considerable discussion and analysis in the academic literature of the role of women in social movements, as well as the ability of these movements to institutionalize or mainstream gender issues. Other scholarly publications have focused on the roles of individual women in power in enacting legislation that supports the particular needs of women, and have assessed their success or failure to do so as being indicative women's ability to lead in general. While political biographies of contemporary female leaders are plentiful, there is little published which connects all three of these areas of study; this report connects women in power to their national context and discusses their policy agendas holistically, rather than from an exclusively gendered perspective. Much of the study of female leadership has emphasized the differences between normative male leadership and female leadership, or has sought to identify the transformational symbolic power of women in the executive. This report finds that such narrow assessments of female leadership are limiting to this burgeoning field of study. Ultimately, the authors hope to add substantively to the discussion of female leadership by redefining it within the current global context.

Literature on Women's and Social Movements

This report begins by assessing social and women's movements on the global scale, and evaluating the impact of popular social change on altering the gendered composition and agenda setting of governments and institutions. Amrita Basu's work on local feminisms is an essential component of this report's framework. She discusses the challenge of ascribing a single notion of "women's movements" or "feminism" by analyzing feminisms and women's movements across the globe.¹ This report carefully avoids making assumptions about the nature of women's movements in broad terms, describing them on a national, as opposed to transnational, level.

A number of scholars who focus on women's movements in Latin America have been particularly helpful in contextualizing the leaders studied in this project. Miller and others trace the history of women's movements in general terms,² but the literature on the nature

¹ Amrita Basu, ed., *Women's Movements in the Global Era: The Power of Local Feminisms* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010); Amrita Basu, *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*, Social Change in Global Perspective (Westview Press, 1995).

² Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1991).

of women's movements in Latin America tends to focus on women's protest movements countering authoritarianism, particularly in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Social movements and the evolution of democracy in Latin America are the subjects of a considerable number of scholarly works; the authors of this report found the work of Escobar and Alvarez to be particularly helpful in understanding the complex social movements of the region.³ Other authors, like Alvarez, offer case-specific analyses of the role of gender and women's movements in redemocratization processes in countries in which military dictatorship repressed civil rights until the 1980s.⁴

Seminal works on the role of women in democratic transformation have been essential to the authors' understanding of modern women's movements. These highly influential works interpret the role of women's movements in the process of redemocratization, and evaluate the transformational power of those movements on the current political landscape. These authors link current female representation—or lack thereof—to the relationship between the nascent democratic state and women's movements.⁵

Literature on Women in Power

Alongside the body of literature on women's and social movements in the Americas, this report draws heavily on literature on women in governmental leadership. Bauer and Tremblay offer a comparative regional approach to women in executive power (both at the national level and cabinet levels),⁶ and Genovese offers a global overview of the patterns that have characterized women's "rise to power."⁷ Farida Jalalzai's 2013 work, *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact? Women and the Executive Glass Ceiling Worldwide* gives us an excellent picture of female paths to executive power in the past decade. Her comparative analysis and broad-stroke approach to analyzing successful

³ Arturo Escobar, *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*, ed. Sonia E. Alvarez, Series in Political Economy and Economic Development in Latin America (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992).

⁴ Sonia E. Alvarez, *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990). See also Cecilia M. B. Sardenberg, "Contemporary Feminisms in Brazil: Achievements, Shortcomings, and Challenges," in *Women's Movements in the Global Era: The Power of Local Feminisms*, ed. Amrita Basu (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010).

⁵ Jane Jaquette and Sharon Wolchick, *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

⁶ Gretchen Bauer and Manon Tremblay, eds., *Women in Executive Power: A Global Overview*, Routledge Research in Comparative Politics 38 (Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge, 2011).

⁷ Michael A. Genovese, ed., *Women As National Leaders* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993).

female presidential bids provide ample background for the in-depth regional analyses provided in this report.⁸

Bauer and Tremblay develop a framework to analyze female heads of state (Presidents or Prime Ministers) and cabinet members across nine world regions: the Arab States, Central and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, South and Southeast Asia, Oceania, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Nordic countries, North America, and Latin America. Their book introduces each region with an overview of historical trends in women's political participation, and then presents country-specific case studies. Each case study looks at the nature of the political regime; the evolution of female presence within the cabinet; sociocultural, economic, and political factors that explain female participation in government; and the impact of women in setting the policy agendas. One of Bauer and Tremblay's most useful insights for the purpose of this report is their warning regarding the utility of the "contagion effect," evidenced by the high variance within regions and subregions across case studies and regional overviews.⁹ Such insight strengthened this report's emphasis on the specific sociocultural and political histories in each country.

Genovese's edited volume, and particularly his chapter, "Women As National Leaders: What do we know?" provides an overview of common patterns of women in the executive, and draws parallels in national context, path to executive power, and performance in office.¹⁰ Genovese's work dates from 1993 and therefore does not include in its analysis the high number of women in power since the early 1990s. However, it does provide a framework for looking at women as leaders around the globe, and informs this report, especially regarding useful variables for analyzing women's ascent to power: country context, relations to their parents and other family members, nature of political regimes, and background.

Most recently, Farida Jalalzai (2013) published a book analyzing the historical paucity of successful female presidential campaigns. Jalalzai develops a complex and focused approach on the successes and failures of the "paths to power" of female presidential candidates. Her work gave the authors of this report an excellent foundation for our policy-focused analysis of the substantive agendas of women who *are* elected. Although Jalalzai's work is the most recent relevant literature, the political landscape shifts quickly. Her research ended in 2010, before the elections of either Chile's Michelle Bachelet (for the second time) or Brazil's Dilma Rousseff, two of the central case studies in this work.

⁸ Farida Jalalzai, *Shattered, Cracked or Firmly Intact? Women and the Executive Glass Ceiling Worldwide* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). See also Rainbow Murray, *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010).

⁹ Bauer and Tremblay, *Women in Executive Power*.

¹⁰ Genovese, *Women As National Leaders*.

Genovese's, Bauer and Tremblay's, and Jalalzai's works offer little in the way of understanding the dearth of female heads of state in Canada, the United States, and Mexico. While no woman has held the top executive position in any of these countries, some literature is dedicated to linking popular feminisms to women in public life, including Rodríguez's work on Mexico. In *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, she contextualizes the obstacles and struggles that women in Mexican politics have faced with a detailed account of the various women's movements, their historical participation and struggles in the country, as well as their role in critical national and international events such as the student movement of 1968, the economic crises of the 1980s, and the United Nations' Beijing Conference in 1995.¹¹ The specificity of the information provided in this study of women in Mexican politics illustrated the need to include in this report an insight into each country's women's movements, as well as the political and social contexts in which the women in executive power studied here have risen to power.

The existent literature tends to be case- or country-specific. It does not provide a comparative analysis of current female heads of state, female cabinet members, or female governors in the Americas. This report offers a methodology for comparative analysis between these leaders, transnationally and transculturally. While Sykes and others have begun to consider ways to analyze female leadership, the cultural constructions of "Iron Ladies" and "Mothers" are still prevalent.¹² Ultimately, our research highlights a space in the literature that the authors hope to begin to fill. With this report we hope to show that women govern complex global societies, and they do so in complex ways, much like their male counterparts.

Case Study Literature

The second part of the report uses a common framework to draw parallels between female leaders. The case studies presented in this section are all based on the analytical foundation that includes information on the leader's background and personal history, her path to politics, and her respective administration's policies and controversies. This framework is divided into three parts which analyze different forms of representation: descriptive, substantive, and symbolic.

The subsection on descriptive representation analyzes the political structure, women's historical representation, and broader societal factors that affect the presence of female leaders in the case study countries. This subsection also incorporates the specific political and personal influences that aided in each female executive's political journey. Substantive representation covers the major policy platforms on which female executives

¹¹ Victoria E. Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

¹² Patricia Lee Sykes, "Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects," in *Women As National Leaders*, ed. Michael A. Genovese (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), 219–29.

campaigns and the major policy agendas they advanced while in office. The last subsection, symbolic representation, assesses the effects that women's leadership have had on citizens' perceptions of women in politics and their perception of the state of democracy in their respective countries.

Krook's 2010 work "Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach" outlines the general framework used in this report for the country case studies. Krook divides the analysis of women as political leaders into the three broad categories of representation mentioned above: descriptive, substantive, and symbolic; each section looks at specific factors and dimensions related to women in political office in specific countries, without using a cross-national angle.¹³ This report moves away from this isolated structure by making comparisons across the case studies and exploring common themes. Krook also employs a gender lens in the discussion, emphasizing the concept of constructed gender identities as a spectrum between masculine and feminine, rather than a male/female binary.¹⁴ This report's analysis of women leaders follows Krook's framework and offers a comprehensive analysis of each case across all three dimensions.

Descriptive Analysis

As discussed above in the "Women in Power" literature, both Bauer and Tremblay's and Genovese's works call attention to key variables affecting female leaders' access to power. Jalalzai's work also describes challenges women face in their access to power, including the strength of the executive branch and patriarchal culture. All of these authors emphasize social, cultural, and institutional barriers to power. While useful for framing our descriptive sections in that they look into institutional and cultural variables present in specific countries and relate them to women's presence in executive office, these works lack insight into the specific dynamics in the Americas, and into the ways in which each country's characteristics interact to hinder or facilitate women's access to office.

The discussion of executive cabinets and their relationship with gender is well documented in the literature. Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson affirm that there appear to be particular patterns to "gendered" cabinet appointments in Latin America.¹⁵ Though the lengths of careers of both men and women are similar, disparities appear when examining the types of ministries men and women are appointed to. Women most often hold lower-prestige ministerial positions within a "feminine" policy domain. Krook and O'Brien continue this research, and propose that the presence of women in cabinets is closely correlated to gender equality on a societal level, and female participation in

¹³ Mona Lena Krook, "Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach," *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 1 (March 2010): 233–40.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, "Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Women in Latin American Cabinets," *Political Research Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (December 2009): 685–99.

higher levels of government. They find that the presence of other women in elite positions accounts for the majority of observations of female cabinet appointees. In addition, Krook and O'Brien develop a Gender Power Score (GPS) to quantify the degree to which parity has been achieved in the countries studied. The GPS combines the gender, prestige, and gender balance of cabinet positions¹⁶ and strongly influenced the way in which cabinets are examined in this report.

Mendelberg, Karpowitz, and Goedert link descriptive and substantive representation and evaluate female participation solely on the number of women in elected positions. As the numbers of women in elected government grow, so, too, does the power of women to give voice to topics of traditional female concern, including children and the poor.¹⁷

Substantive Analysis

Genovese's "Women As National Leaders: What Do We Know?" was key in framing the understanding of the substantive sections in the case studies. This work looks into the "policy consequences" and the "performance in office" of women in executive power. Firstly, Genovese finds that there are no clear patterns among the policies women have implemented, and that they have varied widely across ideological and political spectrums. Secondly, Genovese asserts that evaluating female leaders is more complex because they have to overcome prejudice and discrimination, and that the small sample of female executives available makes a holistic analysis of female leadership impossible.¹⁸ These key insights into women's performance in office influenced the authors' approach to the substantive section. To avoid assuming "what women in office should do" while in power, we assess their performance by looking at specific policy arenas.

The methodology applied by Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter aims to analyze comparatively some leftist governments in Latin America, but lessons can be learned and applied in the context of this report. Their breakdown of policy analysis into the three arenas of economic, social, and political provides a solid foundation from which to evaluate the policy outputs of executive leaders. Furthermore, Weyland et al. ground their exploration of policy achievements in the culture of the countries studied, ensuring the analysis is not tainted by Western ideals of "good" policy.¹⁹ This report seeks to employ

¹⁶ Mona Lena Krook and Diana Z. O'Brien, "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide," *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 3 (July 2012): 840–55.

¹⁷ Tali Mendelberg, Christopher F. Karpowitz, and Nicholas Goedert, "Does Descriptive Representation Facilitate Women's Distinctive Voice? How Gender Composition and Decision Rules Affect Deliberation," *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 2 (April 1, 2014): 291–306.

¹⁸ Michael A. Genovese, "Women As National Leaders: What Do We Know?" (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993): 211–218.

¹⁹ Kurt G. Weyland, Raúl L. Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, eds., *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

the Weyland et al. methodology for our own policy analysis, including providing the appropriate cultural context for the assessment of our female leaders' policy achievements.

Symbolic Analysis

Genovese and Thompson provide a means by which to assess the symbolic power of leadership. The analysis of leadership focuses on leaders' level of influence, or how these individuals are able to bring people to their cause through their use of opportunity and skill. Genovese and Thompson hypothesize not only that women are viewed differently from men in terms of leadership, but also that gender fundamentally influences the way in which women lead. They discover, however, that the characteristics and qualities of leadership remain the same regardless of gender; the difference occurs in how these female leaders are perceived by the public and, in turn, how public opinion might shift the tone of leadership.²⁰ In subsequent sections of the report this lens is further applied to the discussion of women leaders.

Sykes helps to fill in the largely empty space of analyzing women's national leadership, positing the idea of a transformational feminist leader. Such a female leader, Sykes proposes, will not only motivate followers to take up and promote her agenda, but will also inspire progress in feminist causes.²¹ As such causes are typically partisan in most nations, this report cautiously uses Sykes's framework within a broader, culturally competent context. In addition to the concept of a transformational, feminist leader, Sykes comes to another conclusion that this report seeks to explore: as researchers continue to search for similarities amongst women leaders, and are generally unsuccessful, perhaps the new approach should compare men and women simply as leaders, irrespective of gender.²²

Sources

The research conducted for the present report included secondary source review and analysis, as well as the use of important databases, such as Latinobarómetro public opinion surveys and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) data on women's representation worldwide.

Latinobarómetro is a political climate survey conducted annually in eighteen Latin American countries. Latinobarómetro provides an online analysis tool with information confined to the years 1995 to 2011, which was used for this report. Some

²⁰ Michael A. Genovese and Seth Thompson, "Women As Chief Executives: Does Gender Matter?" in *Women As National Leaders*, ed. Michael A. Genovese (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), 1–12.

²¹ Sykes, "Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects," 219–29.

²² Ibid.

Latinobarómetro questions change over time and country. This source, though imperfect, provides an overarching comparison within and between countries.

The IPU has been the most fruitful source for global data on women in politics. The IPU's PARLINE offers world rankings of women in parliament, plus information on political institutions, leadership, statistics, and electoral systems. The Quota Project, run by the IPU in conjunction with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) and the University of Stockholm, provides overviews of quota legislation, political systems, and national female political participation by country. UN Women uses data from the IPU to report on the status of women in politics at the national, regional, and global level. As part of their mission to strengthen democratic legitimacy and increase inclusivity, the International IDEA, permanent observer to the UN, also provides comparative analysis on gender diversity.

A similar type of data focusing solely on the United States is available from the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. CAWP combines quantitative information with research into women's paths to power, the gender gap in voting, and the relationship between gender and policy concerns. The quantitative analysis team of the class project created the charts and tables for each section of this report. The same group created graphs depicting the results of the Latinobarómetro survey for each of the case studies featuring a Latin American country. Additionally, they compiled data and created geographic information system (GIS) maps illustrating trends in women's representation and the impact of quota laws in the case study countries.

Chapter 2: The Statistics: Women Holding Political Office Since 1950

At the turn of the twentieth century, women could vote in New Zealand (beginning in 1893), and they could stand for election in the United States, but nowhere else did they have these rights. It was not until the late 1910s and into the 1920s that women in North America and Europe began securing suffrage in significant numbers. Latin American nations granted women this right at various points throughout the 1930s, '40s, and '50s, whereas female enfranchisement in Africa was concentrated in the 1960s. The global pattern of women gaining the right to stand for election closely mirrors the pattern of enfranchisement.

Both national and regional movements and events influenced when these milestones occurred in different places, and when they translated into increased rates of political representation for women. In Northern Europe and Anglophone countries, the suffragette movements and World War I had an important impact on gaining these rights; then World War II, followed by the Women's Movement, engendered societal shifts that led to increased female political participation. In Africa and Asia these developments were shaped by liberation from colonial rule. For Russia and the states of the former Soviet Union, the Bolshevik revolution and socialist movements catalyzed women's introduction into political life. In Latin America, the struggle against dictatorships and the fight for human rights brought women into the political arena.

Despite the gains of the twentieth century, at the beginning of the twenty-first, women still lag well behind men in political representation. As of January 2014, the global average for national legislatures was 21.8% women,²³ and only 5.9% of heads of state and 7.8% of heads of government were women.²⁴

Traditionally, women's parliamentary representation has been used as the main criterion to measure women's political participation from a comparative perspective. Using the 2014 Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) women's representation data, Nordic countries lead the rankings with women constituting 42.1% of members of parliament, followed by the Americas with 25.2%. European women, excluding the Nordic countries, account for on average 23.5% of their national parliaments, while Sub-Saharan African women are slightly above the world average with a 22.9% representation in parliament. The Arab States have reached 17.8% women in parliament, a striking number that represents an

²³ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in National Parliaments," accessed February 1, 2014, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

²⁴ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Politics: 2014," accessed March 11, 2014, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap14_en.pdf.

increase of 6 percentage points in two years. The Pacific region has the lowest female parliamentary representation with 13.4%.²⁵ Women’s 2014 representation in parliaments, it is worth noting, has increased in every region compared with the 2013 data.²⁶ Globally, 15% of presiding officers in parliament are women.²⁷

While the world average of women members of Parliament is 21.8%, some countries stand out with over 50% women. Women account for almost 64% of Rwanda’s Lower House, almost 14 percentage points more than Andorra (50%), the second country leading in women’s representation in parliament. The country with the third greatest representation of women in parliament is Cuba, with almost 49%.²⁸

Table 1: Women’s Political Representation Worldwide

Country	Legislative Representation			Cabinet Representation		Quotas
	World Rank	% Women Lower House	% Women Upper House	% Women in Ministerial Positions	World Rank	Implementation of Mandatory Quotas for Women Representation
Rwanda	1	63.8	38.5	39.3	13	No
Andorra	2	50	Na	22.2	39	No
Cuba	3	48.9	Na	22.6	37	No information
Sweden	4	45	Na	56.5	2	No
South Africa	5	44.8	34	37.1	16	No
Seychelles	6	43.8	NA	23.1	35	No
Senegal	7	43.3	NA	16.1	51	No
Finland	8	42.5	NA	50	3	No

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Women in National Parliaments: World and Regional Averages,” accessed December 1, 2013, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Ecuador	9	41.6	NA	22.2	39	Yes
Belgium	10	41.3	39.4	41.7	10	No
Nicaragua	11	40.2	NA	57.1	1	Yes
Iceland	12	39.7	NA	37.5	15	No
Spain	“	39.7	33.5	30.8	26	No
Norway	13	39.6	NA	47.1	5	No
Mozambique	14	39.2	NA	28.6	29	No
Denmark	15	39.1	NA	45.5	7	No
Netherlands	16	38.7	36	46.7	6	No
Costa Rica	17	38.6	NA	25	34	Yes
Timor-Leste	18	38.5	NA	11.8	67	No
Mexico	19	37.4	34.4	17.6	48	Yes
Angola	20	36.8	NA	19.4	44	Yes
Argentina	21	36.6	38.9	17.6	48	Yes
Portugal	32	31.3	NA	21.4	41	No
El Salvador	47	26.2	NA	7.1	80	Yes
Honduras	49	25.8	NA	17.6	48	Yes
Bolivia	51	25.4	47.2	33.3	20	Yes
Peru	66	22.3	NA	44.4	8	Yes
Dominican Republic	71	20.8	9.4	16	52	Yes
United States	83	18.3	20	31.8	23	No
Venezuela	86	17	NA	16.1	51	No
Chile	90	15.8	18.4	39.1	14	No
Paraguay	93	15	20	25	34	Yes

Guatemala	101	13.3	NA	26.7	31	No
Bahamas	102	13.2	25	19	45	No
Uruguay	103	13.1	6.5	14.3	60	Yes
Dominica	105	12.9	NA	15.4	55	No
Colombia	108	12.1	16	31.3	25	Yes
Brazil	124	8.6	16	25.6	33	Yes
Panama	125	8.5	NA	31.6	24	Yes
Haiti	135	4.2	0	35	19	Yes
Belize	138	3.1	38.5	13.3	62	No

Source: Authors' compilation based on 2014 IPU data and Quota Project.

In the executive branch, women are noticeably underrepresented. Only 5.9% of head of state positions are occupied by women, and 7.8% heads of government are women. Women's representation in cabinet positions varies across the globe. Only three countries comprise more than 50% women in ministerial positions: Nicaragua (57.1%), Sweden (56.5%) and Finland (50%), while eight countries do not have any women holding cabinet positions (among them Ukraine and Bahamas). The presence of a female head of state or government does not necessarily correlate with the appointment of women to ministerial positions. Yingluck Shinawatra, Prime Minister of Thailand (2011—2014), had only 8.3% women in ministerial positions through May 2014; Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, President of Argentina (2007—present), only has 17.6% female cabinet appointments; Prime Minister of Norway Erna Solberg, on the other hand, appointed women in more than 45% of the cabinet positions.²⁹

Regarding the ministries these women lead, the concentration is in ministries regarded as “feminine”: Social Affairs (105 women in this position), Family/ Children/ Youth/ Elderly/ Disabled (82 women), and Women's Affairs/ Gender Equality (71 women) among others. Despite this, women do occupy positions considered to be “masculine” as well: 45 women hold Foreign Affairs ministries, 31 lead Agriculture/Food/Forestry/ Fishing ministries, and 24 women are in charge of Budget or Finance ministries.³⁰ Thus, women occupy a diverse range of ministerial positions, while still being concentrated in portfolios described as feminine.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

Regional Case Studies

While the focus of this work is on women in executive power in the Americas, we briefly examine successful female political participation in other regions. Via quota laws and recent cultural shifts that place new importance on women's political participation, the Nordic countries and Sub-Saharan Africa have reached relatively high proportions of women in politics. The Arab countries have had traditionally lower percentages of female representation, but some countries have recently passed quotas to increase women's participation. An overview of regions that are leading and trailing globally is presented below.

Nordic Countries

The women of Scandinavia were some of the first to secure the right to vote and stand for election, and they continued to be trendsetters throughout the twentieth century. As early as the 1970s, Swedish political parties recognized the importance of women's involvement in politics and became proactive about increasing this involvement. In 1972 the Liberal Party voluntarily implemented a 40% quota for its candidates, and the other political parties all followed suit with either quotas or targets of their own.³¹ With the exception of Finland, there are quotas throughout Scandinavia. As a result, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Denmark all have levels of female parliamentary representation around 40%, and two of the five have achieved parity in their cabinets.³² The region boasts the world's first and longest-serving democratically elected female head of state: President Vigdís Finnbogadóttir (1980–1996) of Iceland, and another seven female chief executives since her: Iceland's Prime Minister Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir (2009–2013); Norway's Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland (1990–1996) and incumbent Prime Minister Erna Solberg (2013–); Finland's President Tarja Halonen (2000–2006), Prime Minister Anneli Jäätteenmäki (April–June 2003), and Prime Minister Mari Kiviniemi (2010–2011); and Denmark's current Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt (2011–). The Nordic countries' inclusive approach to women's political representation is captured in Sweden's 2006 election slogan "Every second seat for a woman."³³

Arab Countries

Traditionally, women's political participation in Arab countries has been relatively low, hovering around 18% in the legislative branch.³⁴ Some posited explanations for this trend

³¹ IDEA, *Sweden: Women's Representation in Parliament* (Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006), http://www.idea.int/news/upload/sweden_women.pdf.

³² Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Politics: 2014."

³³ IDEA, *Sweden: Women's Representation in Parliament*.

³⁴ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Politics: 2014."

include the 'male-dominated culture in Arab countries, as well as a marked separation between the public and private spheres, and a low percentage of educated women.³⁵ Several countries have adopted quota laws, noted in Table 2, to improve women's participation in their national legislatures, with some of those attempts being more successful than others, as in the case of Algeria and Tunisia.

Table 2: Legislature and Ministerial Participation in Arab Countries

World Rank	Country	% Women Lower House (or Unicameral)	% Women Upper House	% Women in Ministerial Positions	World Rank	Implementation of Mandatory Quotas for Women Representation
29	Algeria	31.6	6.9	12.1	66	Yes
39	Tunisia	28.1	-	3.7	90	Yes
53	Iraq	25.2	-	3.7	90	Yes
“	Mauritania	25.2	14.3	13	63	Yes
57	Sudan	24.3	17.2	16.1	51	Yes
75	Saudi Arabia	19.9	-	0	97	Yes
85	United Arab Emirates	17.5	-	15.4	55	No information
86	Morocco	17	2.2	15.8	53	Yes
88	Libya	16.5	-	3.6	91	Yes
-	Palestine	14.8	-	8.3	-	No information
109	Syria	12	-	8.8	75	No information
"	Jordan	12	12	11.1	69	Yes
119	Bahrain	10	27.5	14.8	58	No information
131	Kuwait	4,6	-	6.7	81	No information
138	Lebanon	3.1	-	0	97	No

³⁵ Rowaida Al Maaitah et al., "Arab Women and Political Development," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 12, no. 3 (March 2012): 7–26.

142	Oman	1.2	18.1	6.7	81	No information
143	Yemen	0.3	1.8	8.8	75	No information
144	Qatar	0	-	5	87	No information
-	Egypt	No Parliament	No Parliament	10.3	71	Yes

Source: Authors' compilation based on IPU 2014 data and Quota Project.

However, in the 2011 Arab Spring, women had an important leadership role in the uprisings against the region's authoritarian regimes.³⁶ Women's political participation continued to be relatively low in 2012, with an average of 11.3% of women in parliament.³⁷ Surprisingly, in 2013 and 2014, women's legislative participation rose to 17.8% for the region.³⁸

Sub-Saharan Africa

In the past twenty years, female political representation in Sub-Saharan Africa has increased significantly. Women hold more than 20% of seats in national parliaments in six Sub-Saharan countries.³⁹ Notably, Rwanda has more women in parliament than any other country in the world: 63% of members are female.⁴⁰ Three countries in the region have elected female heads of state: Liberia's Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (President, elected 2006), Malawi's Joyce Banda (President, assumed office in 2012), and Senegal's Aminata Touré (Prime Minister, elected 2013).

Women gained the right to vote and run for public office during the democratization of the region, which occurred from the 1950s through the 1970s. Since 1990, there has been a steady increase in parliamentary representation of women, as noted in Figure 1.

³⁶ Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in Parliament in 2011. The Year in Perspective* (Stockholm: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2011), <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnpersp11-e.pdf>.

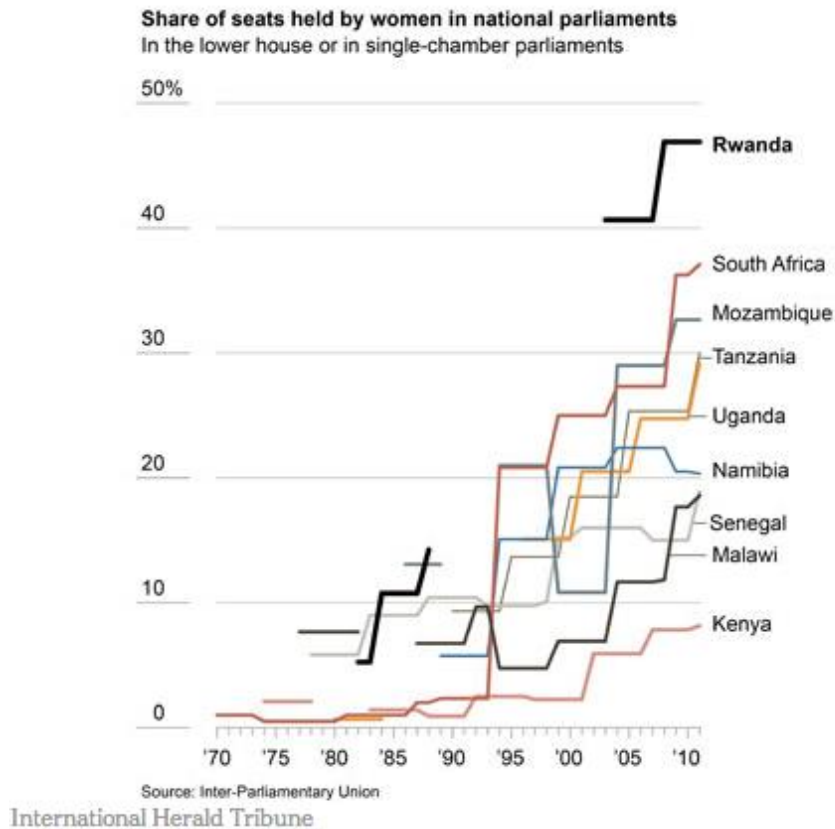
³⁷ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Politics: 2012," (Stockholm: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2012), http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmmap12_en.pdf.

³⁸ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in National Parliaments: World and Regional Averages."

³⁹ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Politics: 2014."

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Figure 1: Share of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments in Sub-Saharan Africa



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union. [Note: In 2003, Rwanda held democratic elections for the first time since the beginning of the Civil War in 1990; as such, no data is available between 1990 and 2003. The black lines that run perpendicular to Rwanda are Malawi.]

The successful passage of recent quota laws in Sub-Saharan Africa is representative of a new attitude surrounding women’s political participation in the region: “There’s a general understanding and appreciation that if things are going to be better in Africa, women are going to have a key role,” noted Aloysia Inyumba, Rwanda’s former Minister for Gender.⁴¹ Women’s relatively high regional representation has been popularly attributed to a combination of legislative and socioeconomic factors.

⁴¹ Dayo Olopade, “The Fairer Leaders,” *New York Times*, July 10, 2012, <http://latitude.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/10/african-states-ahead-of-the-west-in-female-political-representation/>.

The regional focus on female representation is exemplified in the case of Rwanda. Above-parity female representation is the result of successful implementation of a 30% quota law in all governing bodies, enforced in conjunction with a governmental mandate for the strengthening of gender ministries and a gender-progressive constitution. These policies directed at higher parliamentary representation are rooted in the success of women in informal community leadership roles during the 1994 genocide and subsequent stabilization, where they gained experience and political legitimacy. These leadership positions gradually lead to more formal roles in local and national government after the close of the conflict.⁴²

The Americas: Trends, Chief Executives, Legislatures

Women's parliamentary representation in the Americas stands at 25.2%, the second highest regional average of representation in the world, next to the Nordic countries.⁴³ Women in North America gained suffrage in the early part of the twentieth century, and suffrage became widespread across the Americas during the 1950s through to the 1970s. The three largest South American countries, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, and three Central American countries, Costa Rica, Panama, and Nicaragua, have elected a female head of state.

The United States and Canada

Despite substantial developments in women's and feminist movements in the past thirty years, proportional representation of women in the US government has grown slowly. In 1979, women represented just 3% of the US Congress, and 10% of state legislatures. As of 2013, women occupied 24% of seats in state legislatures in the United States.⁴⁴ In 2013, the United States ranked seventy-ninth in terms of female representation at the national level, tied with Albania.⁴⁵

The 2012 elections resulted in the highest level of female representation in US congressional history. Nancy Pelosi, the first female Speaker of the House, is now the minority leader. Women now occupy 18% of congressional positions on the national level; 20% in the Senate. This 20% representation is roughly representative of mayoral representation in cities over 30,000 (18%), and in statewide executive offices (23%). In 2013, there were five female governors of US states, and thirty-five women have served

⁴² Roxane Wilber, "Lessons from Rwanda: How Women Transform Governance," *Solutions* 2, no. 2 (February 2011), <http://www.thesolutionsjournal.com/node/887>.

⁴³ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Politics: 2014."

⁴⁴ Center for American Women and Politics, *Women in Elective Office 2013* (Center for American Women and Politics, 2013), http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/elective13.pdf.

⁴⁵ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Parliaments: World Classification," accessed November 30, 2013, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

as governors in US history.⁴⁶ Quota laws, which have encouraged female representation in other parts of the Americas, have been notably absent from the US, which has not yet seen a female president.

Women gained the right to vote in Canada in 1917, and the right to run for office in 1921. In that year, Agnes Macphail was elected into the Canadian House of Commons. It is worth noting that while women were granted suffrage in 1917, Treaty Indian women did not gain the right to vote until 1960. As of 2012, women represented 21% of elected positions in Canadian provincial and territorial government.⁴⁷

Kim Campbell was briefly appointed as the Prime Minister of Canada from June to November of 1993, as the first and only female Prime Minister to date. In the 2011 elections, seventy-six women (24.6%) were elected to the House of Commons, the highest number in Canadian history.⁴⁸ Despite relatively low female representation at the federal level, provincial and territorial executive branch representation has nearly reached parity. In 2013, there were six female provincial and territorial premiers holding office. Canada's four most populous provinces (Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta) were governed by women. As such, a female premier governed 85% of Canadians.⁴⁹

Latin America and the Caribbean

Women's movements in Latin America, specifically in countries ruled by military dictatorships in the 1970s, derived political and social authority from Marianist notions of motherhood. These movements, including the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza the Mayo in Argentina, the Comadres in El Salvador, and others, served as an avenue for women to enter the public sphere. In addition, quotas and a general move toward the political left have created a cultural recognition of the importance of women's representation over the past twenty years. There has been significant progress on myriad

⁴⁶ Center for American Women and Politics, *Statewide Elective Executive Women 2013*, (Center for American Women and Politics, 2013),

http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/stwide13.pdf.

⁴⁷ Catalyst, "Women in Government," *Knowledge Center*, February 13, 2013,

<http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-government>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Fazley Siddiq, "Female Premiers: From Rita Johnston to Kathleen Wynne — and Beyond," *Vancouver Sun*, February 8, 2013,

<http://www.vancouversun.com/Female+premiers+From+Rita+Johnston+Kathleen+Wynne+beyond/7940280/story.html>.

gender and family issues, including political participation, education, childcare, and domestic violence laws, but abortion access is heavily restricted.⁵⁰

Women have been elected as heads of state or government in six countries; twelve women have held chief executive power in the region. Notably, Argentina and Brazil both currently have female heads of state, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Dilma Rousseff respectively. Chile's Michelle Bachelet assumed her second nonconsecutive term as President in March 2014, after winning a landslide victory in the runoff elections of December of 2013.

Cuba and Ecuador are good examples of countries that have advanced in terms of women representation in the legislative branch. Cuba ranks third in the world for women's representation in parliament (2013) and Ecuador reformed its electoral code (2009) and constitution (2010) to contain new quota laws that resulted in 39% of women being elected for their National Assembly in 2013. However, although women's political representation in the Cuban legislature is one of the highest in the world, women are highly underrepresented in the highest ranks of the Communist Party and the government. Only 7% of the Communist Party Politburo members, 14% of the Party Secretariat, and 22% of the Council of Ministers are women.⁵¹ In Ecuador, the representation of women in the legislature is approaching proportionality, but is far from equal across ethnic groups: indigenous women continue to be significantly underrepresented. Ecuador has yet to elect a female President.

The Americas Country Case Studies

Argentina

Argentinian women gained the right to vote and stand for election in 1947. The figure of Eva Duarte de Perón, better known as Evita, wife of Argentinian President Juan Domingo Perón, is emblematic of women's political participation. She publicly advocated for women's right to vote, created the Women's Peronist Party, and promoted women's empowerment and social protection.⁵² In 1974 Isabel Martínez de Perón, Juan Domingo Perón's third wife and Argentina's Vice President, was appointed as the first female President in Argentina following her husband's death. However, her presidency faced several economic and political problems, and a military coup forced her out of power in

⁵⁰ Mala Htun and Jennifer M. Piscopo, "Presence without Empowerment?: Women in Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean," *Global Institute for Gender Research*, December 2010, http://webarchive.ssrc.org/pdfs/Mala_Htun_and_Jennifer_M._Piscopo-Presence_without_Empowerment_CPPF_Briefing_Paper_Dec_2010_f.pdf.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Pablo Vásquez, "Evita and Women's Participation in Politics," July 2007, http://www.evita-peron.org/evita-peron_instituto.htm.

1976.⁵³ During the ensuing dictatorship, Argentine women's social movements, especially the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza the Mayo, increased women's participation and visibility in the public sphere.

In 1991 Argentina was the first country in the Americas to adopt quota laws to promote women's participation in the legislature. The quota was established at 30% for the Lower House, and, given its success, a 30% Upper House quota was incorporated in 2001.⁵⁴ Current levels of representation reach 37% for the Lower House and 39% in the Upper House, according to the IPU 2014 data. In 2007, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, who had a long political career, was elected President, after her husband's presidential term. In October 2011 she was reelected for a second term, which will end in 2015.

Brazil

Brazilian women gained the right to vote and stand for election in 1932. As in Argentina and Chile, Brazil's women's movements in the 1970s grew out of other movements of social dissent to the dictatorship. Today, Brazilian women's movements have been instrumental in encouraging female participation in the public sphere and promoting gender equality.

Dilma Rousseff became the first female president of Brazil in January of 2011. A member of the Workers' Party, she was endorsed by her predecessor, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, for whom she was Chief of Staff. She has been outspoken about the inclusion of women in ministerial positions, and in her cabinet 26% of ministry positions are held by women, the highest percentage to date.⁵⁵

Lula's administration included a large corruption scandal known as the "Mensalão" (literally, big monthly stipend) in which the Workers' Party would pay members of congress for their votes. Rousseff inherited some of Lula's cabinet, but she replaced corrupt male members of the Mensalão with female politicians during her first year in office. Rousseff's administration is not focused on gender agenda issues, however. Her notable projects include the innovative, such as the opening of the Truth Commission, as well as the internationally controversial, the construction of the Belo Monte Dam. She is seen as a pragmatic, prodevelopment technocrat and as of this writing is preparing for a reelection campaign.

⁵³ Encyclopedia Britannica, "Isabel Perón (president of Argentina)," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed November 30, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/452372/Isabel-Peron>.

⁵⁴ Marcela Ríos Tobar, ed., *Mujer y política: el impacto de las cuotas de género en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile: IDEA Internacional and FLACSO-Chile, 2008).

⁵⁵ CEPAL-Naciones Unidas, "CEPAL—Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe," accessed February 18, 2014, <http://www.eclac.cl/>.

While Brazilian women's movements have enjoyed considerable success in a range of issues, women's representation has been limited. The country has had a 30% quota law in place since 1997, but women hold only 8.6% of parliamentary seats.⁵⁶

Chile

In 1931 women received the right to vote in municipal elections, and in 1949 they received the universal right to vote. In 1935 Elena Caffarena, among others, created the Movement for Women's Emancipation (Movimiento por la Emancipación de las Mujeres) that advocated for women's biological, political, and economic emancipation. In 2006 Michelle Bachelet was elected as the first female President of Chile, after holding two different ministerial positions in Ricardo Lagos's government. She appointed the first parity cabinet in Chilean history, with ten women and ten men. Michelle Bachelet finished her term in 2010 and is currently serving her second term, with female cabinet representation hovering around 40%.⁵⁷ Despite these advances in the executive, in 2014 Chile continues to have low representation of women in the legislative branch. Chile does not have legislated quotas and is currently ranked ninetieth for female parliamentary representation, with only 14% of congressional seats held by women.⁵⁸

Costa Rica

Women in Costa Rica gained the right to vote and stand for election in 1949. In 1990 the country passed its first piece of legislation aimed at increasing women's political representation: the Law for the Promotion of Women's Social Equality. Due to its lack of specific targets, quotas, and enforcement mechanisms, however, it did little to increase the number of women elected. In 1995 a Costa Rican delegation participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, and, as a result, Costa Rica not only ratified the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, but also reformed its electoral code (1996) and established the National Institute of Women (INAMU).⁵⁹ The electoral reform established a 40% quota for women at the candidate level, but again, the legislation lacked both specificity and enforcement mechanisms. Following the 1998

⁵⁶ United Nations, "Seats Held by Women in National Parliament, Percentage," *UN Data*, 2014, <http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?q=brazil&d=MDG&f=seriesRowID%3A557%3BcountryID%3A76>.

⁵⁷ La Tercera, "Ministros y subsecretarios: la presencia de los partidos de la Nueva Mayoría en el gobierno de Bachelet," *La Tercera*, January 29, 2014, sec. Política, <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/politica/2014/01/674-563119-9-ministros-y-subsecretarios-la-presencia-de-los-partidos-de-la-nueva-mayoria-en.shtml>.

⁵⁸ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Parliaments: World Classification."

⁵⁹ United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, *Report of Costa Rica on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for the Action and the Outcome of the Twenty-Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly* (United Nations, May 2004), <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/Review/responses/COSTA-RICA-English.pdf>.

elections, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) reevaluated the quota legislation to increase its efficacy.

The 2010 elections brought a surge in the representation of women: 39% of the Legislative Assembly (22/57) and the President, Laura Chinchilla Miranda, were female. Furthermore, an electoral law passed in 2009 required gender parity of candidates in the 2014 elections.⁶⁰ No data is currently available on the percentage of female candidates in the 2014 elections, but the resulting legislature has a lower proportion of female representatives than the previous one: 33.33% (19/57).⁶¹

Mexico

Mexican women received the right to vote and stand for election in 1953. The country ranks 19th in percentage of women's representation in government. Mexico has a legislated candidate quota: 40% of candidates from all political parties must be women. Women's representation is nearly twice that of the United States, but the quotas have been criticized for being ineffective and easy to manipulate.⁶²

Before becoming a National Action Party (PAN) candidate for the 2012 presidential elections and winning the nomination over President Felipe Calderón's favored candidate, Josefina Vázquez Mota served as the Secretary of Social Development under President Fox and as Secretary of Education under President Calderón. She promised to be tough on political corruption and to fight discrimination and violence against women, especially violence connected to the drug trade. Vázquez Mota's campaign promoted her identity as a mother as well as a leader. Notably, her campaign slogans focused on an image of her tough leadership style, declaring: "I will be a president in a skirt, but I will wear the pants."⁶³

Conclusion

The political landscape of female participation is shifting constantly, and at this time it is difficult to predict further trends in women's political representation worldwide. Nonetheless, some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the data. Recent increases in global female participation paint a hopeful picture. As of this publication, women lead the governments of the three largest South American economies, and the nascent

⁶⁰ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Costa Rica (Asamblea Legislativa)," *IPU PARLINE Database*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2073.htm>.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Htun and Piscopo, "Presence without Empowerment?: Women in Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean."

⁶³ BBC News, "Mexico Election: Josefina Vazquez Mota," *BBC News*, July 2, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-17816663>.

democracies of Sub-Saharan Africa have demonstrated comparatively high levels of female representation.

Female leadership in the executive does not necessarily nor immediately translate to higher levels of female legislative participation. Nor is the reverse true; high numbers of women in the legislative do not necessarily predict executive-level representation. Following the Beijing conference of 1995, governments developed different types of gender quotas as the primary mechanism for increasing female political representation, which have been implemented to varying degrees of success. Of the ten countries which lead the world in female representation, only one (Ecuador) has mandatory quotas.

Chapter 3: Quotas: The United Nations, Beijing, and the Quota Laws

Introduction

Gender quotas are one proposed solution to modern-day inequalities in women’s political representation worldwide. A modern history of gender quotas can be derived from data displayed in Table 3. The table shows that reserved seats were the first type of gender quotas to be implemented in India in the 1930s, followed by quotas in other Asian countries such as Taiwan and Pakistan. The second type of gender quotas that were implemented broadly was voluntary quotas. These optional gender quotas are also known as party quotas, in which political parties internally regulate their diversity. Examples of this type of quota first appeared in China during the 1950s, and in Nordic countries such as Norway during the 1970s. In Latin America, voluntary quotas were first implemented during the 1980s, starting in Brazil, and then in Chile and Uruguay. In the 1990s, Argentina was the first country in Latin America to establish legislative quotas.

Table 3: Quotas Around the World

Decade	Region	Reserved Seats	Voluntary Quotas	Legislative Quotas
1930s	Asia	India		
1940s	Asia	Taiwan		
1950s	Asia	Pakistan	China	
1960s	Africa	Ghana		
1970s	Asia	Bangladesh		
	Africa	Tanzania		
	Middle East	Egypt	Israel	
		Iran		
	Western Europe		Netherlands	
		Norway		
1980s	Africa	Uganda	Senegal	
	Latin America		Brazil	
			Chile	
			Uruguay	
	North America		Canada	
Western		Austria		

	Europe		Belgium	
			Denmark	
			Germany	
			Iceland	
			Sweden	
			United Kingdom	
1990s	Africa	Kenya	Cape Verde	Namibia
		Sudan**	Cameroon	
		Tanzania**	Mozambique	
			Namibia*	
			Senegal	
			South Africa	
	Asia	Nepal	India	
		Philippines*	North Korea	
			Philippines**	
			South Korea***	
			Taiwan***	
			Fiji	
	Latin America		Bolivia**	
			Dominican Republic**	Argentina
			El Salvador	Bolivia
			Haiti	Brazil
			Mexico***	Colombia
			Nicaragua	Costa Rica
			Venezuela**	Dominican Republic
				Ecuador
				Guyana
				Mexico***
				Panama
			Peru	
			Venezuela	
			Turkey	
		The Pacific	Australia	
Western Europe		Cyprus	Belgium	
		France**	France**	
		Greece	Italy**	
		Ireland		

			Italy**	
			Luxemburg	
			Portugal	
2000s	Africa	Burkina Faso	Angola	Burundi
		Djibouti	Botswana	Djibouti
		Rwanda**	Cameroon	Liberia
		Somalia	Equatorial Guinea	Mauritania
		Tanzania**	Ethiopia	Niger
			Ivory Coast	Rwanda**
			Kenya	
			Malawi	
			Mali	
			Sierra Leone	
			Zimbabwe	
	Asia		Thailand	Indonesia
				South Korea**
	Western Europe		Bosnia-Herzegovina*	Bosnia-Herzegovina*
			Croatia	Macedonia*
			Macedonia	Romana
			Moldova	Serbia and Montenegro
				Uzbekistan
	Latin America			Mexico
				Honduras
	Middle East	Bahrain	Algeria	Afghanistan
		Jordan	Morocco**	Iraq
		Morocco	Tunisia	Occupied Palestine Territory
		Yemen		
		Malta		
Western Europe		Portugal		
* Results from 2006 elections unknown				
** Quotas revoked				
*** Quotas revoked and then reinstated				

Source: RíosTobar, Marcela (ed), *Política y Mujer*, Santiago, Chile: IDEA Internacional and FLACSO-Chile, 2008.

What follows is a survey of gender quotas across the globe. This overview begins with a history of women's interest and lobby groups that gathered in Beijing in 1995 to celebrate and organize at the United Nations' Fourth Conference on Women. This conference led to a critical analysis of women's participation in the public sphere and raised global awareness for governments to serve the underrepresented portions of their populations. Next is an overview of electoral systems as they relate to the rise and integration of gender quotas in political systems. The main characteristics of legislative quotas are described to illustrate methods of effectiveness, including enforcement mechanisms. This comprehensive history of gender quotas concludes with an analysis of modern interpretations of political inclusion—through the rhetoric of “broadening” and “deepening” methods of reaching gender equality in leadership in the public sphere

Viewing the Beijing Conference As a Platform for Progress

The Beijing Conference marked a turning point in the history of women's movements. It made the implementation of gender quotas a viable strategy for increasing women's participation in decision-making processes, and reflected women's efforts around the world to push for a full revision of gender relations.

The path leading to Beijing started with the founding of the United Nations, as well as with several international conferences and conventions on women. The founding document of the United Nations signed in 1945 in San Francisco stated in its preamble that “We, the people of the United Nations reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of Nations large and small.”⁶⁴ One year later, the United Nations Economic and Social Council created the Commission on the Status of Women to promote gender equality. The Commission started with 15 members, 5 of them from the Americas: Graciela Morales F. de Echeverría from Costa Rica; Sara Basterrechea Ramírez from Guatemala; Amalia C. de Castillo Ledón from Mexico; Dorothy Kenyon from the United States of America; and Isabel de Urdaneta from Venezuela. The Commission's work and the increasing force of women's movements around the world made possible the World Conference on Women, held first in Mexico (1975); then in Copenhagen (1980); and in Nairobi (1985).⁶⁵ Of special importance was the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, signed in 1979 by ninety-nine countries. To date, 186

⁶⁴ United Nations, “Short History of the Commission on the Status of Women,” n.d., 1, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/CSW60YRS/CSWbriefhistory.pdf>.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

countries have ratified the treaty. The seven countries that have not ratified it are: the United States of America, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Palau, Tonga, and Iran.⁶⁶

The first three world conferences made progress on the discussion of women's issues; however, it was the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 that recognized the need to include a gender perspective in all international, regional, national and subnational programs.⁶⁷ The Fourth World Conference on Women took place in Beijing September 4 through 15, 1995. At the same time, NGOs organized a parallel forum in Huairou, a city just thirty-five miles from Beijing. More than 30,000 participants from all over the world attended this forum. Together, these two events became the largest gathering of a UN Conference, with more than 50,000 participants.⁶⁸ The Beijing Conference has become a symbol of success for women's rights movements around the world, as it called for a "transformation in human relationships as well as the ways we live, work, and share the planet."⁶⁹ Great expectations emerged from two specific sources: the unprecedented impact of civil society groups in pushing the conference agenda; and a statement that called for a reevaluation of all the societal and structural relations between women and men.⁷⁰

The documents of the Beijing Conference acknowledge an unequal share of power between women and men, especially in decision-making positions. The Beijing Declaration and Platform established that "women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace."⁷¹ Furthermore, through its established "Strategic Objectives and Actions," the conference called on governments, political parties, the private sector, unions, and international bodies to establish mechanisms to guarantee the representation of women in decision-making processes.⁷² It was during this conference

⁶⁶ United Nations, "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women," *United Nations Treaty Collection*, n.d.,

https://treaties.un.org/pages/viewdetails.aspx?src=treaty&mtmsg_no=iv-8&chapter=4&lang=en.

⁶⁷ United Nations, "Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing Declaration," *The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Action for Equality, Development and Peace*, n.d.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ "Beyond Promises: Governments in Motion One Year After the Beijing Women's Conference September 1996," Women's Environmental and Development Organization, September 1996, <http://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/beyondpromises.htm>.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ United Nations, "Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing Declaration."

⁷² United Nations, "Platform for Action," *The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Action for Equality, Development and Peace*, n.d.

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>.

that gender quotas became a policy with viable implementation and enforcement mechanisms across the world.⁷³

Electoral Systems and Quotas

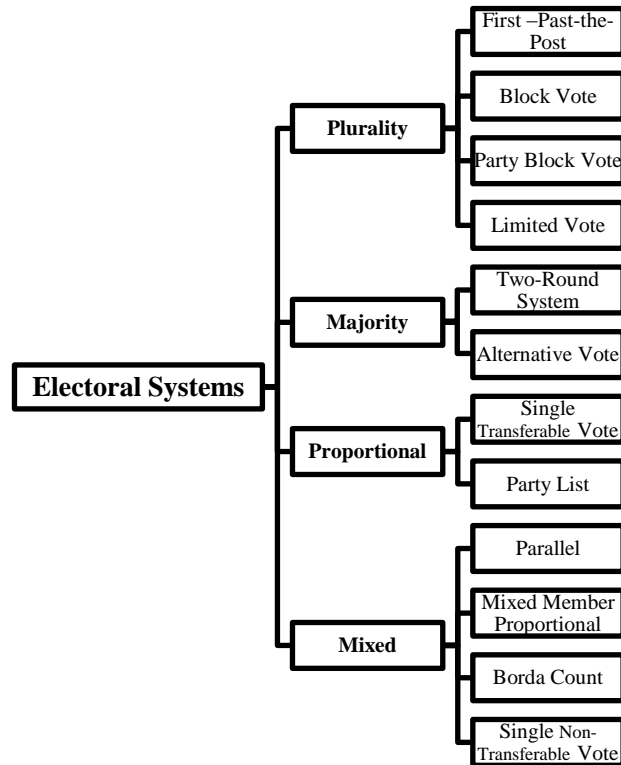
Recent scholarship on women's political participation explores the influence of electoral system structures on women's representation in the legislature. In order to understand how interactions between electoral systems and quotas determine the quota effectiveness, it is essential to understand the different electoral systems around the globe. This section provides a brief overview of twelve electoral systems and discusses the quota types that are most effective in each system. The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance's Quota Project's 2007 guide on electoral systems served as the primary resource to research the twelve electoral systems discussed below.⁷⁴

Electoral systems are the methods used to elect public officials. There are twelve primary electoral systems, which can be broken into four families: plurality, majority, proportional and mixed. The diagram below (Figure 2) illustrates the four families.

⁷³ Rohini Pande and Deanna Ford, *Gender Quotas and Female Leadership: A Review Background Paper for the World Development Report on Gender* (Harvard University, 2011).

⁷⁴ Stina Larserud and International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *Designing for Equality: Best-Fit, Medium-Fit and Non-Favourable Combinations of Electoral Systems and Gender Quotas* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2007), http://www.idea.int/publications/designing_for_equality/index.cfm.

Figure 2: Electoral Systems and Processes



Source: Diagram created by authors.

Plurality systems are electoral processes in which the candidate or party that receives the greatest number of votes wins the election. There are four systems in this family including first-past-the-post, block vote, party block vote, and limited vote systems:

- First-Past-the-Post: The candidate with the most votes is elected, even if they only obtained less than 50% of the total votes cast.
- Block Vote: Voters select their top candidate for each open position. The candidates with the highest number of votes win.
- Party Block Vote: Voters choose a single party. The party with the most votes wins all the seats in the district.
- Limited Vote: Voters select their top candidates for a limited number of open positions. The candidates with the highest number of votes win.

Majority systems are electoral processes in which the candidate or party that receives the *majority* of the votes (over 50%) wins the election. There are two systems in this family: the two-round system and alternative vote.

- Two-Round System: The two candidates who receive the most votes compete in a runoff election to ensure that the candidate elected receives the majority of the votes.
- Alternative Vote: Voters rank the candidates in order of preference. If no candidate obtains the majority in the first round of the election, the candidate with the least number of votes is eliminated. The votes for the eliminated candidate are reallocated to the voters' second choices. This process is repeated until a candidate receives the majority of the votes.

Proportional electoral processes used in single-member districts ensure the candidate with the greatest proportion of the votes is elected. In multimember districts, the proportion of the vote a party receives determines the proportion of seats they are awarded. There are two systems in this family: single transferable vote and the party list:

- Single Transferable Vote: Voters rank candidates in order of preference. Candidates that reach the Hare Quota ($\text{votes cast}/(\text{number to be elected}+1) + 1$) in the first round are elected. The candidate with the least number of votes is eliminated and the votes for that candidate are redistributed to the voters' second choice. The whole process is repeated until all seats are filled.
- Party List: Parties submit list with the names of their party members that are running in the election. Voters select one party. The proportion of the seats awarded to each party is determined by the proportion of votes they receive. Candidates are seated in the order listed on the party lists. There are two types of party list systems, closed and open lists. Closed list systems allow parties to determine the order candidates are listed in on list submitted for election. Open list systems allow voters to choose the ranking of candidates on the list.

Mixed electoral processes are systems that use a combination of plurality and proportional systems or majority and proportional systems. There are four systems in the family: the parallel system, the mixed-member proportional system, borda count, and single nontransferable vote:

- Parallel: In single-member districts voters elect candidates using a plurality or majority system and in multimember districts voters use a proportional system to elect candidates. The seats under the proportional system are awarded independently of the seats awarded under the plurality or majority system.
- Mixed-Member Proportional: In single-member districts voters elect candidates using a plurality or majority system and in multimember districts voters use a proportional

system to elect candidates. The proportional seats are awarded in such a way as to compensate for disproportional effects in the single-member district outcomes.

- Borda Count: Voters use numbers to mark their preferences on the ballot. Voters' preferences are assigned a value, using equal steps. The candidate with the highest total value is elected.
- Single Nontransferable Vote: Voters cast only one vote among candidates for all open seats. The candidates are ranked by the number of votes they receive.

No electoral system is neutral. While majority and plurality systems emphasize accountability from individual elected officials, mixed and proportional systems are intended to promote diversity in political representation.⁷⁵ Allan Wall from the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network explains in a paper summarizing electoral systems that the system a country utilizes will have an impact on several elements of the country's political environment. These elements include: "the number of political parties, the internal structure of political parties, and the structure, sustainability, and functions of election administration bodies."⁷⁶ By analyzing how electoral systems have influenced these aspects of political environments in the past, scholars have attempted to determine which electoral systems are most favorable to women.

Research from IDEA's 2007 study, *Designing for Equality*, concluded that women fare best in electoral systems belonging to the mixed and proportional electoral families. IDEA's Quota Project research has also provided an overview of the specific combinations of electoral systems and quotas that have been most effective in increasing women's representation. The study concluded that the party list system matched with legislative quotas and the party block vote system matched with reserved seat quotas are typically the most successful.⁷⁷ However, evidence from recent elections reveals that without enforcement, even these "best fit" combinations will not succeed in increasing women's representation. Additionally, IDEA does not distinguish between closed and open party list systems when determining "best fit" combinations in their *Designing for Equality* report.⁷⁸

Open lists disadvantage women by allowing voters to change candidate list positions, sometimes resulting in female candidates being pushed to the bottom of the list, while closed lists guarantee women will stay in the positions predetermined by parties. The recent debate on closed versus open lists is discussed in an IDEA article that explains the

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Alan Wall, "Electoral Systems Briefing Paper," ACE Electoral College Network, accessed [insert date] 10, <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/topics/electoral-systems/SDOC1584.pdf/view>.

⁷⁷ Larsrud and International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *Designing for Equality*.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

key question quota scholars are attempting to answer, which is whether “it is easier to convince voters to actively vote for women candidates, or easier to convince party gatekeepers that including more women on the party lists in prominent positions is both fair and strategically wise.”⁷⁹ This report’s case study countries illustrate both these points and are discussed in a later section of the chapter.

Legislative Quota Characteristics and Implementation

Legislative quotas vary by four main characteristics. The first is the chamber to which the quota is applied. Legislative quotas can be applied to either the upper or lower chamber in a country. The second characteristic is the quota’s target percentage, which is typically between 15 to 40%. The third characteristic is whether the quota has a placement mandate. These mandates can only be implemented in countries that have party lists electoral systems. Placement mandates require that the nomination lists submitted by political parties for elections alternate by gender. For example, every other place on the nomination list goes to a female candidate. Quotas with placement mandates are often referred to as “zipper quotas.” For both closed and open party list electoral systems, placement mandates make a difference in the number of female candidates that are put on the ballot during the nomination process. However, only placement mandates applied to closed party list electoral systems make a difference in the number of women that are elected. Placement mandates cannot be applied to open party list electoral systems after the nomination process, because open list ballots allow voters to determine the ranking of candidates in the party they select. The last quota characteristic is the enforcement mechanism or the legislative provisions that enforce compliance with quota laws.⁸⁰

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer conducted a study examining the differing effectiveness of legislative quotas in increasing women’s representation across countries.⁸¹ Schwindt-Bayer surveyed twenty-six countries that have adopted quotas in the last three decades. She classified each one of the country’s quotas by the four main characteristics discussed above. Schwindt-Bayer separated the enforcement mechanisms into three categories, *none* for quotas with no enforcement, *weak* for quotas with legal stipulations for noncompliance that did not affect a political party’s electoral participation, and *strong* for quotas with legal stipulations for noncompliance that did affect a political party’s electoral participation. Weak enforcement mechanisms often resulted in political parties opting to take the penalty rather than comply with the quota law. For example in France,

⁷⁹ International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, ed. Julie Ballington and Azza M. Karam, rev. ed., Handbook Series (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005).

⁸⁰ Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, “Making Quotas Work: The Effect of Gender Quota Laws on the Election of Women,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (February 2009): 5–28.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

political parties are financially penalized for noncompliance, but are still able to run in the election.⁸² Her classification of the twenty-six countries is listed in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Characteristics of Gender Quota Laws

Country	Legislative Chamber to which Quota Applies	Target Percentage	Placement Mandate	Enforcement Mechanism
Argentina	Lower and Upper	30	Yes	Strong
Armenia	Unicameral	05/15.	No/Yes	None/ Strong
Belgium	Lower and Upper	25/33	No/Yes	Weak
Bolivia	Lower and Upper	33/25	Yes	Strong
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Lower	30/33	Yes	None
Brazil	Lower	25/30	No	Weak
Costa Rica	Unicameral	40	No/Yes	None/ Strong
Dominican Republic	Lower	25/30	No/Yes	Strong
Ecuador	Unicameral	20/30/35	Yes	Strong
France	Lower	50	No	Weak
Guyana	Unicameral	33	No	None
Honduras	Unicameral	30	No	None
Indonesia	Unicameral	30	No	None
Italy	Lower	30	No	None
Liberia	Lower	30	No	None
Macedonia	Unicameral	30	No	Strong
Mauritania	Lower	20	No	Strong
Mexico	Lower and Upper	30	Yes/No	Strong
Nepal	Lower	5	No	None
Panama	Unicameral	30	No	Weak
Paraguay	Lower and Upper	20	Yes	Strong
Peru	Unicameral	25/30	No	Strong
Serbia and Montenegro	Unicameral	30	Yes	Strong
South Korea	Unicameral	50	No	None
Uzbekistan	Lower	30	No	None
Venezuela	Lower and Upper	30	No	Weak

Source: Schwindt-Bayer, "Making Quotas Work."

⁸² Ibid.

From her study she concluded that, on average, when no enforcement mechanism existed, the percentage of seats held by women was only one-third of the quota target percentage. However, when the quota was accompanied by a strong enforcement mechanism, the percentage of seats won by women was just shy of the quota's target percentage.⁸³

Additionally, Schwindt-Bayer found that, in the countries surveyed, combining a strong enforcement mechanism with a placement mandate ensured an increase in women's representation. An analysis of the impact of quotas in the countries presented in the case studies of this report provides context for Schwindt-Bayer's findings and will be covered in the next section.⁸⁴

Case Study Countries, Electoral Systems, and Quotas

Several of the countries studied, including Canada, Chile, and the United States, have never implemented legislative gender quotas. Although Michele Bachelet, Chile's first female president, is a proponent of gender quotas, a majority of Chilean legislators oppose the use of quotas in the political realm.⁸⁵ Gender quotas are incompatible with the first-past-the-post electoral systems in Canada and the United States, some scholars have noted; those electoral systems are the major deterrent to quota implementation in those countries.⁸⁶ Other conditions that may lead to reluctance to apply quota laws are discussed in later chapters of this report.

The remaining case study countries implemented quota laws in the 1990s. Argentina was the first country in the Americas to pass a national gender quota law.⁸⁷ Argentina, which has a party list electoral system, requires parties to have a minimum of 30% female candidates for national elections. By 1999, the majority of Argentina's provinces adopted the law for provincial and municipal elections. The enforcement mechanism that accompanies the quota is a stipulation that if parties do not comply with the quota law, their nomination list will be rejected. The quota law also contains a placement mandate.⁸⁸ As a result of the quota law, women's representation in the country rose from 5% in 1993 to 27% in 1995. Today women hold 37% of the seats in parliament and 39% of the seats

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Jen Ross, "Chile Kick-Starts Debate on Gender Quotas," *Women's eNews*, February 16, 2007, <http://womensenews.org/story/the-world/070216/chile-kick-starts-debate-gender-quotas>.

⁸⁶ Larserud and International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *Designing for Equality*.

⁸⁷ Susan Franceschet and Jennifer Piscopo, "Gender and Political Backgrounds in Argentina," in *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸⁸ Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

in the senate.⁸⁹ The increase in women's representation is consistent with Schwindt-Bayer's findings.

Brazil and Costa Rica are considered "best-fits" because they have combined party list electoral systems with legislative quotas. However, they differ in party list type and in the quota enforcement mechanism they implemented. While Brazil has an open list system and a weak enforcement mechanism, Costa Rica has a closed list system and a strong enforcement mechanism. In Brazil, if parties do not meet the target quota percent, they must eliminate male candidates from their lists and leave open spaces representing the percentage of women they failed to include.⁹⁰ These open spaces cannot be occupied by new female candidates and are left blank on election ballots. On the other hand, in Costa Rica, if parties fail to meet the target quota percent, their nomination lists are rejected and the parties are barred from running in the election.⁹¹

Brazil and Costa Rica are consistent with Schwindt-Bayer's findings. Due to differences in the strength of their enforcement mechanisms, Costa Rica's parliament was 39% female, while Brazil's was only 9%.⁹² Costa Rica implemented a placement mandate in 2001. Figure 3 below, from IDEA's 2003 study on Costa Rica's quota law, shows the increase in women's representation after the implementation of Costa Rica's quota law and after the placement mandate was adopted. Women's representation increased from 30% in 2002 to 39% in 2010.⁹³

⁸⁹ Franceschet and Piscopo, "Gender and Political Backgrounds in Argentina."

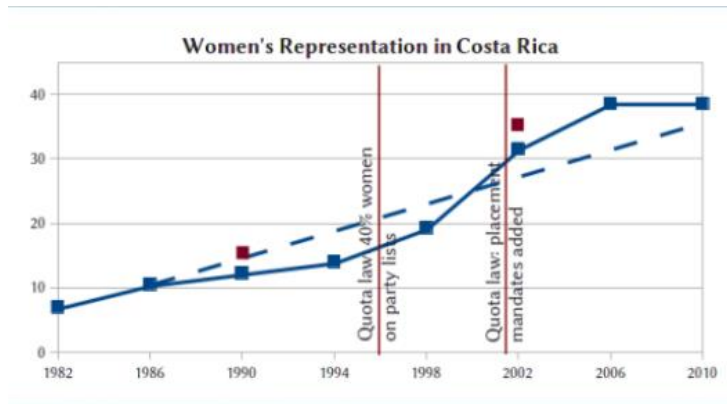
⁹⁰ Clara Araújo, *Quotas for Women in the Brazilian Legislative System*, paper presented at International IDEA Workshop, Lima, Peru, February 23, 2003, http://www.quotaproject.org/cs/cs_araujo_brazil_25-11-2003.pdf.

⁹¹ Ana Isabel Quesada García, "Putting the Mandate into Practice: Legal Reform in Costa Rica," paper presented at The Implementation of Quotas: Latin American Experiences, Lima, Peru, 2003.

⁹² Araújo, *Quotas for Women in the Brazilian Legislative System*.

⁹³ Quesada García, "Putting the Mandate into Practice: Legal Reform in Costa Rica."

Figure 3: Quota Laws and Women's Representation in Costa Rica



Source: IDEA, The Quota Project.

Mexico has a mixed electoral system. Mexico's current quota law, implemented in 2002, requires parties to submit party lists in which every segment of five candidates has at least two candidates of each gender. If party lists did not comply with law, political parties are given forty-eight hours to correct them. If parties fail to comply after their probation period, their lists are rejected by the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). The original quota law of 1996 prevented party lists from including over 70% of one same gender, but was not accompanied by any enforcement mechanism. The revisions to the law in 2002 led to an increase in women's presence in the lower house of more than 5%.⁹⁴ Mexico is yet another example of how enforcement mechanisms make the difference when implementing quota laws.

Comparing the impact of gender quotas in a number of the case study countries reveals that identifying the best combinations of electoral systems and quotas, as well as the strength of the accompanying enforcement mechanisms, are significant factors that will impact the quota's effectiveness. Also, even subtle differences in electoral systems (closed versus open lists) can have a significant impact on the quota's ability to increase women's representation in a country. Table 5 below summarizes all these elements in the case studies.

⁹⁴ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*.

Table 5: Quota Laws in the Americas

Country	Electoral System	Quota Law	Target Percentage	Enforcement Mechanism
Argentina	Closed Party List	Requires parties to have a minimum of 30% female candidates on their nomination lists for national elections	30	Strong
Brazil	Open Party List	Requires parties to have a minimum of 30% female candidates on their nomination lists for national elections	30	Weak
Canada	First-Past-the-Post	None		
Chile	Binomial System	None		
Costa Rica	Closed Party List	Requires parties to alternate by gender on their nomination lists for national elections	40	Strong
Mexico	Mixed Member Proportional (First-Past-the-Post/ Closed Party List)	Requires that for each segment of five candidates on the list there must be two candidates of each sex, alternating between men and women candidates	30	Strong
United States	First-Past-the-Post	None		

Source: Compiled by authors.

Three Dimensions of Representation

The impact of gender quotas has been broadly examined through three dimensions of political representation: descriptive, substantive, and symbolic.⁹⁵ This framework of analysis is appropriate for our case studies since it allows a deep understanding of the ways in which gender quotas transform decision-making processes and women’s situations in the countries in which they are implemented.

Descriptive representation examines cross-national variations in women’s access to decision-making positions.⁹⁶ In this facet of political representation three categories are taken into account: the institutional or “demand side”; the structural or “supply side”; and the beliefs of women’s suitability to hold leadership positions. These kind of analyses look into the numerical growth of women’s representation in political and institutional bodies; however, they also examine the attributes of the women in such positions. Studies of descriptive representation include statistics of women’s legislative presence, as well as

⁹⁵ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, 4

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

of women's education and labor force participation levels. Studies carried out in this area have demonstrated that context has a significant impact on promoting or hindering women's election.⁹⁷

Studies in this area include methodologies like the one Franceschet and Piscopo used in 2013 to compare men and women legislators' characteristics in Argentina.⁹⁸ They examined the age, marital status, number of children, educational background, and prior experience of 531 legislators in the legislatures between 1999 and 2007. The results showed that family commitments structure women's political careers (i.e., their roles as mothers influence their career options); that they have similar educational levels to men; and that men are more likely to have previous experience in the executive branch of government. A key finding was that women elected are just as likely as men to be drawn from elite groups and from upper and upper-middle class sectors.⁹⁹

Substantive representation examines the impact of elected women on the promotion of women's issues. Studies on the impact of gender quotas on substantive representation focus on two main questions: do women in power represent women's interests? And, do elected women govern differently than elected men? In other words, do women in power make a difference? Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo argue that the outcomes depend on three variables: the proportion of women that were elected; the individual characteristics of women elected (such as party membership and attitudes towards women's issues); and institutional variables, namely party discipline and civil society support.¹⁰⁰

Substantive representation analyses look at the differences women can make in policy-making processes and outcomes, especially those concerning women's lives. An example of this is shown by the key role that Marcela Lagarde played on the design of laws to protect women in Mexico. In 2003, Marcela Lagarde was chosen to form part of the PRD's (leftist political party) plurinominal candidate list to the legislature due to the increased enforcement of gender quotas in Mexico. Marcela Lagarde is a prominent feminist and anthropologist at the Universidad Autónoma de México, and was part of the movement that denounced violence against women in Ciudad Juárez. During her term in office (2003–2006), Marcela Lagarde was able to form a strong coalition of women legislators from different parties, as well as to obtain support from key figures of the main political parties to pass the General Law for Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence. The tenacity and commitment of Marcela Lagarde and her ability to form an alliance with other female legislators, as well as the willingness of political parties' leaders to support the initiatives, significantly changed Mexico's institutional framework regarding violence against women.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁸ Franceschet and Piscopo, "Gender and Political Backgrounds in Argentina." 12

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, 15–17

By examining gender quotas' impact on the symbolic area of political representation, we can begin to see the effects that women's presence in decision-making positions have on the population: how do people think about politics, and how is this thinking affected by a female presence in the political arena?¹⁰¹ This area of study is especially important because politics have been traditionally a male-dominated arena. Studies in this area have focused on the perceived changes of elected bodies, and politics' nature as female presence increases in this arena. According to Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, results in this specific sphere have been mixed: women's presence increases the "democratic" perception of government bodies; however, it does not change people's perception of larger political dynamics such as corruption and transparency.¹⁰²

An example of a study examining the impact of symbolic representation would include the one conducted by Burnet in Rwanda.¹⁰³ Burnet analyzed the impact of gender quotas in Rwanda on women's perception of other women, on women's roles in perceptions of politics, and on politics themselves. Through a twenty-four-month ethnographic study carried out from 1997 through 1999, Burnet showed that the impact of gender quotas was mediated by class, and that elite women benefited more from quota effects. Furthermore, she found that women did not believe that women in power were less corrupt than men; and the majority of the citizens did not distinguish between the impact of gender quotas and the impacts of other gender policy changes on women's lives.¹⁰⁴

The Impact of Quotas on Representation

The impact of gender quotas has been highly irregular across the world: while some countries have significantly increased women's representation in their legislative bodies, others countries' quota policies have had little or no gains for women. The impact of gender quotas is mediated by an array of intervening variables that are specific to each country; furthermore, gender quotas' impact can be measured in different representational dimensions, such as the descriptive, the substantive, and the symbolic ones.

Differences in the impact of gender quotas are related to the type of quota that is being implemented; how it is mediated by the institutional context of each country; and the actors supporting the quotas.¹⁰⁵ A specific type of quota implies issues regarding certain language, wording, enforcement mechanisms, and sanctions. For example, Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo have shown that if a quota is not designed with proper enforcement

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Jennie Burnet, "Women's Empowerment and Cultural Change in Rwanda," in *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 190–207.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*.

and sanctions mechanisms, the probabilities of that quota's success is significantly reduced.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, the type of quota is mediated by institutional contexts specific to each country that determine quotas' effectiveness. In this domain, the electoral systems become essential to understand the interaction and results of quota implementation (discussed later in this chapter).

The impact of quotas is highly influenced by institutional structures, and by larger sociocultural and political contexts that result in diverse quota outcomes. Table 6 below, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, portrays the diverse results gender quotas have had on the representation of women in legislatures across the globe. As argued by Krook,¹⁰⁷ the uneven outcomes observed in the table, as well as the direction and size of the impact of gender quotas, are determined by structural and institutional factors, and by the wording, design, and enforcement mechanisms included in the policy design. For example, from Table 6 one can see that, in the cases in which the percentage of women elected to the legislature decreased (Armenia and Nepal), the quotas were set at a lower level than previous election results. The other cases reveal significant variance among countries: Argentina, Costa Rica, Belgium, Afghanistan, and Rwanda gained more than twenty points; while Brazil, Colombia, Indonesia, and the Philippines only increased women's representation by two points. These outcomes are the result of different interactions of the quotas' design, implementation, and enforcement mechanisms with variations in the social, political, and economic contexts.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Mona Lena Krook, "La adopción e impacto en las leyes de cuotas de género: una perspectiva global," in *Mujer y política: el impacto de las cuotas de género en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile: IDEA Internacional and FLACSO-Chile, 2008).

Table 6: The Impact of Gender Quotas

Region and Country	Quota Law %	Adoption Year	% women before quotas	% women after quotas	Gender Quota Impact
<i>Latin America</i>					
Argentina	30	1991	8.7 (1989)	35 (2005)	(+) 26.3
Bolivia	30	1997	6.9 (1993)	16.9 (2005)	(+) 10
Brazil	25	1997	6.6 (1994)	8.6 (2002)	(+) 2
Colombia**	30	1999	11.8 (1998)	12 (2002)	(+) 0.2
Costa Rica	40	1996	15.8 (1994)	38.6 (2006)	(+) 22.8
Dominican Republic	25, 33	1997, 2000	11.7 (1994)	19.7 (2006)	(+) 8
Ecuador	20, 30	1997, 2000	Unknown (1996)	25 (2006)	-
Guyana	33	Unknown	Unknown	29 (2006)	-
Honduras	30	2000	9.4 (1997)	23.4 (2005)	(+) 14
Mexico	30, 30	1996, 2002	14.2 (1997)	22.6 (2006)	(+) 8.4
Panama	30	1997	9.7 (1994)	16.7 (2004)	(+) 7
Paraguay	20	1996	2.5 (1993)	10 (2003)	(+) 7.5
Peru	25, 30	1997, 2001	10.8 (1995)	29.2 (2006)	(+) 18
Venezuela***	30	1998, 2003	5.9 (1993)	18 (2005)	(+) 12.1
<i>Eastern Europe</i>					
Armenia	5	1999	6.3 (1995)	5.3 (2003)	(-) 1
Bosnia-Herzegovina	33	2001	7.1 (2000)	14.3 (2006)	(+) 7.2
Macedonia	30	2002	6.7 (1998)	28.3 (2006)	(+) 21.6
Serbia and Montenegro	30	2002	N/A	12 (2003)	-
<i>Asia</i>					
China	Increasing	1955	12 (1954)	20 (2003)	(+) 8.3
Indonesia	30	2003	8 (1999)	11.3 (2004)	(+) 3.3
Nepal	3	1990	6.1 (1988)	5.9 (1999)	(-) 0.2
North Korea	20	1998	20.1 (1990)	20.1 (2003)	0
Philippines		1986	10.7 (1992)	15.7 (2004)	(+) 5
South Korea	30	2000	3.7 (1996)	13.4 (2004)	(+) 9.7
<i>Western Europe</i>					
Belgium	30	1994	9.4 (1991)	34.7 (2003)	(+) 25.3
France	50	1999-2000	10.9 (1997)	12.2 (2002)	(+) 1.1
Portugal	33.3	2006	21.3 (2005)	Unknown	-

<i>Middle East</i>					
Afganisthan	25	2004	N/D	27.3 (2005)	(+) 27.3
Iraq	25	2004	7.6 (2000)	25.5 (2005)	(+) 17.9
Palestine Territory (occup)	20	2005	N/D	Unknown	-
<i>Africa</i>					
Burundi	30	2005	18.4 (1993)	30.5 (2005)	(+) 12.1
Djibouti	10	2002	0 (2003)	10.8 (2003)	(+) 10.8
Liberia	30	2005	5.3 (2003)	12.5 (2005)	(+)7.2
Mauritania	20	2006	Unknown	Unknown	-
Nigeria	10, 25	2001, 2004	1.2	12.4 (2004)	(+) 11.2
Rwanda	30	2003	25.7	48.8 (2003)	(+) 23.1
** Quotas revoked					
***Quotas revoked and then reinstated					

Source: Ríos Tobar, Marcela (ed), *Política y Mujer*, Santiago, Chile: IDEA Internacional and FLACSO-Chile, 2008.

The impact of gender quotas has been uneven across the three spheres of representation. Costa Rica has been an example of the positive impact of gender quotas in descriptive representation. The number of women increased significantly due to the implementation and enforcement mechanisms that were put in place. However, as argued by Durrett, this increase has not been reflected in Costa Rica's legislation, which has not incorporated gender into its processes and policies, and further, the sociocultural contexts have not changed.¹⁰⁸ As a result, institutional and cultural barriers preventing women's participation in the political life of the country remain.

Similarly, Miguel, in his study about substantive representation and quotas in Brazil, argues that, "women in Brazil have opted to work with issues linked to their traditional role, and this reinforces their less prestigious position in politics."¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Miguel makes an important point by arguing that even though quotas may not be the ultimate solution for increasing substantive representation, they can make a difference.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Jessie Durrett, "Overcoming Entrenched Perceptions: Women and Leadership in Costa Rica," *Council on Hemispheric Affairs*, July 25, 2013, <http://www.coha.org/overcoming-entrenched-perceptions-women-and-leadership-in-costa-rica/>.

¹⁰⁹ Luis Felipe Miguel, "Policy Priorities and Women's Double Bind in Brazil," in *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 116.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Key Arguments for and against Gender Quotas

The use of political gender quotas is a controversial and complex issue. For example, contrary to expectation, both supporters and opponents of gender quotas at times wish to increase women's participation in government. Political parties sometimes use gender quotas as a strategy to increase their numbers and power. Therefore, quotas can be used for party politics instead of their intended purpose of increasing women's equality in public life.¹¹¹ There has been a substantial increase in the number of democratic governments since the 1980s, and most democracies seem to agree that women should be present in government. However, opponents of political gender quotas find them to be unnecessary, and in some cases consider them a hindrance to progress by interfering with women's ascent to power out of their own ambition. Despite the varied personal and political opinions about gender quotas, an increase in women's political representation has resulted from both their use, and in their absence.

An example of women's political representation in Latin America, without the use of legislative gender quotas, is Chile. Chile had the highest female participation in the legislative and executive branch under President Michelle Bachelet's first term. However, Chile did not use gender quotas with enforcement mechanisms to achieve this level of female representation. Instead, Chile's first female president, Michelle Bachelet, had a unique personal commitment to women's representation, and thus, appointed many women to her cabinet positions. Therefore, the floor is open to debate on whether or not quotas are the most effective mechanism for increasing women's representation in high political office. In the end, gambling on the respective head of state's preferences to appoint a parity cabinet is not a practical mechanism for increasing women's political participation for the long term.

Arguments in Favor of Political Gender Quotas

The strongest supporters of gender quotas are grassroots women's organizations that believe political gender quotas increase women's political empowerment.¹¹² They believe that political gender quotas increase descriptive female representation in government and thus, increase the overall effectiveness of government to represent its constituencies.¹¹³ Women's mobilizations to advocate for quotas have historically been motivated by the

¹¹¹ Susan Franceschet and Jennifer M. Piscopo, "Equality, Democracy, and the Broadening and Deepening of Gender Quotas," *Politics & Gender* 9, no. 3 (2013): 310–16.

¹¹² Mona Lena Krook, "Candidate Gender Quotas: A Framework for Analysis," *European Journal of Political Research* 46, no. 3 (May 2007): 367–94, doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2007.00704.x.

¹¹³ Franceschet and Piscopo, "Gender and Political Backgrounds in Argentina."

belief that political gender quotas will ensure them political positions they feel they have been denied by traditionally male-dominated “elite” political parties.¹¹⁴

International organizations and nonprofit organizations that uphold progressive norms of equality and fairness believe that gender quotas improve substantive representation of populations. For example, quantitative measurements of healthcare spending from the World Bank’s *World Development Report on Gender 2012* showed that an increase in spending correlated with an increase of women’s political participation.¹¹⁵ International organizations use evidence to support their belief that the increase in women’s political participation from the grassroots level to high office has a positive effect for populations overall. Furthermore, IOs and NGOs believe a critical mass of female representation in the legislative and executive branches of global governments will not only increase substantive representation for women, but also increase policy implemented for women, families, and communities.¹¹⁶

Scholarship on political gender quotas focuses on the proliferation of quotas as a method for increasing women’s political representation. Krook calls politically experienced men, who have advantages in the political sphere including experience and resources, “political elites.”¹¹⁷ Although these elites at times support gender quotas, they do so for very different reasons than grassroots women’s groups. These elites recognize the strategic advantages of pursuing quotas and support them to gain various political advantages. Some advantages sought include gaining female voters, increasing party numbers, keeping a party majority and thus power, and building alliances with potential coalition partners in countries with reserved seats.¹¹⁸ Elites may also support gender quotas if they feel they can recruit party members who are “‘malleable women,’ meaning they will not challenge the patriarchal status quo.”¹¹⁹ Additionally, elite and other political parties often feel compelled to remain on par with existing or emerging international notions of equality and representation, and thus advocate for political gender quotas to gain or keep social legitimacy.¹²⁰ In these examples, political parties are not advocating for increased female political representation, but instead are seeking empowerment for their party and their party’s overall agenda. Yet, political parties are important to the gender quota debate because strategy agendas have often been the reason for gender quotas to be implemented.

¹¹⁴ Krook, “Candidate Gender Quotas.”

¹¹⁵ Pande and Ford, *Gender Quotas and Female Leadership: A Review Background Paper for the World Development Report on Gender*.

¹¹⁶ Krook, “Candidate Gender Quotas.”

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

Arguments against the Use of Political Gender Quotas

The strongest argument against political gender quotas remains that quotas for women discriminate against men. The people who support this position believe that political gender quotas, and quotas in general, recognize some groups and exclude others. Thus, gender quotas can be portrayed in the most extreme cases to be unconstitutional, and therefore illegal. Opponents of political gender quotas may also reject special provisions for women as fundamentally antidemocratic.¹²¹ For example, governments in transition from another form of rule may claim that gender quotas are contrary to the spirit of transition and conflict with the value of equality by prioritizing some groups over others.¹²²

Another strong argument against gender quotas is that they place unqualified women in political positions that could be held by experienced male politicians. Other opponents argue that there is not a large enough pool of qualified women to fill the places required by quotas. However, these same opponents often also reject the need to increase and fund educational opportunities for women. A more complicated issue underlies this political position against gender quotas. Conservative parties typically reject progressive notions of equality and diversity, especially when not organically proposed from within the party. In an effort to deal with this conservative agenda, advocates of gender quotas emphasize the causes of limited female candidates in their messages by pointing out the lack of mentorships, financial resources, and other opportunities for women who enter, or wish to enter the political sphere.

Scholars have pointed out that efforts to nominate more women to political office hardly ever occur in the absence of women's mobilizations. These findings mean that all male-dominated political parties do not prioritize women's political representation, much less gender quotas, to increase women's political presence.¹²³ Many women are also opponents of gender quotas. Resistance from female activists ranges from limited mobilizations against the necessity of quotas to active denunciations by prominent political figures.¹²⁴ For example, Angela Merkel, Germany's Chancellor since 2005, and arguably the world's most powerful head of state, has not been an advocate of political gender quotas. Only recently has she spoken out in favor of increasing voluntary gender quotas in the private sphere, but only as a result of pressure from public demand, and her political interest in advancing economic output.¹²⁵ Many senior-level female politicians and business executives have vocally opposed gender quotas in the political and private

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Harriet Torry, "Angela Merkel's Got Her Work Cut Out on Women," *Wall Street Journal*, December 2, 2013, <http://blogs.wsj.com/moneybeat/2013/12/02/angela-merkels-got-her-work-cut-out-on-women/>.

spheres based on the belief that women can achieve success without the use of quotas. Many claim that quotas for women are unnecessary. Instead, women in executive positions advocate for improving the opportunity pipeline for women to reach these positions, and claim that the rest will happen naturally.

Positions on Political Gender Quotas Somewhere In-between

There are some opinions that are neither for nor against political gender quotas. These positions are not based on party politics, and are primarily held by the electorate instead of public officials. These opinions are a result of the conflict of progressive politics with the pressures of cultural and religious norms. For example, one argument in favor of political gender quotas is that quotas will help to reduce voter bias against female representatives in the long run. But this opinion is based on the assumption that putting women on the ballot, and in the public eye, will increase representation until populations become accustomed to voting for, and being represented by women.¹²⁶ Instead of being a clear political position, this notion is more of a hope. Others, who are in opposition to gender quotas, believe that implementing and enforcing gender quotas will worsen already shaky or negative attitudes towards female political leaders, and hurt female politicians' careers by exposing them to scrutiny of disgruntled constituents.¹²⁷

To this day, some populations in Latin America and other parts of the world allow their religious beliefs and cultural customs to influence their voting choices and political perspectives. Latin America is made up of historically Catholic countries with traditionally culturally conservative populations. Although large countries in Latin America like Argentina, Mexico and Brazil have adopted political party gender quotas, their populations may not entertain views as progressive as their political system. Traditionally, Catholic communities follow a patriarchal family model that supports the division of gender roles between private and public spaces. Thus many traditionally Catholic cultures have ingrained notions of gender norms that tie women to private spaces including the home and church, and men to public spaces such as work and politics. This may be one explanation for why some voters in Latin America disagree with political gender quotas. However, despite cultural conservatism, gender quotas have been successful in many Latin American countries—producing appointments and elections of women to political offices, which might have been improbable before those countries turned to democracy.

Women debate political gender quotas as fiercely as men do. Therefore, gender is not the line along which parties divide on this issue. Instead, the arguments for and against quotas are often tied to culture, religion, or hopeful ideals for the future.

¹²⁶ Pande and Ford, *Gender Quotas and Female Leadership: A Review Background Paper for the World Development Report on Gender*.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

Contextualizing the Debate on Quotas in the Americas

The countries in this case study have diverse opinions on political gender quotas within their political systems and among their populations. For example, just because Costa Rica has political gender quotas with enforcement mechanisms, does not mean that the entire population supports or believes in their effectiveness or necessity. Even within Chile's government, the secretary-general for the right wing's opposition National Renovation Party, Cristian Monckeberg, called then first-term President Michele Bachelet's support for implementing gender quota laws "a sickly obsession" that excludes men and creates a "risky and divisive discourse."¹²⁸

Implementing legally backed gender quotas was controversial in Chile because it meant that some of the male legislators would be replaced with female representatives, and reelection for men would be more difficult. In Chile, when the quota bill was up for debate to require 40% female representation in 2007, the incumbent men united to make sure it did not pass. Congresswoman María Antonieta Saa of Bachelet's Party for Democracy said that an increase in female representation would not happen without the political parties undergoing a "profound transformation."¹²⁹ It is still unknown if President Bachelet's second administration will include another attempt to pass a legislative quota law.

Although Argentina was the first country in the world to implement gender quota laws, its population still has segments that are in complete opposition. Jujuy, a province in northwest Argentina bordered by Chile and Bolivia, has a reputation for being a bastion of machismo and conservatism.¹³⁰ María Inés Zigarán, a professor of journalism and member of the provincial women's movement said that it is not by chance that Jujuy does not have a provincial gender quota law.¹³¹ Alicia Chabale, a lawyer for a women's group that filed an injunction in 2009 to make sure that the province complied with the constitutional law of following the quota protocol, said that Jujuy is a "totally machista" province, and that women who participate in politics are described as "feisty" by male political leaders.¹³² Even in the country that pioneered gender quotas for Latin America, and the world, there remains resistance not only from legislators but also from the general public, proving that despite Argentina's progressive quota system, divergent opinions endure. Despite a country's history with gender quotas, the endurance of gender quotas is completely uncertain without constitutional restructuring.

¹²⁸ Ross, "Chile Kick-Starts Debate on Gender Quotas."

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Marcela Valente, "Argentine Province a Bastion of Opposition to Gender Quotas," *Global Issues*, June 10, 2010, <http://www.globalissues.org/news/2010/06/21/6053>.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

Due to the United States' history of conflict between federal and states' rights, many conservatives perceive political gender at the federal level to be an infringement on the democratic process. The political system in the United States is not conducive to federally mandated political gender quotas, because they would infringe upon states' rights and thus be unconstitutional. Therefore, the push for political gender quotas will have to come from the political bottom up to avoid immediate dismissal by conservative legislators. Both US leftist groups and some right-wing groups that insist on equality are currently debating how to increase women's political representation. In November 2013, John Marshall, a Libertarian representative from Montana, submitted a proposal to amend the state constitution and require gender quotas in the Montana state legislature.¹³³ The amendment calls for an equal number of women and men to serve in the state's legislative body. Although still very important for the equality of representation movement in America, this progressive proposal came from a Libertarian politician, which is a minority party in the United States with very limited power and influence. Without the support of one of the two major parties in the United States, either the Democrats or Republicans, a proposal for federal gender quotas will never be seriously considered by lawmakers.

Conclusions

To date, quotas have not only been implemented in public institutions, but have crossed over to help increase women's representation in corporate institutions. Franceschet and Piscopo examine quota diffusion in the public and private sectors through two processes they call "deepening" and "broadening."¹³⁴ Deepening refers to the increased percentage of overall gender quotas, and to a greater push to establish parity measures in democratic governance structures. Broadening refers to the implementation of quotas beyond the legislative realm. Through broadening, countries have established gender quotas in a myriad of public and private spaces such as judiciary systems, presidential cabinets, unions, and corporations. Examples of such mechanisms include Colombia's 30% gender quota for national and subnational executive positions; Ecuador and Bolivia's mandate for equal representation of women and men throughout the entire judiciary system; Argentina's implementation of a 30% gender quota for the top hierarchy of labor unions; and most recently, Germany's legislation establishing a compulsory 30% gender quota in the executive boards of Germany's largest companies.¹³⁵

¹³³ Debbie Sharnak, "Are Gender Quotas a Possibility in the U.S.?" *Independent Voter Network (IVN)*, January 28, 2014, <http://ivn.us/2014/01/28/gender-quotas-possibility-u-s/>.

¹³⁴ Franceschet and Piscopo, "Equality, Democracy, and the Broadening and Deepening of Gender Quotas."

¹³⁵ Torry, "Angela Merkel's Got Her Work Cut Out on Women.," "Germany to Legislate 30 Percent Quota for Women on Company Boards" *Deutsche Welle*, accessed November 26, 2014, <http://www.dw.de/germany-to-legislate-30-percent-quota-for-women-on-company-boards/a-18088840>.

As this chapter has shown, the path to equality and women's participation in decision-making positions has not been easy, and there is still a long road ahead. The Fourth Conference on Women celebrated in Beijing in 1995 was a turning point for women's movements, and its call for increased women's representation in decision-making positions has impacted countries around the world. To date, national governments from all the continents have implemented gender quotas in their legislative branches as a mechanism to increase women's representation in the government. Nevertheless, gender quotas have not always been successful. On the one hand, the impact of gender quotas in different dimensions of representation has varied widely. Descriptive representation has substantially increased if the quota is well designed and implemented, but substantive and symbolic representation impacts have been more ambiguous: the increase of women in decision-making positions does not necessarily translate into policy gains for women, or change the perception women have of the political system. On the other hand, the success of gender quotas is determined by the quota design, enforcement mechanisms, and quota type.

Electoral systems are the largest determinant of the quota design, the type of enforcement mechanism, and the quota type, that can be feasibly implemented. Scholars have noted the difficulty of designing quotas for majority/plurality electoral systems that are centered primarily on individual candidates. Scholars continue to draw on countries with proportional systems, such as Costa Rica, in order to illustrate gender quotas' ability to effectively increase women's political participation. They have concluded that closed party list electoral systems combined with legislative quotas and strong enforcement mechanisms have been the most successful in increasing women's representation in countries.

Historically, political gender quotas were championed by grassroots women's movements. Today, however, women who hold high political or executive office in the private sphere claim that women do not need gender quotas to succeed. More interesting still is that more men have become advocates for political gender quotas, but not for the same reason that women introduced them. Many political party leaders use the structures of gender quotas to craft party strategies to gain political power. Overall, political gender quotas have not evolved to be the solution that the founding mothers of political gender quotas imagined them to be. Instead, political gender quotas have become another political bargaining chip, often bickered about, that, outside of Latin America, does not lead to the political empowerment of women. Within Latin America, this same political strategizing has led to the implementation of political gender quotas, and in some cases has even increased the number of female legislators. However, without the support of influential female heads of state, support for political gender quotas to achieve equal political representation will be lost in the new generation's feminist rhetoric that argues that women do not need institutional support mechanisms to succeed.

Chapter 4: Parity

The parity discussion spans a number of areas including domestic parity, corporate parity, and political parity. The 2012 World Economic Forum Gender Gap Report states, “[n]o country in the world has achieved gender equality. The four highest ranked countries—Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden—have closed between 80 and 86% of their gender gaps, while the lowest ranked country—Yemen—has closed a little over half of its gender gap.”¹³⁶ In the domestic sphere, there are significant disparities in how men and women spend their time. In the corporate world, there are disparities in pay as well as representation in leadership. In the political world, campaign finance, quotas, legislative power positions, and political parties all impact the parity discussion. While political parity is the area of primary interest, it is important to review the other aspects of parity to gain a full understanding of the issue. The first section of this chapter focuses on domestic parity, the second on corporate parity, and the third on political. Then, there are two brief case studies, and finally, an overview of key challenges facing parity.

Domestic Parity

The United Nations, among others, identifies early gender socialization as one of the primary causes of gender inequality. Young boys and girls are conditioned, from birth, to fit into the predetermined mold of masculine and feminine behaviors.¹³⁷ Though at times the results of socialization or stereotyping seem trivial, causing differences in toys and colors, gender stereotypes continue to plague society at all levels, and may impact the division of labor within the family.

The way American men and women spend time has changed significantly in the last few decades, but traditional roles and stereotypes are still easily recognizable. Only 20% of men are involved in cleaning or laundry on a typical day compared to 48% of women. Additionally, 65% of women prepare food on an average day, compared to only 39% of men. Women also spend almost twice the amount of time taking care of children or other family members.¹³⁸ With more obligations domestically, women can have less time to invest in their careers. Data from 2012 shows that amongst full-time workers, on average, women work about two hours less than men per week.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Ricardo Hausmann, Laura Tyson, and Saadia Zahidi, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012* (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2012).

¹³⁷ Jivka Marinova, “Gender Stereotypes and the Socialization Process” (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women Expert Group Meeting, 2003).

¹³⁸ Bureau of Labor Statistics, *American Time Use Survey 2012* (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012).

¹³⁹ Ibid.

The time breakdown in the United States can be seen as a symptom of a greater problem found around the world. Socialization at the early stages of life can contribute to defining the role of women in the home and to inequality in the corporate and political sectors. Differing desires, expectations, and allocation of time all significantly affect the amount and degree to which women enter the corporate workforce or pursue public service.

Balancing professional ambitions and personal goals as a woman in 2013 can seem impossible. Prominent American scholar and public servant Anne-Marie Slaughter sparked controversy with her poignant editorial titled “Why Women Still Can’t Have It All.” In this article, she thoughtfully explains why women of this generation are finding this work-life balance exceedingly difficult to achieve. Slaughter maintains, “Only when women wield power in sufficient numbers will we create a society that genuinely works for all women. That will be a society that works for everyone.”¹⁴⁰

Corporate Parity

As mentioned in the introduction, there are disparities between men and women’s pay as well as their representation in private sector leadership positions. In the United States, women’s earnings were 76.5% of men’s in 2012 and 77% of men’s in 2011. As a note, the gap widens when looking specifically at minority women.¹⁴¹

Within leadership positions, women hold about 4.2% of Fortune 500 CEO positions.¹⁴² This is especially interesting given data on men and women’s career ambitions and choices after graduating from MBA programs. Following a group of high potential graduates, one study found that women and men were equally quick to lead projects eighteen months after getting their MBAs. However, men were given more important projects that had larger budgets, more employees, higher visibility, and overall, more risk.¹⁴³ Within corporate boards, about 17% of seats are held by women.¹⁴⁴ Catalyst.org has a useful graphic showing women’s corporate participation, as seen in Figure 4.

¹⁴⁰ Anne Marie Slaughter, “Why Women Still Can’t Have It All,” *The Atlantic*, June 13, 2012, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/>.

¹⁴¹ Catalyst, *Women’s Earnings and Income*, Catalyst, March 24, 2014, <http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/womens-earnings-and-income>.

¹⁴² Catalyst, *Pyramid: U.S. Women in Business*, Catalyst, May 1, 2014, <http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/us-women-business-0>.

¹⁴³ Bryce Covert, “The Ambition Myth: Debunking a Common Excuse for the Gender Wage Gap,” *The Atlantic*, December 3, 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Catalyst, *Pyramid: U.S. Women in Business*.

Figure 4: Women’s Corporate Participation



Source: Catalyst, Pyramid: U.S. Women in Business.

Discussions have suggested that childcare considerations impact some of the disparity in women’s corporate participation. OECD countries have taken different approaches to address this. The measures tend to focus on paid leave, preschool education, or encouraging part-time work. For example, Austria, the Czech Republic, Finland, and Hungary provide up to three years of paid leave for mothers. New Zealand and the Nordic countries encourage children to be placed in preschool and women to go back to work. Britain, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, and the Netherlands all encourage part-time work for mothers.¹⁴⁵

Ultimately, there is room for progress on parity in the corporate world. Despite the number of women working and the number of women working in the private sector specifically, there is a lack of representation at the higher levels of power. There have been moves to address this, both internally with company-wide initiatives as well as externally with debates about bringing quotas into boardrooms.

Political Parity

The definition of political parity used in this research has two parts: 1) having an equal number of men and women involved in the political system at all levels, and 2) having an

¹⁴⁵ The Economist, “Women in the Workforce,” December 30, 2009.

equal distribution of power between men and women in the political system at all levels. There are a number of ways to look at political parity including campaign finance, quotas, representation in positions of power, and the role of political parties.

Though more women are entering the political arena, financing primary and election campaigns remain difficult. In the United States, the average House race costs \$1.7 million and the average Senate race costs \$10.5 million.¹⁴⁶ Given that women generally have fewer personal resources and less extensive networks, raising this money is a barrier. One survey of legislators showed that 41% believed fundraising is harder for women because women lack the networks that men have. The second most common reason identified was that women are less comfortable asking for money for themselves.¹⁴⁷

Solutions to address this challenge have focused on financial assistance, capacity building, and party reform. Within the financial assistance options, ideas range from providing early money for nomination campaigns to providing public funding and limiting campaign expenditures. Capacity building includes training on fundraising and campaigns, mentorship, communication and leadership training, etc. Internal party reform can include allocating funding for women candidates, for women's capacity building, and implementing voluntary quotas. There has been a fair amount of variation in implemented solutions. In the United States, there are a number of political action committees focused on capacity building and financing for women candidates (for example, EMILY's List and Annie's List). In Costa Rica there have been calls on political parties to set aside funds to train women and promote their participation, and several parties have committed a specific percentage of their training budgets to women. In Panama, parties use at least 25% of public funds for capacity development, and of that, 10% goes to women. Finally, in El Salvador, the FMLN party has created a specific fund for the promotion and training of women in the party.¹⁴⁸

Quotas were discussed in depth in the previous chapter; however, it is worth noting that there are only two countries, France and South Korea, with parity quotas at the moment. Both of them have either weak or no enforcement mechanism. Additionally, Ecuador enacted a 2000 reform to their quota law that changed the quota to 30% with a 5% increase at each subsequent election until the quota reaches 50%.¹⁴⁹

Looking at women's power within parliaments, women hold just over 14% of the most senior positions in parliament, that of speaker, and women hold approximately 22% of deputy speaker positions. The higher representation of deputy speakers is likely due to a

¹⁴⁶ Jon Terbush, "What It Costs to Win a Congressional Election," *The Week*, March 11, 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Sonia Palmieri, "Gender-Sensitive Parliaments," Inter-Parliamentary Union, n.d.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Schwindt-Bayer, "Making Quotas Work."

couple factors. First, there are more deputy speaker positions than speaker positions. When there are multiple positions, parliaments can more easily divide them between men and women. Second, the position of speaker often requires significant political experience, which, compared to men, women often do not have.¹⁵⁰

In committee leadership, women hold roughly 21% of chair positions and 22.5% of deputy chair positions. In committee representation, women generally have more representation on socially focused committees. For example, in one survey, researchers found that women legislators made up 40% of family, youth, and the disabled focused committees, 30% of education focused committees, and 35% of health focused committees. Of the other committees, women generally make up between 16 and 20%.¹⁵¹ In reviewing how committee representation is decided, in some parliamentary structures individual members choose their committee membership; in others, parties have a stronger role to play. The ability to control committee membership is one of the many potential sources of political party power.

Generally, party structure is less transparent than the parliamentary structure, which makes it more difficult to analyze. In many proportional representation systems, party leaders control candidate selection. In these cases, legislators' freedom can be constrained as they balance their future electoral ambitions with present day votes.¹⁵² Parties' power also comes from their ability to enforce discipline and sometimes sanction noncompliant members. In one study, a majority (over 70%) of parliamentary respondents described party discipline as fairly strict or strict. In the cases where parties can sanction, these powers can range from suspending/expelling the member from the party, sending the member's case to a disciplinary committee, or applying economic sanctions.¹⁵³ This can be a significant problem for gender-focused bills because with stricter party discipline (having electoral and sanction consequences), there is less opportunity to build cross-party support for bills or to cross party lines in votes.¹⁵⁴

Countries that have successfully used some of the measures mentioned above to move closer to parity include Croatia and Rwanda. In Croatia, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), one of the two major parties, instituted a women's wing, internal party quotas, and a training program, and has taken political stances to achieve more parity. The SDP Democratic Women's Forum was formed in 1995 to advocate for women within the party. They successfully instituted a 40% internal party quota, which is supplemented by

¹⁵⁰ Palmieri, "Gender-Sensitive Parliaments."

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Susan Franceschet and Jennifer Piscopo, "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina," *Politics & Gender* 4 (2008): 393–425.

¹⁵³ Palmieri, "Gender-Sensitive Parliaments."

¹⁵⁴ Franceschet and Piscopo, "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina."

a training program for their women members. The party as a whole supported a number of woman-related legislative issues including equal pay, childcare, and reproductive rights. Their efforts have corresponded to a greater representation of women in parliament and influential party positions for women. For example, in 2010, over 40% of the SDP's executive committee were women.¹⁵⁵

In Rwanda, women's political participation has been closely related to the process of democratization. Rwanda's constitution references the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and requires a 30% quota for women in all decision-making bodies (parliament, the executive cabinet, the judiciary, and local government). In addition, political parties decided on voluntary quotas that required 30% of their listed candidates to be women. This was a key factor in the women-held seat percentages of 2003 (48.8%) and 2008 (56%).¹⁵⁶

Another method of measuring equality in government is by examining the appointees and subsequent power given to members of a presidential cabinet. Parity cabinets have been achieved by widely differing nations, including Bolivia, France, Chile, and Spain. Though each nation achieved an equal balance of men and women, some of the cabinets were more successful than others. The parity cabinet in Chile was largely seen to be a personal agenda of the president, Michelle Bachelet, while José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's cabinet in Spain represented a larger social change.¹⁵⁷

Politically, parity goes beyond numbers in cabinets or in parliament (although there is rarely parity in those milieu), and into power parity. Campaign finance, training, and quotas work to advance number parity, but to explore power parity, it is important to also consider legislative leadership and party involvement.

Case Study: Sweden

Sweden is one of the countries identified as the closest to closing the gender gap. To do so, they enact educational, cultural, domestic, corporate, and political policies. Beginning at the preschool level, the education system works to challenge gender stereotypes both in

¹⁵⁵ National Democratic Institute and United Nations Development Program, "Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties," February 2012.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Susan Franceschet and Gwynn Thomas, "Changing Representational Norms in the Executive Branch: Parity Cabinets in Chile and Spain," March 23, 2013, <http://www.ecpg-barcelona.com/sites/default/files/Franceschet%20and%20Thomas%20ECPG%202013.pdf>.

the classroom and in instructional material. Culturally, there is a movement to introduce a gender-neutral pronoun, ‘*hen*,’ into the lexicon.¹⁵⁸

Domestically, there are a number of initiatives for parents. After having a child, sixty days of leave are allocated to each parent and then one of the two parents can receive almost a full salary for a year before returning to their job. To encourage men to take paternity leave, in 1995 “Daddy Leave” was introduced. Daddy Leave initiated penalties for not taking advantage of paternity leave, and these measures have been successful. More than eight in ten men took leave after it was introduced. Additionally, the state assists in both childcare and elder care. There are highly subsidized preschools for children over twelve months, and older citizens are eligible for state-sponsored elder care.¹⁵⁹

In the corporate realm, there are specific gender benchmarks for businesses to reach and strong pay-differential legislation. Politically, there is a 40% quota in place. Sweden also had the distinction of surpassing their quota in 2010, with women occupying 45% of parliamentary seats.¹⁶⁰ Overall, Sweden actively pursues gender equity with comprehensive policies in multiple areas.

Case Study: France

Historically, France has been behind its European neighbors in women’s rights. Women did not receive the right to vote or run for office until 1944, though movements promoting women’s suffrage began decades before. As late as the early 2000s, women’s political participation was still lagging. In fact, the 2012 National Assembly was only 12.3% women, and was ranked sixty-sixth in the world.¹⁶¹

However, recently the nation has garnered international attention as it instituted laws to equalize male and female representation and participation in politics. This pursuit of parity in France stemmed from the argument that in order to achieve a true democracy, women must be equally involved. The movement championed the slogan “a democracy that excludes half the population is not a democracy.”¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Swedish Institute, “Gender Equality: The Swedish Approach to Fairness,” Swedish Institute, March 25, 2014, <http://www.sweden.se/eng/home/society/equality/facts/gender-equality-in-sweden/>.

¹⁵⁹ Katrin Bennhold, “In Sweden, Men Can Have It All,” *New York Times*, June 9, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/10/world/europe/10iht-sweden.html>.

¹⁶⁰ Swedish Institute, “Gender Equality: The Swedish Approach to Fairness.”

¹⁶¹ Mariette Sineau, *The French Experience: Institutionalizing Parity*, International IDEA, 2002, <http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/France.pdf>.

¹⁶² Gill Allwood and Khursheed Wadia, *Women and Politics in France 1958–2000* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000).

The foundation of the coming “parity laws” was established in July 1999 when France legalized affirmative action. Since then, France enacted the parity law, which dictates “equal access of women and men to electoral mandates and electoral positions.” The reforms require each party in an election to have 50% of each sex on electoral lists, allowing a 1% margin.¹⁶³

Since the implementation of the parity law in 2000, the results from subsequent elections have been mixed. The most success has been in municipal elections for municipalities with 3,500 people or more. Though the reforms have been criticized for not creating automatic equality, they have made huge strides. In 2012, 26.9% of the parliamentary seats were occupied by women, more than doubling the percentage of 2002.¹⁶⁴

Another area of progress for gender equality in France can be seen in the growing number of women who have been appointed to cabinet positions. In the current presidential administration, France has witnessed a growing number of women included on the president’s cabinet. François Hollande achieved parity when he announced that seventeen of the thirty-four cabinet members would be female. Though the figure itself is encouraging, some have argued that the actual power given to women has decreased since the previous administration, under President Nicholas Sarkozy.¹⁶⁵ Sarkozy’s first cabinet included women appointed to many of the prominent positions including Finance, Justice, Health, and Defense. In Hollande’s cabinet, appointed in 2012, none of those positions were occupied by women. Instead, women were appointed to more stereotypically female positions including: Social Affairs and Health, Culture and Communication, Senior Citizens, Families, and Disabled People. Though France continues to trail behind its European neighbors in terms of gender equality, they are making impressive strides forward.

Criticisms of Parity

There are a number of criticisms of legislating parity. A primary one is that some women say that they do not desire government intervention and desire women to gain political support on their own. Another argument against legislating parity is that it forces change while incremental progress is more representative of cultural change. The institutional reforms in France, as discussed above, illustrate that legislation alone will not change the attitudes, or voting patterns, of a society instantaneously. Another criticism of parity

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Women in Parliament in 2012,” 2013, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2012e.pdf>.

¹⁶⁵ Rainbow Murray, “In Hollande’s New Government, Women Have Half the Jobs, but Less Real Power than under Sarkozy.” London School of Economics and Political Science: European Politics and Policy blog, accessed January 21, 2014, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2012/05/22/hollande-new-cabinet-women/>.

initiatives, and quotas in general, is that they are undemocratic. One writer asserts that by creating laws about the number of individuals of a certain gender that must be included displays distrust in voters and broadly generalizes that it is unfair to select women based primarily on gender.¹⁶⁶

Though the goal of achieving worldwide political party is far from reached, important strides are being made across the world, signifying that attitudes are changing and progress, though slow, is occurring.

¹⁶⁶ Joanna Tuffy, “Gender Quotas Do Women No Favours—and Undermine Democracy,” *Thejournal.ie*, November 22, 2011, <http://www.thejournal.ie/readme/column-gender-quotas-do-women-no-favours---and-undermine-democracy-284733-Nov2011/>.

Chapter 5: Argentina Case Study

Descriptive Representation

Political Structure

The Executive

The Argentinian Constitution of 1853 established that a democratic government, which is representative, republican and federal, rules the country. In this context, the executive power is vested in the president, who is both the chief of state and head of government. The president is also the chief of the country's armed forces. The president and vice president are elected on the same ticket by popular vote for four-year terms. Presidents may serve only two consecutive four-year terms, but unlimited nonconsecutive terms.¹⁶⁷ The constitutional reform of 1994 introduced a runoff system for presidential elections. If one candidate receives more than 45% of the votes, or more than 40% with a 10% advantage over his or her closest rival, there is no need for a runoff election. Otherwise, there must be a runoff election between the two most voted tickets in the first round. In the runoff, a simple majority wins.

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (CFK) was elected President in 2007 and then reelected to a second term in 2011 with 54% of the vote. Her term will end in 2015, as she cannot run for president again without a constitutional reform. At times during her second term the possibility of a constitutional reform was discussed, but it no longer appears to be a feasible option. Fernández de Kirchner is the country's first elected and reelected female president, and the second female ever to serve as President (the first was Isabel Martínez de Perón, 1974–1976). She is the widow of former President of Argentina Néstor Kirchner (NK), who ruled the country from 2003 to 2007. From 1989 until her election to the presidency, Fernández de Kirchner held various legislative positions, being both Senator and deputy for Santa Cruz and later for Buenos Aires province.

According to the Argentinian constitution, the President is in charge of designating the ministers that comprise the cabinet. As of March 2014, only three out of fifteen ministers were female (20%). Women then ran the ministries of Social Development, Industry, and Security. This is consistent with the historical trend, which only started to change during

¹⁶⁷ Constitution of Argentina, Article 90. Every former President, if (s)he has already served two consecutive terms in a row, has to wait one complete four-year term until (s)he can be reelected into another two consecutive four-year terms as President of Argentina again. The same thing applies for the Vice President.

Néstor Kirchner's presidency. From 2003 to 2007 three female ministers joined the cabinet as ministers of Defense, Finance, and Social Development.

Among the developments during Fernández de Kirchner's presidency, the election of Fabiana Ríos of the Partido Social Patagónico as Governor of Tierra del Fuego province stands out. She became the first woman to be elected provincial governor in the history of the country. Afterwards, Lucía Corpacci of the Frente para la Victoria followed Ríos's lead, when she was elected Governor of Catamarca province. As of December 2013, Claudia Alejandra Ledesma Abdala de Zamora served as Governor of Santiago del Estero province. She replaced her husband, Gerardo Zamora, who had served as Governor since 2005. She ran for Governor for the Frente Cívico por Santiago, after the Argentinian Supreme Court banned her husband from running for a new term. She won the election with almost 65% of the vote.¹⁶⁸ Out of the twenty-three Argentinian provinces plus the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, in 2014 only three (13%) have female governors. This stands out as the highest percentage of governorships held by women in the country's history.

Néstor Kirchner's presidency also brought an important improvement regarding the role of women in the higher ranks of the judiciary. For the first time in the country's history, two women were appointed to the Supreme Court during his administration. First, Dr. Elena I. Highton de Nolasco was appointed as a Supreme Court justice in June 2004, becoming its Vice President in 2005. Later, Dr. Carmen María Argibay became a member of the Court on February 2005. Her appointment as Supreme Court justice was significant because she was a founding member of the International Association of Women Judges and was president of that organization from 1998 to 2000. Additionally, she was the founder of the Argentine Association of Women Judges. Both Dr. Highton and Dr. Argibay played critical roles in the creation of the Supreme Court's Office of Domestic Violence (OVD) and its Office for Women, which Dr. Argibay headed until her death in May 2014. Before Dr. Argibay's death, the two female justices constituted 29% of the Supreme Court; however, a recent modification to the Supreme Court will reduce the number of judges from seven to five, so she will not be replaced. President Néstor Kirchner complemented his appointment of these two female justices with Presidential Decree No. 222/03 (Official Bulletin No. 30175, pg. 2), which made explicit the notion that the composition of the Supreme Court of Justice should reflect gender diversity.

¹⁶⁸ "Claudia Ledesma Abdala se impuso en las elecciones y es la nueva gobernadora de Santiago del Estero," *La Nación*, December 2, 2013, accessed October 30, 2014, <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643742-claudia-ledesma-abdala-se-impuso-en-las-elecciones-y-es-la-nueva-gobernadora-de-santiago-del-estero>.

Legislature

The Argentinian Legislature consists of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of 257 members who are elected for four-year terms, with half the seats being renewed every two years. Each one of Argentina's twenty-three provinces plus the City of Buenos Aires is an electoral district. Chamber seats are distributed among the districts in proportion to their population. Parties and electoral alliances submit closed lists of candidates. The citizenry may not choose individual candidates from the lists or alter their order. Voters cast a ballot for a single list. The seats in each constituency are apportioned according to the largest average method of proportional representation (PR), conceived by the Belgian mathematician Victor D'Hondt in 1899. To participate in the allocation of seats, a list must receive at least 3% of the electoral register in the respective district.

The Senate's seventy-two members are elected for six-year terms, with one-third of the seats being voted on every two years. Each province and the City of Buenos Aires choose three Senators. The party or electoral alliance with the largest number of votes receives two seats, and the party or electoral alliance in second place receives one seat.

In Argentina, women attained the right to run for election in 1947, but this did not immediately translate into increased participation of women in the political sphere. From 1947 to 1983, women's ability to participate in politics was limited by the military regimes that interrupted democratic rule in the country. With the country's return to democracy in 1983, women began to participate more actively in the country's political scene, but their presence in Argentine politics did not really take off until 1991, when Congress approved the gender quota law (Law No. 24.012). This law mandated that 30% of candidates nominated by the political parties for the Chamber of Deputies (the lower house of Congress) be women. In 2000, President Fernando de la Rúa signed a decree extending application of the quota law to the Senate as well. It was applied for the first time in October of 2001.

Quotas: The Ley de Cupos

Argentina was the first country in the Americas to pass a law allocating a share of political parties' candidacies for elected office to women. The original law was not perfect, though; three decrees, issued in 1993, 2000, and 2005, were necessary to clarify the criteria for the law's applicability.¹⁶⁹ A reform adopted in 1994 enshrined the quota law as Article 37 of the Constitution. It states that affirmative action is required when the ultimate goal is to achieve real equality for all groups.

¹⁶⁹ The President of the Nation of Argentina, Decree 379, 1993; The President of the Nation of Argentina, Decree 1011, 2010; The President of the Nation of Argentina, Decree 451, 2005.

The law's sanctions against the parties for noncompliance have facilitated its enforcement. Additionally, the electoral system is favorable to its implementation, because the electoral districts for the Chamber of Deputies are multimember, and as mentioned before, parties have to present closed and blocked lists of candidates.¹⁷⁰

The implementation of the quota law brought about important changes regarding women's participation in the Argentine legislature, including a jump in women's participation and sustained high levels (with such high percentages as 38% in the Chamber of Deputies and 39% in the Senate, Argentina now ranks among the highest in the world in women's representation in national legislatures); marked access to leadership positions in committees; an increase in legislative activity (women's signatures on legislative projects); and a growing inclusion of issues related to women in the legislative agenda, as well as greater weight to gender projects.

The Female Quota Law, or *Ley de Cupos*, was passed in 1991 and was first implemented in the election of deputies in 1993. Given early failures to comply with the law, it was necessary to revise the law's criteria by regulatory decrees, first in 1993, then again in 2000, and finally in 2005, the revision that remains in effect today. It was not until after the 2000 revision, in the 2002–2003 legislative session, that the 30% threshold established by the law was finally reached. In subsequent years, the share of women in the legislature grew past the threshold, reaching 40% in the 2008–2009 session, during the first presidency of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Since the peak in 2008–2009, there's been a slow decrease in the share of women in the Chamber of Deputies. These data are illustrated in Table 7 and Figure 5 below.

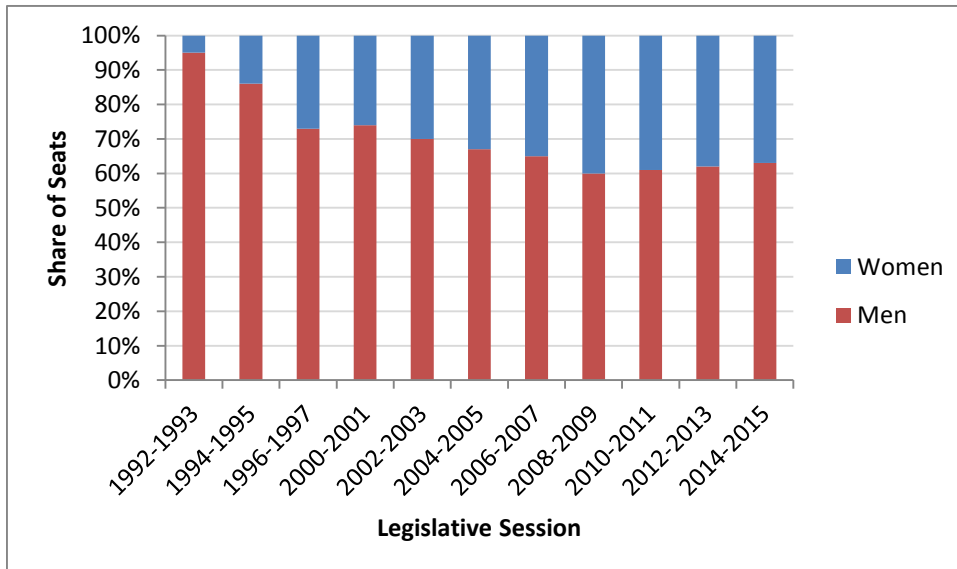
¹⁷⁰ Nélide Archenti and María Inés Tula, eds., *Mujeres y política en América Latina. Sistemas electorales y cuotas de género* (Buenos Aires: Heliasta, 2008.)

Table 7: Percentage of Women in the Chamber of Deputies by Legislative Session

Legislative Session	Share of Women (%)
1992–1993	5%
1994–1995	14%
1996–1997	27%
2000–2001	26%
2002–2003	30%
2004–2005	33%
2006–2007	35%
2008–2009	40%
2010–2011	39%
2012–2013	38%
2014–2015	37%

Source: “Fundación Directorio Legislativo,” accessed November 20, 2014, <http://www.directoriolegislativo.org/>.

Figure 5: Relative Gender Representation in the Chamber of Deputies, 1992–1993 to 2014–2015 Legislative Sessions



Source: Legislative Directory Foundation.

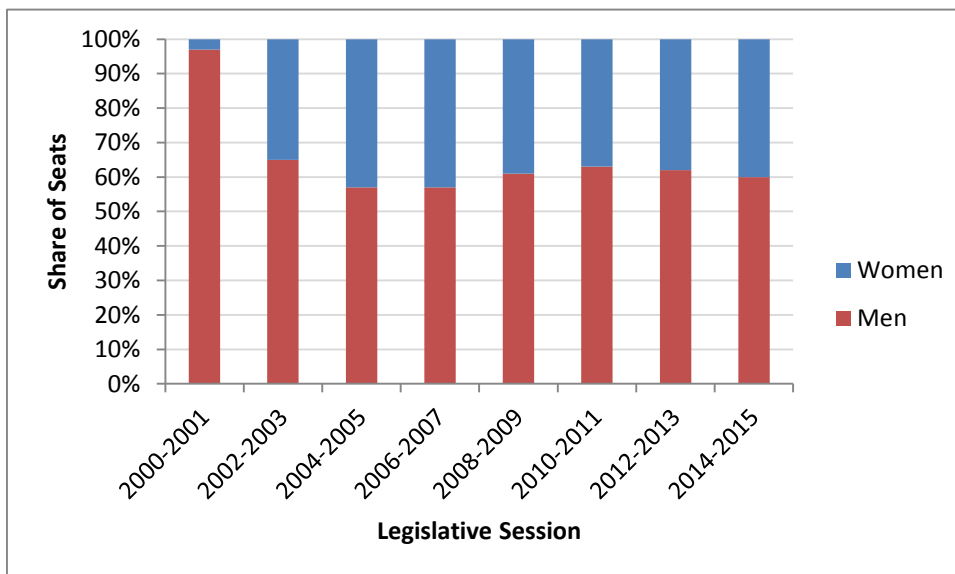
The Female Quota Law was not applied to positions in the Senate until the election for the 2002–2003 legislative session, which explains the jump from 3% to 35% from the 2000–2001 session to the 2002–2003 session. The highest share of female representation in the senate, 43%, was reached in the 2004-2005 session and repeated in 2006-2007. After dropping in subsequent sessions, the share of women in the Senate returned to 40% for the 2014-2015 session. These data are illustrated in Table 8 and Figure 6 below.

Table 8: Percentage of Women in the Senate by Legislative Session

Legislative Session	Share of Women (%)
2000–2001	3%
2002–2003	35%
2004–2005	43%
2006–2007	43%
2008–2009	39%
2010–2011	37%
2012–2013	38%
2014–2015	40%

Source: Legislative Directory Foundation

Figure 6: Relative Gender Representation in the Senate, 2001–2002 to 2014–2015 Legislative Sessions



Source: Legislative Directory Foundation.

Of the three branches of the federal government, the legislative branch is the arena where the role of women has been most significant. Even so, there are some proposals to further increment the participation of women in the legislature—the aspiration is to achieve gender parity, which is seen as an improvement over the quota law, which was always considered a temporary corrective measure.

On a symbolic level, the Female Quota Law seems more like a concession than recognition of equal rights: this would not be the case with parity, which would guarantee equal representation and equal rights of men and women. Nevertheless, this objective is not broadly shared among Argentine society. The focus has shifted from quantifying the share of women in the legislature to the empowerment of female legislators and the opening up of access to more powerful roles within the legislature. Ideally, this would manifest itself in more women functioning as “block authorities” to preside over commissions in either of the two chambers.

Women perceive the quota law as an affirmative action that has helped to promote their participation in decision-making in the legislative bodies. However, in attempting to assess the true advancement of women legislators in Argentina, several authors argue that to assess the real power of the women who are national deputies and senators, one has to evaluate their real access to positions of authority—such as chairs and vice-chairs—in their respective legislative bodies, as well as in their intraparty blocs and committees.¹⁷¹ In this realm the assessment turns out to be less positive. Women have been excluded from the presidencies of both houses and from the leadership of the political blocs or coalitions. Additionally, studies continue to show that women are always selected to lead those committees related to issues that are perceived as more proper for women’s interests, such as the family, women’s issues, environment, and culture, while men are concentrated in those of perceived greater weight, particularly those focused on economics and taxation.

Broader Societal Factors

Feminism and Women’s Movements in Argentina 1900–Present

Advances in women’s rights and women’s political participation in Argentina came in fits and starts over the course of the twentieth century. In an effort to succinctly describe the history of women’s movements and feminism in Argentina, we rely on the work of

¹⁷¹ María Inés Tula, “La Ley de Cupos en la Argentina: reforma electoral y representación política,” in *Paper Presentado en el XXV Congreso Internacional de Latin American Studies Association (LASA)*, (Las Vegas, Nevada, 2004); Jutta Max, Jutta Borner, and Mariana Caminotti, *Las legisladoras: cupos de género y política en Argentina y Brasil* (Buenos Aires: UNDP, 2007).

Dora Barrancos,¹⁷² in which she lays out three distinct periods of activity: the first encompasses the turn of the century through 1932 and marks the dawn of feminism in Argentina and (unsuccessful) struggle for universal suffrage; the second is the period from 1946 to 1955, which saw the achievement of franchise and participation in elected office (also coincided with the advent of Peronism); and the third is from 1976 to the present.

Women's movements in Argentina follow from the rise of feminism that occurred around the turn of the century. This rise culminated in the holding of the first International Women's Congress of Argentina in 1910. Participants spoke out on a range of issues, demanding political rights for women, equality in civil and legal rights, the right to divorce, mixed and secular education, improved labor conditions, and the suppression of all forms of servitude. Suffrage, with its potential to influence outcomes across the range of these issues, became a central focus of this period.

The end of the first World War brought about changes in the role of women in European society; these changes were reflected in Argentina as well. In this period, three figures stand out in the struggle for women's access to suffrage: Julieta Lanteri, Alicia Moreau de Justo, and Elvira Rawson de Dellepiane. While there may have been different interpretations of how suffrage should be pursued among early feminists (essentially, either incrementally or universally), these differences disappeared at the end of the first World War. Opinions coalesced around fighting for universal suffrage, just like that enjoyed by men.

The 1920s saw an increase in activity in the struggle for suffrage, with a greater number of women's associations expressing support for the cause. The movement had originated in the middle class, but by the 1920s, women from the highest levels of Argentine society were joining, albeit with more moderate attitudes. Lanteri launched the National Feminist Party in 1920, with the announced intent that it would cease to exist the day women's suffrage was achieved.

After three decades of recurring demands from women's groups, the Argentine Chamber of Deputies finally began debate on the Law on Suffrage in 1932. The Chamber approved the female vote that same year, but the bill was ignored by the (more conservative) Senate and did not advance. There was a significant lapse in activity from this point until the mid-1940s, as demands for advancement of women's issues took a back seat to the dominant concerns of that period in world history and domestic political instability (in Argentina the 1930s are known as the "decade of infamy").

¹⁷² Dora Barrancos, "Los caminos del feminismo en la Argentina: historia y derivas," *Voces en el Fénix*, accessed November 21, 2014, <http://vocesenelfenix.com/content/los-caminos-del-feminismo-en-la-argentina-historia-y-derivas>.

The election of Juan Domingo Perón in 1946 marked a swift turning point in women's efforts to obtain these rights. While Eva Perón herself may not have been a feminist, she was an inspiring figure who was able to mobilize women. Suffrage was obtained in 1947: the law was passed on September 9 and implemented into law on September 23 of that same year.¹⁷³

The Peronists' efforts were well rewarded: women voted in national elections for the first time in 1951, and voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Peronist party, contributing heavily to the party's victory. At that same time, women in Argentina were elected to an unprecedented 30% of seats in both houses of Congress. Unfortunately, the music stopped in 1955 when General Perón was deposed by a coup d'état. In the brief intervals of democratic governance over the next 30 years, there were almost no women in Congress.

The next critical appearance of a strong women's movement in Argentina was a product of the worst dictatorship in Argentina's history, the so-called "Process" of 1976–1983. These women—the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo—were key protagonists in the struggle against the military dictatorship, publicly and forcefully demanding the return of their "disappeared" family members.

The return to democracy in 1983 brought with it the return of the feminist movement, though with a marked change of positions and an updated agenda, including two central issues: political recognition and domestic violence. The struggle for political recognition took shape in the efforts of women to achieve passage and implementation of the Female Quota Act, which sought to establish thresholds for women's access to elected office. Quota legislation was enacted in 1991 thanks to the efforts of a broad coalition of women working from across the range of political parties. The law changed the composition of party lists used to present candidates for election: it requires that a minimum of 30% of listed candidates be women, and furthermore that they be listed in positions that ensure the possibility of listed women being elected.¹⁷⁴ As already mentioned, Argentina became the first country to enact women's participation quotas, and was later followed by a group of other Latin American countries.

There have also been significant achievements on the other central issue on the feminist agenda, the fight for protections against domestic violence. Among these, several laws have been passed, as listed below:

¹⁷³ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Law on Conferment of Political Rights to Women. (Argentinean Law No. 13.010), 1947.

¹⁷⁴ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Female Quota Act (Argentinean Law No. 24.012), 1991.

- National Law No. 26.364 (2008)¹⁷⁵—Law on Prevention and Punishment of Human Trafficking and Victims’ Assistance.
- National Law No. 26.485 (2009)¹⁷⁶—Law on Integral Protection to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence against Women in Areas in Which They Develop Interpersonal Relations—and its regulatory implementation via decree 1.011 (2010).
- National Law No. 26.842 (2012)¹⁷⁷—Modification to National Law No.26.364 (2008), Law on Prevention and Punishment of Human Trafficking and Victims’ Assistance.
- National Law No. 26.791 (2012)¹⁷⁸—Incorporation of the concept of femicide in the National Criminal Code by amending Article 80 of the same.

In addition to these important advances, two fundamentally important pieces of legislation in civil rights with significant implications for women also merit notice:

- National Law No. 26.618 (2010)¹⁷⁹—Marriage Equality Act. This law made it legal for people of the same sex to marry, making Argentina the first country in Latin America to recognize this right at the national level.
- National Law No. 26.743 (2012)¹⁸⁰—Right to Gender Identity Law. This is another pioneering law, allowing individuals to establish their civil identity in accordance with their personal gender identity, which may differ from their biological sex.

The support and activism of feminists, regardless of political party, played a fundamental role in the passage of these laws.

Today in Argentina, the issue that unifies the entire spectrum of feminist activism is the legalization of abortion. While the past thirty years have seen numerous advances on

¹⁷⁵ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Law on Prevention and Punishment of Human Trafficking and Victims’ Assistance (Argentinean Law No. 26485), 2009.

¹⁷⁶ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Law on Integral Protection to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence against Women in Areas in Which They Develop Interpersonal Relations (Argentinean Law No. 26842), 2009.

¹⁷⁷ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Modification to National Law No.26.364 (2008), Law on Prevention and Punishment of Human Trafficking and Victims’ Assistance. (Argentinean Law No. 26842), 2012.

¹⁷⁸ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Law that incorporates the concept of femicide in the National Criminal Code by amending Article 80 of the same (Argentinean Law No. 26.791), 2012.

¹⁷⁹ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Marriage Equality Act (Argentinean Law No. 26.618), 2010.

¹⁸⁰ The Congress of the Nation of Argentina. Right to Gender Identity Law. (Argentinean Law No. 26.743), 2012.

women's issues, many feminists consider legalized abortion to be the unfinished business of democracy. Since 2005, the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion has brought together a diverse array of feminist women, the women's movement, and women who participate in different political and social movements to campaign for this cause using the slogan: "Sexual education to decide, contraception to not abort, legal abortion to not die."

In early November of 2014 the campaign resubmitted a proposal for the legalization of abortion to the Chamber of Deputies, marking the fifth time they have submitted the proposal (the previous versions all having lost parliamentary status due to lack of advancement). This most recent proposal included the signatures of sixty-four members of the House, including members from almost every legislative block and significant representation from the ruling party. The debate to decriminalize abortion was thus reinstated in the Chamber of Deputies; however, the proposal again did not succeed, as it lacks the necessary support to become law, beginning with the fact that the project does not have the support of President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

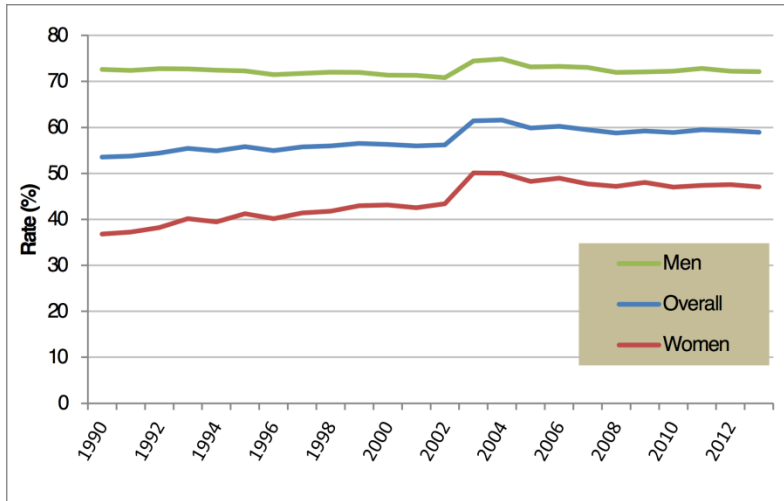
Factors of Underrepresentation

Women's Participation in the Argentine Labor Market (2003–2013)

Although women have made significant improvements in education and access to the labor market, it is important to mention that the participation of women in the Argentine labor market continues to be much lower than that of men, as shown in Figure 7 below.

Not only do Argentine women lag behind men in the rate at which they engage with the productive economy, whether in terms of economic activity, employment rate, unemployment rate, or the degree to which they are subjected to unregistered employment, those women who do obtain salaried positions in the formal economy also earn significantly less than their male counterparts.

Figure 7: Economic Activity by Gender (Rates)



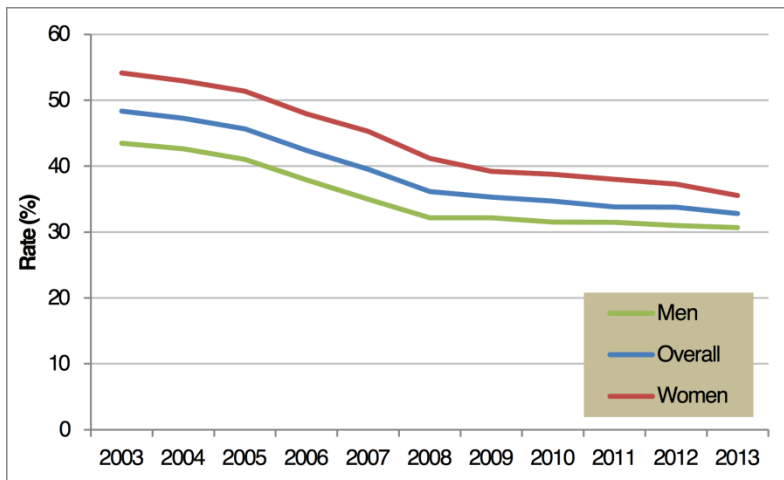
Source: Observatory on Employment and Business Dynamics (Argentine Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security), based on the Permanent Household Survey (EPH) of the National Survey and Census Institute (INDEC).¹⁸¹

Informal Labor

A substantial portion of employment in Argentina is informal or unregistered. While the share of persons informally employed is decreasing, as shown in Figure 8, informality remains a persistent problem in the Argentine labor market.

¹⁸¹ “Boletín de Estadísticas Laborales,” Ministry of Labor, Argentina, accessed November 21, 2014, <http://www.trabajo.gob.ar/left/estadisticas/bel/index.asp>.

Figure 8: Rates of Nonregistered Employment by Sex, 2003–2013



Source: Labor Statistics Bulletin (Argentine Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security), based on the Permanent Household Survey (EPH) of the National Survey and Census Institute (INDEC).¹⁸²

Figure 8 also shows that women depend more heavily on informal employment than men. While the nonregistered employment rate among women has fallen faster than that of men since 2003 (from about 54 to 36%), it still exceeds the rate at which men are informally employed by about 5%.

The reduction in the share of informally employed women is at least partly attributable to specific efforts to discourage informality in certain sectors and to encourage registration of domestic employees. This is an accomplishment of the Kirchner-Fernández de Kirchner governments.

Policies in Support of Higher Female Labor Force Participation

One of the main obstacles to increasing female labor force participation is that women take more responsibility for caring for their families (both children and the elderly). The domestic responsibilities of women who enter the labor force do not change significantly, resulting in the “double workday” of their paid work plus the unpaid domestic work. These are the primary drivers behind their higher turnover rate in the labor force and greater preference for part-time work. Women are also more likely to require extra time off to take care of their children. Knowing they have to balance home and work

¹⁸² Ibid.

responsibilities, women are more likely to turn down promotions or take on additional responsibilities at work than are men.

These competing responsibilities have different effects on women in different social strata. Families in higher income strata can resolve many of these problems by taking advantage of the childcare and domestic services available to them. In lower income groups, women of reproductive age have little choice but to exit the labor market when they start families.

In sum, the data show that the Argentine labor market is significantly divided along gender lines. Not only do women perform most unpaid work, when women are employed in paid work, they are overrepresented in the informal sector. In terms of salaried labor, stratification is both horizontal—in terms of the sectors in which women are most likely to be employed—and vertical, with women less likely to advance to executive or middle management positions in both private and public companies. The result of this stratification is that women earn lower wages than their male colleagues. Although there has been a clear trend towards gender equality in the last decades, the overall result is that there is still a long way to go to achieve full equality between women and men in the Argentine labor market.

Networks and Personal History

Cristina Elisabet Fernández de Kirchner was born in Riguelet, La Plata (Buenos Aires Province), on February 19, 1953. Her father was Eduardo Fernández and her mother, of German descent, was Ofelia Wilhelm.¹⁸³ While it does not seem that Cristina's family had significant prestige or political ties, her mother was an early influence. She was a union representative and was important in Cristina's initial passion for politics. This passion further manifested when Cristina began to study law at Universidad de la Plata and met her future husband, Néstor Kirchner. Both of them were very active in university politics and in youth Peronist organizations (Cristina in the Frente de Agrupaciones Eva Perón [FAEP]; Néstor in the Federación Universitaria por la Revolución Nacional [FURN]).¹⁸⁴ They married in 1975, established a law firm in Santa Cruz, and made several real estate investments that became the basis of their wealth. They had two children, Máximo (born in 1977), and Florencia (1990). The personal and political partnership of Néstor and Cristina has a place etched in Argentina's modern history, right alongside Evita and Juan Perón. Following in their Peronist footsteps, the Kirchners developed a powerful marital political alliance and even a political philosophy known as

¹⁸³ Olga Wornat, *Cristina: vida pública y privada de la mujer más poderosa de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2010).

¹⁸⁴ The FAEP then merged with the FURN to constitute the Peronist University Youth at La Plata University. The couple joined this political movement.

Kirchnerismo (or simply K). Néstor was a significant influence in Cristina's political life, but was a partner rather than a mentor.

After the 1976 military coup, Cristina took a hiatus from her political activism. Even on hiatus, her political bent was still present: she worked as a lawyer focused on human rights,¹⁸⁵ which likely further influenced her political trajectory. After the fall of the dictatorship and the return to democracy in 1983, Cristina reengaged in politics and became a militant in the Partido Justicialista (Peronist block). In 1989 she was elected to the House of Representatives in Santa Cruz, and then reelected in 1993. Thus began Cristina's famed political career and a new chapter in her political partnership with Néstor. He was elected Governor of Santa Cruz in 1991, and in 1995 Cristina became Senator of the province of Santa Cruz, returning for another term in 2001. In between, she was elected Representative to the national Congress (1997).

With the national spotlight on her, Cristina quickly began to garner attention for her strong positions as well as for her articulate and fiery discourse. She became a fixture in the national and international media, with a great deal of attention and commentary focused on her makeup and expensive clothes. Her increased visibility as an orator (she can speak for hours without a single note in front of her) and her performance on powerful committees in the Senate and in the House (Constitutional Affairs, Budget, National Defense, International Affairs) not only demonstrated her political skills, but also led to increased controversies because of her firm and uncompromising political style. Cristina had become a real force on the national stage as a legislator, and her force increased substantially with the election of Néstor as President of Argentina in 2003. Although Cristina now bore the shared spotlight of her husband's new national role, she carried on with her own political career, becoming Senator of the Province of Buenos Aires in 2005. She refused to be called First Lady and insisted instead on "The First Citizen." The political partnership of Cristina and Néstor became stronger and more dynamic during his presidential term. Even though she continued to shine as a senator, she also became closely engaged with his presidency and his policy initiatives. She was present in all the Cabinet meetings and was directly involved with Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights issues (e.g., the Memory Museum, and the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo). She was also the first senator to have an office in the presidential palace.¹⁸⁶

One of Néstor Kirchner's most significant accomplishments as President was handling the economic crisis that had shaken Argentina since 2001. During his administration (2003–2007), the economy stabilized, with an annual growth of 8% to 9% and a fiscal

¹⁸⁵ Yasmeen Mohiuddin, "Cristina Fernandez and Nestor Kirchner: Latin America's First Couple," *International Journal* 64, no. 1 (Winter 2008/2009): 255–59.

¹⁸⁶ "Profile: Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner," *BBC News*, October 8, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-12284208>.

surplus that was the highest in Argentina's recent history. His popularity soared. In a surprise move, rather than seeking reelection for a second term, he announced he would not seek reelection and that Cristina would be the candidate for the presidency for their party (Frente para la Victoria). Interestingly, the frontrunner of the opposition was another woman, Elisa Carrió, but Cristina won handily as she rode on a combination of his presidential coattails and her own distinguished career as a legislator. Now that the presidential spotlight was fully on her, there was a role reversal as Néstor became "The First Citizen" and was a key player in her administration. Thus the Kirchners strengthened and advanced their powerful political team (K), which was abruptly shaken when Néstor died unexpectedly on October 10, 2010.¹⁸⁷ Nonetheless, he continues to be an influence in Cristina's political life, and she still references him in her political discourse.

In the midst of mourning her lifetime political and personal partner, Cristina ran for reelection for a second presidential term in 2011, winning with 54% of the vote. Her second term has had some significant economic and political turmoil, as will be discussed in the following section.

Substantive Representation

Introduction

This section examines the substantive aspect of President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's legacy as a female chief executive by focusing on her key campaign promises, policy initiatives, and political choices. This case study provides a discussion of her pivotal actions in the economic, social, and foreign policy realms. In economic policy, the important political themes have been income redistribution, boosting consumption, and strengthening the labor market. Fernández de Kirchner has implemented these policy priorities through a renewed commitment to state intervention in the economy following a decade of neoliberalism. With the exception of a few isolated initiatives, the administration has not established investment incentives. The development of a comprehensive infrastructure program has also been notably absent. In social policy, Fernández de Kirchner's administration has expanded the country's social protection system, targeting various vulnerable groups.

During her presidency, Fernández de Kirchner has enacted a number of laws promoting women's rights. Among these, two are particularly noteworthy: the 2009 law instituting

¹⁸⁷ "Obituary: Former Argentine President Nestor Kirchner," *BBC News*, October 27, 2010, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11636472>.

protections for women in their interpersonal relationships,¹⁸⁸ and the 2008 human trafficking law.¹⁸⁹ She also passed two important pieces of gender-related human rights legislation: the legalization of same-sex marriage through the 2010 Marriage Equality Act (Law No. 26.618) and the 2012 Right to Gender Identity Law (Law No. 26.743), which grants the individual the right to determine his or her gender. Fernández de Kirchner's government has also implemented an aggressive human rights policy, especially regarding the human rights abuses and violations that occurred during the last dictatorship.

Strong political activism has marked the President's foreign policy in South America within the MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market) and the UNASUR (Union of South American Nations). She also maintained a solid political partnership with Venezuela and its controversial leader, the late Hugo Chávez. The President's nationalism is reflected in her strong rhetoric around the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) and her pursuit of international support for their reclamation. Weak relationships with the international financial community and key multilateral organizations (IMF, World Bank) have subverted these other efforts.

Campaign Promises

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's first presidential campaign was primarily based on her husband Néstor's record of reducing poverty and unemployment following the 2001 and 2002 economic crisis.¹⁹⁰ Néstor had successfully presided over the Argentine economic recovery, taking advantage of the cost competitiveness that resulted from the currency devaluation and the concurrent world commodities boom of the early 2000s. He also restructured Argentina's debt and paid off outstanding International Monetary Fund loans. During his administration, Fernández de Kirchner was a very active First Lady and Senator, working as a key collaborator in crafting his policies. Like Néstor, she believes in the need for strong state intervention in markets.

While Fernández de Kirchner's campaign portended general continuity with Néstor's governing model, her campaign did not provide details of her plans for her time in office. Campaign posters said simply, "We know what is missing. We know how to get it

¹⁸⁸ Law on Integral Protection to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence against Women in Areas in Which They Develop Interpersonal Relations (Argentinean Law No. 26842), 2009; The President of the Nation of Argentina, , Decree 1011.

¹⁸⁹ Law on Prevention and Punishment of Human Trafficking and Victims' Assistance (Law No. 26842), 2008, and its subsequent 2012 modification.

¹⁹⁰ "Argentina Country Profile," *BBC News*, May 29, 2012, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/country_profiles/1192478.stm.

done.”¹⁹¹ Overall, she positioned herself as a candidate who would continue current policies and, as discussed below, she has kept that promise. Nevertheless, during her first term as President, Fernández de Kirchner was forced to broaden her political alliances in order to guarantee the Kirchner model’s survival. She did so by appointing Julio Cobos, a former governor of the province of Mendoza and member of the Unión Cívica Radical (the primary opposition party), as her Vice President.

Economic Policy

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s economic policy essentially continued the regime established under Néstor, which sought to achieve three objectives in recovering the Argentine economy from the 2001–2002 crisis:¹⁹² first, the restoration of national autonomy in determining economic policy; second, reindustrialization via diversification of the economy’s productive structure, with a particular focus on exports; and third, bolstering employment, in terms of both quantity and quality. To facilitate these goals, Néstor’s administration took advantage of the prior currency devaluation to establish a stable and a competitive real exchange rate (SCRER), which became a key pillar of his macroeconomic policy. The SCRER was a crucial component underlying Argentina’s success at sustaining high growth rates during this period while reducing unemployment, labor market informality, and poverty. Along with the SCRER, the Kirchners pursued a suite of additional economic policy measures: public sector deleveraging; fiscal sustainability; increased public spending; controls on the entry and exit of speculative capital; regulation of key sectors via negotiation of price and compensation agreements; state support for collective bargaining processes; sustained increases in the minimum living wage; and increased coverage and benefits in the social protection system.

The macroeconomic program’s primary achievements were high growth rates through stimulation of domestic markets (more consumption than investment); twin surpluses in the fiscal and current accounts; a marked accumulation of international reserves; increased production of nontraditional goods and services with high added value; improvements to the national financial system; and deleveraging from foreign-denominated debt.

In 2008, just one year after Fernández de Kirchner’s election, the world financial crisis set in. However, the financial crisis did not negatively affect Argentina’s relations with global markets. Much to the contrary, it represented something of an opportunity, as the crisis resulted in low interest rates and massive liquidity surplus in world markets. Unfortunately, the administration was unable to avail itself of the opportunity to promote

¹⁹¹ David Lynch, “Argentina’s Political Power Couple Echo Clintons,” *USA Today*, October 25, 2007, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/money/world/2007-10-24-argentina-cristina-kirchner_N.htm.

¹⁹² From 2003 through 2011 (including Néstor’s presidency and Cristina’s first term), Argentina’s GDP grew 7.8 percent per year on average.

increased investment in energy, infrastructure, transport, and communications. Throughout the crisis, the world kept demanding Argentina's raw materials (e.g., soy), and the Argentine automotive industry continued its rapid integration with its counterparts in Brazil and Mexico. Despite this, the twin surpluses slowly dwindled for entirely endogenous reasons. On the one hand, steady growth in inflation cut into the competitiveness created by the original devaluation,¹⁹³ while on the other hand, public spending, particularly on subsidies and transfers, grew at an unsustainable rate.

Over the course of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's two terms, her administration's most significant challenges have been inflation and its consequences of reduction in acquisitive power, and increased costs in both the public and private sectors. The government's underreporting of official inflation rates reflects the gravity of this challenge. Beginning in early 2007, the official inflation rate estimates of the Argentine statistics institute, INDEC, began to diverge from those emanating from the private sector. Such discrepancies have continued into 2014, and unofficial estimates are generally two or three times greater than those reported by INDEC.¹⁹⁴

In 2011, increasing distrust in the Argentine economic model provoked a massive exit of private capital. This exodus has further increased another pressure for the economic and financial systems, which is the need to maintain dollar reserves in the Argentine Central Bank. Argentina is a net importer of specific dollar-denominated commodities, primarily energy but also other items, such as paying service on outstanding public debt. Fernández de Kirchner's government has implemented a number of measures to maintain the level of Central Bank reserves. The most important measure has been the *cepo cambiario*, established in 2012. This measure consists of severe restrictions on private individuals' ability to purchase dollars (whether they are for savings, investment, or foreign travel),¹⁹⁵ and on companies' ability to obtain dollars with which to purchase imported goods and/or send dividends outside of Argentina.

Despite these measures, dollar reserves in the Central Bank have dwindled. At the end of 2013 they fell to US\$30 billion, down from \$52.6 billion in 2010. This is their lowest level since 2006.¹⁹⁶ In the first part of 2014, the government took action to respond, at least partially, to these realities. In January 2014, the Central Bank briefly withdrew its support for the peso, effectively devaluing the currency by 20%. The baseline interest

¹⁹³ The exception here is the soy market, which continues to enjoy exceptional conditions.

¹⁹⁴ For example, Price States, a provider of inflation rates, calculates Argentina's annual inflation rate to be 24.4 percent. It also reports cumulative inflation since 2007 as 137 percent; INDEC reports 44 percent for the same period.

¹⁹⁵ Citizens must obtain permission from the Argentine tax authority to buy dollars for these purposes, and the amounts for which they get approved are (at least loosely) related to declared income.

¹⁹⁶ "Tensions in Argentina: Holding the Ring," *The Economist*, January 11, 2014, <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21593420-government-struggling-stay-its-feet-holding-ring>.

rate (corollary to the US Federal Funds Rate) was increased,¹⁹⁷ and some of the restrictions in the *cepo* have been lifted or eased.

The Kirchner government's approach to handling inflation remains controversial. Despite these small concessions, with two years left in her presidency, Fernández de Kirchner shows no indication of plans to dramatically change the structure of her economic policy.

Social Policy

Social policy has been a core pillar of the Kirchner model, both for Néstor and Cristina. Protections for the retirement age population and other vulnerable groups (mainly low income) have been core elements of Fernández de Kirchner's social policy model. While these policies have been fairly popular among the working classes, critics label them as Kirchnerist political clientelism (*clientelismo*).

Néstor took the first steps in expanding benefits for the elderly with the Pension Inclusion Program (Programa de Inclusión Previsional o Moratoria Previsional).¹⁹⁸ Fernández de Kirchner furthered this reform by implementing the Retirement Mobility Act (Ley de Movilidad Jubilatoria) in October 2008, which established two annual adjustments based on pension income and wages. Toward the end of 2008, the government also renationalized the retirement system.

Those most critical of the Kirchner economic model assert that it was their need to finance their significant expansion of public expenditures that drove the most audacious actions undertaken during their tenure, for example, the renationalization of the retirement system, renationalization of the state oil company, and increasing public debts with state entities.

The other key component of the expansion of social protections to vulnerable populations during Fernández de Kirchner's presidency has been the 2009 implementation, by presidential decree, of the Universal Child Allowance (Asignación Universal por Hijo, or AUH). The AUH is a conditional cash transfer program that extended the family allowances from the contributory system to additional persons not covered under that system. Specifically, it was created for the children from unemployed families, families working in the informal sector, or whose parents are domestic workers earning less than the minimum wage. The AUH provides a monthly cash allowance to these families, subject to health and school attendance checks. Beginning in May 2011, coverage was

¹⁹⁷ Jonathan Wheatley, "Argentine Peso Fall Threatens Government of Cristina Fernández," *Financial Times*, January 24, 2014, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/e0cd3f20-84d8-11e3-8968-00144feab7de.html>.

¹⁹⁸ Law 25.994 established a plan to (a) facilitate payments for adults of retirement age who had not made the requisite thirty years of contributions and (b) establish early benefits for older adults who had made sufficient contributions but were not yet of retirement age (and were unemployed).

further extended to pregnant women (from the third month of pregnancy) working in the informal economy.

Finally, under President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's leadership, Argentina has passed two very progressive laws: one on same-sex marriage and the other on transgender rights. Argentina legalized same-sex marriage in 2010. The law gives same-sex couples inheritance and adoption rights. Fernández de Kirchner strongly supported the law, which put her government at odds with the Catholic Church. She and Néstor had had disagreements with the Church before, and some political observers considered the same sex-marriage legislation to be a continuation of the same dispute.¹⁹⁹

The right to self-identification allows individuals to change their gender on official documents. The law applies not only to those who undergo sex reassignment surgery and hormone treatments but also to those who live as members of the opposite sex without undergoing medical procedures.²⁰⁰ This makes the law one of the most liberal in the world, as it requires neither a psychiatric diagnosis nor surgery.²⁰¹ Néstor began the push for the right to self-identification, and Fernández de Kirchner continued advocating for it when she came to power.²⁰²

Social policy has been a fundamental element of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's political project. She believes in using the power of the state to provide support for vulnerable groups, and has implemented policies to that end. The key social policies advanced during her presidency may not have arisen from a specific gender rights agenda (with the exception of the right to self-identification); nonetheless, her policies help achieve feminist policy objectives, particularly with respect to economic stability for women and their families at all stages of life.

Foreign Policy

Foreign policy under Fernández de Kirchner has centered on the promotion of economic integration with Argentina's South American neighbors, and management of the unwinding of debts and payment of creditors in the wake of the 2001 default. In 2006 (still under Néstor's leadership), Argentina attempted to end the country's relationship with the IMF by paying off outstanding debts. Both her and her husband's administrations avoided formulating proposals to resolve outstanding debts with the Paris

¹⁹⁹ Uki Goñi, "Defying Church, Argentina Legalizes Gay Marriage," *Time*, July 15, 2010, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2004036,00.html>.

²⁰⁰ Mariano Castillo, "Argentine Law Lets People Identify Own Gender," *CNN*, May 11, 2012.

²⁰¹ Emily Schmall, "Transgender Advocates Hail Law Easing Rules in Argentina," *New York Times*, May 24, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/25/world/americas/transgender-advocates-hail-argentina-law.html>.

²⁰² Castillo, "Argentine Law Lets People Identify Own Gender."

Club until resolving that issue in May 2014. While Argentina has lost its appeals and been ordered by a US Federal Judge in New York to make full repayment to creditors still holding the original bonds on which the country defaulted, there is no clear course of action for resolving these outstanding claims.

One foreign policy issue that has made headlines outside of Argentina is the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas). Argentina and the United Kingdom both claim sovereignty over the Falklands, which are currently a British territory. While there have been past referendums showing that the islanders want to remain British, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner has strongly advocated for Argentina's claim,²⁰³ which is not based on the island's population, but on a territorial and historical justification. After her reelection, she sent an open letter to British Prime Minister David Cameron, stating that Britain was violating a 1960 United Nations' resolution to end colonialism, and she sought negotiations to recover the islands. As part of the dispute, the Argentine government began to prohibit British ships from docking in Argentine ports. While sovereignty is not a new issue, recently the British oil company Rockhopper Exploration allegedly found offshore reserves of at least 450 million barrels in waters for which jurisdiction is determined by sovereignty over the Falklands.²⁰⁴ This has the potential to raise the stakes of the debate.

Beyond the Falklands issue, Fernández de Kirchner seems to be more interested in the international community than Néstor, who paid little attention to international relations. In contrast, she traveled to the United States and Europe during her first campaign, and has engaged more with foreign audiences.²⁰⁵

Political Strategy

As Presidents of Argentina, the Kirchners have deployed what might best be termed "guerrilla" tactics to achieve their political agenda. Theirs was and is a very closed operation with decision-making concentrated in their hands. They receive input from trusted advisors, but retain absolute control over both decision-making and messaging. The Kirchners have closely controlled the flow of information from their administrations, which has allowed them to be very effective in their use of surprise. This tactic has reduced the opposition's ability to mobilize against specific political projects before it is too late to stop them. This guerrilla approach derives from the Kirchners' perception of the political struggle in which they are engaged, which itself derives from their political

²⁰³ Rick Gladstone, "Dispute Over Falklands Intensifies," *New York Times*, June 20, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/21/world/americas/dispute-over-falklands-intensifies.html>.

²⁰⁴ Eliza Mackintosh, "Britain, Argentina Sparring Again over the Falklands," *Washington Post*, January 4, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/britain-argentina-sparring-again-over-the-falklands/2013/01/04/14e63e22-56a1-11e2-8b9e-dd8773594efc_story.html.

²⁰⁵ Lynch, "Argentina's Political Power Couple Echo Clintons."

initiation in the struggle against the dictatorship of the 1970s and early 1980s. Conceptual support comes from respected members of the Argentine and international academic communities, perhaps most notably figures such as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Within Argentina, a group of intellectuals organized under the name Carta Abierta (“Open Letter”) have provided particular support and political cover for Fernández de Kirchner’s political project.

Fundamentally, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s political strategy is populist. Her appeal is to the masses, and she has maintained it throughout her presidency through her commitment to the expansion of the social support network and the constant undertaking of public political acts. Populism permeates her discourse, for which she has made ample use of the public airwaves.

Symbolic Representation

In the symbolic section of the case studies, it is critical to look at female leaders’ impact in a number of areas: their adherence to or transgression of traditional notions of leadership; the transformational quality of their leadership; and the symbolic effects of their leadership. These three analytical lenses offer complementary views of female leaders’ legacies. They illuminate how the women behave in relation to gendered leadership expectations; the women’s level of impact; and the effect they are likely to have in years to come.

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner—Cristina, as she is popularly known—is a polarizing figure in Argentina and Latin America. Internationally, much of this polarization is related to controversial actions in the economic arena and a general association with populism and the “new left” in Latin America. Within Argentina, the population is strongly divided: the breakdown in popular sentiment begins with politics and is exacerbated by her leadership style, which is authoritarian and confrontational. Her style is the opposite of a consensus-builder; rather, she seems to actively seek controversy through political actions that create conflicts and divisions.

In exploring the various facets of Cristina’s leadership in the context of her status as the first directly elected female President and the first woman reelected in Argentine history,²⁰⁶ it is difficult to separate her from her husband and predecessor in the presidency, Néstor Kirchner. Although “Kirchnerismo” carries his name, it should be understood as a shared project.²⁰⁷ As stated earlier, their political activism dates back to

²⁰⁶María Estela Martínez Cartas de Perón, popularly known as Isabel Perón, was the first woman to serve as President of Argentina. Isabel took office because her husband, President Juan Domingo Perón, died while in office and she was the vice president.

²⁰⁷ “Kirchnerismo” is the term generally used to describe the political philosophy they have sought to implement over the course of their presidencies.

the 1970s, when they met and married as law students at the University of La Plata. It began with their militancy against the dictatorship, and grew into a joint construction of power in the southern province of Santa Cruz. This political project was always a partnership, with both holding different offices at the local, provincial, and national levels. Cristina's contributions to this partnership included the discourse, the conceptual framework, and the central ideas of the story. Néstor offered skill in political negotiation, executive management, and the ability to build a political base for sustaining the Kirchner model.

Leadership Style—Authoritarian, Confrontational

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner is a strong leader, who is determined to execute her policy priorities. As President, her primary characteristics have been concentrating power in herself, controlling decision-making in her administration, and governing with a firm hand. This is an authoritarian leadership style. With a few exceptions, she has displayed little effort at dialogue and consensus-building: Fernández de Kirchner makes decisions and then communicates them. These decisions are not up for discussion or debate. When Néstor Kirchner was alive, he and Fernández de Kirchner made decisions jointly, and it was well known that he maintained a strong role in her presidency. Since becoming a widow, she is more resolute, governs with a firm hand and makes all decisions alone.

Fernández de Kirchner does not avoid controversy and has in fact provoked it on multiple occasions during her administration. Some examples of this behavior include those listed below:

- “El Campo”—Early in her first presidency, she engaged in a significant power struggle with the agricultural sector over taxes imposed on exports. This primarily amounted to the retention of dollars passing through the Central Bank from the export of agricultural commodities, in particular soy.
- “Los Medios”—Since Néstor's first term in the presidency, the Kirchners have been engaged in a bitter dispute with the country's two largest media groups (Grupo Clarín and La Nación), which culminated in their passing a law revising the regulatory policy for the national media. The most significant aspect of this law was the imposition of specific limits on the share of Argentine media outlets that can be owned by a single entity. Such regulation would require Grupo Clarín to divest itself of some of its holdings, but implementation of the law has been held up due to legal challenges.
- Nationalization/Renationalization of Various Enterprises—During their presidencies, the Kirchners have nationalized the state airline (Aerolíneas Argentinas), pension funds, and the state oil company (YPN).

- **Economic/Macroeconomic Policy:** Cristina has exhibited unwavering commitment to the Kirchnerist economic model. In addition to domestic controversy, this has led to international confrontations over such tactics as manipulation of official statistics on economic indicators (most significantly the inflation numbers reported by the national statistics agency, INDEC) and nonpayment of certain creditors related to the 2002 default (Paris Club, vulture funds).

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner has had a turbulent relationship with the media. She generally declines media interviews and prefers instead to interact directly with the public. In her public appearances, Fernández de Kirchner proves to be an extraordinary orator who never reads her speeches. She can, however, come across as didactic and self-referencing. Although Fernández de Kirchner avoids direct interaction with the media, she is a fixture of the domestic media.

Fernández de Kirchner takes strong stances and holds to them, despite the significant political costs. As a result of some of these battles, she has lost popularity, particularly from the fight with the agricultural sector at the onset of her presidency. Her approach has generated division among the citizenry, which is divided into those who ardently support her and those whose opposition is every bit as fervent.²⁰⁸

Recently she has shown a significant change in her leadership style. This is presumably due at least in part to the results of the October 2013 election, in which her party suffered significant defeats in the City of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires Province, and in other politically important jurisdictions.²⁰⁹ Other causes may include the allegations of corruption in contracting for public works projects (as well as corruption scandals involving people close to her) as well as the worrying signs emanating from the economy, forcing her to pivot and focus on closing out her presidency in an orderly fashion.

Background/History—And how this Explains her Leadership Style

The 1970s were a period of intense turmoil in Argentina. The decade saw the country descend into armed warfare, an undercover civil war, and the emergence of a military dictatorship that established a campaign of state terrorism greater in both depth and breadth than any of the other dictatorships of the region. This was a formative period in the young political militancy of both Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández.

²⁰⁸ As just one example, the symbol of the most popular opposition program on Argentine TV is an image of an extended middle finger.

²⁰⁹ Prior to this defeat, there had been talk of a potential constitutional reform, which would have allowed Cristina to seek a second, consecutive term. This idea has been abandoned.

Both the authoritarian and confrontational elements of Cristina's style have their roots in the struggle against the dictatorship. CFK (along with Néstor) studied law at the University of La Plata in the 1970s, at the height of Argentina's Dirty War. Their personal experience as political activists in this period involved brief imprisonments—and the fear of much worse—and ultimately a self-imposed “domestic exile” to Río Gallegos, the capital city of the southern province of Santa Cruz. As discussed elsewhere, the turmoil of this period had several consequences for the Kirchners that directly affected elements of their political style.

First, it radicalized them. While they were never actually part of the armed Peronist factions (the FAR, the FAP, or the Montoneros), they functioned as public faces for both the university and professional fronts for the causes for which these groups fought. This explains the “radicality” of their political behavior and, above all, some aspects of their political management, such as the tight organization, the organizational discipline and centralized decision-making, the strategic use of both surprise and silence in daily administration, the concealment of information and the frequent need to engage with the masses through daily political acts. Second, they understood the significance of the struggle for human rights and the quest to bare all complicity with the dictatorship—from the collaborationist politics of many politicians to the behavior of the mass media (Clarín and La Nación). They have been particularly fierce in taking on the two major media outlets, against whom they organized one of the largest campaigns of attacks and allegations ever seen in Argentine politics. Finally, they took advantage of the fractured nature of the Peronist movement, which they divided with their creation of the Front for Victory. They exposed the right-wing elements within the movement personified by the figure of Carlos Menem, who they always linked with the conservative and conventional Justicialist Party (PJ).

In synthesis, in their rise to power they put into daily political practice the idea of conflict, of confrontation, of dividing the waters between parties, and even within political and social organizations. They supported the emergence of the new social and economic structure of Argentina, which today features social movements with neither employment or formal work that are heavily dependent on subsidies. In this manner, the Kirchners built a strong political support structure for settling political disputes.

“Masculine” Style of Governing Contrasted with Feminine Self-Presentation

Applying the gendered notions of leadership discussed by Genovese in *Women As National Leaders*,²¹⁰ Fernández de Kirchner's authoritarian and confrontational style

²¹⁰ Genovese, *Women As National Leaders*, 214–15. Genovese presents four leadership styles pursued by women heads of state: male, female, androgynous, and “style-flexing.” The male style of leadership is often considered to be a “hard style of leadership that stresses hierarchy, dominance, and order,” whereas the female style of leadership is “characterized by a soft style of cooperation, influence, and empowerment.”

clearly puts her on the “masculine” side of approaches to leadership, as conventionally perceived. While she is not known for the “soft influences” approach that might typically be identified with female leadership, it is interesting to contrast her “masculine” approach to leadership with her very feminine self-presentation, and how her political identity is directly tied to her gender. Throughout her career as a public figure, and particularly in her presidency, she has clearly maintained her femininity, in contrast to some of her most prominent contemporaries (Bachelet, Rouseff, and Merkel), whose approaches to elements like dress and hairstyle play down their femininity and take on more masculine or gender-neutral self-presentations.²¹¹

Her femininity has also been politically beneficial at key points in her presidency. Following Néstor’s death she has played two roles—that of the strong woman capable of enduring the death of her political partner and maintaining firm control, and that of the weak widow who needs the compassion and understanding of the Argentine people. From her husband’s death in October 2010 through the end of 2013, she mourned publicly by dressing in black. This undoubtedly evoked empathy at a point when her political popularity had taken a significant hit.

In early 2014 a blood clot was discovered in Fernández de Kirchner’s brain, for which she had surgery and was conspicuously absent from the public eye for some 50 days while she recovered. This coincided with the economy exhibiting troubling signs of a lack of confidence in her economic program. Cristina took this opportunity to present a much more human public persona. When she reappeared, it was in a video filmed by her daughter and distributed through social media. She chose this moment to finally end her period of mourning, no longer appearing in black. She has cut back on her direct engagement with the public, giving fewer speeches, appearing at fewer events, and choosing to allow other individuals (most significantly her cabinet chief, Jorge Capitanich) to represent the administration in the media.

Transformational Leadership

Patricia Lee Sykes discusses women as transformational leaders, defining them as leaders who “seek to change individual citizens, their states, their societies, and the relationships among these.”²¹² Two areas of transformation under Cristina’s leadership include, first, her early alliance with labor, which produced a shift in the balance of power between

The androgynous style is a style that combines “elements of what are seen as the male and female styles of exercising power and leadership,” while style-flexing, as the name implies, involves adapting leadership style to the specific requirements of a given situation.

²¹¹ It is worth noting that this has not come without a price—one of the results (or at least a related effect) has been that there has been no shortage of media attention focused on her dress and aspects of her physical presentation (hair, makeup), in ways that male politicians are seldom, if ever, subjected to.

²¹² Sykes, “Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects,” 220.

capital and labor. She describes her politics as “national and popular,” referring to efforts to promote national interests and industry, and to put in place policies that reach out to the masses. Discourse on this front focuses on national sovereignty, and is manifested in a resurgence of the national productive apparatus. The “national and popular” frame provides a useful way of viewing the battles in which Fernández de Kirchner has engaged. She aggressively uses state power in service of what she perceives as a national interest. In each of the above-mentioned political battles in which she has engaged, she has been able to characterize her opposition as powerful parties whose interests were at cross purposes with those of the state. She framed the agricultural interests as traditional oligarchs.²¹³ Fernández de Kirchner justified nationalizing private entities by framing the past privatization of these previously public entities as part of the failed legacy of the neoliberal model and not sufficiently serving the public interest.

A second area in which both Néstor and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner have been transformational is in the construction of a power base among young people: not only did their electoral success depend heavily on construction of a base of party activism among young people, they also made a strong push to reward these young militants by putting them in politically powerful positions during their presidencies. In short, they brought back political militancy among the youth, organizing and rewarding young people who were just growing into political life.

Here the principal actor is the *Cámpora*, a political unit created by Máximo Kirchner (son of Cristina and Néstor) in 2003, whose role in the Kirchnerist project began expanding after the 2008 dispute with the *campo* (the agricultural sector). Since that time, the *Cámpora* has taken on significant political responsibilities, with its members obtaining appointments to political positions throughout the executive branch and its ministries and in state companies. Others have become deputies or legislators. While Máximo founded *Cámpora*, its undisputed leader is Cristina.

Symbolic Effects of CFK’s Presidency

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s election has generated a significant cultural change through the symbolic effect of a woman occupying a position at the highest level of power. In particular, the effect is one of women seeing other women in this role. It is a very important way to demystify these spaces that are considered masculine by definition.

Fernández de Kirchner’s presence sends a lasting message that it is possible for women to reach the pinnacle of political power. For young women, in particular, successful women’s images become powerful models. They represent critical sociocultural changes

²¹³ Given Argentina’s long agrarian history and the power wielded by this sector within the country, this is not a stretch.

that affect not only the representation of women in politics, but also have the potential to impact the balance and distribution of power between women and men.

While it is tempting to state that Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's mere presence in the presidency, as a woman, represents some kind of transformation in the society, it is important to ask if this was a product of a real social transformation that allowed a woman to be elected President for the first time in Argentina. Was this actually the case, or was it simply the result of a favorable confluence of economic and political factors specific to her life and political trajectory, including her political partnership with her husband, his election prior to hers, and the success of the economic model implemented in bringing Argentina back from the crisis of 2001–2002, among other things? Her presidency coincides with a period of significant changes, with a considerable expansion of civil rights, reforms of the civil and possibly criminal (penal) code, nationalization of strategic sectors of the economy (the airline, the pension funds, and the oil company), and the expansion of the social protection system to benefit the most vulnerable sectors of the population (e.g., universal child allowance, increased access to noncontributive pensions, and so on). This expansion coincides with a populist view of public administration, with poorly conceived public policy and a return to the Argentine economy's old vices of inflation, devaluation, and the loss of value of the Argentine currency. In this way, the Kirchner decade has seen the economic bonanza necessary to sort out the challenges of the moment, but the reforms that could have altered the structural conflicts of the Argentine economy and Argentine society have not been undertaken.

Chapter 6: Brazil Case Study

Descriptive Representation

Introduction

Dilma Rousseff's presidency (2010–present) marks the first time Brazil has elected a female head of state. The following descriptive analysis of the Rousseff administration includes a discussion of the Brazilian political landscape beginning with the 1985 transition to democracy and ending with the current administration. This case study contextualizes the Rousseff administration within historical and social descriptions of female participation in Brazil's legislative and executive branches. This case study includes events from the end of the dictatorship and the beginning of redemocratization in Brazil in 1985 to women's mobilization and high political leadership. Broader social factors are examined to show the extent of opposition to the military dictatorship and the simultaneous rise of women and democracy in Brazil.

An Overview of Brazil's Political System

With 190 million people²¹⁴ and an electorate of 111 million,²¹⁵ Brazil is Latin America's largest and most populous country. Following two periods of dictatorship (1937–1945; 1964–1984) in the twentieth century, it returned to democracy in 1985 and since then has been a federative, presidential republic, as established formally in the Constitution of 1988. This notably progressive document enshrined the population's legal, civil, social, economic, and human rights and also “weakened the executive and strengthened the legislative and judicial branches of the government.”²¹⁶

Executive Branch

In Brazil, the President is elected to a four-year term and may only be successively reelected once. A presidential candidate must receive an absolute majority in order to assume office, thus if no candidate wins over 50% of the popular vote, runoff elections are held.²¹⁷ In October 2010 Brazil elected its first female President, Dilma Vana

²¹⁴ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Sinopse do Censo Demográfico 2010*, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, April 2011.

http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/censo2010/default_sinopse.shtm.

²¹⁵ Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Brazil: Camara Dos Deputados* (IPU PARLINE Database, 2010).

²¹⁶ Teresa A. Meade, *A Brief History of Brazil*, 2nd ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2010).

²¹⁷ Marx, Borner, and Caminotti, *Las legisladoras: cupos de género y política en Argentina y Brasil*.

Rousseff of the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, or PT), with 46.91% of the popular vote in the first round and 56.05% in the second.²¹⁸

Legislative Branch

Brazil has a bicameral parliament consisting of a lower house, the Chamber of Deputies (Câmara dos Deputados), and an upper house, the Senate (Senado Federal), known collectively as the National Congress (Congresso Nacional). The lower house consists of 513 legislators elected to serve for four-year terms, with seats being allocated to the twenty-six states proportionately based on the size of their electorate. Elections use an open list proportional representation system. The eighty-one senators serve eight-year terms and are elected by block vote.

Electoral and Party Systems

In this open list system, the Brazilian electorate votes for individual candidates; list formation is regarded as somewhat of a formality. Political parties tend to be weak and candidates campaign fairly independently. In fact, a politician might switch parties several times over a career.²¹⁹ There is generally high fragmentation and low institutionalization among political parties, with the PT (now in its fourth consecutive presidential term) held up as the exception to this rule. There are roughly thirty official parties, twenty-one of which presently hold seats in the National Congress.²²⁰ Due to the multiplicity of parties, governments must rule by coalition. Rousseff currently heads a ten-party coalition that holds a majority in Congress and includes the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), Progressive Party (PP), the Party of the Republic (PR), and the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), among others. Suffrage in Brazil is universal and compulsory.

Quotas

Quotas on female parliamentary representation first entered the political discussion in Brazil in the 1980s, during the redemocratization following the end of the military dictatorship. Deputy Marta Suplicy of the Workers' Party (PT) introduced a quota law for local elections, which was passed in 1995 (in the wake of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing), and a federal quota law was adopted in 1997.²²¹ The current *lei de cotas* (Article 10 (3) of Law 9.504 of September 30, 1997) stipulates a minimum of 30%

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Superior Electoral Court of Brazil, "Estatísticas Das Eleições 2010," accessed May 14, 2014, <http://www.tse.jus.br/eleicoes/eleicoes-antiores/eleicoes-2010/estatisticas>.

²¹⁹ Araújo, *Quotas for Women in the Brazilian Legislative System*.

²²⁰ Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Brazil: Camara Dos Deputados*.

²²¹ Araújo, *Quotas for Women in the Brazilian Legislative System*.

and a maximum of 70% of each sex in both chambers of the Congresso Nacional. A 2009 amendment to this law also reserves 10% of state-allotted broadcast time and 5% of public campaign funds “to promote the participation of women in politics.”²²² Despite this legislation, female congressional representation has yet to reach 10%.

Brazilian quota laws apply at the candidate list level, however, unlike in many other countries, voluntary quotas within political parties did not precede this law and have very little party “buy in.”²²³ This is just one of the factors considered to be contributing to the low impact of Brazil’s quota law. Other factors include the mismatch of a candidate quota with a highly individualized, open-list system in a context of undeveloped political parties. Kristin Wylie contends, “the preponderance of weakly institutionalized parties in Brazil has instilled a norm of non-compliance, facilitating an environment in which formal laws such as quotas are regularly flouted.”²²⁴ This is exacerbated by the lack of enforcement mechanisms included in the law, which states that if the quota is not met, candidates from the over-represented sex may be withdrawn but candidates from the under-represented sex may not replace them. And even this mechanism only applies above a threshold of 150% of seats per constituency.²²⁵

As of the 2010 elections (the first since the 2009 quota amendment) women constitute 8.8% or 44 out of 513 members of the Chamber of Deputies and 16% or 13 out of 81 members of the Senate.²²⁶ As seen in Table 9, the level of female political participation in the legislature has only grown incrementally since the return to democracy, and the first federal election after the quota was implemented actually saw a slight decrease in the number of female representatives.

²²² “Brazil.” QuotaProject: Global Database of Quotas for Women, accessed July 11, 2014, <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=BR>.

²²³ Araújo, *Quotas for Women in the Brazilian Legislative System*.

²²⁴ Kristin Noella Wylie, “Strong Women, Weak Parties: Challenges to Democratic Representation in Brazil.” (PhD diss., Austin: The University of Texas at Austin, 2012), 11.

²²⁵ “Brazil.” QuotaProject: Global Database of Quotas for Women.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

Table 9: Female Representation in the Chamber of Deputies Since the Return to Democracy (1987–2015)

Term	Female deputies elected	Male deputies elected	Total number of deputies	Percentage women
1987–1991	26	460	485	5.36
1991–1995	30	473	503	5.96
1995–1999	32	481	513	6.24
1999–2003*	29	484	513	5.65
2003–2007	42	471	513	8.19
2007–2011**	45	468	513	8.77
2011–2015**	44	469	513	8.58
* First election with federal quota law in effect				
** Lines added by the report authors using IPU data				

Source: Table translated from: Jutta Marx, Jutta Borner, and Mariana Caminotti, *Las legisladoras: cupos de género y política en Argentina y Brasil*. Buenos Aires: UNDP, 2007, 102.

Political Biography: Dilma Rousseff

Dilma Rousseff was born in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, on December 14, 1947, to a Bulgarian lawyer and a Brazilian schoolteacher. She attended private schools until high school, when she decided to attend a liberal public institution. Still a very young woman, Rousseff joined the Command of National Liberation (*Comando de Libertação Nacional—COLINA*),²²⁷ a faction of the Brazilian Socialist Party, in 1967. As a member, she learned about the methods and ideology of armed struggle against dictatorship deployed by Cuban revolutionaries Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.²²⁸

In 1969, the police arrested some members of the COLINA for a bank robbery and subsequently raided the home of COLINA members. The home invasion ended in a shootout that left two policemen dead and another injured. Rousseff has not confirmed if she was present or involved in the incident, but she does not deny her association with the COLINA at the time. To distance herself from police speculation after the shootout, Rousseff left for Rio de Janeiro. In Rio, Rousseff met Carlos Araújo, a member of the

²²⁸ James N. Green, “Brazil: Dilma Rousseff’s Victory,” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, January/February 2011.

Brazilian Communist Party. Rousseff and Araújo, along with other Marxist-Leninist leaders, merged COLINA with the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard. They created a group called the Palmares Revolutionary Armed Vanguard (VAR Palmares). As the organization became progressively more militant in their activism, Rousseff began to encourage VAR Palmares on the mobilization of the working class in opposition of the dictatorship.²²⁹

In 1970, police arrested VAR Palmares leader José Olavo Leite Ribeiro along with other members of the organization, including Rousseff and Araújo. She was arrested and tortured for twenty-two days by various methods including electric shock, and was subsequently imprisoned for twenty-eight months for her known association with militant antistate groups.²³⁰ Rousseff and Araújo managed to continue their relationship throughout their sentences and reunited once they were both freed.²³¹ After Rousseff's release from prison in 1972, she continued her studies. She received a degree in economics from Rio Grande de Sul Federal University in 1976. That year, she and Araújo had a daughter, Paula Rousseff Araújo. While they were never formally married, the two held a common-law marriage for thirty years.

Rousseff's formal political career began in 1980, when Brazil ended the mandatory two-party political system, enabling multiple parties to return to the political landscape. Rousseff and Araújo reformed the Brazilian Labor Party (Partido Democrático Trabalhista, or PDT), which had been overthrown in 1964 by the military dictatorship. In 1986, she and other members left the PDT and joined the Workers Party (PT) because they felt that the PDT had formed neoliberal alliances with the right-wing parties and strayed from its foundational principles.

As a member of the new PT, Rousseff was appointed Municipal Secretary of Treasury, where she solidified alliances within the PT and served until 1988. As a result of her experience and her loyalty to the Worker's Party, Rousseff was appointed to her first ministerial office, the State Secretary of Energy and Communication, in 2003, under the Lula administration. President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva mentored Rousseff and promoted her to be his Chief of Staff in 2005.

Dilma Rousseff ran for President in 2010 as the Worker's Party candidate. During her campaign, Rousseff promised to continue popular Lula-era social programs to alleviate poverty and further economic growth. Rousseff did not get an absolute majority in the

²²⁹ Luiz Maklouf Carvalho, "As Armas E Os Varões: A Educação Política E Sentimental de Dilma Rouseff," *Piauí* 31 (April 2009).

²³⁰ Green, "Brazil: Dilma Rousseff's Victory."

²³¹ Mario Osava, "Brazil: Women Still a Small Minority in Congress, But Top Job Is Now Theirs," Inter Press Service, accessed July 11, 2014, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2010/11/brazil-women-still-a-small-minority-in-congress-but-top-job-is-now-theirs/>.

2010 primary elections. However, she won the runoff election against the Social Democracy Party's (PDSB's) candidate, José Serra. She was sworn into the presidential office in January 2011. Rousseff is the third female head of state to govern Brazil, although she is the first to be democratically elected after the end of monarchic rule.

Rousseff's post-election agenda has focused on alleviating poverty, increasing social welfare and economic stability, and combating corruption. Rousseff has been criticized for not supporting a gender agenda during her election and presidency. Rousseff has not explained her agenda-making decisions, but it may be that she has chosen to emphasize her strong political interests in socialism over feminism. Another possible explanation is that President Rousseff is disinclined to split her political and public support over controversial issues like abortion.

President Rousseff ran for reelection in October 2014, winning a second term in office. Obstacles for her reelection campaign included overcoming public dissatisfaction with her administration's management of the preparations for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics. The disproportionate amount of money spent on these sporting events conflicts with her socialist rhetoric and poverty-alleviation initiatives. Massive protests among students and the working class in the past two years have negatively affected her approval ratings, and cast doubts on a second term.

Rousseff in Context: Brazilian Women in Executive Power

After Dilma Rousseff's 2010 election, Marta Suplicy, the Minister of Culture, claimed "the greatest change in Brazil since the right to vote was the election of a woman president." Suplicy predicts that Rousseff's leadership will influence public and private institutions to place more women in leadership roles. Most importantly, she notes, Rousseff's symbolic significance as a female President will impact the way in which young girls imagine their future.²³² The election of Rousseff is a significant marker for female political representation, but she is not the first woman to rise to executive leadership in Brazil. Her presidency should be understood against the historical backdrop of other female leaders in Brazilian politics. The PT (Worker's Party) in particular has focused on enlisting the participation of women since redemocratization.

Marta Suplicy understands the symbolic value of being the first woman to hold a position in Brazilian politics. She was the first female elected to the Federal Senate from São Paulo. After running a failed gubernatorial campaign in 1998 as the PT candidate, Suplicy served as the mayor of São Paulo from 2001 to 2004. One other woman, Luiza Erundina, also of the PT, has served as the mayor of the municipality. São Paulo selected Luiza Erundina Mayor in November of 1988, with Erundina taking office early in

²³² Jonathan Watts, "Marta Suplicy: 'After Dilma Rousseff's Election, Young Girls Started Playing in New Ways'," *The Observer*, February 8, 2014.

January of 1989. Her election and the victory of the Worker's Party (PT) came as a surprise to the party, which had only minimal success in the 1982 elections.²³³ The mayoral leadership of the city of São Paulo is a critical position in the Brazilian political landscape. São Paulo is one of the largest cities in the world, the nation's largest municipality, and the business center of an emerging BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) economy.

Outside of São Paulo, women have risen to the executive branch from parties other than the PT. Roseana Sarney (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party, or PMDB) served as a senator from 2003 to 2011, and is currently the Governor of Maranhão, the first woman to hold the position. She is the product of a political legacy; her father, José Sarney, served as the President of Brazil from 1985 to 1990.

During Lula's first year in office (2003), he appointed two women of color to ministerial positions.²³⁴ He appointed Benedita da Silva, a black woman and PT politician, as the Minister of Social Assistance and Promotion. Da Silva was born into a poor urban family in one of Rio de Janeiro's favelas. As a teenager and young woman, da Silva organized around gender issues, building informal women's groups in the favelas. Self-educated and ambitious, she graduated from college at the age of 40. Da Silva was elected into Congresso Nacional in 1986, and into Senate in 1994; the first Afro-Brazilian woman elected to either of these positions, and the first woman elected to the Senate. In these positions, she advocated for policies that benefited poor and working class women of color. Elected with Anthony Garotinho to the vice-governorship of Rio de Janeiro state in 1998, she succeeded him in the governorship when he retired in 2002. She is the only woman to hold this position.

Marina Silva, an environmental activist and recent addition to the Brazilian Socialist Party, has had a successful career as a prominent political figure in the PT and the Green Party, serving as the Minister for the Environment under Lula from 2003 until she resigned from the post in 2008, citing environmental activism as her reason for leaving the Party. After leaving the PT, she ran against Rousseff for the presidency in 2010 as a member of the Green Party, and was seen as a likely Vice Presidential candidate in the 2014 election.

²³³ Fiona Macaulay, "Taking the Law into Their Own Hands: Women, Legal Reform and Legal Literacy in Brazil," in *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America*, ed. Nikki Craske and Maxine Molyneux (Basingstoke, UK; New York: Palgrave, 2002), 83.

²³⁴ Lula also appointed acclaimed musician Gilberto Gil as the Minister of Culture in 2003, marking the first appointment of a black man to a ministry position.

Social and Feminist Movements in Brazil

Women's and feminist groups in Latin America represent a wide range of women's interests, and have had varying levels of success. A more complete portrait of these diverse groups, their relationship with each other, and with the state is discussed in the first section of this report.

Mobilization: Prior to 1985

Just as it is difficult to generalize the history of women's movements in Latin America at large, characterizing Brazilian feminism as a single movement is equally problematic. Brazilian women's movements have developed a wide array of diverse and sometimes conflicting interests, and are often referred to as a set of feminisms, rather than a single agenda.²³⁵ Despite this, women's movements in Brazil are regarded as being some of the most influential and effective in their ability to influence political institutions and to inform new cultural understandings of women's roles in the public sphere.

While the effectiveness of these movements is indeed notable, female representation in elected political office remains comparatively low. As mentioned above, female representation in the Chamber of Deputies has never risen above 9%. Sardenberg and Costa note that "this has resulted in a major paradox for Brazilian feminists: on one hand, there is the presence of a wide and well-articulated women's movement and, on the other hand, a notorious absence of women in decision-making positions."²³⁶ The disparity between informal and formal political capital for women continues to define Brazilian feminist political discourse. Moreover, despite a contemporary effort to "mainstream" gender issues, deep divides in both class and race complicate visions of a cohesive feminist agenda.

Organized efforts to represent women's issues in the public sphere have a long history in Brazil. Female mobilization in the suffrage movement, along with an application of political pressure for the right to education in the 1930s, brought women's interests into the public sphere two generations before widespread women's mobilization against the dictatorship. When the right-wing military coup of 1964 overthrew João Goulart's populist government, the Right appealed "to women's 'innate' commitment to family, morality, and social order . . . enjoin[ing] the 'women of Brazil' to organize against the democratically elected government."²³⁷ The dictatorship appealed to conservative middle-class women by touting feminine purity, faith, and maternity. These appeals worked; Christian housewives founded groups such as the Women's Campaign for Democracy (*Campanha da Mulher pela Democracia*) in support of the regime. Ironically,

²³⁵ Sardenberg, "Contemporary Feminisms in Brazil: Achievements, Shortcomings, and Challenges," 257.

²³⁶ Sardenberg, "Contemporary Feminisms in Brazil: Achievements, Shortcomings, and Challenges."

²³⁷ Alvarez, *Engendering Democracy in Brazil*.

this same Marianist image, and female mobilization through motherhood, became the basis for protests against the repressive dictatorship in the following decades.

The social movements of the 1960s through 1980s formed in opposition to state repression, censorship, and economic crisis. These protests provided the framework out of which contemporary women's movements developed. Alvarez notes, "the articulation of gender interests is crucially shaped by the specific political-economic environment in which women's movements arise."²³⁸ The first and most enduring forms of women's activism in the 1960s were groups of poor and middle-class women in the periphery of urban centers who organized as neighborhood groups, or clubs, to protest poor living conditions and defend practical gendered needs, such as childcare.²³⁹ During the 1970s and early 1980s, diverse women's movements in Brazil continued to focus both on human rights issues at large and on *women's* issues, such as gendered violence. While North American feminists in this time period were mobilizing around specific questions of reproductive rights and sexuality, these issues were not central to the objectives of most contemporary Brazilian women's groups, who were aligned with the Catholic Church.

The 1982 election of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) led to the creation of a Women's Council. Despite objections from feminist groups that a political representation of women's interests would restrict the movement, the Women's Council became the first formal platform for addressing gender issues in the public sphere. As this study focuses particularly on women's leadership within political institutions, as opposed to less formal models of collective action, the distinction between feminist mobilization and state-adopted gender legislation is particularly salient.

The redemocratization in 1985 included reforms that formally installed women's movements into the new state and created specific projects and policies to benefit Brazilian women. Among the most significant of these projects was the creation of women's police stations to combat violence against women. To this day, these police stations are staffed exclusively by female officers, a policy which affords women the opportunity to enter a typically male-dominated profession. In establishing these police stations, the government legitimized domestic violence as a public issue rather than a private concern. Women began to use these stations both to confront the taboo issues of sexual assault and domestic violence, and as a place to address other community

²³⁸ Ibid., 83.

²³⁹ Ibid.

conflicts. The project is widely regarded as the most significant success for Brazilian women's movements of the mid-1980s.²⁴⁰

Institutionalization: 1985 to Present

In the almost three decades since redemocratization, women's movements have mobilized for a diverse range of issues, including poverty, sexual orientation, and reproductive rights. As transnational feminist movements have developed in the last twenty-five years, supported by international women's treaties and conferences, the Brazilian government has placed more emphasis on mainstreaming a gendered agenda. Much of this emphasis comes from the professionalization and successful institutionalization of women's movements. In the 1990s Brazil stabilized and the nation moved toward neoliberal economic policies. This shift indirectly amplified tension already present in the fragile coalition between popular women's movements and middle-class feminist groups.

In the wake of neoliberal reform, NGOs and professional feminists sought to fill the gap in social services left by the state. As private funding for NGOs is generally project-oriented, and is tailored to more formal models of social support, funding streams became tied to middle-class feminist issues, as opposed to popular, informal models of feminist action. This shift toward professionalization alienated popular movements socially as well as economically and exacerbated the ideological divide between middle-class feminists and popular women's movements,²⁴¹ a divide that, despite Lula-era economic reforms, remains today.

The move toward neoliberal economic policy forced women's movements to adopt an emphasis on diversity in order to remain relevant to broad populations. Some organizational efforts were more successful in developing member diversity than others. The Feminist Health Network, founded in 1991, represents a growing coalition of NGOs, rights councils, feminist activists, and health care providers.²⁴² It is a diversity-focused coalition, which has supported women's health-based policies in a wide range of geographic and political areas. The network's political success and longevity have largely been the result of an attitude of inclusion and pluralism. Even with this emphasis on pluralism, the Network has been met with criticism that it has not done enough to involve popular women's groups outside of the more developed city centers, echoing the

²⁴⁰ For an extensive discussion of the role of female police stations in Brazil, see Cecilia MacDowell Santos, *Women's Police Stations: Gender, Violence, and Justice in São Paulo, Brazil* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

²⁴¹ Nathalie Lebon, "Taming or Unleashing the Monster of Coalition Work: Professionalization and the Consolidation of Popular Feminism in Brazil," *Feminist Studies* 39, no. 3 (2013): 759–89, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.0499697.0039.310>.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

sentiment of disconnect between institutionalized feminism and popular women's movements.

Regardless of the persistent tension, which arose from the professionalization of feminism, institutional women's groups have had moderate success in pushing gender-based policy under both Lula and Rousseff.

The Brazilian Cabinet

Brazilian Presidents appoint their cabinets after assuming office, creating new positions as they deem necessary. The presidential cabinet in Brazil is made up of both ministerial positions and secretarial positions; more women have served in the secretarial level. There have been few exceptions to this trend. Rousseff's appointments to Minister of Energy and Mines, and later Chief of Staff are among the few.

As of this report, no single political party is dominant in the Brazilian cabinet. The number of PT party members in Rousseff's presidential cabinet is not a significant majority, nor does that group lend political weight to the legislative agenda or power as a whole.

Historical Appointments of Female Cabinet Members

The historical imbalance in gendered representation in Brazil is consistent with globally low levels of female representation in the cabinet. João Figueiredo, President of Brazil from 1979 to 1985, was the first President to appoint a woman to an executive cabinet position. Esther Figueiredo Ferraz, the first female appointee, was a professor before Figueiredo appointed her Minister of Education and Culture. It is important to note that the first female executive cabinet appointment occurred during the last administration of the dictatorship in Brazil. Perhaps, her appointment was reflective of the changing political climate. Since then, however, the Ministry of Education and Culture has been divided into two separate ministries. President Fernando Collor, who served from 1990 to 1992, appointed Zélia Cardoso de Mello as the first female Minister of Economy. Collor's appointment of a female cabinet minister preceded the Beijing Conference on Women's call for an increase in women's political representation by five years. As shown in Table 10, the number of female cabinet appointments in Brazil has increased since the transition to democracy in 1985, and has reached its highest level ever under the Rousseff administration.

Table 10: Presidents and Female Cabinet Appointments

Brazilian President	Terms	Female Cabinet Appointments	Percentage of Women in the Cabinet
Joao Figueiredo	(1979–1985)*	1	N/A
José Sarney	(1985–1990)	-	-
Fernando Collor	(1990–1992)	1	N/A
Itamar Franco	(1992–1994)	3	N/A
Fernando Henrique Cardoso	(1995–1998) (1999–2002)	1	10.7
Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva	(2003–2006) (2007–2010)	3	14.8
Dilma Rousseff	(2011–2014)	9	26.3**
<p>*The dictatorship in Brazil lasted from March 31, 1964, to March 15, 1985. **The percentage was calculated <i>including</i> the Office of the President.</p>			

Source: CEPAL website, accessed February 18, 2014, <http://www.cepal.org/es>.

Rousseff’s Cabinet

Rousseff’s cabinet appointments have been instrumental in supporting important legislation. The current presidential cabinet (Gabinete Ministerial do Brasil) consists of twenty-four ministries of state and fourteen cabinet-level offices. Rousseff appointed nine women to the executive cabinet after her assumption of power in January 2011. Including President Rousseff, a record ten women currently serve in the executive cabinet, making up 26% of the total cabinet members, the highest percentage ever. Table 11 lists the executive cabinet positions and names of the women appointed by Dilma Rousseff in 2011.

Table 11: Rousseff’s Cabinet

Executive Cabinet Position	Executive
Minister of Culture	Marta Suplicy
Minister of Environment	Izabella Teixeira
Minister of Planning, Budget, and Management	Miriam Belchior
Minister of Social Development and Hunger Alleviation	Tereza Campello
Secretariat of Institutional Relations	Ideli Salvatti
Secretariat for Social Communication	Helena Chagas
Special Secretariat for Human Rights	Maria do Rosário
Special Secretariat for Promotion of Racial Equality	Luiza Bairros
Special Secretariat for Women’s Rights	Eleonora Menicucci

Source: Rousseff’s Cabinet: Women’s Bureau

While creating her executive cabinet, Rousseff created a cabinet position titled “Special Secretariat for Women’s Rights.” Creating this new position increased both female and PT representation in her cabinet. She appointed fellow PT member Eleonora Menicucci to the new position. Menicucci is a feminist, lesbian, and a liberal, and was Rousseff’s former cellmate.

In this position, Menicucci has championed access to abortion, and supported Rousseff in legislative moves to improve women’s access to healthcare in general. Abortion continues to be illegal as well as a contentious topic in Brazil; Menicucci focuses on promoting policies that will limit the number of women undergoing risky illegal abortions. In 2013, President Rousseff signed legislation allowing the sale of the “morning after pill” to women who reported being raped. Menicucci defended the President against media and political attack by saying the decision to sign the law was made out of “respect for Congress and for women.” Menicucci and the Office for Women’s Rights are also advocates for the prevention of sexual violence against women.

Gender Analysis of Rousseff’s Cabinet

Traditionally, the most prestigious appointments in the Brazilian cabinet have been: the Minister of Finance, Minister of Justice, Minister of External Relations, and Minister of Defense. Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson (2009) suggest that presidential cabinets can be “gendered” cabinets, aside from being divided by prestige, if

there exist differences in career length, continuity, and mobility between the men and women appointed to cabinet positions. They studied cabinets throughout Latin America and coded cabinet positions as either “feminine” or “masculine” depending upon their perceived level of prestige. Men dominantly hold prestigious cabinet positions in Latin America. These scholars conclude that a presidential cabinet is “gendered,” if women receive “feminine” domain posts, and men “masculine” domain posts. The cabinet is further “gendered” if “masculine” ministry appointments offer greater potential for upward mobility.²⁴³ As of this report, female ministers fill none of these positions in Brazil.

Rousseff appointed female ministers to lead the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Alleviation, both which are considered to be ministries in the “feminine policy domain.”²⁴⁴ The President appointed male ministers to the most prestigious positions in the executive branch, the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Finance. Thus, based on the theory of “gendered” policy domains, by Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson, Rousseff appointed a “gendered” executive cabinet.

In contrast to the “gendered” cabinet appointments made by President Rousseff, President Lula appointed Rousseff to be Minister of Mines and Energy and then later appointed her as his Chief of Staff. In the theoretical framework of Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson, both cabinet positions that Rousseff was appointed to were in *neither* the feminine nor masculine political domains. Therefore, the framework of gendered policy domains can be used to support the idea that President Lula paved the way for increasing women’s political representation past the point of tokenism, and challenged previously held norms of women’s capabilities in Brazil’s policy domain.

The international feminist community was disappointed that President Rousseff did not diversify her cabinet to defy gendered policy norms. She was also criticized by regional feminists for not prioritizing parity the way the first female President of Chile, Michelle Bachelet, did in her first term. This report shows that Rousseff regressed from her mentor’s progressive distribution of prestigious cabinet appointments to women. The women currently in Rousseff’s executive cabinet may not gain as much political capital as the men will from their time spent in her administration. Moreover, the men and women that succeed her in office may continue to appoint gendered cabinets. According to the theoretical framework of gendered cabinets, Rousseff’s gendered appointments could potentially limit the political advancement and overall political representation of women in Brazil in the long run.

²⁴³ Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson, “Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Women in Latin American Cabinets.”

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 690.

Substantive Representation

Introduction

Dilma Rousseff is celebrated as Brazil's first democratically elected female head of state, and for appointing a record number of women to the presidential cabinet. However, the international community has been disappointed that she did not support a "gender agenda," to prioritize women's issues above all else. Like her predecessor, Lula, she concentrated on social development policy and poverty alleviation, but also developed innovative anticorruption and economic development plans.

A baseline for public satisfaction with policies created by the Rousseff administration can be determined by analyzing responses by Brazilian citizens to questions about the state of democracy in Brazil, a year after her election. On the one hand, 39.8% of Brazilians surveyed claimed they were "not very satisfied" with Brazil's democracy in 2011, and 12.2% said they thought democracy in Brazil had "worsened" since Rousseff took office. On the other hand, 22.9% of Brazilians believed that Rousseff had "improved" democracy in Brazil, while 53.7% thought that democracy "remained the same." This data shows Brazilians thought President Rousseff had not made a significant change after a year in office.²⁴⁵

Rousseff has expanded Lula-era social policies and built a new policy agenda countering corruption and supporting industrialization. This section investigates how successful she has been in implementing her campaign promises and navigating current policy challenges. Finally, this report examines President Rousseff's presence on the global stage.

Rousseff's Campaign Agenda

Dilma Rousseff's campaign strategy was to remain as true to the policies of her predecessor, President Lula, as possible. As Lula's successor, her platform focused on continuity with his administration's goals. She also promised to bring interest rates and taxes down gradually and proposed industrial development to pay for social programs and to redistribute income to bring millions more Brazilians out of poverty.²⁴⁶ The official campaign slogan was "Para o Brasil seguir mudando," meaning, "So that Brazil will keep changing." Rousseff's commitment to social programs showed the electorate that she was dedicated to continuity with her predecessor. In fact, Lulismo was so popular that Rousseff's main competition from the Center Right Party, José Serra, also promised

²⁴⁵ Corporación Latinobarómetro, *Latinobarómetro 2011* (Santiago, Chile: Corporación Latinobarómetro, October 2011), www.latinobarometro.org.

²⁴⁶ "Brazil's Presidential Campaign: In Lula's Footsteps," *The Economist*, July 1, 2010, <http://www.economist.com/node/16486525>.

to continue supporting Bolsa Família, a grouping of several conditional cash transfer and social services programs.

Rousseff's role as Lula's successor kept public opinion in her favor until public dissatisfaction with her grew in regards to government spending and the management policies of the World Cup and Olympic Game projects in 2012. Specifically, working-class citizens and youth groups were enraged that fiscal spending had reached a point in 2013 where public transportation costs had to be raised to compensate for an increasing deficit.

Continuity with the Lula Administration

When Dilma Rousseff entered office she was stepping into the shoes of a man considered to be “o politico mais bem-sucedido do seu tempo,” the most successful politician of his time.²⁴⁷ Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was the PT's first candidate to win the presidency and he was the first working-class President in a nation with a strong class hierarchy. Lula's popular Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento or PAC (Growth Acceleration Program) succeeded in both improving the living conditions of millions of Brazil's most vulnerable as well placing poverty reduction at the center of the political conversation.²⁴⁸ Despite his high approval ratings, Lula was constitutionally unable to seek a third term, thus he chose to use his political capital to help elect his former Minister of Energy and then Chief of Staff, Rousseff. This choice of a successor “revealed the personal power of the President (Lulismo) over the collective power of the party he led,”²⁴⁹ and in this context Rousseff campaigned and won on an agenda of continuity with her predecessor. Since her inauguration, continuity has certainly defined Rousseff's approach to Lula's trademark social programs, which she has maintained and even expanded. However, Rousseff is by no means Lula's proxy, and inevitably, her administration has evolved its own character and made significant breaks with the past.

Policy Overview from the Administration's Perspective

The nine official policy areas of the Rousseff administration include Health, Education, Economy, Environment, Social Development, Foreign Relations, Labor and Employment, Public Safety, and policies related to the “World Cup.”²⁵⁰ The following are

²⁴⁷ Alexandre Fortes and John French, “The ‘Lula Era’, the 2010 Presidential Elections and the Challenges of Post-Neoliberalism,” *Tempo Social* 24, no. 1 (January 2012): 201–28, doi:10.1590/S0103-20702012000100011.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Anthony W. Pereira, “Continuity Is Not Lack of Change,” *Critical Sociology* 38, no. 6 (November 1, 2012): 777–87, doi:10.1177/0896920512441633.

²⁵⁰ Dilma Rousseff's official website. Accessed March 17, 2014. <http://www.dilma.com.br/>.

policies that the Rousseff administration has implemented or continued from the Lula administration to satisfy each policy area.

The Rousseff administration has highlighted health care policies on its website that celebrate the implementation of policy for early cancer detection and increased efforts to make mammograms more accessible to the public. Policies supporting Brazilians with disabilities have been among the social policies implemented by Rousseff to fulfill her campaign promises, along with antidrug policies, and policies to improve the quality of healthcare. Despite her successes in social policy, President Rousseff has been at the center of scandal surrounding her position against the legalization of abortion in Brazil. The President famously refused to support legislation to make abortions legal in 2012, but then signed into law legislation that would allow victims of rape to gain access to emergency contraception the following year.

The Rousseff administration announced March of 2011 to be “Women’s Month,” in conjunction with International Women’s Day. The designation was coupled with several new policies that focus on improved access to health care and childcare for poor Brazilian women, along with new provisions for neonatal care. These programs are not formally designated as part of the PAC umbrella, and they tackle poverty alleviation with a specifically gendered focus. Other Women’s Month policies include provisions that mandate governmental reporting in cases of suspected domestic violence.²⁵¹

Policies for education implemented by the Rousseff administration include the construction of 3,000 kindergartens throughout Brazil, and the implementation of the “Pact for Literacy at a Certain Age.” Rousseff has committed to investing in educational infrastructure to make upward mobility possible for younger generations.

President Rousseff implemented policy to boost economic growth in Brazil in her first administration. Economic policies such as the Minha Casa Minha Vida (My House My Life) initiative, has built one million affordable homes for low-income families. Other economic policies reduced taxes for exporters, and lowered interest rates for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Rousseff’s priorities are divided between economic policies on which to build a sustainable democracy and social policies that deploy the power of the government for the people. Skeptics of Rousseff’s economic agenda warn that allowing the private credit bubble to grow will inflate Brazil’s currency, possibly causing a recession. However, it should be noted that Rousseff has kept Brazil out of a recession despite the general slowing in international trade, resulting from the recession in the United States of 2007–2009 and the European debt crisis.

²⁵¹ Sabrina Fernandes, “Dilma Rousseff and the Challenge of Fighting Patriarchy through Political Representation in Brazil,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 13, no. 3 (August 2012).

Rousseff has managed Brazil's foreign trade policies to show a trade surplus during a trying economic time, increasing trade with the European Union and proving to other regions that Brazil is a significant world trade partner. Macroeconomic policy has been well managed by the administration, and the international media often presents Rousseff as an effective economic leader. Additionally, as a result of the *Mais Emprego* portal policy, the Rousseff administration created 1.2 million jobs in 2012, proving that social policy and economic policy can be a positive dual policy agenda. However, the Brazilian public is often critical of her domestic economic policies, because of the increase in public spending since the beginning of her administration.

Environmental policy achievements of the Rousseff administration have gained her both domestic and international praise. Her administration has reduced deforestation of the Amazon by 23% and cracked down on illegal logging. "Green Grants," which use the same conditional cash transfer incentive structure used in her popular social program policy agenda, have helped fund sustainable development in Brazil. The global media has castigated Brazil for excessive amounts of pollution in its coastal and inland waterways. As a result, the administration has committed to cleaning up millions of tons of pollution for the 2016 Olympics.

President Rousseff implemented public safety policies to combat drug trafficking and reduce crime and violence by limiting the circulation of firearms. These policies went hand in hand with the increased public safety measures for the 2014 World Cup tournament. The Lula administration won the honor of hosting the 2014 World Cup in Brazil from FIFA in 2007, and the Copa (World Cup) proved to be a steady source of construction and contracting jobs for working-class Brazilians during President Rousseff's first term.²⁵² When the Copa kicked off in summer 2014, jobs were in highest demand in the tourism, hospitality, security, entertainment, and food industries.

Rousseff's reelection campaign strategy targetted the communities that her social policy has helped. Rousseff expanded the "Water For All" program to provide impoverished communities in Amazonian northern Brazil with sustainable fresh-water sources. Likewise, the "Harvest Plan for Fisheries" policy started by the Rousseff administration plans to lift 100,000 fishing families out of poverty by the time of its completion. Although many poverty-alleviation policies were started in Lula's administration, Rousseff has shown that she has a strong commitment to helping the poorest Brazilians.

Development

The Lula administration's most significant policy reform was the restructuring of the Brazilian government's approach to economic development. From the redemocratization of Brazil in 1985 to the end of the Cardoso administration in 2002, economic

²⁵² Ibid.

development followed the neoliberal model common among democratizing Latin American states at the time. The election of Lula and the PT in 2002 signaled an end to free market economic policy in Brazil.

Lula and the PAC

Under Lulismo, moderate leftist policies for development and poverty alleviation brought millions out of poverty in the emerging BRICS economy. At the center of Lula's development policy was the Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC)—the Growth Acceleration Program. The PAC balanced an inviting climate for private industry investment with conditional cash transfer programs for the poorest Brazilians, such as the Bolsa Família, implemented in 2003, which promoted access to education, nutrition, and health care by providing supplemental income and school grants. This multilateral approach worked; millions of Brazilians moved into the middle class, and policy observers suggest that it also helped keep Brazil relatively protected from the 2008 global economic crisis. Unlike the neoliberal approach of the Cardoso administration, which offered little state support for Brazil's poor, or other leftist Latin American governments, which rejected capitalism as a mode of industrialization, the PAC brought a poverty-alleviation focus to development. Investment in infrastructure generated jobs, along with lower rates of regional inequality, and created better sanitation and new health projects, which improved the living situation of millions of poor Brazilians.²⁵³

As Lula's Chief of Staff during his second term in office, Rouseff managed the direction and implementation of these sweeping social programs. Dubbed "a Mãe do PAC" (the Mother of the PAC) by the Lula administration, she spearheaded new development initiatives and oversaw the disbursement of conditional cash transfer programs. Since her election to the presidency, Rouseff has expanded these economic development and social service policies as the PAC-2.

Poverty Alleviation and the PAC-2 under Rouseff

The substantial budget of Rouseff's PAC-2 is divided into six development initiatives. The first four of these policies are poverty alleviation measures that focus on building safer and healthier communities for the poorest Brazilians. Minha Casa, Minha Vida (My House, My Life), Cidade Melhor (Better City), Comunidade Cidadã (Citizen Community), and Água e Luz para Todos (Water and Light for All) aim at solving many of the endemic problems associated with Brazil's notorious urban slums, or favelas. Respectively, these initiatives (1) give low-income families a path to homeownership, (2) build sanitation, safety, and roadway infrastructure along with (3) community centers,

²⁵³ For an analysis of the impact of the PAC, see: Guy Burton, "An End to Poverty in Brazil? An Assessment of the Lula and Rouseff Governments' Poverty Reduction and Elimination Strategies," *Journal of Policy Practice* 12, no. 3 (2013): 194–215.

schools, and daycares in low-income communities and (4) provide clean water and electricity. Planned expenditures to build two million homes from 2011 to 2014 are R\$278.2 billion,²⁵⁴ with the bulk of allocations designated for the Minha Casa, Minha Vida homeownership initiative.²⁵⁵

In the summer of 2011, the Rousseff administration announced the new Brasil Sem Miséria (Brazil without Poverty) plan. This plan, directed at Brazil's absolute poorest, built on Lula's Bolsa Família and other PAC conditional cash transfer programs. Brazil Sem Miséria falls under the PAC-2 umbrella. Like Lulismo, these CCT social programs offer support to the poor while integrating them into the formal workforce:

Brasil Sem Miséria Plan has three main axis of action. The income guarantee axis, which refers to transfers for the immediate relief of the extreme poverty situation; the productive inclusion axis, which offers job and income opportunities to the Plan's target public; and the access to public services axis, for the provision or expansion of actions of citizenship and social welfare.²⁵⁶

Social programs do represent a significant investment, but the bulk of the PAC-2 budget is focused on larger scale economic development projects in transportation and energy.

The growing BRICS economy needs new sources of power and new infrastructure for electricity transmission. Brazilian urban centers have experienced energy shortages and blackouts, which are of growing concern to the Rousseff administration as the 2016 Olympic Games near.²⁵⁷ The emphasis on new energy development is clearly reflected in the budget: from 2011 to 2014, R\$465.6 billion is divided between renewable energy initiatives, fossil fuels, mineral research, maritime industry, and efficiency.²⁵⁸ One of the largest and most controversial energy projects included in this budget, the Belo Monte Dam, is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The transportation component of the PAC-2, budgeted for approximately R\$105 billion from 2011 through 2014,²⁵⁹ includes improvements to highways and airports. Transportation and energy infrastructure are at the center of development plans for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics.

²⁵⁴ This number represents the second phase of development for Minha Casa, Minha Vida. The Lula-era first phase (2009–2010) built 1 million homes and cost R\$29.4 billion.

²⁵⁵ All numbers pulled from: Amy Skalmusky, "Brazil PAC 2 Spending Plans," *Rio Times*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-business/brazil-pac-2-spending-plans/>.

²⁵⁶ Brazilian Government, *Brazil Without Extreme Poverty Plan*, n.d., http://www.brasilsemmiseria.gov.br/documentos/mds_revista_ingles.pdf.

²⁵⁷ Anthony Boadle, "Brazil Hit by New Blackout, Infrastructure in Spotlight," Reuters, October 26, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/26/us-brazil-blackout-idUSBRE89P0QW20121026>.

²⁵⁸ Skalmusky, "Brazil PAC 2 Spending Plans."

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

Corruption and Transparency Reform

Brazil has long been a country where corruption thrives and politicians behave with impunity. Situational anthropologist Roberto DaMatta believes this corruption is rooted in the “profoundly negative relationship between a state that is considered above society and a society that wants to be insulated from the state that rules it.”²⁶⁰ As democracy continues to be consolidated and more Brazilians enter the middle class, the public’s tolerance for these abuses and their economic consequences is decreasing. However, those in power have yet to adjust their behavior to the shifting climate: in 2013 Brazil still scored only 42 (out of 100) on the Corruption Perceptions Index and was ranked 72 out of 177 countries.²⁶¹ Lula’s presidency represented a rupture with tradition in many respects, but his administration did not change the status quo regarding corruption. Rousseff, however, has taken significant steps towards transparency that have earned her an unusual level of respect and trust from the Brazilian people.²⁶² Rousseff’s multiple initiatives include a Truth Commission and an Open Data Portal which allows the public to query raw data from government agencies. She has also signed legislation such as the Freedom of Information Act, Clean Companies Act, and Tax Transparency law. She has shown a lack of tolerance for corruption within her Cabinet and has stepped in a coleadership role of the Open Government Partnership. Rousseff needed considerable skill and strategy to enact these reforms, as they are “anathema to much of the country’s political and bureaucratic elite.”²⁶³ The President made considerable progress in this arena, and many analysts see this as the most defining achievement of her administration.²⁶⁴

A Faxina: Cleaning House

During Rousseff’s first year in office (2011), there were repeated upheavals in her Cabinet, with four ministers leaving following allegations of corruption. Chief of Staff Antonio Palocci, Transport Minister Alfredo Nascimento, Agriculture Minister Wagner Rossi, and Tourism Minister Pedro Novais all had to step down from their posts despite their power and connections. For a Brazilian President to force out multiple members of

²⁶⁰ Roberto DaMatta, “Is Brazil Hopelessly Corrupt?” in *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Robert M. Levine and John J. Crocitti (Durham, NC: Duke University, 1999).

²⁶¹ Transparency International, *Corruption Perceptions Index 2013* (Transparency International, 2013), <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/results/>.

²⁶² Lucy Jordan, “Brazil: An End to Dirty Politics as Usual?,” *The Global Post*, December 4, 2012, <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/americas/brazil/121203/brazilian-justice-mensalao-corruption-case-trial-lula-dilma-rousseff>.

²⁶³ Greg Michener, “Tax Transparency in Brazil Legislation,” *Al Jazeera*, December 26, 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/12/201212247511859447.html>.

²⁶⁴ Shannon O’Neil, “Dilma Rousseff’s Tenure Three Years On,” Council on Foreign Relations blog, October 3, 2013, <http://blogs.cfr.org/oneil/2013/10/03/dilma-rousseffs-tenure-three-years-on/>.

her cabinet due to corruption was a noteworthy departure from past precedent and indicative of Rousseff's firm stance on the issue of corruption. This no-tolerance policy combined with the choices made in refilling these positions demonstrated Dilma's "courage to exercise her power."²⁶⁵ This sequence of events also displayed Rousseff's independence from Lula, given she inherited both Rossi and Nascimento from his administration and further, that Palocci had close ties to Lula as well.

Clean Companies Act

In the wake of massive antigraft protests in June 2013, Rousseff pressured Congress to pass legislation tackling corporate corruption. On August 1, 2013, she signed Brazil's Clean Companies Act (Federal Law 12.846/2013, Lei Anticorrupção Empresarial), which imposed sanctions on corporations found to be bribing either Brazilian or foreign public officials. The law also created incentives for corporations to establish compliance protocols and cooperate with investigations. Unsatisfied with some of the loopholes present in the act when it reached her desk, Rousseff used her line-item veto to strengthen the legislation.²⁶⁶ Unlike in the United States, where perpetrators of corporate bribery can be criminally prosecuted, under Brazilian law they are only subject to civil and administrative proceedings. Nonetheless, the Clean Companies Act is actually a broader statute than the United States' Federal Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA), and it brings Brazil in line with the OECD Convention, to which it is a signatory.

Mensalão Scandal

Brazil's biggest corruption scandal since the restoration of democracy, the Mensalão, happened during the Lula era (coming to light in 2005) but the trial and sentencing have taken place under Dilma. This "big monthly stipend" consisted of high-level members of the PT paying coalition members in Congress around R\$30,000 (US\$12,000) per month in exchange for their favorable votes on government projects.²⁶⁷ Those indicted include Lula's Chief of Staff José Dirceu, PT treasurer Délubio Soares, and former President of the PT, José Genoíno.

Due to the positions of power held by the defendants, the case was heard by Brazil's Supreme Federal Tribunal (STF) in late 2012 and of the forty indicted, thirty-eight were

²⁶⁵ "Exit Palocci: The President Tries to Cut Her Losses," *The Economist*, June 9, 2011, <http://www.economist.com/node/18805830?zid=309&ah=80dcf288b8561b012f603b9fd9577f0e>.

²⁶⁶ Andy Spalding, "Brazil's President Dilma Takes a Stand," *The FCPA Blog*, August 4, 2013, <http://www.fcpcablog.com/blog/2013/8/4/brazils-president-dilma-takes-a-stand.html>.

²⁶⁷ "Escândalo Do Mensalão," *Rede de Escândalos*, n.d., <http://veja.abril.com.br/infograficos/rede-escandalos/rede-escandalos.shtml?governo=lula&scrollto=27>.

tried, twenty-five were found guilty, and twelve were imprisoned.²⁶⁸ However, these verdicts will not necessarily stand because Brazilian law allows for sentences to be reexamined on appeal. Some have already been overturned.²⁶⁹

Rousseff's mentor Lula has not been charged with any involvement in the Mensalão and claims he was "betrayed" by his colleagues,²⁷⁰ but he is under investigation and the public is skeptical of his claims of ignorance regarding the scheme. Dilma herself is not implicated; she became Lula's chief of staff only after the Mensalão became public knowledge and José Dirceu stepped down.

The Brazilian judiciary is not under the purview of the executive branch, thus Rousseff is not responsible for the STF's handling of this case. However, because the STF is holding lawmakers accountable under the law, it contributed to her anticorruption agenda by showing the nation that power does not grant immunity. However, if these sentences continue to be overturned, the status quo will be reaffirmed.

Unlike Lula, who has spoken out against the judges' rulings, Dilma distanced herself from the trial and respected the Court's verdicts. When asked for her opinion on the STF's rulings, she replied, "enquanto eu for presidenta não faço observação, críticas ou análises da Suprema Corte do meu país."²⁷¹ [As long as I'm President, I will not make observations, critiques, or analysis of the Supreme Court of my country.]

Freedom of Information

President Rousseff's first attempt to pass a freedom of information law occurred in 2009 when she introduced legislation to Congress while she was President Lula da Silva's chief of staff. This proposal failed, but as President, she backed broader, stronger legislation. On November 18, 2011, she finally signed a law implementing this constitutional right granted to the Brazilian people in 1988. According to transparency expert Gregory Michener, the strengths of the Lei de Acesso à Informação (Federal Law 12.527/2011) reside in its wide scope (it applies to all branches of government and at all

²⁶⁸ H J, "What Is Brazil's 'Mensalão'?" *The Economist*, November 18, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2013/11/economist-explains-14>.

²⁶⁹ "Escândalo Do Mensalão."

²⁷⁰ In a televised speech in August 2005, Lula da Silva stated, "Quero dizer a vocês, com toda a franqueza, eu me sinto traído. Traído por práticas inaceitáveis das quais nunca tive conhecimento. Estou indignado pelas revelações que aparecem a cada dia, e que chocam o país. O PT foi criado justamente para fortalecer a ética na política." "Pronunciamento," *Globo*, August 8, 2005, <http://g1.globo.com/jornalhoje/0,MUL1148976-16022,00-PRONUNCIAMENTO.html>.

²⁷¹ "Dilma Revela Preocupação Com Saúde de José Genoino Na Prisão," *G1 Campinas E Região*, November 20, 2013, <http://g1.globo.com/sp/campinas-regiao/noticia/2013/11/dilma-revela-preocupacao-com-saude-de-jose-genoino-na-prisao.html>.

levels), its “active transparency obligations,” and its exceptions and protections. However, the law has significant weaknesses and Michener is critical of the lack of an independent oversight agency and the “three-tiered secrecy scheme” that protects ultrasecret information for at least twenty-five years.²⁷² Without an independent agency to regulate and enforce the law, requests must be directed to an eleven-person team at the National Comptroller General (Controladoria General da União, or CGU), located within the executive branch. Despite the significance of the law, its potential efficacy has been thwarted by the scarce resources for implementation, low public awareness, and lack of media buy-in.²⁷³ If properly enacted, freedom of information is an important step in advancing democracy and combating political impunity, but for Brazil this is still a work in progress. Nonetheless, Rousseff’s personal commitment to improving transparency is evident, and she has combined her support for the Freedom of Information law with the Tax Transparency law (Federal Law 12.471), the creation of a new Open Data Portal (Portal Brasileiro de Dados Abertos), and leadership (alongside President Barack Obama) of the Open Government Partnership.

Truth Commission

The same week that she signed the Freedom of Information law, Dilma Rousseff also approved a law creating the National Truth Commission (Comissão Nacional da Verdade, or CNV).²⁷⁴ Inaugurated in May 2012, the CNV is tasked with investigating the human rights abuses perpetrated on thousands of Brazilians during the period 1946–1988, which includes the military dictatorship in power from 1964 to 1985. No matter the findings, no one will be prosecuted for these crimes due to a 1979 amnesty, but according to Rousseff “Brazil deserves the truth, new generations deserve the truth, and—above all—those who lost friends and relatives and who continue to suffer as if they were dying again each day deserve the truth.”²⁷⁵ The right to historical truth has significant personal resonance for the President, as she herself suffered as a prisoner of the dictatorship for three years in the 1970s. Prior to Rousseff’s tenure, President Lula da Silva broached the creation of a similar commission, but he was stopped by pressure from the military. Enabling the country to confront the legacy of the dictatorship is an important achievement for Rousseff. Taking this step also adds legitimacy to Brazil’s voice on the international

²⁷² Greg Michener, “Analyzing Brazil’s New Freedom of Information Law,” *Observing Brazil*, December 13, 2011, <http://observingbrazil.com/2011/12/13/analyzing-brazils-new-freedom-of-information-law/>.

²⁷³ Thiago Herdy, “Ceticismo Em Relação À Lei de Acesso No Brasil,” *O Globo*, May 15, 2012, <http://oglobo.globo.com/pais/ceticismo-em-relacao-lei-de-acesso-no-brasil-4909013>.

²⁷⁴ For further information on the National Truth Commission’s mandate and investigations, see the official website: <http://www.cnv.gov.br>.

²⁷⁵ “Brazil Truth Commission Begins Rights Abuse Inquiries,” *BBC News*, May 16, 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-18087390>.

stage of human rights protection.²⁷⁶ By establishing the CNV, Brazil now joins the ranks of Chile and Argentina who have also undertaken quests for truth and reconciliation. Brazil differs significantly from its neighbors, though, because it will not be repealing its amnesty. The CNV is required to submit its final report in December 2014.

2014 World Cup

Brazil hosted the 2014 FIFA World Cup. The opening ceremony occurred on June 12, 2014. This contract was awarded to Brazil during Lula's term, but it is Rousseff who presided over the majority of the preparations and who oversaw the event itself. Brazil is a major force in the soccer world, having won five World Cups, and it previously hosted the event sixty-four years earlier, in 1950.

Hosting a mega-event like this brings international attention to the competition itself, attracts tourists to the country, and spurs development. Brazil's tourism board, Embratur, predicted that 600,000 tourists would visit the country during the World Cup²⁷⁷ and spend R\$25 billion (US\$11 billion).²⁷⁸ President Rousseff declared this the *copa das copas* (the cup of all cups) and pushed Brazil's image as a sunny, energetic, fun-loving, multicultural country—a natural home for the event. In her social media she called it the *copa pela paz* (cup for peace), and the *copa contra o racismo* (cup against racism). However, peace and equity were not part of the World Cup experience for the poor, primarily Afro-descendant residents of Brazil's favelas.

Infrastructure

When Lula pitched the World Cup to the Brazilian people, he sold them a vision of income and infrastructure development that would benefit them directly. Instead, as the kickoff date approached and the project was over budget and behind schedule, the administration concentrated on the needs of tourists rather than the needs of the local population when it came to developing infrastructure. In fact, poor residents often paid the price for this kind of infrastructure as they faced forced eviction and relocation to make way for the new construction.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Eduardo Gonzalez, "Brazil Shatters Its Wall of Silence," *New York Times*, December 2, 2011, sec. Opinion, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/03/opinion/brazil-shatters-its-wall-of-silence.html>.

²⁷⁷ Will Smale, "Brazil Prepares for Major Tourism Boost," *BBC News*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-15824562>.

²⁷⁸ Jack Whibley, "Brazil Expects World Cup to Bring R\$25b," *Rio Times*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-business/brazil-expects-world-cup-to-bring-r25-billion/>.

²⁷⁹ Travis Waldron, "100 Days From World Cup, Brazil Struggles To Complete Stadiums And Other Projects," *ThinkProgress*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://thinkprogress.org/sports/2014/03/04/3357551/100-days-world-cup/>.

FIFA requires that the host nations have eight stadiums in which to hold the matches, but Brazil decided to go beyond the requirement and designate twelve host cities to display the variety of people and places contained within its borders.²⁸⁰ As a result, total investment in the Copa was expected to reach at least R\$16 billion, including the construction of stadiums in cities that are unlikely to use them after the event.

FIFA wanted all twelve stadiums to be ready in December 2013, but many were not ready until May 2014. As popular support for the event waned in response to corruption and mismanagement, host cities became reluctant to do everything they were contractually obligated to because public spending on the World Cup became a political liability.²⁸¹

When Brazil got the Cup, it came with a strict contract and arrangements from FIFA that were ultimately passed as legislation in the World Cup General Bill (Federal Law 12.663 of 2012). These provisions included excluding street vendors from a two-kilometer radius around stadiums, protecting FIFA's trademark, permitting the sale of alcohol at match venues, and exempting the World Cup from the Brazilian law entitling students and pensioners to half-price tickets for sporting events. It was clear how stipulations would benefit FIFA and its business partners, but it is hard to discern how they helped local businesses.

PRONATEC Copa

In October 2011 President Rousseff approved the creation of the National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment (Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego, or PRONATEC)²⁸² to broadly reform Brazil's vocational education program. In preparation for the country's role as host of the FIFA World Cup in the summer of 2014, PRONATEC Copa was created specifically to offer free training courses in many areas of tourism and hospitality as well as English, Spanish, and sign language to both individuals and companies. This joint effort between the Tourism Ministry and the Education Ministry sought to prepare Brazil's workers for the influx of foreign visitors and leave them with a good impression.

Protests

In the summer of 2013, mass protests against corruption erupted in Brazil. These protests, which coincided with the country hosting the Confederations Cup, were

²⁸⁰ The host cities were Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Salvador, Curitiba, Manaus, Cuiabá, Recife, Natal, Fortaleza, Brasília, Belo Horizonte, and Porto Alegre.

²⁸¹ Tim Vickery, "Pressure Starting to Rise on Brazil," *BBC Sport*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/sport/0/football/26415752>.

²⁸² For the official PRONATEC Copa website, see <http://www.pronateccopa.turismo.gov.br>

demonstrations against the 2014 World Cup. Hikes in transportation fees in São Paulo served as the catalyst for the protests, but the source of the protestors' motivating anger stemmed from the "high taxes, poor services and high World Cup spending" that were all interwoven with government corruption.²⁸³ An estimated total of 250,000 people gathered in cities around the country to demonstrate, and violent encounters with the police occurred in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, and Belo Horizonte, among other cities.²⁸⁴

At a time when Brazil needed investment in schools, hospitals, and public transportation, the country instead spent billions of dollars on World Cup-related projects that even prominent soccer stars resented. The beneficiaries of these mega-projects were the large construction companies who are also powerful campaign donors.²⁸⁵ Brazilians were outraged at the corruption associated with these projects and also the reported US\$2 billion that FIFA earned from the event without having to bear any of the costs.²⁸⁶ These realities dramatically decreased popular support for hosting the World Cup, with only 52% of Brazilians holding a favorable opinion in 2014, compared to 79% in 2008, according to Datafolha.²⁸⁷

After the initial protests in June, President Rousseff responded by recognizing the legitimacy of the protests and acknowledging the need for better public services and government responsiveness.²⁸⁸ In a televised statement, she described plans to improve funding for education and public transportation, and also asserted the importance of transparency, but this did little to quiet the protestors' anger.²⁸⁹ The demonstrations continued into 2014, and on multiple occasions turned violent. In March 2014 the municipal governments of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo abolished their original public transportation hikes, but this gesture failed to address underlying causes for public dissatisfaction.²⁹⁰

²⁸³ "Pressure Starting to Rise on Brazil."

²⁸⁴ Marina Amaral and Natalia Viana, "Why Are Brazilians Protesting the World Cup?" *The Nation*, June 21, 2013, <http://www.thenation.com/article/174936/why-are-brazilians-protesting-world-cup>.

²⁸⁵ Robert Mackey and Sergio Peçanha, "Brazil's World Cup Winners Support Protests," *New York Times*, June 21, 2013, <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/06/21/brazils-world-cup-winners-support-protests/>.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ Raymond Colitt and Tariq Panja, "World Cup Setup Could Have Been Better, Brazil Sports Chief Says," *Bloomberg*, March 13, 2014, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-03-13/world-cup-setup-could-have-been-better-brazil-sports-chief-says.html>.

²⁸⁸ "Brazil Government Rolls Back Transit Hike," *Al Jazeera*, March 21, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2013/06/201361821494340354.html>.

²⁸⁹ "Brazil President Announces Reforms," *BBC News*, June 21, 2013, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-23012547>.

²⁹⁰ "Brazil Government Rolls Back Transit Hike."

Security

Given the protests that began in June 2013 as well as the preexisting violence that is rampant in many urban areas in Brazil, there were serious concerns about security during the World Cup. The security needs for teams, fans, tourists, official stadiums, and Fan Fests across the country stretched resources and was expected to cost US\$900 million.²⁹¹ These preparations included the creation of an additional elite policing unit with 10,000 members.²⁹²

Another cause for safety concerns was the proximity of many World Cup sites to favelas, where the rates of violence were increasing. Violence had been decreasing in the ongoing battle for neighborhood control between drug gangs and police, with credit for the turnaround given to pacification programs, but armed robberies and deathly altercations with police increased again after the police killed Amarildo de Souza in 2013.²⁹³ Federal police squads were deployed in favelas in late March 2014. This was by no means a measure certain to quell violence, however—Brazilian police are notorious for their brutality and impunity, and are known to have their own “death squads” operating in favelas. This violence is so severe that six of the World Cup host cities are ranked among the fifty cities with the highest murder rates worldwide.²⁹⁴

Energy and the Environment: The Belo Monte Dam Project

The construction of the Belo Monte Dam is supposed to be completed in 2016. When finished, the dam will be the third largest in the world, behind China’s Three Gorges and the Itaipu dam on the Brazil-Paraguay border. Currently, the Belo Monte project has reached the 50% mark in construction, but progress has been fraught with challenges. The current design for Belo Monte project is the most recent in a lengthy series of designs to dam the Xingu.

For decades, indigenous groups and environmental activists have thwarted attempts to build the dam. The state-owned Norte Energia finally purchased the contract for the

²⁹¹ Gary Morley, “Brazil Boosts World Cup Security Budget As Crime Rises,” *CNN*, December 5, 2012, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/12/05/sport/football/brazil-world-cup-security-football/index.html>; “Pressure Starting to Rise on Brazil.”

²⁹² Gordon Tynan, “World Cup 2014: Brazil Creates 10,000-Strong Elite Security Force to Deal with Expected Protests,” *The Independent*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/international/world-cup-2014-brazil-creates-10000strong-elite-security-force-to-deal-with-expected-protests-9037996.html>.

²⁹³ Jonathan Watts, “Brazil to Order Army into Rio Slums as Violence Escalates before World Cup,” *The Guardian*, March 24, 2014, sec. World news, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/24/brazil-army-rio-slums-violence-world-cup>.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.* These cities are Fortaleza, Natal, Salvador, Manaus, Recife, and Belo Horizonte.

project in 2010, and the company broke ground in 2011. During her tenure as the Minister of Mines and Energy, Rousseff gained a reputation as a prodevelopment technocrat, “bullish” in the face of objections over environmental concerns. The Belo Monte Dam project is a key component of Rousseff’s energy development plan and budget.

Brazil needs affordable, clean power to ensure the continued growth of development in the north. The Rousseff administration sees the Belo Monte project as a way to create jobs and stimulate slowing development. More than half of the PAC-2 budget is energy related. Regardless, large dam projects are characteristically completed over budget, and finding accurate estimates on the cost—fiscal, environmental, and social—is complex. Estimates vary on the cost of the Belo Monte Dam, ranging from the official estimate US\$14.4 B to US\$27.4 B.²⁹⁵

The Rousseff administration maintains that Belo Monte is part of larger green initiatives.²⁹⁶ The newest iteration of the Belo Monte plans has passed five inspections and has been cleared by the environmental ministry. While the original plans included a large reservoir, the Belo Monte project will now only cover a small landmass, using land that has already been deforested. Altino Ventura, the Secretary of Planning and Development, is quoted in *The Economist*: “It will minimize the social and environmental costs . . . The new dams will use ‘run of river’ designs, eschewing large reservoirs and relying on the water’s natural flow to power the turbines. And they will not flood any Indian reserves.”²⁹⁷ This change will mitigate environmental impact, but will also substantially decrease the projected output of the dam while increasing the overall cost of the project by R\$2 billion.²⁹⁸

While the Belo Monte project has now made it through the checks and balances of Brazilian bureaucracy under Rousseff’s guiding hand, protesters continue to maintain that the project violates the constitutional rights of indigenous people in the Amazon. Environmental activism groups such as International Rivers and Amazon Watch believe that the environmental and social impacts of the dam have been underestimated by the Rousseff administration. These groups also assert that wind energy is a more sustainable and less socially harmful power supply option for the Brazilian Northeast.

²⁹⁵ Lauren Everitt, “Do Massive Dams Ever Make Sense?” *BBC News*, March 10, 2014, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-26512465>.

²⁹⁶ Because dams release greenhouse gases when initially put into use, the claim that the dam is an environmentally friendly choice to energy is contentious.

²⁹⁷ “Dams in the Amazon: The Rights and Wrongs of Belo Monte,” *The Economist*, May 4, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21577073-having-spent-heavily-make-worlds-third-biggest-hydroelectric-project-greener-brazil>.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Brazil in the Global Economy

In the wake of the Eurozone crisis, Brazil has struggled to reach precrisis levels of economic growth. Like China, Brazil created much of its economic growth by opening up access to private debt in the form of credit, which caused a consumer-spending boom. This private credit bubble has also been a main contributor to poverty alleviation, expanding short-term income. Recently, however, growth in Brazil has stalled, as many citizens have slowed down their private sector borrowing. The other major factor of Brazil's former booming growth was the peaking commodities super cycle, which has since slowed, because many countries face recovery and austerity measures. To increase business investment in Brazil, the Rousseff administration has launched a program of tax relief and subsidies for industry to assure business and employment does not slow to a halt as consumers and businesses cut back on spending. Rousseff's programs have been extremely successful at saving jobs, and Brazil's less than 6% unemployment rate at the end of 2013 proved that Rousseff was able to keep her citizens employed. President Rousseff can credit much of her continued domestic popularity to her administration's successful economic policies, which aim at pulling more than 40 million Brazilians out of poverty through increased public spending on social welfare benefits for low-income earners.²⁹⁹

The increase in spending on the World Cup negatively impacted Rousseff's approval ratings. To combat the drop in ratings, the President publicly expressed her determination to fight the reemergence of monetary inflation by raising the central bank's interest rates.³⁰⁰ These policies have kept investment in Brazil's economy strong enough for Brazil to remain globally competitive during a harsh recovery when the market's loyalty is fleeting. Other impressive economic statistics in Rousseff's portfolio include Brazil's debt to GDP ratio, which was at 35% at the end of 2013, indicating that Brazil continues to be a very strong and stable market for international investment. In terms of national debt to GDP, the lower the percentage the better, because it indicates the ability of that country to repay the debt.

Successful economic policy was extremely significant to Rousseff's reelection campaign. Public support for the President faltered before the October 2014 elections as economic concerns took center stage in the debate. To balance approval ratings and gain public

²⁹⁹ Joe Leahy, "Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff Defends Record on Economy," *Financial Times*, June 16, 2013, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/aff5a652-d6a1-11e2-9214-00144feab7de.html#axzz2uuuDMij2>.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

support, the Rousseff administration allowed wages to rise in Brazil, despite the slowing of economic growth.³⁰¹

International Relations

Rousseff is balancing two of her administration's top international relations concerns: the BRICS alliance and relations with the United States. The BRICS alliance is a coalition of emerging markets of the "Global South." In July 2014, Brazil hosted the sixth annual BRICS summit in Fortaleza, and for the first time, had the opportunity to recommit to the BRICS agenda. Since the fast-paced economic growth of the BRICS countries has slowed in recent years, Brazil has not prioritized alliances with Russia and China, instead has chosen to focus on trade relations with India. However, as host to the summit this year, Brazil will take a leadership role to help further the BRICS agenda. At the top of their policy list is institutionalizing a BRICS Development Bank to function similarly to the World Bank's mission of funding international aid and development loans.³⁰²

As an emerging economy, Brazil has developed relationships with many world powers through the avenues of trade agreements. However, Brazilian relations with the United States have been strained in the last year. Brazil's recent distrust of the United States has arisen from the NSA's phone and wiretapping methods, which Edward Snowden exposed to the media and international community in 2013. As a result, the Rousseff administration found out that President Rousseff's phone conversations were being recorded. President Rousseff publicly canceled a trip to Washington, DC, to meet with President Obama in response to the spying incident. Furthermore, Rousseff found out that American diplomats had allegedly been advised to "drive a wedge" between Brazil and the other BRICS countries, in order to bring Brazil closer to a US-Brazil trade alliance.³⁰³ Rousseff has remained steadfast in her position not to form a formal alliance with the United States, for fear of alienating other important international trade partners. Instead, as a diplomatic strategy, Rousseff expressed to President Obama that Brazil wants a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. This request has yet to be supported by President Obama, and has not been formally presented to the other permanent members of the UNSC.

³⁰¹ Bello, "Dilma's Tight Skirt," *The Economist*, February 8, 2014,

<http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21595936-brazils-president-has-left-herself-little-room-economic-manoeuvre-ahead-difficult>.

³⁰² Oliver Stuenkel, "Missing Political Will? Brazil's Leadership at the 2014 BRICS Summit," *Post-Western World*, February 6, 2014, <http://www.postwesternworld.com/2014/02/06/political-brazils-leadership/>.

³⁰³ Oliver Stuenkel, "Can Dilma Rousseff Fix U.S.-Brazil Relations?" *Post-Western World*, February 26, 2012, <http://www.postwesternworld.com/2012/02/26/can-dilma-rousseff-fix-u-s-brazil-relations/>.

Furthermore, Brazil is already prone to distrusting the United States because of the US involvement with the military coup that overthrew the Brazilian government in 1964; the United States also assisted in implementing a military dictatorship that lasted twenty years. This, of course, is the same military dictatorship that tortured and imprisoned Rousseff from 1970 to 1972. Additionally, the military dictatorship, and the United States as a supporter of the dictatorship, is blamed for a decade of lost economic growth and development in Brazil. While President Rousseff is Brazil's head of state, she has the power and personal-political history to leverage diplomatic decisions to craft the future of Brazil-US relations.

Symbolic Representation

Traditional Modes of Leadership and Rousseff

The celebratory atmosphere typically surrounding the election of a female President arises from the notion that women in executive office govern differently, and thus there will be a change for the better. Despite evidence to the contrary, there is a popular belief that women will govern with other women in mind, and will develop and implement policy agendas that *transform* the daily lives of women and other minorities for the better.

Female leadership is heralded as the dawn of a new age; the election of a woman means that we have reached a milestone of equality for all historically marginalized groups. Unfortunately, this enthusiasm is largely misguided. Women in the executive do carry some symbolic importance and can create policy aimed at improving the lives of women. But focusing on their leadership exclusively in gendered terms misses out on other important aspects of leadership in general and female leadership specifically.

The final section of this case study analyzes the symbolic and transformative power of the Rousseff administration: how she presents herself as a female leader, how she is typified as such by the public, and what her leadership means for Brazilians. Do media interpretations of her symbolic power and leadership style substantiate claims that her election is of revolutionary or transformational importance to Brazilian women?

Historical Analysis

Women have been historically excluded from institutionalized power, both in Brazil and around the world. As such, the election of a female leader is seen as important regardless of whether that female leader has a gendered agenda. Prior to the redemocratization of Brazil in 1985, women were absent from institutionalized power. In the three decades since, a handful of female leaders have risen to municipal and state executive office. These women have had varying levels of substantive commitment to gendered agendas,

but their legacies as successful political figures legitimized the entrance of other women into Brazilian politics.

In *Presidentas latinoamericanas e igualdad de género: un camino sinuoso*, Fernández Ramil and Oliva Espinosa assert that we can classify the election of women to the executive in Latin America into two stages. The first in which leaders were either members of political dynasties or rose to power post-conflict, and the second in which women are elected as experienced candidates in stable democracies.³⁰⁴ In the cases of Bachelet, Fernández de Kirchner, and Rousseff, these women were the designated successors of the men who came before them, inheriting the loyalty of the party from the previous head of state. This is particularly true in the case of Rousseff, who served as the Minister of Mines and Energy and Chief of Staff under Lula.

Gender and Leadership in the Rousseff Administration

An analysis of Rousseff's leadership style faces a significant obstacle: much of political science literature surrounding leadership uses masculine-feminine binary to discuss female leadership. The authors of this report believe that classifying Rousseff's leadership along these lines limits a complex understanding of who she is as a leader.

Gender-Described Style of Leadership

Rousseff receives praise for her stern style of leadership and technocratic executive decision-making, with her leadership characterized as “passionate technocrat.” Her leadership abilities are often assessed as “bullish” or “hard,” descriptions that are typically linked to her past as a guerilla activist during the military regime. While this description of her leadership is not pointedly gendered, it does fall within traditionally masculine notions of leadership. A notable exception to this characterization occurred during her tenure as Lula's Chief of Staff, when she was dubbed “A Mãe do PAC” (the mother of the PAC).

Media descriptions of her overall person reveal a popular media association between her stern leadership and personal styles. Rousseff has undergone considerable physical changes during her rise to power, including plastic surgery to make her appear “less crabby” and more “gentle.”³⁰⁵ This commentary on her tough leadership is often extrapolated into an assessment of personal appearance in masculine terms, especially prior to her presidential run: “[Her youth as an activist] made her a harder person,

³⁰⁴ María de los Ángeles Fernández Ramil and Daniela Oliva Espinosa, “Presidentas latinoamericanas e igualdad de género: un camino sinuoso,” *Nueva Sociedad* 240, (July–August 2012): 119–33.

³⁰⁵ Ana Clara Costa, “Dilma Rousseff Gets an Extreme Makeover,” *The Huffington Post*, December 29, 2010, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ana-clara-costa/dilma-rousseff-style-photos_b_802187.html#s214263title=April_2004.

sometimes brutal and severe, and that is reflected in her looks. The looks that took her 40 years to construct and one year to try to change.”³⁰⁶

Gender and the Importance of Female Leadership in Brazil

Minister of Culture Marta Suplicy perhaps best articulates the enduring impact of the Rousseff election:

After Dilma was elected, girls started playing in ways they didn't before. I took my granddaughter to the Senate ahead of the inauguration. Someone asked her, 'What do you want to be when you grow up?' She replied, 'President of Brazil.' I would never hear that when I was 10. Now I see more imagination and ambition in the play of young girls. It all starts with the games they play—not the princess waiting for a guy on a white horse, but an accomplished person who is capable of succeeding.³⁰⁷

The symbolic power of female leadership is primarily discussed by the mainstream media and thought leaders in these terms: that female leadership is as significant as soft cultural power for the dreams of young women. Additionally, the election of a female leader is praised for the cultural significance this achievement holds for women and minorities in general.

In her presidential acceptance speech, Rousseff promised to honor Brazilian women, facilitate the entrance of other women into institutional power, and promote policies that would positively impact all women.³⁰⁸ In interviews and speeches, Rousseff uses the female pronoun “ela” often when talking about a hypothetical Brazilian person and the impact policies will have on that person. In doing so, she weaves an investment in female political participation and visibility into her public discourse.

The Brazilian media pointed to her election as a move toward a less unequal state for all marginalized groups. Fernandes asserts that *Carta Capital*, a weekly magazine, “explored the expectation that her mandate might be more pluralistic and create opportunities for men and women, black and white, atheists, and Christians.”³⁰⁹ The expectation that her election would substantially transform the lives of marginalized Brazilians is explored in the following section.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Watts, “Marta Suplicy: ‘After Dilma Rousseff’s Election, Young Girls Started Playing in New Ways’.”

³⁰⁸ Fernandes, “Dilma Rousseff and the Challenge of Fighting Patriarchy through Political Representation in Brazil.”

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 118.

Rousseff As a Transformational Leader

To evaluate the transformative capacity of female leaders, it is necessary to first discuss the different levels of transformation that we might expect to see. According to Patricia Lee Sykes, “transformational leaders seek to change individual citizens, their states, their societies and the relationship among these.”³¹⁰ As we evaluate Dilma Rousseff’s tenure against these possibilities, we will see that there is an inherently transformative symbolism present in her presidency, but we are unable to label her a truly transformative leader.

In *Women As National Leaders*, Michael A. Genovese states that in a patriarchal society, “any woman who aspires to the top is potentially subversive of the established order.”³¹¹ By positioning herself as a candidate for a powerful, public position traditionally occupied by a man, a woman challenges patriarchal norms. It is true that Rousseff challenged these norms by serving as Chief of Staff and Minister of Mines and Energy, but the presidency has a unique level of visibility and prestige, which grant it unparalleled symbolic importance.

This symbolism refers to “the attitudinal and behavioral effects that women’s presence in positions of power might confer to women citizens.”³¹² To have a member of the historically subordinated gender now running the country affects the way women view themselves and each other. After centuries of being excluded from power, they may now be able to identify with their political system and even aspire to be a part of it.³¹³ This is not to say that electing a woman President has eliminated gender roles or gender bias. Instead, this is a single step towards dismantling gender roles and eradicating gender bias, which sets a new precedent for Brazilians.

Beyond gender, Rousseff’s presidency has not challenged the power relationships between other groups in society, and it has not transformed race or class hierarchies. Rousseff differs from her predecessors by being female, but she is like those traditionally in power in other regards: white, wealthy, and educated. While she has pursued some significant policies of poverty alleviation, she has also simultaneously overseen the demolition of favelas to make way for international visitors. She has called the 2014 World Cup the “*Copa contra o racismo*,” but it is yet to be seen how that might be enacted, and there is no expectation that it will significantly transform race relations. Even regarding gender, Rousseff has not been transformational in a substantive sense.

³¹⁰ Sykes, “Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects,” 220.

³¹¹ Genovese and Thompson, “Women As Chief Executives: Does Gender Matter?” 3.

³¹² Jennifer L. Lawless, “Politics of Presence? Congresswomen and Symbolic Representation,” *Political Research Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (March 1, 2004): 81–99, doi:10.2307/3219836.

³¹³ Fernandes, “Dilma Rousseff and the Challenge of Fighting Patriarchy through Political Representation in Brazil,” 118.

Her cash transfer and public health programs benefit women, but she has not pursued an overt gender agenda. In fact, during the early stages of her campaign, Rousseff supported the decriminalization of abortion, but as the election drew near, her political pragmatism won over her female solidarity and she declared her opposition to it.³¹⁴

The one area in which Rousseff's actions suggest that she wishes to be transformative is corruption. In fighting to end this seemingly intractable scourge, Rousseff is attempting to wrest power away from the elite and redefine Brazilians' relationships with their public institutions. If she were to end impunity and establish a government and bureaucracy that the nation trusted, she would have achieved a significant transformation in the relationship between the people and the state, and at the same time she would have advanced Brazilian democracy. Currently, we can describe Dilma's steps against corruption as progress, but they fall short of being transformational.

It is safe to call Dilma a role model for Brazilian girls and women, but we cannot claim that she has remodeled any traditional structures of dominance, nor has she attempted to "dismantle hierarchies of power that privilege men and the masculine."³¹⁵ At her inauguration in 2011, she spoke about her dream of parents saying to their daughters "yes, women can,"³¹⁶ and at the United Nations she called for the "century of women,"³¹⁷ but like other female leaders, she continues to operate within the existing institutional framework of gender relations. In 1993 Genovese concluded that none of the female world leaders he studied "challenged, in any fundamental way, the patriarchal power structure of society. To do so would have been political suicide."³¹⁸ Two decades later his observations still ring true.

Media Representation of President Rousseff

In the process of writing this report, the authors did not perform a formal content analysis on the media's portrayal of Dilma Rousseff. We did, however, read extensively about the President, and we feel familiar enough with media coverage on her to be able to share our observations. The sources here are newspaper and news magazines with an online presence and can be divided into four categories: Brazilian coverage at the time of her

³¹⁴ <http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2010/10/26/brazils-rousseff-survives-abortion-row-looks-set-to-win-presidency/>

³¹⁵ Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon, "When Do Governments Promote Women's Rights? A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Sex Equality Policy," *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 1 (March 2010): 207–16, doi:10.1017/S1537592709992787.

³¹⁶ Tom Phillips, "Dilma Rousseff's Pledge to Empower Brazil's Women Comes Good," *The Guardian*, December 2, 2011, sec. World news, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/02/dilma-rousseff-pledge-empower-women-brazil>.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Genovese, "Women As National Leaders: What Do We Know?" 217.

election, and after June 2011; and English-language coverage at the time of her election, and after June 2011.³¹⁹ We have chosen to organize our analysis this way in order to identify any differences between domestic and international portrayals of Rousseff, as well as variation in the coverage of a new President compared to an established one.

A brief survey of Brazilian newspaper coverage of Rousseff's electoral victory in 2010 reveals a number of common points: that she had never run for election previously but had held multiple appointments at the state and federal level; that she was a relative newcomer to the PT; and that she owed her campaign success to her mentor, Lula, and the ten-party coalition that he assembled on her behalf. Most articles also made reference to her status as the first female President of Brazil and a former prisoner of the military regime. These facts were located in prominent positions at the beginning of articles, but did not occupy much space in the bodies of the texts. Instead, journalists focused primarily on her campaign promises of continuity and expansion of Lula's social and economic policies, and the consequent absence of a formal program for her government. Many concluding paragraphs featured the question of whether the President-Elect would prove herself capable of governing.

Rousseff won the presidency in a runoff election with 55% of the national vote, a majority that was lower than expected after she won 46.9% of votes in the first round. The newspaper articles discussed two events that had an impact on the final result: a corruption scandal involving Erenice Guerra, Rousseff's successor as Chief of Staff to President Lula; and Rousseff's late change in stance on abortion policy in response to the Catholic Church's campaign against her. Foreign media also reported on Rousseff's shift on abortion, although they characterized it as a "flip-flop" and did not include the Catholic Church in their content, nor did they mention Rousseff's need to appeal to religious voters. The allegations against Guerra of peddling influence to raise campaign money for Rousseff were notably absent from English-language coverage.

Articles from the United States and United Kingdom tended to include multiple references to Rousseff being the first woman President, as well as descriptions of her as a former Marxist guerrilla who was "barbarically" tortured. These articles also used a significant amount of space to talk about Lula, his presidency, popularity, and charisma, and how he handpicked Rousseff to be the next President. Like the Brazilian press, the foreign press credited Lula with Rousseff's victory, but they did not mention the importance of the coalition he built. All of the articles studied here included Rousseff's intentions of continuity with the outgoing administration and her primary mission of eradicating extreme poverty. The English-language coverage referenced Rousseff's appointments in Lula's Cabinet, and discussed that this was her first ever election, but they did not tend to mention her positions in state government. Gendered descriptions of Rousseff as an "iron lady" and a "twice-divorced grandmother" appeared in the English

³¹⁹ June 2011 was chosen because it marked the end of the first six months of Rousseff's presidency.

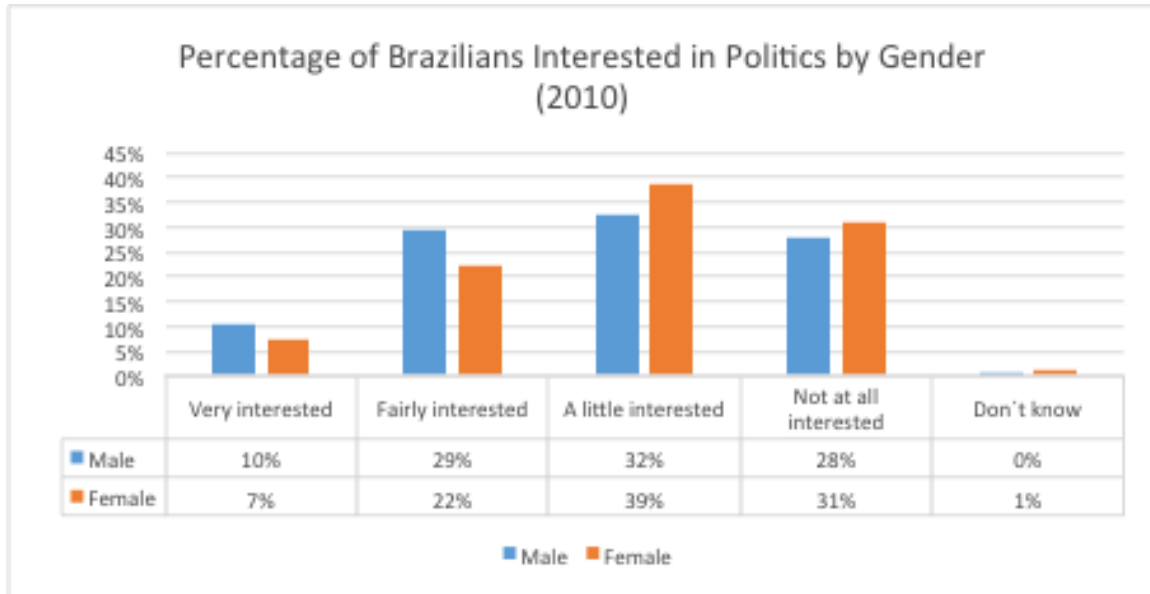
articles, while the personal content in Portuguese representations were about her 2009 battle with lymphoma and her somewhat-confrontational personality.

Since her inauguration as President, media representations of Rousseff have been more obviously gendered in foreign coverage than in the domestic press. Unlike in Brazil where she is the head of government and everybody is aware of her, abroad every article about Rousseff requires an introduction to her and this is where gendered descriptions often appear. In these introductions the author will describe Rousseff's clothing, her demeanor, her temperament, and the fact that she is the first female President and Lula's protégé. Articles state explicitly that she is competent and not a proxy president, they portray her as serious and surprisingly independent, and they frequently use the phrase "iron lady." The foreign press refers to the President by her last name, while in Brazil she is always written about as "Dilma." The novelty of having a woman in the presidential palace is perhaps most evident when Brazilian journalists discuss Rousseff's Cabinet (which is composed of 26% women, including some in influential positions) and use the nickname "Palace of the Amazons."

Using Data Analysis to Find Preliminary Symbolic Effects of Rousseff's Presidency

Latinobarómetro collected data from a sample of 1,204 Brazilians in order to analyze citizens' interest in Brazil's democracy and politics. One subset of questions about democracy probed citizens' opinions on the state of democracy in Brazil during the last year of Lula's presidential term, 2009–2010. Other questions were geared toward determining the public's overall satisfaction with democracy, as well as their interest in political participation under the current administration. After the 2010 data was divided by gender of respondent, it could be seen that men were more interested in Brazilian politics than women were during the Lula administration (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Percentage of Brazilians Interested in Politics in 2010



Source: Latinobarómetro, Online Analysis Time-Series Data.

Politics ceased to be a “man’s game” in Brazil’s 2010 presidential elections. President Lula announced Dilma Rousseff as his handpicked successor for President early on in the 2010 campaign season. This was the first time the public had been introduced to a female presidential candidate by the current President. Why then does the data show that men were still more interested in politics than women? In order to test the effect of a female President on political interest by gender, the same question about “interest in politics” would need to be asked by Latinobarómetro in 2011, but Latinobarómetro did not follow up on that question.

Overall, data show that women’s political interest *has* increased since 1995. However, there is no further data on women’s political interest since 2010. Latinobarómetro did not ask the same question of Brazilians in 2011. This lack of data impedes an analysis on the impact of Rousseff’s symbolic representation, specifically on women’s political interest. The question remains: did the election of a female head of state impact women’s political interest and political behavior? Future research is needed to test women’s political interest and political participation in the years following Rousseff’s election to determine if there was a significant increase in women’s interest. If there is not an increase, that means that more men are becoming interested and involved in politics as a result of a female candidate in Brazil, and further research is needed to discover if men become

more interested in politics when women are candidates because they support them, or because they oppose them.

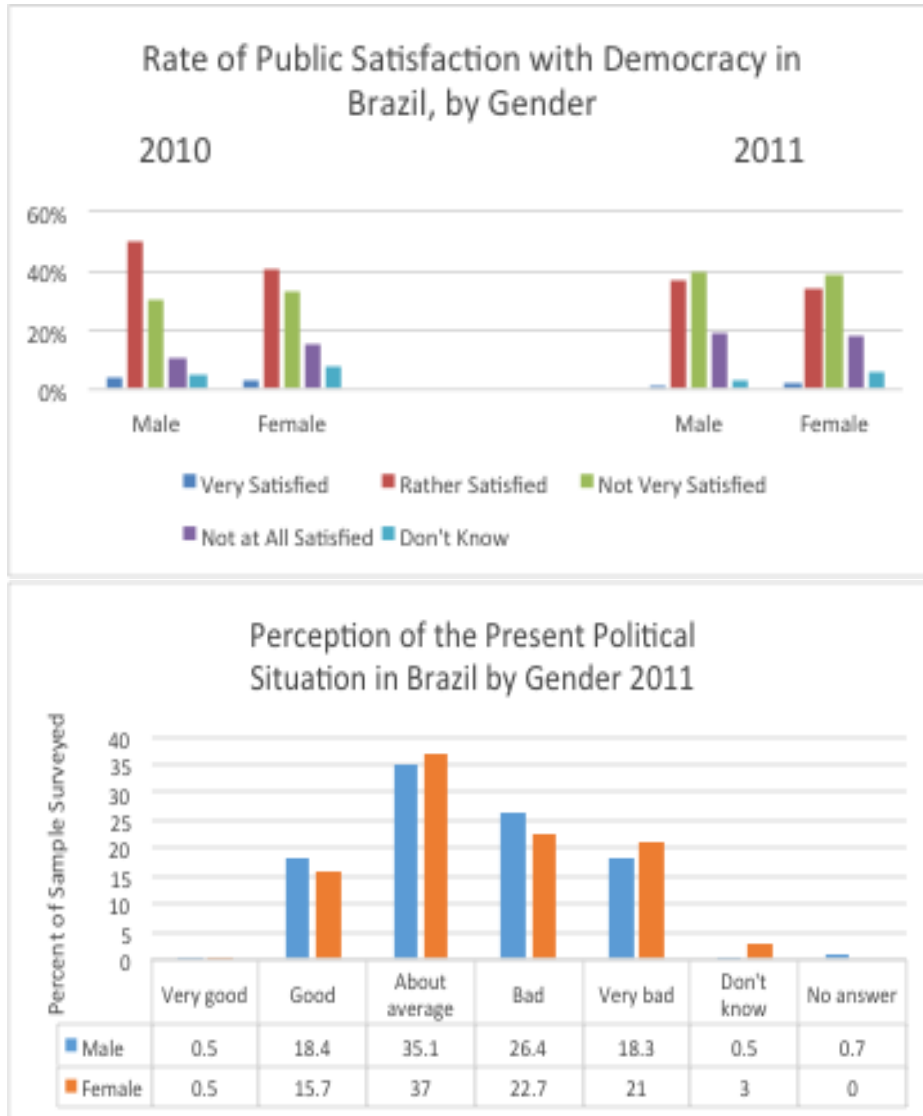
Although women's interest in politics cannot be directly compared from 2010 to 2011 using Latinobarómetro data, overall political interest of both men and women can be analyzed from 2010 to 2013. Latinobarómetro's 2013 data on Brazil's "overall political interest" reports that 28% of Brazilians are either "very interested" or "somewhat interested" in politics. This represents a 6.3 point decrease from 34.3% in 2010.

A conclusion can be drawn from the data provided by Latinobarómetro analyzing the change in Brazil's political interest from 2011, the first year of Rousseff's administration, to 2013, the third year of the Rousseff administration. From the data presented, Brazilians are overall less interested in politics than they were when Lula was President. Without more recent data, it cannot be determined if President Rousseff's election increased or decreased political interest in Brazilian women.

Inferences can be drawn from the Latinobarómetro data and other research presented in this case study to evaluate the symbolic effects of Rousseff's presidency. An important element throughout this case study has been the significance of the World Cup preparations for the political landscape. One reason that Brazilians may be less interested in politics is that they may have been more focused on current events. Although the World Cup preparations were highly politicized by the media in 2012 and 2013, the drop in interest in politics may reflect a shift of public interest from traditional politics to political mistakes and scandals. Data from 2014 will help to analyze if Brazil's interest in politics increased with the Presidential elections in October 2014. An analysis of both election years, 2010 and 2014, can be compared for changes in men's and women's political interest. This analysis will test if the symbolic representation of a female head of state in Brazil affected women's political interest.

Assessing the public's satisfaction with democracy is another way Latinobarómetro measures the symbolic impact of a leader. The shifts in Brazilians' satisfaction with democracy during Rousseff's first year as President may indicate the impact of electing a woman President on the public's opinion of democracy.

Figure 10: Percentage of Brazilians Satisfied with Democracy in 2010 and 2011 (Top) Political Perception 2011 (Bottom)



Source: Latinobarómetro, Online Analysis Time-Series Data.

By analyzing data collected after Rousseff’s first year in office, some conclusions can be made about the differences in opinion by gender on the “political situation” in 2011 (data shown in Figure 10). According to the Latinobarómetro survey, more women than men thought that the present political situation was “about average” a year after Rousseff took office. Additionally, more women than men also said they thought the political situation

was “very bad.” This data shows that women were almost equally as dissatisfied as men with the political situation under Rousseff, indicating that Brazilian women do not have fixed preferences for female politicians.

Chapter 7: Chile Case Study

Descriptive Representation

Chile's Political System

Chile has a presidential political system in which presidents serve four-year terms. Presidents can be reelected an unlimited number of times but cannot serve consecutive terms.³²⁰ Presidents have the authority to appoint *Intendentes*, the main executive authority in each of Chile's fifteen regions. Intendentes normally serve for the President's term, but can be dismissed at the President's discretion.³²¹

After the dictatorship that ruled Chile from 1973 to 1990, five democratically elected Presidents have taken office since Chile's return to democracy in 1990. Michelle Bachelet has been the only woman to serve as President and has been elected twice, first in 2006 and then in 2013.

As seen in Table 12, most Presidents between 1990 and 2010 were part of the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia, a center-left coalition formed to oppose Pinochet's dictatorship. In 2010, Sebastián Piñera became the first center-right President to be elected after the dictatorship. The Concertación united with the Communist Party in April 2013 to form the new center-left coalition Nueva Mayoría. Michelle Bachelet ran as the Nueva Mayoría's presidential candidate for the 2013 election.

³²⁰ Georgetown University Political Database of the Americas, "Chile: Sistemas Electorales / Electoral Systems," *Political Database of the Americas*, accessed February 16, 2014, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/ElecSys/Chile/chile.html>.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

Table 12: Chilean Presidents Since the Return to Democracy

Term	President	Coalition
1990–1994	Patricio Aylwin Azócar	Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia
1994–2000	Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle	Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia
2000–2006	Ricardo Lagos Escobar	Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia
2006–2010	Michelle Bachelet Jeria	Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia
2010–2014	Sebastián Piñera Echeñique	Coalición por el Cambio
2014–Present	Michelle Bachelet Jeria	Nueva Mayoría

Source: Created by authors

The 2013 presidential race had nine candidates, three of whom were women. Michelle Bachelet obtained 47% of the vote, missing the absolute majority required to win the election.³²² This resulted in the first runoff election in Chilean history to be staged between two women—Bachelet and Evelyn Matthei. The latter was former Minister of Labor under Piñera’s administration and representative of the center-right Coalición por el Cambio. On December 15, 2013, Bachelet was reelected as President of Chile, with 62% of the votes. She will serve as President until March 2018.³²³

Legislative Branch

The Upper House or Senate and the Lower House or Chamber of Deputies form the National Legislature. The Senate has thirty-eight members, who serve eight-year periods, and balloting to elect half of the senators is held every four years.³²⁴ The Lower House or Chamber of Deputies has 120 members that serve five-year terms. The legislative elections use an open list proportional representation system, called the binomial system. The binomial system elects two members per district, usually from opposed coalitions, and they do not necessarily represent the first two majorities in the district. For one

³²² Rocío Montes and Waldo Díaz, “Bachelet no logra triunfar en primera vuelta en las elecciones de Chile,” *El País*, November 18, 2013,

http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2013/11/17/actualidad/1384699551_986911.html.

³²³ Servicio Electoral de Chile, “Elecciones Presidenciales. Resultados Globales,” *Inforgrafía de Resultados Electorales*, May 24, 2014,

https://public.tableausoftware.com/views/INFOGRAFA1_1PresidentesdeChile_Resultadosglobales_RG25_5_14/1_129_4_14?%20amp%3Bembed=y&:display_count=no?:showVizHome=no

³²⁴ *El Mercurio*, “Cómo queda compuesto el Senado con las elecciones parlamentarias 2013,” *El Mercurio*, November 18, 2013, <http://www.emol.com/especiales/2013/actualidad/nacional/carrera-presidencial/hemiciclo-senadores.asp>.

coalition to elect two candidates, the joint votes for that coalition need to double the votes received by the other list. The binomial system ends up limiting the participation in Congress to two coalitions.

Women's representation in the legislative has been traditionally low. In November 2013 women's representation in the Senate increased from 13.2% (5) to 18.4% (7),³²⁵ but remained below the world average of 19.4%.³²⁶ The number of female deputies increased from 14.2% (17) to 15.8% (19).³²⁷ Representation in the lower house is also below the world average of 21.8%.³²⁸ The binomial system has been one of the main causes for women's underrepresentation in the legislature, as parties choose candidates with a greater chance to win and those are usually men.³²⁹

No gender quotas have been implemented in the legislature. Franceschet states that the absence of quotas could be explained by the lack a unified women's support between the political arena and the civil society.³³⁰ In an interview with María de los Ángeles Fernández, a militant of the Partido por la Democracia (PPD), she stated that, due to Chile's strong meritocratic culture, gender quotas are socially perceived as undeserved privileges. In her opinion, this cultural characteristic has hindered the implementation of gender quotas. The Concertación coalition has adopted voluntary quotas ranging from 20% to 40% in order to increase female representation inside the parties and in elected positions. However, in the majority of cases, quotas have not been fulfilled and their existence has not had a significant impact on women's political representation.³³¹

³²⁵ Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, *La Composición del Congreso Nacional de Chile: ¿Dónde Están las Mujeres?* (online: Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, April 26, 2012); *El Mercurio*, "Cómo queda compuesto el Senado con las elecciones parlamentarias 2013."

³²⁶ IPU, "Women in National Parliaments."

³²⁷ Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, *La Composición del Congreso Nacional de Chile: ¿Dónde Están las Mujeres?*; *El Mercurio*, "Cómo queda compuesta la Cámara de Diputados con las elecciones parlamentarias 2013," *El Mercurio*, November 18, 2013, <http://www.emol.com/especiales/2013/actualidad/nacional/carrera-presidencial/hemiciclo-diputados.asp>.

³²⁸ IPU, "Women in National Parliaments."

³²⁹ Claudio Fuentes and FLACSO, *Una reforma necesaria: efectos del Sistema Binominal / Programa de Gobernabilidad*, ed. Claudio Fuentes, Marcela Ríos Tobar, 2. ed. corr (Santiago, Chile: FLACSO Chile, 2007).

³³⁰ Susan Franceschet, *Women and Politics in Chile* (Boulder, CO: Rienner, 2005).

³³¹ Marcela Ríos Tobar, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, and FLACSO (Organization), *Cuotas de género: democracia y representación* (Santiago, Chile: FLASCO, 2006).

Gendered Cabinets

During the Concertación governments between 1990 and 2010, every successive administration appointed more women in their cabinets than the previous one.³³² President Lagos's administration not only appointed more female ministers than his predecessor, but also defied traditional notions of gendered cabinets. He appointed women in traditionally masculine ministries, such as Defense and Foreign Affairs. Bachelet's first government promoted ministerial parity: women's participation in cabinet positions was 46.5% on average.³³³ In her first term, strict parity was achieved in her first two years as President and then decreased in her final two years.³³⁴ In Sebastián Piñera's administration, women's Cabinet participation declined to 23% on average. Bachelet's Cabinet appointments for the 2014–2016 presidential term consisted of 39% female ministers,³³⁵ which casts doubts on her intentions to promote gender equality in her second term. Despite the trend of increasing women's representation in Cabinet positions, women have never held ministerial positions in crucial areas such as Finance, Interior, Energy and Transportation.

Other Political Positions

At the regional level, Bachelet appointed three female Intendentas—out of fifteen available positions—for her presidential term 2014–2016.³³⁶ This is three fewer than in her first term, when there were only thirteen regions.³³⁷

³³² Teresa Valdés, “El Chile de Michelle Bachelet ¿Género en el Poder?,” *Latin American Research Review* 45, no. 5 (2010): 248–73, doi:10.1353/lar.2010.0036.

³³³ Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL), “Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean (CHL),” CEPAL, accessed February 16, 2014, <http://www.cepal.org/oig/WS/getCountryProfile.asp?language=english&country=CHL>.

³³⁴ Manuel A. Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado: los gobiernos de la Concertación en Chile, 1990–2010* (Santiago, Chile: CLASCO, 2012); Isidoro Cheresky, ed., *Ciudadanía y legitimidad democrática en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2011.).

³³⁵ *La Tercera*, “Ministros y Subsecretarios: La presencia de los partidos de la Nueva Mayoría en el Gobierno de Bachelet,” *La Tercera*, January 29, 2014, sec. Política, <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/politica/2014/01/674-563119-9-ministros-y-subsecretarios-la-presencia-de-los-partidos-de-la-nueva-mayoria-en.shtml>.

³³⁶ *Emol*, “Equipo de Bachelet da a conocer los nombres de los 15 intendentes del próximo gobierno,” *Emol*, February 1, 2014, sec. Chile, <http://www.emol.com/noticias/nacional/2014/02/01/642715/equipo-de-bachelet-da-a-conocer-los-nombres-de-los-15-intendentes-de-proximo-gobierno.html>.

³³⁷ Bernardita Marino, “Bachelet designa los nuevos intendentes de su administración,” *El Mercurio Online*, March 2, 2006, sec. Chile, <http://www.emol.com/noticias/nacional/2006/03/02/212550/bachelet-designa-los-nuevos-intendentes-de-su-administracion.html>.

At the municipal level, female elected mayors represent less than 13% of the total mayors in office and around 25% of the city councilors, as seen in Table 13. Women candidates in the 2012 election accounted for 15% and 25% of the total candidates, respectively. Despite the modest numbers, some female mayors serve key municipalities like Carolina Tohá in Santiago and Virginia Reginatto in Viña del Mar.

Table 13: Female Representation at the Municipal Level

Year	% Female Mayors	% Female City Councilors
2000	9.4	14.4
2002	12.3	17.3
2004	12.3	17.3
2006	12.2	21.1
2008	12.2	21.1
2010	12.5	23.2
2012	12.2	24.8

Source: CEPAL data

Chilean Political Society

Chilean women were the first women in Latin America to attain access to higher education with the 1877 Amunátegui Decree, but still women did not have the same political rights as men.³³⁸ Women first challenged their exclusion from politics in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1884, women in San Felipe registered to vote. The women declared that they had a right to vote, as the Chilean Constitution did not explicitly prohibit women from voting. Consequently, the government amended the Constitution to give the right to vote to men only.³³⁹ Because of increased female political activism, political parties began incorporating women's wings into their parties as early as the 1880s. Between 1913 and 1925 the first feminist organizations, such as the Centros Femeninos Belén de Sárraga, emerged to demand social, political, and economic rights.³⁴⁰ Many early feminists, however, defined themselves as apolitical and emphasized family and societal issues in their activism.

³³⁸ Franceschet, *Women and Politics in Chile*.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

Women's movements in the 1920s and 1930s sought a "betterment of society" and separated themselves from men's political participation, which they saw as corrupt and power-driven. Because of this, they pursued an autonomous strategy separate from traditional political parties.³⁴¹ Some feminists defied the male-dominated political system by forming their own political parties. Two female political parties, the Feminine Civic Party and the Feminine Democratic Party, emerged in the 1920s. Women argued for inclusion on the basis that they brought something particular, because of their morality and responsibilities as women, to the political system. Some feminists chose to emphasize their maternal roles, while others, such as female workers, emphasized their ability to function just as well as males in the workplace.

Women's groups and organizations expanded in the 1930s. The most prominent women's group was the Chilean Women's Pro-Emancipation Movement (Movimiento Pro Emancipación de la Mujer Chilena, or MEMCH). MEMCH promoted a variety of women's social, economic, and political issues through the mass mobilization of women. It also worked with groups on the left, namely the Popular Front, to advocate for the rights of working-class women. In 1944, the women's suffrage movement gained momentum with mass support from MEMCH and the Chilean Federation of Feminine Institutions.³⁴² Women were given the right to vote and be elected nationally in 1948.³⁴³

Women's political participation increased throughout the 1970s and '80s. Women organized against both the Allende and Pinochet governments.³⁴⁴ Pinochet sought to demobilize and depoliticize women by emphasizing the maternal, rather than political, role of women in society. The feminist movement in the Pinochet era criticized the military for excluding women's and gender issues from the political process. As a result, the women's movement, which emerged from the larger pro-democracy political movement, campaigned for a democracy that would address women's concerns in the political arena.³⁴⁵

Women publicly denounced the military for its systematic subordination of women and human rights abuses.³⁴⁶ Because the military targeted political actors and opposition groups, women's groups were less subject to disappearances, detainment, and other forms

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Margaret Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2002); Patricia Chuchryk, "From Dictatorship to Democracy in Chile," in *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Participation and Democracy*, ed. Jane Jaquette (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), 65–107.

³⁴⁵ Franceschet, *Women and Politics in Chile*.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

of violence and repression. During the dictatorship and post-dictatorship period, women formed human rights organizations to expose the Pinochet government for its crimes against humanity.³⁴⁷ Increased political participation of women coincides with redemocratization.³⁴⁸ The presence of international NGOs focused on women's issues may have also helped increase women's roles in the political sphere in the post-dictatorship period.³⁴⁹

Women in the pro-democracy transitory period demanded a more inclusive democratic political system above all else.³⁵⁰ Franceschet states that the second feminist movement became politicized because pro-democracy groups needed the support of female voters.³⁵¹ Because political parties saw women as future voters, they invited women's political participation in the transition to democracy.³⁵² In 1988, the feminist movement divided between the Concertación de Organizaciones Sociales de Mujeres, who operated outside of the larger political movement, and the Concertación de Mujeres por la Democracia, who integrated into the larger political movement.³⁵³ The integration of women into politics through the double militancy strategy influenced political parties to place women's demands on political agendas. Most notably, it institutionalized women's issues through state mechanisms like Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM).

In 1991, the Chilean government created SERNAM to promote women's rights and gender equality in Chile. SERNAM's main objectives are to promote women's social and political participation, increase women's access to voting, education and employment, and promote equality among men and women, among others.³⁵⁴ SERNAM's strategic objectives are to:

design, propose and coordinate policies, plans, measures, and legal reforms in coordination with the public sector to advance equality; incentivize and incorporate women's employment into Chilean companies; strengthen families as the base of society and integrate programs that promote a decent quality of life and well-being for families; reduce family violence and provide services to

³⁴⁷ Chuchryk, "From Dictatorship to Democracy in Chile."

³⁴⁸ Gwynn Thomas, "Michelle Bachelet's Liderazgo Femenino," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 1 (March 2011): 63–82.

³⁴⁹ Franceschet, *Women and Politics in Chile*.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Veronica Schild, "New Subjects of Rights? Women's Movements and the Construction of Citizenship in the 'New Democracies,'" in *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Revisioning Latin American Social Movements*, ed. Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), 93–115.

³⁵⁴ Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM) website, accessed April 16, 2014, <http://portal.sernam.cl>.

victims of violence; and promote women's participation in political decision-making processes and foment women's leadership.³⁵⁵

Since the nation's return to democracy in 1990, women have moderately increased their representation in public office. However, the political coalitions born from the pro-democracy post-dictatorship have not been thoroughly inclusive or effective in bringing women into the political sphere. Actually, observers including Franceschet and Ríos Tobar state that political parties hinder women's representation in formal politics. Political parties have long resisted implementing quotas; they are highly monopolized by popular and heavily financed candidates; and parties are extremely polarized, making it difficult to garner broad support for unlikely candidates.³⁵⁶ The election of Michelle Bachelet, who campaigned on the premise of a more inclusive and participatory democratic political system, rose above such obstacles and changed notions of traditional politics in Chile.

Michelle Bachelet: First Female President of Chile

In February 2006 Michelle Bachelet Jeria was elected as the first female Chilean President. This was as a result of mass popular support rather than strong support from Chile's traditional political elite.³⁵⁷ Bachelet's visibility and popularity increased after serving as a Minister of Health and Defense under the Ricardo Lagos administration. She became one of the Concertación pre-candidates for the 2005 presidential race along with Soledad Alvear, another Cabinet member of Lagos's administration. Before the primaries were held, Alvear stepped down from the race and Bachelet was proclaimed as Concertación's single candidate. After defeating the center-right candidate Sebastián Piñera in the January 2006 runoff, Bachelet was elected. Thus, a divorced single mother, who was agnostic, socialist, and without family connections in politics, became the first female President of Chile, a traditional and morally conservative country.³⁵⁸

Bachelet became involved in politics as a student of medicine at the Universidad de Chile. She was a student leader and part of the Socialist Youths group during Allende's government. Bachelet's father, an air force general in charge of the food supply entity in Allende's government, was imprisoned and died as a result of torture after the 1973 coup.³⁵⁹ Bachelet continued her activism with Socialist Party activities, and in 1975,

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Franceschet, *Women and Politics in Chile*; Marcela Ríos Tobar, "Chilean Feminism and Social Democracy From the Democratic Transition to Bachelet," n.d.

³⁵⁷ Thomas "Michelle Bachelet's Liderazgo Femenino"

³⁵⁸ As a matter of reference on traditional values, Chile approved its divorce law in 2004.

³⁵⁹ "Biografía," Michelle Bachelet's official website, accessed February 24, 2014, <http://michellebachelet.cl/biografia/>.

Bachelet and her mother, Ángela Jeria, were tortured by the military regime and later exiled.³⁶⁰

The General of the Air Force Fernando Matthei—friend of General Alberto Bachelet and father of Evelyn Matthei, Bachelet’s contender in the 2013 election—interceded to allow Michelle Bachelet and Angela Jeria to return to Chile after the exile.³⁶¹ In 1979 Bachelet returned to Chile from East Germany—where she got married and had her first son—and resumed her medical studies in Universidad de Chile. She became a surgeon and a pediatrician and worked primarily in the health field, as a consultant in the Pan American Health Organization and in the Ministry of Health. Later, she pursued studies in strategy and defense, first at the National Academy of Political and Strategic Studies in Chile and later at the Inter-American Defense College in Washington DC.³⁶² From 1998 to 2000 she became a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Party and participated in Ricardo Lagos’s presidential campaign.³⁶³

As Minister of Health of the Lagos administration, Bachelet was tasked with eliminating the wait lines in public health care facilities within three months’ time. This mission was only achieved partially; Bachelet reduced 82% of the lines. As a result, she presented her resignation to Lagos, who refused to accept it and backed her up her publicly as the most qualified person for the job.³⁶⁴ This episode positioned Bachelet as the most popular minister of Lagos’s administration during his first hundred days in office.³⁶⁵ After two years in the Health Ministry, Lagos appointed Bachelet as the Minister of Defense. She became the first woman in Latin America to hold this position.³⁶⁶ As Minister of Defense she promoted gender equality in the Armed Forces, establishing an equal opportunity policy for women in the Armed and Police Forces.³⁶⁷ After two years, she left the cabinet position to run for the Chilean Presidency. She held that position from 2006 to 2010.

³⁶⁰ Julia Constenla, *Michelle Bachelet: digo lo que pienso, hago lo que digo, palabra de mujer* (Buenos Aires: Lumiere, 2006); Andrea Insunza and Javier Ortega, *Bachelet: la historia no oficial*, (Santiago, Chile: Debate, 2005).

³⁶¹ Nancy Castillo and Rocío Montes, “La historia que une a Bachelet y Matthei,” *BBC Mundo*, accessed March 20, 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/noticias/2013/08/130730_la_historia_que_une_a_bachelet_y_matthei_mxaurista.shtml.

³⁶² Fundación Dialoga, “Biografía Michelle Bachelet Jeria,” accessed February 24, 2014, <http://www.archivomichellebachelet.cl/Biografia.aspx>. [Link no longer available.]

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁴ Insunza and Ortega, *Bachelet*.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ Fundación Dialoga, “Biografía Michelle Bachelet Jeria.”

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

In 2010, Bachelet was appointed the first Under-Secretary General and Executive Director of a new United Nations agency, United Nations Women.³⁶⁸ UN Women, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, was created in 2010 as part of a larger UN organizational reform. UN Women's stated goals are: "to support inter-governmental bodies, such as the Commission on the Status of Women, in their formulation of policies"; "to help Member States implement standards by providing technical and financial support to countries that request it, and to forge effective partnerships with civil society"; and "to hold the UN system accountable for its own commitments on gender equality, including regular monitoring of system-wide progress."³⁶⁹ UN Women partners with domestic authorities and civil society groups to support projects that promote women's political participation, economic empowerment, equality, and many other gender issues. As Executive Director of UN Women, Bachelet led the agency's international, regional, and country-specific programs to advance gender equality. Bachelet served as Executive Director from 2010-2013.

Upon her return to Chile in March 2013, she announced her candidacy to the Presidency. She was sworn in as President for the second time in March 11, 2014. At Bachelet's inauguration, Isabel Allende—the Senate's President and daughter of former President Salvador Allende, overthrown by Pinochet's dictatorship—invested Bachelet with the presidential sash.

Substantive Representation

Michelle Bachelet's First Government (2006–2010)

After sixteen years of Concertación's male presidents, Michelle Bachelet represented change but also continuity.³⁷⁰ Being the first female president was a step towards political transformation, but her policies continued the center-left coalition's tradition. As her predecessors did before her, Bachelet pursued market-friendly reforms and maintained macroeconomic stability although emphasizing social protection policies.³⁷¹ Bachelet's commitment to gender equity,³⁷² support of social policy with a gender focus, and

³⁶⁸ "Former Chilean President to Head New High-Profile UN Women's Agency," UN News Centre, n.d., <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=35912&Cr=WOMEN&Cr1=#.Uy-STVwaAdt>.

³⁶⁹ United Nations, "UN Women United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women," n.d., http://www.unwomen.org/~/_/media/CommonContent/UNwomen-MichelleBachelet-FormerED-en%20pdf.pdf.

³⁷⁰ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*; Patricio Navia, "¿Qué le pasó a Bachelet?" *Nueva Sociedad* 212 (2007).

³⁷¹ Evelyn Huber, Jennifer Pribble, and John D. Stephens, "The Chilean Left in Power," in *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*, ed. Kurt Weyland, Raúl L. Madrid, and Wendy Hunter (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 216.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

advocacy for increasing women's participation in appointed positions were the main factors that distinguished her from other presidents.

Bachelet's first government can be separated for analysis into two periods according to Garretón.³⁷³ The first period (2006–2008), when Bachelet pursued cabinet parity and the inclusion of new actors into politics, is less transparent in terms of policies. A series of protest events of different aims—education, public transportation, and mining—captured the government's attention, postponing action on Bachelet's own projects. The second period (2008–2010) is characterized by a more traditional management path. During these years, experienced political figures replace the parity intents, social protection policies take form, and Bachelet's popularity gains strength.

Main Policies

Social policy was the signature of Bachelet's first term.³⁷⁴ The pensions' system reform and the implementation of the early childhood protection program, Chile Crece Contigo, were the most salient policies of her government.³⁷⁵ Bachelet's administration drove the reform of the pensions system—primarily based on personal savings—introducing a solidarity pillar. For people who did not participate in the pensions system, the new policy guaranteed a minimum pension, and it supplemented pensions for those whose savings were too low.³⁷⁶ The reform also included gender components, including a special bonus for every woman's child, acknowledging the differences between women and men's participation in the system.³⁷⁷

Her administration developed Chile Crece Contigo, a comprehensive program to attend to early childhood needs from pregnancy to the child's fourth year.³⁷⁸ As a result, childcare and preschool education expanded during her government; in 2005 there were 781 childcare facilities, and after her government, they have climbed up to 4,200.³⁷⁹ This increase was part of the strategy for increasing women's participation in the labor market.³⁸⁰

³⁷³ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

³⁷⁴ Camilo Escalona Medina, *De Allende a Bachelet: una vida política* (Santiago, Chile: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones, 2012); Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

³⁷⁵ Escalona Medina, *De Allende a Bachelet*.

³⁷⁶ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

³⁷⁷ Huber, Pribble, and Stephens, "The Chilean Left in Power."

³⁷⁸ "Gobierno 2006–2010—Michelle Bachelet," official website of Michelle Bachelet, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://michellebachelet.cl/gobierno/>.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.; Huber, Pribble, and Stephens, "The Chilean Left in Power."

³⁸⁰ Huber, Pribble, and Stephens, "The Chilean Left in Power."

In continuity with President Lagos's health protection system Universal Access of Explicit Guarantees (Acceso Universal de Garantías Explícitas, or AUGE), Bachelet's administration increased the number of medical conditions included in the universal coverage system.³⁸¹ Moreover, the fiscal responsibility policy established by the Lagos administration was institutionalized in her government through a fiscal responsibility law.³⁸² The law continues Lagos's policy of maintaining a fiscal structural surplus that serves to fund pensions and to stabilize the economy in case of deficits.³⁸³ Bachelet's fiscal responsibility policy protected the Chilean economy from the 2007 financial crisis. Her administration put in place an economic stimulation package using funds from the fiscal surplus to alleviate the consequences of the world crisis.³⁸⁴ Her administration's successful management of the economic crisis translated into higher ratings for Bachelet in nationwide polls.

The Bachelet administration also established, through the Transparency and Access to Public Information Law, a number of transparency and accountability measures in efforts to increase the effectiveness of its policies. This legislation aims to increase the participation of Chilean citizens in the public sphere. It allows citizens to make inquiries concerning public spending and guarantees a quick and thorough response from government institutions. Herwig Cleuren, a professor at Lieden University specializing in redemocratization and political participation in Latin America, suggests that Chile capitalizes on its economic growth as a way to advocate social policies that will increase social well being.³⁸⁵ This, in turn, Cleurig states, contributes to a better state-society relationship.³⁸⁶ International transparency and anticorruption advocates have praised Chile for its implementation of such policies and recognize the positive impact they have on the Chilean economy and citizenry.

Social Mobilizations and Controversies

President Bachelet's administration faced several social protests, especially during her first years in office. These demonstrations led her administration to a reactive public policy agenda, prioritizing areas that were not the intended focus of her administration.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Alberto Arenas de Mesa, "Ley de Responsabilidad Fiscal," Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL), January 2007,

<http://www.eclac.cl/ilpes/noticias/paginas/2/27472/Alberto%20Arenas%20de%20Mesa.pdf>; Huber,

Pribble, and Stephens, "The Chilean Left in Power."

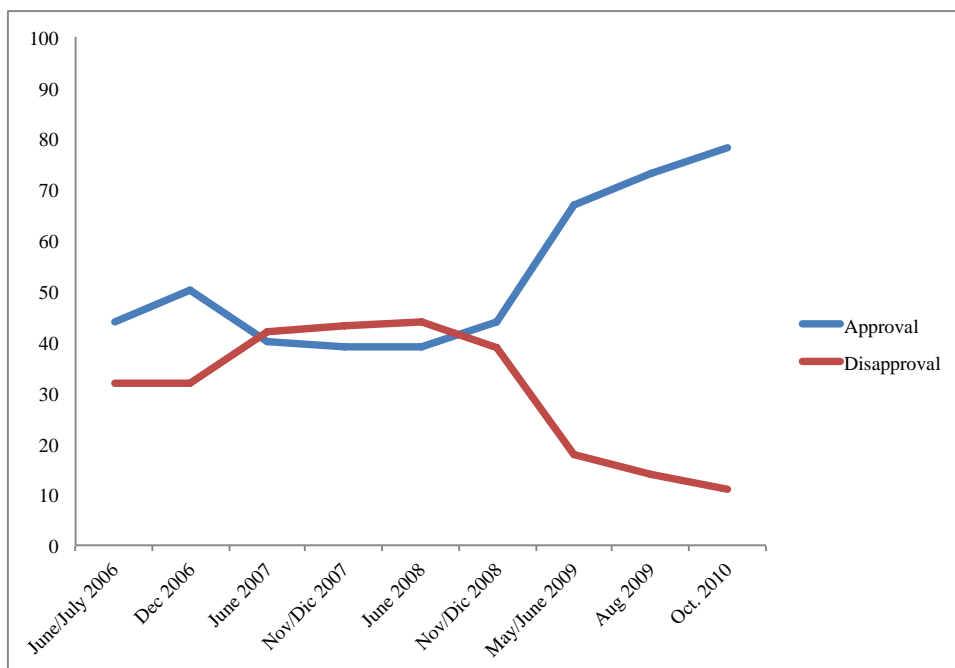
³⁸⁴ Huber, Pribble, and Stephens, "The Chilean Left in Power."

³⁸⁵ Herwig Cleuren, "Local Democracy and Participation in Post-Authoritarian Chile," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 83 (October 2007).

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

These controversies had an impact on Bachelet's approval and disapproval rates (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Bachelet Approval and Disapproval Rates: First Government



Source: CEP Chile.

The first conflict faced by her administration was the secondary students' mobilization during May to June of 2006.³⁸⁷ Students demanded structural reforms to the educational management system, such as increasing state participation and lessening the system's market orientation.³⁸⁸ The Bachelet administration established a Consultant Committee, with representatives from different social groups that had an interest in education reform.³⁸⁹ This action corresponded to her campaign goals of increasing citizen participation in policymaking.³⁹⁰ The committee formulated a proposal to replace the existing law, but some critical issues were modified in the negotiation in Parliament and

³⁸⁷ Patricio Navia and José Miguel Cabezas, "Aprobación Presidencial en el Cuatrienio de Bachelet," in *Chile 2009: percepciones y actitudes sociales* (Santiago, Chile: Universidad Diego Portales, 2010).

³⁸⁸ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Teresa Valdés, "El Chile de Michelle Bachelet ¿Género en el Poder?"

finally, a moderate version of the reform was approved.³⁹¹ The final project did not end for-profit private subsidized education and did not modify the existing municipal administration of schools.³⁹² Bachelet's slow response to students' demands and her political naivety when appointing an eighty-person committee to work on a controversial topic as education, cast doubt on her leadership capability.³⁹³ Her public approval decreased, and after only five months in government, her first Cabinet reshuffle took place.³⁹⁴

In 2006 Bachelet's government also had to confront the mobilization of the copper subcontracted workers by the state mining company CODELCO.³⁹⁵ The government agreed to their demands, and the Catholic Church pushed the government to confront the profound equity and equality issues in labor conditions.³⁹⁶ Again, the government established a Consultant Committee that aimed to improve conditions in the labor market.³⁹⁷ However, the Committee did not attack the structural problems of the labor conditions.³⁹⁸

The third wave of mobilizations in March 2007 was a consequence of the implementation of a new public transportation system in the capital, called TranSantiago. The Lagos administration had made efforts to radically transform and modernize the public transport system.³⁹⁹ During the modernization implementation, which was led by Bachelet's government, the system collapsed, and the users protested en masse against the transportation policy.⁴⁰⁰ The TranSantiago problems led to a second Cabinet reshuffle, and Bachelet's popularity once again suffered.⁴⁰¹ President Bachelet publicly apologized for the disastrous consequences of TranSantiago in the annual state of the nation speech in front of the Parliament.⁴⁰²

After the first two years, Bachelet faced less pressure from the grassroots movements. Her social policy agenda gradually became clearer to the public, and the government's

³⁹¹ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

³⁹² Escalona Medina, *De Allende a Bachelet*.

³⁹³ Navia, "¿Qué le pasó a Bachelet?"

³⁹⁴ Navia and Cabezas, "Aprobación Presidencial en el Cuatrienio de Bachelet"; Navia, "¿Qué le pasó a Bachelet?"

³⁹⁵ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Navia, "¿Qué le pasó a Bachelet?"; Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

⁴⁰⁰ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

⁴⁰¹ Navia, "¿Qué le pasó a Bachelet?"; Navia and Cabezas, "Aprobación Presidencial en el Cuatrienio de Bachelet."

⁴⁰² Navia, "¿Qué le pasó a Bachelet?"

management of the 2007 world financial crisis increased Bachelet's support. Her approval rate was around 80% by the end of her first term.

Days before the end of her administration, an 8.8 earthquake affected the southern-central region of the country. The National Emergency Office did not emit a tsunami alert, and several tsunami waves on the southern coast of the country killed hundreds of people. The tsunami victims surpassed greatly the number of victims of the earthquake, and Bachelet's presence in the National Emergency Office was criticized for hindering the decision-making of the pertinent authorities.⁴⁰³ President Bachelet was also questioned by her decision of sending military troops to the affected areas thirty-six hours after the earthquake, when looting was already taking place.⁴⁰⁴ A judicial investigation cleared Bachelet from criminal responsibilities for her performance in the National Emergency Office.⁴⁰⁵ Despite the controversies regarding the earthquake and tsunami, her popularity remained unaffected.⁴⁰⁶

Gender Policies

Bachelet had a vision of gender equality and utilized the Chilean women's bureau, SERNAM, to promote women's rights and gender equality in Chile. Through gender mainstreaming, which integrates a gender equality component into political, economic, and social policies, Bachelet used her presidential prerogative to push gender policy initiatives through the administration.⁴⁰⁷ SERNAM's comprehensive gender agenda for the 2006–2010 period focused heavily on domestic violence issues and providing equal rights to female workers.

In 2006, Bachelet increased SERNAM's budget by 30%.⁴⁰⁸ Domestic violence policy was at the forefront of Bachelet's gender agenda. Taking office in 2006, the Bachelet administration would assume responsibility for implementing Law No. 20,066, which obliges the state to take actions to prevent, sanction, and eradicate family violence, and protect victims of abuse. Law No. 20,066 prompted the government to gather and

⁴⁰³ *La Tercera*, "Abogado querellante por 27/F: 'Bachelet no tendrá responsabilidad penal, pero inhibió a autoridades que estaban en la Onemi,'" *La Tercera Online*, February 6, 2013, sec. Política, <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/politica/2013/02/674-507680-9-abogado-querellante-por-27f-bachelet-no-tendra-responsabilidad-penal-pero.shtml>

⁴⁰⁴ Valeria Perasso, "El terremoto de Chile no pudo con la popularidad de Bachelet," *BBC Mundo*, March 10, 2010, http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/economia/2010/03/100310_1001_chile_bachelet_gtg.shtml.

⁴⁰⁵ *La Tercera*, "Abogado querellante por 27/F."

⁴⁰⁶ Valeria Perasso, "El terremoto de Chile no pudo con la popularidad de Bachelet."

⁴⁰⁷ Ana Laura Rodríguez Gustá and Mariana Caminotti, "Políticas públicas de equidad de género: las estrategias fragmentarias de la Argentina y Chile," *Electronic Library Online*, June 2010, http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?pid=S1853-19702010000100003&script=sci_arttext.

⁴⁰⁸ Susan Franceschet, "Explaining Domestic Violence Policy Outcomes in Chile and Argentina," 2010.

publicly report data on domestic violence, launch public awareness campaigns, provide aid to victims of violence, and criminalize abusers.⁴⁰⁹ Bachelet utilized SERNAM's increased budget to build sixteen shelters for victims of domestic abuse across Chile. In 2008, Bachelet announced plans to build twenty-seven more shelters and centers to provide a safe place and assistance to women and children.⁴¹⁰

The administration also doubled the budget for the Programa Nacional de Prevención de la Violencia Intrafamiliar in order to help prevent family violence and give support and treatment to victims of domestic abuse.⁴¹¹ The Proyecto de Ley sobre Femicidio introduced legal measures, such as criminal penalties, for perpetrators of violence against women. The most important development of this law is that it requires the state to take legal action against perpetrators.⁴¹² The law aims to reduce the number of women subject to domestic violence and the number of deaths that result from such violence.

President Bachelet also took action on the labor front. The government aimed to eradicate labor discrimination through legal reforms to the Código de Buenas Prácticas.⁴¹³ In 2006, male workers received 19% higher payments than women for comparable jobs.⁴¹⁴ To counter such inequalities, the administration introduced a clause to the Código del Trabajo, which guarantees that men and women who work the same jobs are paid equal wages.⁴¹⁵ Another major reform included the implementation of measures to give domestic workers the right to a minimum wage. The Código del Trabajo also outlines measures to be taken to generate gender equality in the workplace.

In regards to women's representation, Bachelet appointed a parity Cabinet within her first year as President.⁴¹⁶ She also appointed more female Undersecretaries and governors than any of her predecessors. By the end of her term, female representation in the Cabinet decreased, but did not fall below 40%.⁴¹⁷

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ "Gobierno 2006–2010—Michelle Bachelet," Official website of Michelle Bachelet, accessed March 17, 2014. <http://michellebachelet.cl/gobierno/>.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Richard Worth, *Michelle Bachelet* (New York: Chelsea House, 2008), <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10284520>.

⁴¹⁵ "Gobierno 2006–2010—Michelle Bachelet," Official website of Michelle Bachelet.

⁴¹⁶ Worth, *Michelle Bachelet*.

⁴¹⁷ United Nations Development Programme, *Desarrollo Humano en Chile: Género: los desafíos de la igualdad 2010*. (Santiago, Chile: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2010).

The International Stage

Upon its creation, Bachelet served as temporary President of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), an organization that promotes the integration of South American countries. During Bachelet's term, Chile signed agreements on a range of issues, such as free trade and social reform, with Bolivia, Argentina, Peru, Colombia, and Brazil.⁴¹⁸ Between 2006 and 2010, Chile signed ten free trade agreements with Japan, India, Australia, and Japan.⁴¹⁹ These agreements helped advance Chile's overarching economic growth strategy.

Michelle Bachelet's Second Term (2014–2018)

Bachelet's 2013 presidential campaign focused on three major pillars: an educational reform, a tax reform, and the formulation of a new political Constitution. These proposals were a response to the 2011 mass student mobilizations whereby students demanded educational reform funded by tax revenues⁴²⁰ and a more democratic Constitution. Bachelet's educational reform proposes to address quality problems in the educational system, promote inclusion, eliminate for-profit primary and secondary education that is publicly funded, and move forward to free higher education.⁴²¹ The tax reform promotes a more progressive tax system that pursues equity as one of its main goals, increasing the tax burden for wealthier Chileans.⁴²² The formulation of a new Constitution based on democratic principles is also a cornerstone of Bachelet's new administration.

The presidential program, a document that states all the policy guidelines for Bachelet's second administration, includes gender equality as an underlying objective in all policy reforms: labor, education, the electoral system, and the new Constitution.⁴²³ The program included the transformation of SERNAM to feature a full-rank position at the Minister of State level, the Minister of Women; this transformation occurred within the first hundred days of government.⁴²⁴ In terms of political representation, the number of women appointed in ministerial, undersecretary, and governors' positions are all below 40%, a

⁴¹⁸ Gobierno 2006–2010—Michelle Bachelet,” Official website of Michelle Bachelet.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Tasha Fairfield, “The Political Economy of Progressive Tax Reform in Chile” (Wilson Center, March 2014), http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/TaxReformChile?mkt_tok=3RkMMJWWfF9wsRoivKvNZKXonjHpfsX97O4kXLHr08Yy0EZ5VunJEUWy3oAESdQ%2FcOedCQkZHblFnV4JQ624SrUNrKEO.

⁴²¹ Michelle Bachelet, “Programa de Gobierno de Michelle Bachelet 2014—2018,” October 2013, <http://www.emol.com/documentos/archivos/2013/10/27/2013102712016.pdf>.

⁴²² Ibid.; Fairfield, “The Political Economy of Progressive Tax Reform in Chile.”

⁴²³ Bachelet, “Programa de Gobierno de Michelle Bachelet 2014—2018.”

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

threshold that was never crossed during Bachelet's first administration, at least for the Cabinet positions.⁴²⁵

In her first days of government, Bachelet announced the cancelation or modification of at least eleven policies established during Piñera's administration. These included several education policies that were inconsistent with Bachelet's proposed reform, and other projects in the health, public safety, and agriculture sectors.⁴²⁶ The administration passed its first law on permanent direct cash transfers every March to vulnerable families,⁴²⁷ and placed the overseas voting law project for urgent revision in Congress.⁴²⁸ After twenty-one days in office, Bachelet's administration responded to an 8.2 Richter scale earthquake in the north of the country, followed by a tsunami. This time her government reacted promptly to the emergency, and only six deaths were registered as a consequence of the natural disaster. Ten days after the earthquake, a disastrous fire took place in Valparaíso, leaving more than 2,500 people without homes.⁴²⁹ Bachelet's administration assigned three special envoys to be in charge of the reconstruction tasks in the north of the country and in Valparaíso.⁴³⁰

Symbolic Representation

This section explores the sociocultural impact of Michelle Bachelet as the first female President of Chile.

⁴²⁵ *La Tercera*, "Ministros y Subsecretarios," January 29, 2014; *Emol*, "Equipo de Bachelet da a conocer los nombres de los 15 intendentes del próximo gobierno."

⁴²⁶ José Miguel Wilson, "Bachelet desechará al menos 11 reformas heredadas por Gobierno de Piñera," *La Tercera Online*, March 19, 2014, sec. Política, <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/politica/2014/03/674-570167-9-bachelet-desechara-al-menos-11-reformas-heredadas-por-gobierno-de-pinera.shtml>.

⁴²⁷ C. Mascareño, "Bachelet promulga Ley de Bono Marzo Permanente y destaca trabajo conjunto de parlamentarios y gobierno," *La Tercera Online*, March 21, 2014, sec. Política, <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/politica/2014/03/674-570550-9-bachelet-promulga-ley-de-bono-marzo-permanente-y-destaca-trabajo-conjunto-de.shtml>.

⁴²⁸ E. Malig and C. Mascareño, "Gobierno anuncia que pondrá suma urgencia a Proyecto de Ley de Voto de Chilenos en el Exterior," *La Tercera Online*, March 19, 2014, sec. Política, <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/politica/2014/03/674-570219-9-gobierno-anuncia-que-pondra-suma-urgencia-a-proyecto-de-ley-de-voto-de-chilenos.shtml>.

⁴²⁹ *El Mostrador*, "Último balance del incendio en Valparaíso: 2.854 damnificados y 952 personas en albergues," *El Mostrador*, April 20, 2014, <http://www.elmostrador.cl/pais/2014/04/20/ultimo-balance-del-incendio-en-valparaiso-2-854-damnificados-y-952-personas-en-albergues/>.

⁴³⁰ Felipe Vargas, "Bachelet designará 3 delegados especiales para afrontar catástrofes en el norte y Valparaíso," *Emol*, April 15, 2014, <http://www.emol.com/noticias/nacional/2014/04/15/655428/bachelet-designara-tres-delegados-especiales-para-enfrentar-catastrofes-en-el-norte-y-valparaiso.html>.

Traditional Notions of Leadership

Traditionally, women's representation in the executive power has been scarce in Latin America. Since the 1990s, however, the number of women in the executive power has increased. Bauer and Tremblay measured the advancement of women in executive branch positions from 1998 to 2008. Not one of the eighteen Latin American countries surveyed in 1998 had a female President.⁴³¹ By 2008, the number of female Presidents increased from zero to two, with Fernández de Kirchner in Argentina and Bachelet in Chile, constituting 11% of Presidents in the region.⁴³² The number of females serving as head of state in Latin American countries has steadily increased since then. In 2014, four out of the nine elected female heads of state in the world governed in Latin America.⁴³³ Moreover, three of the women—Bachelet, Fernández de Kirchner, and Rousseff—have assumed the presidency in prominent Latin American countries.

Greater female representation can be attributed to various factors including the implementation of quotas, more liberal voting trends, international attention to gender equality, and political appointments, among other factors. Bauer and Tremblay attribute the general upward trend to two factors: progressive voter preferences and presidential autonomy in appointing cabinet ministers. Most executive branch positions held by women in the 1990s were nonelected cabinet appointments.⁴³⁴ In Chile and Nicaragua female representation in cabinet positions reached 50% and 41%, respectively.⁴³⁵ These increases are a direct result of presidential advocacy for gender parity in the cabinets. On average, women make up about 25% of the parliamentary power in the Americas.⁴³⁶ That figure is just above the world average of 22%. Compared to world figures, the realization of gender parity in Chile is especially striking.

Women were not integrated into Chile's political system in the immediate post-dictatorship period in 1989–1990. By 1995, however, women held notable ministerial positions. In 1995, Soledad Alvear was appointed Minister of Justice. As Minister, Alvear spotlighted gender and family issues, and citizen participation in the democratic process. She was also a strong advocate for the implementation of quotas in Chile. Another notable female minister, Adriana Delpiano, was appointed Minister of National Resources from 1994 to 1999,⁴³⁷ and would later become Director-Minister of SERNAMEC (2000–2003). Women's representation in the executive branch reached new heights under President Lagos. Political pressures prompted Lagos to increase the percentage of women

⁴³¹ Bauer and Tremblay, *Women in Executive Power*.

⁴³² *Ibid.*

⁴³³ Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women, "Women in Politics: 2014."

⁴³⁴ Bauer and Tremblay, *Women in Executive Power*.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women, "Women in Politics: 2014."

⁴³⁷ Bauer and Tremblay, *Women in Executive Power*.

in his Cabinet from 12% to 36%.⁴³⁸ This jump in women's representation set the stage for women to seek executive political positions, including the Chilean presidency.

Bachelet's rise to power is marked by her 2001 appointment as Minister of Health, which is a traditionally feminine or gender-neutral position.⁴³⁹ In 2003, Bachelet was promoted to Minister of Defense, a prestigious and conventionally masculine post.⁴⁴⁰ Bachelet's command of this position expanded her professional portfolio and increased her desirability as a candidate for the presidency. In her campaign, Bachelet promised to implement gender equality measures at all levels of Chilean politics. From the start, Bachelet embraced her femininity and brought gender equality to the top of her agenda. In her first annual address as President, Bachelet said the word "woman" a total of thirty-six times.⁴⁴¹ Bachelet's commitment to gender equality was demonstrated by the delivery of her promise to achieve gender parity in the cabinet in 2006. Bachelet emphasized the fact that women constituted 55% of the population in Latin America and that government needed to reflect that proportionally. As President, Bachelet's advocacy for gender equality, combined with her feminine approach to governing, preserved her reputation as a competent and popular President among both men and women.

Transformational Leaders

During her first period in office, Bachelet attempted to establish the idea of the "citizen government" (*gobierno ciudadano*), opening the political system to increase social actors' participation and include new faces in politics. This defied the traditional political model of consensus pursued by Concertación's previous governments that emphasized unity among member parties and avoided conflict with other actors.⁴⁴² However, this course of action was short lived. Political conditions and social mobilizations put pressure on Bachelet's government, and her response was to return to traditional consensual politics, appointing more experienced politicians to her Cabinet and having a closer relationship with Concertación's parties.⁴⁴³ The introduction of gender parity to Cabinet and Undersecretary positions defied traditional patterns of power distribution in the executive, but this policy also lost momentum.⁴⁴⁴ Overall, Bachelet's first

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Krook and O'Brien, "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide."

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Ríos Tobar, "Chilean Feminism and Social Democracy From the Democratic Transition to Bachelet."

⁴⁴² Fernández Ramil and Oliva Espinosa, "Presidentas latinoamericanas e igualdad de género: un camino sinuoso"; Gregory Weeks and Silvia Borzutzky, "The Paradoxes of a Chilean President," *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 4, no. 3 (2012): 91–121.

⁴⁴³ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*; Weeks and Borzutzky, "The Paradoxes of a Chilean President."

⁴⁴⁴ Weeks and Borzutzky, "The Paradoxes of a Chilean President."

administration promoted moderate political system transformations. Her second administration has been more ambitious in that area, by supporting the formulation of a new constitution to replace the current one, enacted under Pinochet's dictatorship, and by promoting a more progressive tax reform in the country.

Gender-favorable policies encouraged during Bachelet's first government had mixed effects. In the political arena, women in elected positions in Chile remain below the world's average of representation.⁴⁴⁵ Female cabinet appointments decreased in Piñera's administration and in Bachelet's second term. Bachelet's first administration did not advance on the formalization of quotas to ensure women's political participation, which explains the stagnation and decrease in the legislative and executive respectively.⁴⁴⁶ However, in terms of public policies, Bachelet's first administration passed legislation that improved women's conditions in labor, pensions, and domestic violence issues. This contributed to enhance women's position in society, regardless who was in office.

Media Image

In Chile the main means of mass communication are controlled by right wing economic sectors, so it is not surprising that Bachelet's has been negatively depicted.⁴⁴⁷ During the first campaign, the media emphasized her nontraditional characteristics as a divorced single mother or an agnostic, while in her period in office, it highlighted her "weak" leadership style.⁴⁴⁸ However, this is inconsistent with public opinion surveys. During her first two years in office, her weakness exceeded her authoritativeness, but that tendency was reversed in the following two years. Bachelet was perceived as being authoritative by more than 60% of the interviewees in the CEP (Centro de Estudios Públicos) public opinion survey, one of the most important polls in Chile, and further, the survey showed that she had the highest evaluation among all Presidents since Frei.⁴⁴⁹ Bachelet enjoyed increasing personal support during her first term in office, finishing it with a 78% approval rate.⁴⁵⁰ The international media depicted a mixed view of Michelle Bachelet. *The Economist* in 2006 highlighted the fact that Bachelet was the first female President in Latin America who was not the widow of a previous President. The article also mentioned her political inexperience as a challenge.⁴⁵¹ In 2009, the same publication described Bachelet as one of the most influential political leaders in Latin America and

⁴⁴⁵ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Politics: 2014."

⁴⁴⁶ Fernández Ramil and Oliva Espinosa, "Presidentas latinoamericanas e igualdad de género: un camino sinuoso."

⁴⁴⁷ Garretón Merino, *Neoliberalismo corregido y progresismo limitado*.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP), "CEP Encuestas. La Perpectiva del Tiempo," CEP, accessed March 29, 2014, http://www.cepchile.cl/graficos_EncCEP/graficos_PersTiempo.htm.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ *The Economist*, "Doing It Her Way," January 19, 2006, <http://www.economist.com/node/5421906>.

explained her success, stressing Bachelet's consultative leadership style and her government's emphasis on social protection during the world economic crisis.⁴⁵² For her recently inaugurated government, *The Economist* cast doubts on her ability to direct her new coalition—Nueva Mayoría—that includes the center-moderate Christian Democrats party and the left Communist party.⁴⁵³

Symbolic Effect of Michelle Bachelet's Leadership

The symbolic effects of Bachelet as the first female President in Chile are hard to measure. Her government's impact can be examined through public opinion studies. According to a PNUD (United Nations Development Program) gender parity survey in 2009, more than 70% of the interviewees agreed with the statement that women had been empowered since Bachelet took office in 2006.⁴⁵⁴ This reflects the impact on civil society of Bachelet's election as President. Moreover, 62% of the interviewees disagreed with the statement that men are better political leaders than women,⁴⁵⁵ which is a significant advance for future female politicians after Bachelet, considering that the World Value Survey reported a 52% against this claim in 2006.⁴⁵⁶ In relation to her policies, a 2008 study for SERNAM presented evidence of favorable attitudes towards Bachelet's parity measures and women's political participation.⁴⁵⁷ Also, 83% of the interviewees supported the idea of extending parity measures to all political institutions, and those surveyed, particularly women, greatly supported quota laws (73% of the women and 64% of the men).⁴⁵⁸ The favorable changes in public opinion regarding women in leadership positions and the support to Bachelet's gender parity measures can be understood as part of a wider society change towards gender equality.

Bachelet's first administration's symbolic impact can also be assessed through the analysis of data from Latinobarómetro, a political climate survey. Preference for democracy over other types of political regimes increased 6 percentage points, from 57% in 2006 to 63% in 2010. Not only did the preference for democracy increase during the Bachelet government, but the levels of satisfaction with democracy also changed favorably. As observed in Figure 12, dissatisfaction with democracy was greater than

⁴⁵² *The Economist*, "Chile's Surprising President: The Bachelet Model," September 17, 2009.

⁴⁵³ *The Economist*, "Return of the Queen," *The Economist*, March 11, 2014,

<http://www.economist.com/blogs/americasview/2014/03/michelle-bachelets-inauguration>.

⁴⁵⁴ PNUD, Desarrollo Humano En Chile.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁶ World Value Survey, "World Values Survey—Chile," accessed March 29, 2014,

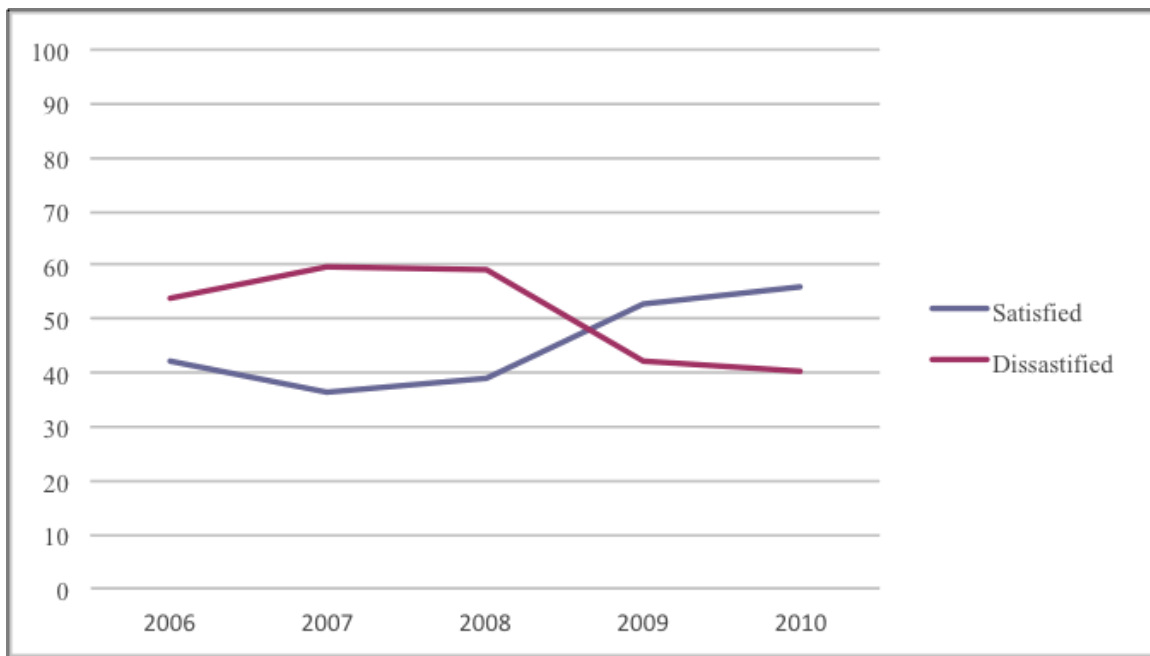
<http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSIntegratedEVSWSvariables.jsp?Idioma=I>.

⁴⁵⁷ Centro de Microdatos Universidad de Chile, Estudio de Opinión Pública: Paridad, Medidas de Acción Afirmativa, Mujer y Política, IIª Parte, Documento de Trabajo, Estudio de Opinión Pública (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, September 2008).

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

satisfaction until 2008. In 2008 the tendency was reversed and satisfaction with democracy surpassed dissatisfaction. Satisfaction with democracy follows a pattern similar to Bachelet’s approval rate, decreasing in the first two years of government (2006–2008) and increasing in the final two (2008–2010).⁴⁵⁹

Figure 12: Satisfaction with Democracy in Chile 2006–2010



Source: Latinobarómetro, Online Analysis Time-Series Data.

The increase in the number of female presidential candidates for the 2013 elections can also be interpreted as a consequence of Bachelet’s successful first term in office. Her efficacy promoted a positive vision of female politicians in executive power, encouraging other women to participate in the presidential race. Furthermore, Bachelet’s presence as a candidate has permeated campaign discourses, as all presidential campaigns since 2005 have incorporated gender issues. The 2013 runoff for the presidency marks a noteworthy advance of women’s representation in Chile. This election was the first time in Chilean history where two women, Michelle Bachelet and Evelyn Matthei, were the final candidates in the run for the presidency.⁴⁶⁰ Their leadership and popularity in different

⁴⁵⁹ Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP), “CEP Encuestas. La Perspectiva del Tiempo.”

⁴⁶⁰ “Chile Election: Bachelet and Matthei Go to Second Round,” *BBC News*, November 18, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-24977405>.

political parties, Bachelet in a center-left coalition and Matthei in a center-right alliance, also gives women from different political spectrums the opportunity to be represented in Chile's political sphere. The election of Bachelet for a second presidential term also symbolizes the citizens' confidence in Bachelet as a competent and successful leader.

Despite these positive interpretations of Bachelet's symbolic impact, the representation of women in the media was not altered significantly by Bachelet's presidency. Media image is an important aspect to analyze, as it produces and reproduces discourses and meanings in society.⁴⁶¹ Bucciferro and Ross's analysis of thirty-three articles in important Chilean written media between 2006 and 2010, reveal that the most common representation of women continues to be portrayals as mothers or sexual objects.⁴⁶² The authors identify a tendency to combine these two archetypes in the figure of a successful woman: a mother, a wife, and a professional worker. The media supports the image of feminine empowerment, portraying successful upper-income women that do not ultimately defy traditional gender roles. These women are usually white, fashionable, professional, and have money at their disposal. Bucciferro and Ross's analysis identifies the support for the idea that "women can have it all," which is far from promoting gender equality.⁴⁶³ When women engaged in political activities are depicted, they are either portrayed using stereotypes or they are judged more harshly than men. In the authors' words: "Michelle Bachelet's election enabled an inquiry into traditional gender roles, but they are now being replaced with commercialized images that do not challenge the existing structures of power."⁴⁶⁴ However, it is important to note that Bucciferro's research was conducted using magazines targeted to middle- and upper-income women, which can explain the bias towards this type of women.

Simon Romero of the *New York Times* states that the 2013 Chilean election resembles the growing empowerment of women in the executive power in Latin America.⁴⁶⁵ Despite the traditional notions of Latin America as a region rich in machismo, the number of women in the executive power has increased significantly in the past decade. Of the twenty-nine women who have reached the highest political office in their respective countries, eight have come to power in Latin America and the Caribbean.⁴⁶⁶ President

⁴⁶¹ United Nations Development Programme, *Desarrollo Humano en Chile*.

⁴⁶² Claudia Bucciferro and Karen Ross, "Chilean Women in Changing Times: Media Images and Social Understandings," in *The Handbook of Gender, Sex, and Media*, ed. Karen Ross (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781118114254>.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁶⁵ Simon Romero, "On Election Day, Latin America Willingly Trades Machismo for Female Clout," *New York Times*, December 14, 2013.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

Bachelet has continuously said that, despite these advances, much work remains to be done before gender equality is achieved in Latin America.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁷ *Journal of International Affairs*, “Making Gender Visible: An Interview with Michelle Bachelet,” *Journal of International Affairs* 66, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2013).

Chapter 8: Costa Rica Case Study

Descriptive Representation

Political Structure

Laura Chinchilla Miranda became Costa Rica's first female President in May 2010. Although her administration faced scandal and difficulty, her election represented a major shift in national attitudes toward women in power.

Costa Rica became a democracy in 1948 after a brief civil war, making it the only nation in Central America to democratize before 1950. Because of this, Costa Rica is often considered the pillar of democracy in Latin America. The right to vote was extended to women in 1949, the year after José Figueres Ferrer came into power. In 1949, voting rights were also extended to blacks and indigenous peoples, dramatically altering Costa Rica's electorate and political structure. Perhaps the most radical change during the transitioning government was the disbandment of Costa Rica's armed forces.

As a democratic society, Costa Rica has a well-defined government with established checks and balances between each branch. The executive branch consists primarily of the President, who serves as the head of government and the head of state, and the President's appointed cabinet, which currently consists of two Vice Presidents and twenty Ministers. The President and Vice President are elected by nationwide popular vote to serve one four-year term. In 2003, the constitutional court of Costa Rica annulled a constitutional reform that prevented Presidents from ever running for reelection. As it is now, individuals may run for reelection after being out of office for eight years, or two presidential terms. An independent Supreme Electoral Tribunal, a commission of three principal magistrates and six alternates selected by the Supreme Court of Justice, supervises the electoral process.

Political parties play a crucial role in Costa Rica's political system. Laura Chinchilla is a member of the National Liberation Party (PLN), which has dominated Costa Rican politics much of the last fifty years. Until 2002, Costa Rica functioned as a two-party system with the PLN and the Social Christian Unity Party. However, in recent years, the left-leaning Citizen's Action Party has gained momentum, and Costa Rica is transitioning to a multiparty system.

The legislative branch of Costa Rica consists of a unicameral legislative assembly made up of fifty-seven legislators, who are elected by popular vote in each district for four-year terms. Female representation within the legislative assembly has considerably increased in the past two decades. Gender quota laws in Costa Rica have been cited as some of the

most successful in the Western world. The combination of a solid legal framework and strong enforcement mechanisms has led to substantial increases in women in power throughout the nation. In 1990, the country passed its first piece of legislation aimed at increasing women's political representation: the Law for the Promotion of Women's Social Equality. Due to its lack of specific targets, quotas, and enforcement mechanisms, however, the law did little to increase the number of women elected. Following the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, Costa Rica reformulated its Electoral Code and introduced gender quota laws.⁴⁶⁸ This reform legislated a 40% quota for women at the candidate level, but the legislation lacked both specificity and enforcement mechanisms. Following the 1998 elections, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) reevaluated the quota legislation to increase its efficacy. As of March 1, 2013, women occupied 38.6% of the seats in the Legislative Assembly.⁴⁶⁹ Furthermore, an electoral law passed in 2009 required gender parity of candidates in the 2014 election.⁴⁷⁰ Quotas will continue to affect Costa Rican politics in the coming years.

Women in Power

There have been significant government-wide increases in women's political representation across the country. Though Chinchilla's successful election marked the first female President in the country, several others have been Vice Presidents. These women include Victoria Garrón in 1986, Rebecca Grynspan in 1994, Elizabeth Odio in 1998, and Lineth Saborío in 2002. Chinchilla, who was elected as Vice President in 2006, and Saborío are the only two women to hold the position of first Vice President.

As mentioned above, women currently occupy 38.6% of seats in the Legislative Assembly, a number that has been constant since 2006. In 2012, 30% of the highest court judges were women, down from 35% in 2011. Women occupy only 12.3% of elected mayoral positions in Costa Rica, a figure that has grown at a much slower rate than the other indicators.⁴⁷¹

Cabinet appointment numbers have varied considerably between administrations but are showing positive trends in women's representation. As of March 2013, 22.7% of

⁴⁶⁸ United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, *Report of Costa Rica on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for the Action and the Outcome of the Twenty-Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly*, 28.

⁴⁶⁹ "Latin America: Statistics Are Encouraging, but Parity Is Still out of Reach," *International IDEA*, March 8, 2013, accessed February 23, 2014, <http://www.idea.int/americas/latin-america-statistics-are-encouraging-but-parity-is-still-out-of-reach.cfm>.

⁴⁷⁰ United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, *Report of Costa Rica on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for the Action and the Outcome of the Twenty-Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly*, 28.

⁴⁷¹ "Latin America."

ministerial positions belonged to women, a long way from parity, but a definite improvement from previous years.⁴⁷² Chinchilla achieved gender parity with her original cabinet: she appointed ten women to ministerial positions.⁴⁷³ Women were appointed to several positions that are traditionally held by men, including the Ministries of Foreign Relations, Economy Industry and Trade, Agriculture and Livestock, and Health and Science and Technology. However, due to numerous scandals and reshuffling, many of these appointees resigned. In fact, as of February 2014, only three of the original female appointees remained on the cabinet and the total number of women on the cabinet decreased from ten to six.

Broader Societal Factors

Though a substantial increase in women in power has occurred over the last few decades, the change has not happened overnight. The women's movements in Central America came to fruition during the 1980s, as the countries faced economic, social, and political instability. Authoritarian rule, neoliberal economic models, and social injustice resulted in high unemployment and decreased wages that unequally affected women. Nicaragua was in the midst of a bloody revolution where the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had ousted the Somoza dictatorship. El Salvador and Guatemala were deeply entrenched in a civil war, while Costa Rica experienced a stable but limited democracy.

Although women in Central America had fought for various issues in the past, authors point to this time period as the birth of a true feminist movement. This was the first time women came together despite social class.⁴⁷⁴ As the countries of Central America faced widespread poverty, the women organized collectively in the public sphere to ameliorate the deplorable social conditions.

As a result of the different political and social atmospheres in the countries of Central America during the 1980s, each women's movement manifested in a unique form. El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala were transitioning to democracies, which engendered women's movements that were heavily focused on politics. The women's movement in Honduras fomented in opposition to the military rule. Unlike the other countries in Central America, Costa Rica had a relatively stable democracy and lower levels of poverty, but in many ways, women's power was still limited in society.

Though not as severe as other Central American countries, the economic situation in Costa Rica was a significant catalyst for the women's movement. Again, structural

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Central Intelligence Agency, *June 2010 Chiefs Directory*, June 2010,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/world-leaders-1/pdfs/2010/June2010ChiefsDirectory.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁴ Ana Leticia Aguilar T., ed., *Movimiento de mujeres en Centroamérica* (Managua, Nicaragua: Programa Regional la Corriente, 1997).

adjustment programs created inequality and poverty, negatively effecting women. As a result, women in Costa Rica rose to the challenges presented, and the women's movement made some of its greatest strides between 1985 and 1995. While a majority of the leaders were professional women, rural workers and indigenous women also joined the movement. The diversity of women's involvement was evidenced by the creation of political groups, commercial groups, and feminist groups such as: Colectivo de Mujeres Pancha Carrasco, Comité Intercofederal Femenino and Programa de Estudios de Género de la Universidad de Costa Rica.⁴⁷⁵ Furthermore, associations of indigenous women, African women, and the disabled were created.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the women's movement saw higher levels of coordination, which expanded and strengthened the women's movement. One major event for Central America as a whole was hosting the VI Encuentro Feminista Lationamericano y del Caribe in El Salvador in 1993. The Encuentros were meetings organized by the women of Latin America to discuss, organize, and strategize regarding women's empowerment issues and feminism. The Encuentros have taken place in Peru, Colombia, Brazil, and other countries in Latin America with substantial participation. The Encuentro in El Salvador signified the importance of Central America's women's movement and gave more visibility to the women's groups' struggles.⁴⁷⁶ Another important event that underscored the coordination and empowerment of the women's movement was the Beijing Women's Conference in 1995.

In 1998, the National Women's Institute (INAMU) was created to promote women's issues in public policy in Costa Rica. INAMU emerged from a series of national organizations that had focused on women's rights since the 1970s, starting with Costa Rica's first women's organization: the Office of Programs for Women and Family (created in 1974 under the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports). By 1986, the office had expanded and changed its name to the National Center for the Development of Women and Family. After a decade of promoting women's rights in national politics, the organization determined that an official national institutional body, with its own laws and resources, was needed to promote women's issues more effectively. In 1998, the Legislature voted in favor of transforming the National Center for the Development of Women into the National Women's Institute (Act No. 7801).

INAMU's broad objectives are to advance the social status of women and to promote gender equality and equity in Costa Rica. INAMU seeks to protect the rights of women as they are defined in international declarations and conventions such as the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Costa Rica has ratified the Inter-American Convention on the

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 463; <http://www.agendadelasmujeres.com.ar/paginas/costarica.html>.

⁴⁷⁶ Sonia E. Alvarez et al., "Encountering Latin American and Caribbean Feminisms," *Revista Estudios Feministas* 11, no. 2 (2003): 541–75, doi:http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0104-026X2003000200013&script=sci_arttext&tlng=en.

Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women and the Optional Protocol to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The UN has noted major progress in women's issues as a result of key actions and measures taken by INAMU. INAMU has propelled women's rights by embedding elements of the Beijing Platform for Action into national laws.⁴⁷⁷

As mentioned above, the two major initiatives actualized during the women's movement in Costa Rica were the Law for the Promotion of Women's Social Equality and the electoral code reform in 1992. Though there has been one female President and several female Vice Presidents in Costa Rica, it is important to note the politicization of the women's movement. Only a small portion of the organizations were affiliated with political parties, a stark contrast to the women's movement in Nicaragua.

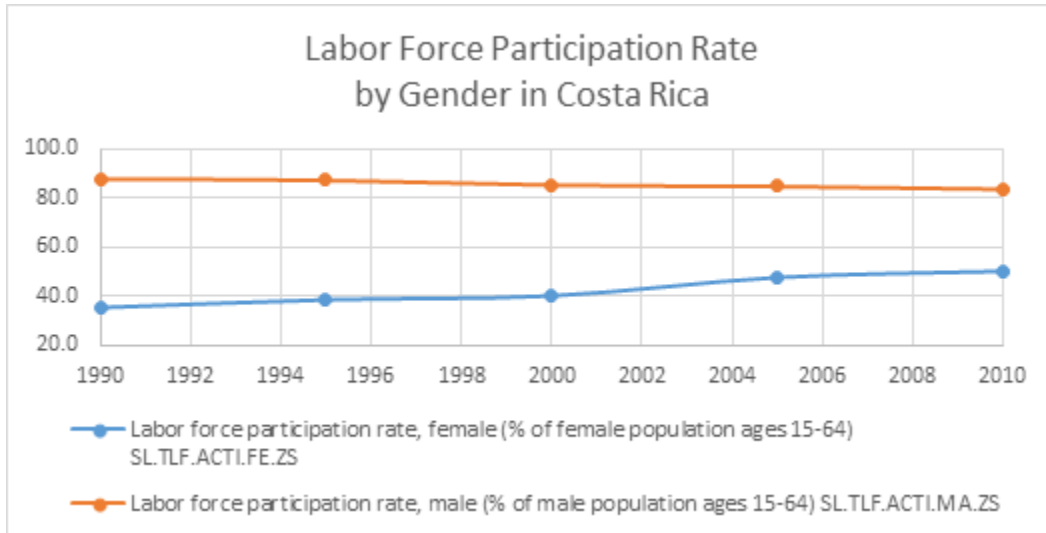
Factors of Underrepresentation

Underrepresentation of women in society manifests itself in a variety of social, economic and political ways. Below is a brief look at educational achievement and labor force participation rates in Costa Rica over the past 20 years. Statistics show education levels in Costa Rica to be fairly equal: both men and women over the age of twenty-five average approximately 8.3 years of schooling, slightly more girls than boys are enrolled in primary and secondary schools, and approximately 96% of both men and women are literate.

As illustrated by the charts below (Figures 13 and 14), a distinct difference exists between men and women's participation in the labor force in Costa Rica. Though the gap in participation has decreased significantly over the last twenty years, women's participation is still approximately 33% less than men (as of 2010), indicating women are underrepresented in the labor force.

⁴⁷⁷ <http://www.inamu.go.cr/web/inamu/inicio>

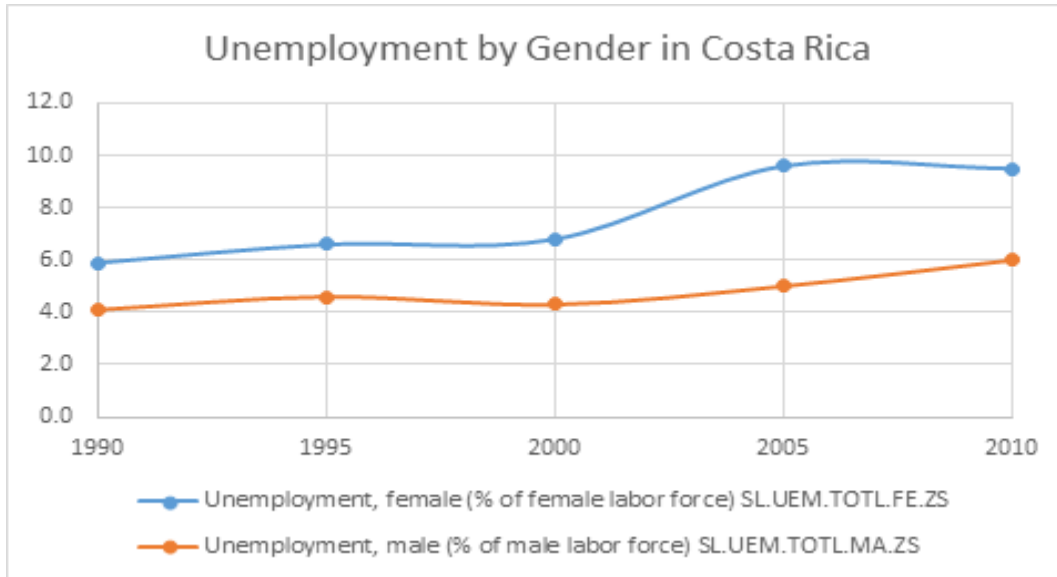
Figure 13: Labor Force Participation in Costa Rica



Source: Data compiled from The World Bank database; charts created by Clare Zutz. Original sources include: International Labour Organization, Key Indicators of the Labour Market database, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Institute for Statistics. World Bank, Enterprise Surveys (<http://www.enterprisesurveys.org/>).

Furthermore, the unemployment gap between men and women is increasing. As illustrated below in Figure 14, the percentage of unemployed females reached almost double that of men in 2005, and has not yet returned to lower levels seen in the 1990s.

Figure 14: Unemployment by Gender in Costa Rica



Source: Data compiled from The World Bank database; charts created by Clare Zutz. Original sources include: International Labour Organization, Key Indicators of the Labour Market database, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Institute for Statistics. World Bank, Enterprise Surveys (<http://www.enterprisesurveys.org/>).

In looking at the type of employment by gender, women account for a majority of the service jobs while men dominate the industrial and agricultural sectors. As of 2010, 15.4% of firms in Costa Rica had a top female manager. Overall, in certain areas of society, women still are underrepresented.

Networks and Personal History

Laura Chinchilla had a successful career as an international consultant before returning to Costa Rica to begin her political career. Chinchilla was born on March 28, 1959, in San José. She was born into a political family. Her father was Rafael Ángel Chinchilla Fallas, who served as Comptroller General in Costa Rica from 1972 to 1987.⁴⁷⁸ She became interested in political science at a young age and solidified her passion for public service

⁴⁷⁸ “Biography Laura Chinchilla Costa Rica Presidential Campaign,” accessed February 24, 2014, <http://laura-chinchilla.com/biography-laura-chinchilla-costa-rica-presidential-campaign/>.

when she toured the region at the age of eighteen.⁴⁷⁹ Chinchilla then received a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Costa Rica before obtaining a Master's in Public Policy from Georgetown University in Washington, DC.⁴⁸⁰

After finishing her education, she began her international career at Florida International University, where she worked on judicial reform projects in Panama, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Afterwards, Chinchilla worked with the US Agency for International Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme as she continued her work on security and justice reform. She also served as a lecturer, covering the topics of development, human rights, and institutional reform. She spoke across Latin America, working with organizations including Project Advisory Committee of Civil Society and Public Safety for the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), Central American Dialogue, Foundation Arias for Peace and Human Progress, and the Foundation for Peace and Democracy. Her career as an international speaker and consultant gave her oratory and diplomatic experience that were beneficial to her future in public service in Costa Rica.

In 1994, Chinchilla was appointed as the Vice Minister of Public Security. In 1996, she was promoted to Minister of Public Security, a position she held for two years. After that, Chinchilla was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica where she represented her home province of San José for four years. During her time in legislative office, she focused her efforts on security causes such as decreasing crime and corruption as well as protecting women and children from domestic violence. Following her legislative term, she reentered the national spotlight, serving as First Vice President in PLN member Óscar Arias's administration. In 2008, Chinchilla also took over the role of Minister of Justice. She resigned from office, with the support of President Arias, in order to focus on her own presidential election in 2010. She won the presidency in a landslide election and assumed office May 8, 2010.

Her primary political influence and mentor leading up to her presidency was her predecessor, Óscar Arias. She worked closely with him as a Vice President, and he endorsed her candidacy. Political opponents often criticized Chinchilla for her close relationship with Arias, stating she was merely a puppet of her predecessor.⁴⁸¹

However, as President Chinchilla faced allegations of corruption, the relationship between Arias and Chinchilla deteriorated. In July 2013, Arias delivered biting criticism

⁴⁷⁹ Costa Rica Presidential Office, *Laura Chinchilla Miranda*, Costa Rica Presidential Office website, n.d., http://www.presidencia.go.cr/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=115&Itemid=57.

⁴⁸⁰ "Laura Chinchilla Miranda (president of Costa Rica)," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed February 24, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1578713/Laura-Chinchilla-Miranda>.

⁴⁸¹ Tim Padgett, "Costa Rica's Generational and Gender Changes," *Time*, accessed February 24, 2014, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1963355,00.html>.

of Chinchilla and her administration, indicating he regretted supporting her candidacy and going as far as to say that Chinchilla lacked “intellectual clarity” and her administration lacked necessary direction.⁴⁸² Their strained relationship represented growing divisions within the PLN, Costa Rica’s largest political party.

Laura Chinchilla is married to José María Rico Cueto, and has a son, José María Rico Chinchilla. Chinchilla has often spoken of her commitment to faith and family. The Catholic Church heavily influenced Chinchilla’s political career and presidency. She has voiced her beliefs in the conservative values of the Church and has stated her opposition of same-sex marriage, abortion, and emergency contraception. In addition, she has pledged to keep the Catholic Church as the official state religion.⁴⁸³ When elected, Chinchilla created a special commission aimed at improving the relationship between church and state.⁴⁸⁴ Chinchilla was endorsed by priests internationally and wore a rosary around her neck throughout her campaign for good luck.

Substantive Representation

Laura Chinchilla inherited the presidency amidst difficult political conditions. The nation had mounting national debt and violent crime rates were rising. In her campaign, Laura Chinchilla utilized the campaign slogan “firm and honest.”

Once elected, her agenda was multifaceted. Her first priority was to focus on decreasing organized violent crime stemming from the drug trade.⁴⁸⁵ Additionally, she worked to minimize national debt and increase economic prosperity. Lastly, Chinchilla maintained her commitment to conservative social principles. However, her agenda was affected by controversies and allegations that arose during her presidency.

⁴⁸² “Oscar Arias Gives Scathing Criticism of President Laura Chinchilla on National TV,” *Inside Costa Rica*, accessed February 24, 2014, <http://insidecostarica.com/2013/07/08/oscar-arias-gives-scathing-criticism-of-president-laura-chinchilla-on-national-tv/>.

⁴⁸³ David Sessions, “Laura Chinchilla Elected First Female President of Costa Rica,” *Politics Daily*, February 8, 2010, accessed February 24, 2014, <http://politicsdaily.com/2010/02/08/laura-chinchilla-elected-first-female-president-of-costa-rica/>.

⁴⁸⁴ Keith Fournier, “Laura Chinchilla: Pro-Life Catholic Woman Elected President of Costa Rica,” *Catholic Online*, accessed February 24, 2014, http://www.catholic.org/international/international_story.php?id=35408.

⁴⁸⁵ María Córdoba, “Costa Rica’s Laura Chinchilla to Lead War on Crime,” *Diálogo: Digital Military Magazine*, February 15, 2010. Accessed March 17, 2014. http://dialogo-americas.com/en_GB/articles/saii/features/society/2010/02/15/feature-03.

Reproductive Rights

It is impossible to discuss Laura Chinchilla's political stance on controversial social issues without again acknowledging her close connection to the Roman Catholic Church. During her campaign, she was touted as a woman of faith who would protect traditional family values including the definition of marriage as a union between one man and one woman and the protection of life beginning at conception. In May of 2012, President Chinchilla traveled to the Vatican to meet with Pope Benedict XVI where they discussed the necessity of the pro-life movement. Again, in November of 2013, Chinchilla traveled to the Vatican to meet with Pope Francis.⁴⁸⁶ Upon her successful election, in a phone conversation with a bishop from Costa Rica, Chinchilla vowed to keep the Church's values at the center of her administration.⁴⁸⁷ This comment fell in line with most of the electorate, as 76.3% of the Costa Rican population is Roman Catholic.⁴⁸⁸

While many women saw the election of Laura Chinchilla as a huge victory for women's empowerment, feminists across the nation were less positive, recalling her conservative approach regarding women's reproductive rights. Even before her election to the presidency, Chinchilla publically opposed abortion. In fact, in 2009, Chinchilla participated in the March for Life and Family, a rallying day supported by the Citizen's Observatory for Life and Family (an organization that works to end abortion in Costa Rica and opposes same-sex marriage). Current abortion laws in Costa Rica are restrictive and abortions are legal only when the mother's health is at risk; Chinchilla has continuously indicated she supports these laws.

During the latter half of Chinchilla's presidency, the issue of in vitro fertilization took center stage. In vitro fertilization is currently illegal in Costa Rica. It was allowed for a brief five-year period between 1995 and 2000 until Costa Rica's Constitutional Court revoked the provision. The court cited Article 21 in the Costa Rican Constitution and Article 4 of the American Convention on Human Rights in their decision, both of which point to the necessity for the "right to life."⁴⁸⁹ Faced with pressure from the Inter-American Courts on Human Rights, Laura Chinchilla pushed to reverse the ban on in

⁴⁸⁶ Jenna Goudreau, "Costa Rica's First Woman President Fights Invasions, Drug Cartels," *Forbes*, accessed March 14, 2014, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jennagoudreau/2011/10/04/costa-rica-president-laura-chinchilla-fights-nicaragua-invasion-drug-cartels/>.

⁴⁸⁷ "Costa Rican President-Elect Praises Catholic Values and Teachings," Catholic News Agency, accessed March 14, 2014, http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/costa_rican_president-elect_praises_catholic_values_and_teachings/.

⁴⁸⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, *The CIA World Factbook: Costa Rica*.

⁴⁸⁹ Michele Catanzaro, "Human-Rights Court to Rule on Fertility-Treatment Ban." *Nature*, September 2012. doi:10.1038/nature.2012.11417. <http://www.nature.com/news/human-rights-court-to-rule-on-fertility-treatment-ban-1.11417>.

vitro fertilization and promised to continue to work for its reversal until the end of her presidential term.⁴⁹⁰

Gay Rights

Chinchilla has found herself in the middle of a passionate debate regarding same-sex marriages, although she decisively stated gay marriage was not a part of the national agenda.⁴⁹¹ In July of 2013, the Costa Rican legislature “accidentally” passed legislation that could have opened the door for same-sex unions. Though the legislation did not specifically endorse same-sex unions, it did not explicitly define marriage as only between a man and a woman. Though her conservative supporters encouraged Chinchilla to veto the legislation, she did not. It has yet to be seen if the legislation will have any practical changes in the law. As of now, gay marriage is illegal. When asked about her opinion regarding same-sex marriage, Chinchilla often indicated that she would not oppose its legalization if the majority of the electorate supported it. As of now, the majority of Costa Ricans appear to oppose same-sex unions. The National Survey on Sexual Health and Reproductivity showed that 70% of Costa Ricans disagree or strongly disagree that same-sex couples should have the right to marry or adopt children.⁴⁹²

During her presidency, Chinchilla did not focus on reproductive or gay rights. She remained conservative on social values but also indicated she was willing to listen to the desires of Costa Ricans.

Crime

During her campaign, Laura Chinchilla had an impressive résumé, including her work with justice reform at the United Nations and her role as Vice Minister of Security, and was viewed as someone dedicated to decreasing crime. Unfortunately, Chinchilla’s administration was faced with allegations of corruption and administrative negligence throughout her term.⁴⁹³ Nevertheless, fighting crime, violence, and drug trafficking were top priorities of Chinchilla’s administration.

Chinchilla assumed the presidency during an especially fierce time of drug violence and trafficking. Laura Chinchilla took office in 2010, the first year Costa Rica was included on the US State Department’s list of major drug transit nations. She recognized Costa

⁴⁹⁰ Zach Dyer, “For Unpopular President, 4 Months to Go,” *Tico Times*, January 6, 2014, accessed March 16, 2014, <http://www.ticotimes.net/2014/01/07/for-unpopular-president-4-months-to-go>.

⁴⁹¹ “Chinchilla Says She Would Not Oppose Legalization of Gay Marriage in Costa Rica,” *Tico Times*, accessed March 16, 2014, <http://www.ticotimes.net/2011/05/17/chinchilla-says-she-would-not-oppose-legalization-of-gay-marriage-in-costa-rica>.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ Padgett, “Costa Rica’s Generational and Gender Changes.”

Rica's location as an extreme disadvantage when combatting drug cartels because most drug producers are south of Costa Rica, and the largest drug consumer, the United States, is to the north.⁴⁹⁴ Recognizing the need for action, Chinchilla's administration proposed looser wiretapping laws and easier confiscation of suspicious possessions. In addition, Chinchilla proposed ending the longstanding ban on extraditing Costa Ricans for prosecution.⁴⁹⁵

Most of Costa Rica's strategies regarding drug trafficking that centered on interdiction were ineffective and might have made the situation in Costa Rica worse. In 2012, President Chinchilla called on the United Nations to become more involved and to take the global threat of the drug trade more seriously.⁴⁹⁶ Chinchilla has shown she is open to new strategies and has initiated discussions regarding the legalization of certain drugs, which could help mitigate some of the violence resulting from drug trafficking.⁴⁹⁷

Chinchilla's reputation as an "incorruptible" woman was challenged when she was involved in a controversy regarding the planes she used to fly to Venezuela for Hugo Chávez's funeral and on a private trip to Peru.⁴⁹⁸ The planes she used were tied to Colombian drug traffickers, and the incident sparked an international outrage. Chinchilla transferred the blame, primarily to other members of her cabinet and her team, several of whom resigned. This was only one of the controversies that led to a significant decrease in her approval ratings over the course of her administration.

Fiscal Reform

Chinchilla's presidency began when the Costa Rican economy was recovering from the hard-hitting global recession of 2009. Moreover, she inherited high debt from the previous administration. As a result, a centerpiece of Chinchilla's agenda was fiscal reform; she ran on a platform of "corralling" Costa Rica's debt.⁴⁹⁹ Unfortunately,

⁴⁹⁴ "Costa Rica's First Woman President Fights Invasions, Drug Cartels."

⁴⁹⁵ Michael Weissenstein, "Costa Rica Toughens Stance in US-Backed Drug Fight," *The Big Story*, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/costa-rica-toughens-its-stance-drug-fight>.

⁴⁹⁶ Victoria Rossi, "Drug War Has Made Costa Rica More Violent: President," *Insight Crime*, September 24, 2012, <http://www.insightcrime.org/news-briefs/drug-war-violent-costa-rica-president>.

⁴⁹⁷ Adam Williams and Flavia Krause-Jackson, "Costa Rica's Chinchilla Calls for Drug Legalization Debate," *Bloomberg*, March 1, 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-03-01/costa-rica-calls-for-debate-on-drug-legalization-amid-record-trafficking.html>.

⁴⁹⁸ "Costa Rican President in Jet Scandal," *BBC News*, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-22566532>.

⁴⁹⁹ Andrew Woodbury, "Costa Rica: Counting the Days of Chinchilla's Disastrous Presidency," *Pan Am Post*, January 17, 2014, accessed March 14, 2014, <http://panampost.com/andrew-woodbury/2014/01/17/costa-rica-counting-the-days-of-laura-chinchillas-disastrous-presidency/>

Chinchilla's administration faced scandals that overshadowed her policies and jeopardized her administration's ability to pass legislation.

During the promotion of a major tax reform that would raise taxes for the citizens of Costa Rica, the reform gained support in the legislature (which at the time had a majority in the opposing party), while both the Finance Minister, Fernando Herrero, and the head of Costa Rica's Tax Administration, Francisco Villalobos, resigned amidst investigations of their own tax evasions; these allegations were later substantiated.⁵⁰⁰ Many Costa Ricans were outraged at the idea of paying more taxes, especially when high officials were not paying their taxes in full. Furthermore, the allegations of corruption Chinchilla faced decreased her political clout with politicians of the opposing party.

The Supreme Court ultimately declared the proposed tax reform bill unconstitutional in 2012; there were amendments to the bill that had not been disclosed to the public.⁵⁰¹ The lack of transparency in Chinchilla's administration hindered the passage of the fiscal reform package, ultimately hurting the Costa Rican economy. By the end of 2012, Costa Rica had the fastest-growing public debt to GDP ratio among Central American countries.⁵⁰² Furthermore, in 2013, Moody's Investors Service decreased Costa Rica's bond rating from stable to negative. Moody's cited "large fiscal deficits and a rising debt burden" as reasons for the decrease.⁵⁰³ The scandals that engulfed Chinchilla's administration were a large part of the reason she was unable to accomplish a critical reform, one of the biggest pieces of her agenda, desperately needed to boost the Costa Rican economy.

Foreign Policy: Nicaraguan Border Conflict

Nicaragua and Costa Rica have been at odds over land for the last century. Over the last decade, this dispute has manifested itself in an area of land on the Atlantic Coast known as Isla Calero, located next to the San Juan River. At the beginning of Chinchilla's presidency in 2010, Nicaragua sent troops to occupy the land and started a dredging project to build canals. Costa Rica claimed the canals produced waste that ended up on Costa Rica's land and were damaging the protected wetlands. Furthermore, Costa Rica argued Nicaragua did not have the legal right to occupy the land.

⁵⁰⁰ "What Else Can Go Wrong for Laura Chinchilla's Government?," *Tico Times*, accessed April 29, 2014, <http://www.ticotimes.net/2012/04/13/what-else-can-go-wrong-for-laura-chinchilla-s-government>.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² "Noticias Fiscales más Importantes de Septiembre," *Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales*, accessed April 29, 2014, <http://icefi.org/noticias-fiscales-mas-importantes-de-septiembre/>.

⁵⁰³ "Moody's Changes Costa Rica's Outlook to Negative," *Moody's.com*, September 23, 2013, accessed April 25, 2014, https://www.moody's.com/research/Moodys-changes-Costa-Ricas-outlook-to-negative--PR_282897.

Chinchilla's administration took a firm stand and gave Nicaragua forty-eight hours to leave the territory Chinchilla claimed Nicaragua had invaded. Though known for its pacifism, Costa Rica put a police force in place on the border. With Nicaragua's refusal to leave, Chinchilla pushed the case towards the United Nations' judicial body, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), again emphasizing the importance of preserving the wetlands and the desire to settle the issue without violence.⁵⁰⁴

In March of 2011, the ICJ ruled that all Nicaraguan and Costa Rican civilians must refrain from entering the disputed territory, except for Costa Rican environmentalists who were protecting the wetland.⁵⁰⁵ Following the ruling, Nicaragua filed a suit against Costa Rica for building a road along the San Juan River. In 2013, the ICJ ultimately voted in favor of Costa Rica, ordering Nicaragua again to remove all personnel and security forces and to "abstain" from dredging projects, prohibiting Nicaragua from completing the canals. The decision was a victory for Chinchilla's administration and underscored Chinchilla's desire to protect Costa Rican land and the environment without using force.

Trade

Costa Rica has a history of liberalized trade and currently receives the highest amount of direct foreign investment in Central America. In 2008, Chinchilla's predecessor Óscar Arias signed the DR-CAFTA trade agreement, opening up the Costa Rican economy to trade more freely with the United States and other Latin American countries. Chinchilla continued economic policies similar to those of her predecessor, further integrating Costa Rica into the world economy.

In 2012, Costa Rica signed an Association Agreement with the European Commission.⁵⁰⁶ The agreement centered on trade, political dialogue, and cooperation between Central American countries and the European Union. In 2014, before the end of her term, Chinchilla also signed a "declaration of intent" to join the Pacific Alliance. The alliance is a trade bloc that includes Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru and gives Costa Rica access to a market of over 200 million people. Chinchilla argued that these trade agreements were victories that emphasized her intent to expand and diversify the economy and raise the standard of living for Costa Ricans.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴ CNN, "Costa Rica Ready to Appeal to Higher Bodies in Border Dispute," CNN, accessed April 25, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/11/10/costa.rica.nicaragua.dispute/>.

⁵⁰⁵ International Court of Justice, *Certain Activities carried out by Nicaragua in the Border Area (Costa Rica v. Nicaragua)* (International Court of Justice 2011).

⁵⁰⁶ European Commission, "Trade: Central America," *European Commission*, n.d., <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/central-america/>.

⁵⁰⁷ "Costa Rica to Join the Pacific Alliance," The Pacific Alliance, accessed April 25, 2014, <http://alianzapacifico.net/en/costa-rica-to-join-the-pacific-alliance/>.

Ecotourism and Environmental Policy

Over the last two decades, Costa Rica has worked diligently to protect its land, and as a result, has become an ecotourism destination. In 1997, Costa Rica pioneered a Payment for Environmental Services (PES) program that incentivized landowners to act in a more environmentally friendly way, protecting over 250,000 hectares of land from deforestation.⁵⁰⁸ Chinchilla's predecessor Arias pledged that Costa Rica would be the first carbon-neutral country in the world by 2021, drawing worldwide attention for this significant goal. Today ecotourism generates approximately US\$2 billion a year for the country, making it one of the most significant factors in Costa Rica's economy.⁵⁰⁹

In 2013, Chinchilla's administration furthered this pledge of reaching the carbon-neutral goal. The Costa Rican government and the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility signed a letter of intent to negotiate an emission reductions payment agreement (ERPA). The agreement expanded the forestland currently protected by allowing more Costa Ricans to participate in the PES program (expanding the program to have US\$63 million in carbon credits available), including indigenous landowners.⁵¹⁰

Though Chinchilla has prioritized environmentalism in her agenda, she has been criticized for not doing enough and simply purporting to protect the environment.

Symbolic Representation

Aspects of Laura Chinchilla's presidency have been disastrous and corrupt. The coming years will show the extent to which her administration negatively affected women who will run for office in the future.

Traditional Notions of Leadership

Chinchilla's leadership and management styles have not received significant media attention, but the little attention paid has been negative. She was able to position herself, to a certain extent, as a prominent international leader; she made a point to travel and meet with influential people around the world during her presidency. Yet the various scandals that plagued her administration and the massive reshuffling of her cabinet

⁵⁰⁸ Stefano Pagiola, "Payments for Environmental Services in Costa Rica," *Ecological Economics* 65, no. 4 (May 1, 2008): 712–24, doi:10.1016/j.ecolecon.2007.07.033.

⁵⁰⁹ Tim Rogers, "Costa Rica's President: It's Not Easy Staying Green," *Time*, accessed April 25, 2014, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1927452,00.html>.

⁵¹⁰ The World Bank, *Costa Rica First to Negotiate Sale of Forestry Carbon Credits* (The World Bank, September 10, 2013), <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/09/10/creditos-por-reduccion-de-carbono>.

overshadowed the positive strides she made and called into question her leadership and management skills.

Chinchilla's leadership style can be described as one of "style flexing," where a person vacillates between a traditional male style of leadership and a traditional female style of leadership.⁵¹¹ For example, during the Nicaraguan border dispute, Chinchilla asserted Costa Rica's sovereignty and presented a very hard, aggressive style of leadership that is typically characterized as male. However, on a majority of issues, she took a softer, less outspoken stance commonly characterized as female.

In an interview with *Forbes*, Chinchilla described leadership as a gendered trait. She stated women leaders focus more on "consensus" and success in the sense of a "team." Her explicit acknowledgement of the gendered stereotypes of leadership is reminiscent of the overall social climate in Costa Rica, where machismo and gendered roles are prevalent. In the interview, she went on to describe the "obligation" she felt to succeed so that more women would be elected in the future.⁵¹² Chinchilla underscored an important idea put forth by Genovese this way: "a politically ambitious woman cannot escape the consequences of social beliefs that gender differences are politically relevant."⁵¹³ Though she was cognizant of the important role she played for the women of Costa Rica and Latin America, Chinchilla has been largely ineffective at making positive changes in her country.

Transformational Leaders

Very few positive conclusions can be drawn regarding Chinchilla's administration or her future legacy as the first female President of Costa Rica. Nevertheless, Chinchilla's presidency has transformed the political environment, and the conclusion of her term will usher in significant changes in government.

Chinchilla won the 2010 presidential election by a landslide, receiving over 46% of the votes. She is a member of the National Liberation Party, a political party formed in 1951, and adheres to center-right ideology. Chinchilla's predecessor and former mentor, Óscar Arias, was also a member of the National Liberation Party. Since the mid-1970s, the National Liberation Party and the even more conservative Social Christian Unity Party have dominated Costa Rican politics. It was largely assumed that Johnny Araya, the National Liberation Party's presidential candidate, would become Chinchilla's successor. However, the candidate of the Citizen's Action Party, Luis Solís, unexpectedly claimed victory in the 2014 election.

⁵¹¹ Genovese, *Women As National Leaders*, 215.

⁵¹² "Costa Rica's First Woman President Fights Invasions, Drug Cartels."

⁵¹³ Genovese, *Women As National Leaders*.

The Citizen's Action Party is a progressive, left-leaning organization. Founded in 2000, it was created largely due to frustrations with the apparent corruption in the National Liberation Party. Analysts have blamed Chinchilla and her administration for weakening the party. Manuel Rojas, a political researcher at the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences stated, "Chinchilla is behind the defeat of the PLN because her administration has been so poorly graded that it was going to be very difficult to start fresh with a new image."⁵¹⁴ Though it was unintentional, Laura Chinchilla created a shift to left-leaning politics in Costa Rica.

Symbolic Effect of Her Leadership

Regardless of the events that occurred during her administration, Laura Chinchilla's election as President was a monumental historical occasion that challenged preconceived notions that the role of President was reserved for men only. A female President of Costa Rica is now a reality that younger generations have experienced. With that said, it has yet to be seen if her presidency will encourage or discourage the election of women to executive office. It is difficult to determine if Costa Ricans' anger at Chinchilla will be contained to solely her administration or if it will tarnish the reputation of women leaders as a whole in Costa Rica. Some have suggested that there was not a single female candidate for the presidency in 2014 because of Laura Chinchilla's disappointing presidency.⁵¹⁵

In the aforementioned interview with *Forbes Magazine*, Chinchilla expressed her intolerance for the stereotype that women are weak leaders.⁵¹⁶ Her strategic campaign slogan "firm and honest" seems to directly counter this stereotype, positioning Chinchilla as a strong and decisive leader, qualities often reserved only to describe male leaders. Unfortunately, Laura Chinchilla's presidency was plagued with allegations of dishonesty and disastrous leadership. Hopefully, Chinchilla's failures will not tarnish the reputation and standing of women as leaders in Costa Rica.

⁵¹⁴ Isabella Cota, "Costa Rica Ruling Party Candidate Ends Campaign Before Vote (1)," *BusinessWeek*, March 5, 2014, <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2014-03-05/costa-rica-ruling-party-candidate-ends-campaign-before-runoff>.

⁵¹⁵ "2014 Costa Rican Presidential Candidates Missing a Gender," *The Canal: News and Analysis Blog from the PanAm Post*, accessed March 31, 2014, <http://blog.panampost.com/andrew-woodbury/2013/10/29/2014-costa-rican-presidential-candidates-missing-a-gender/>.

⁵¹⁶ "Costa Rica's First Woman President Fights Invasions, Drug Cartels."

Chapter 9: Mexico Case Study

Descriptive Representation

Mexico's Political Structure

Mexico's political structure is formalized through the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States, published in 1917. Mexico is a representative democratic republic; as such, the President acts as both head of state and government. The federal government directs the country's thirty-one united Mexican states through legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The federal branch of the government is referred to as the Supreme Power of the Federation and its capital is located in Mexico City (Distrito Federal). Each state's government functions separately under the same structure as the federal branch.⁵¹⁷

At the federal level, the President leads the executive branch for a single six-year term. National elections are direct, with no runoff elections. After the six-year term, the President is not allowed to serve a second term, but traditionally he has chosen the successive nominee within the same political party. Though the power of the President has changed significantly since 1917, Mexico's political power remains centralized in the President. Among the current presidential powers, the President has the right to appoint and/or nominate most subordinate executive officials, including the executive cabinet. The executive cabinet advises the President and is independent of the legislature. Currently, there are twenty presidential cabinet and extended cabinet positions (referred to as "*gabinetes ampliados*").

The legislative branch of Mexico's federal government is structured as a bicameral congress with the Senate (Cámara de Senadores) and the Chamber of Deputies (Cámara de Diputados). Together, the Congress of the Union has powers to approve legislation and budgets, ratify diplomatic appointments, and declare war.

The Senate is responsible for foreign policy issues and also approves presidential appointments. Senators are elected for six-year terms using a parallel voting system of sixty-four plurality members (two per state). As with Presidents, Senators cannot serve consecutive terms.

The Chamber of Deputies is a collection of 500 nationwide representatives who are elected for three-year terms through a parallel voting system. The electoral structure

⁵¹⁷ United Mexican States, "Political Constitution of the United Mexican States" (Diaro Oficial de la Federación, February 5, 1917), Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judicial Branch, <http://www.trife.gob.mx/en/consultations/political-constitution-united-mexican-states>.

consists of 300 uninominal elected officials and 200 elected through proportional representation. Deputies are not eligible to run for consecutive terms.

Political Parties

Mexico's political parties have a longstanding history of representative imbalance. Specifically, the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) single-handedly governed for nearly seventy years until the mid-1980s. The PRI believes women must be involved in politics at every level and not under a specific government branch. In the 1990s, they formed the Programa Nacional de la Mujer, one of the largest women's organizations within the government. Though formally instituted by President Zedillo's administration in 1995, it is commonly believed that the organization was born directly from the Beijing Women's Conference. The goal of the program was to integrate women's programs into various government agencies, thereby incorporating a space for women in all spheres of the government. Led by renowned politician and former governor Dulce María Sauri, the organization evolved over time to focus on health and education reform. In 2001, Programa Nacional de la Mujer was reformed and consequently renamed Instituto Nacional de la Mujer.⁵¹⁸

The PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) was the first opposition party to ever win against the PRI, with its first gubernatorial win in 1989. Arguably the most monumental of the party's successes was the presidential election of the PAN's Vicente Fox in 2000, whereby the PRI was effectively dismantled as the ruling party. The PAN is not very supportive of women's political participation. Their main women's political organization, Promoción Política de la Mujer, advocates for the preservation of women's traditional roles.

Finally, the PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática) was founded in the late 1980s with Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas as leader. It is known for its left-of-center ideology. Since 1997, the PRD operates in nearly all congressional districts and assembly elections in Mexico City but is underrepresented at the executive level. The PRD has been known to address women's concerns in a more broad-based, policy-driven way than the other two major parties. Some of Mexico's most successful female politicians, namely Amalia García and Rosario Robles, have been affiliated with the PRD.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁸ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, 133.

⁵¹⁹ "The Parties," *The Mexico Institute's Elections Guide*, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://mexicoinstituteelections.wordpress.com/the-parties/>.

Electoral System and Quotas

Electoral Reform

Mexico's electoral system has changed dramatically in recent years. For much of the twentieth century, electoral law had few regulatory mechanisms for ensuring fair and democratic processes. In fact, Mexico's electoral system remained mostly untouched until major reform in 2007. For many years prior, funding and media coverage went hand in hand as a way to secure power and isolate other parties. Misuse of public dollars to freely promote a candidate's campaign through media was frequent, and no law existed to prevent it. Additionally, no law existed to regulate primaries or how internal party candidates were selected at the federal office. This created a "permanent campaign" concept once the party had a stronghold. They continued to exercise their power for future appointment and elections within their party as soon as they took office. Finally, those in power were able to launch slanderous attacks on opposing parties with impunity, with the free-flowing money and control of media that allowed them to manipulate voters.

Mexico's 2007 reform created much stricter oversight and regulation of campaign activities. Mainly, legislation mandated a reduction in maximum campaign budgets; control over candidate media use; regulation of slander and libel; reduction in campaign time, business affiliations, and donor caps; internal campaign restrictions; and an external auditing system. Since 2012, Mexico has proposed further changes to its electoral system. The following section outlines these changes with regard to Mexico's current quota laws and their possible effects on women's political representation.⁵²⁰

Quota Laws

Mexico represents a case of gender quotas' success in a mixed electoral system. Mexico first established a gender quota policy in 1993 after a wide array of NGOs and members of political parties from the left pressured for a major presence of women in the political arena.⁵²¹ The first 1993 law, inscribed in the Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures (Código Federal de Instituciones y Procedimientos Electorales, or COFIPE), urged Mexican political parties to promote women's participation in the political life of the country, but did not establish any enforcement mechanism. In 1996, the law established that political parties should consider that their candidacies did not exceed 70% of one same gender; however, the law did not establish an ordering mandate in both

⁵²⁰ Andrés Valdez Zepeda, Rosa Evelia Camacho Palomera, and Delia A. Huerta Franco, "Candidaturas Ciudadanas y Régimen de Competencia Política en México: Las Nuevas Campañas después de la Reforma Constitucional del 2012," *Revista de Ciencia Política*, no. 17, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://www.revcienciapolitica.com.ar/num17art11.php>.

⁵²¹ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, 170–71.

majority and closed lists. Political parties then chose women for positions that they had no probability of winning, and relegated them to the lists' lowest positions. As a result, in the 2000 elections, the percentage of women elected to the Chamber of Deputies dropped from 17% to 16%.⁵²²

According to Lisa Baldez,⁵²³ 2002 was a turning point for gender quotas in Mexico. That year, the Supreme Court ruled on the constitutionality of gender quotas in Coahuila, and discarded the opposing actors' argument that gender quotas violated the principle of equal protection under the Constitution. Furthermore, the COFIPE was reformed to include two crucial elements in the quota law: an ordering mandate to construct the representation lists in segments of three candidates, each of which had to include one candidate of a different gender, as well as sanctions for political parties that did not comply with the quotas. These changes caused an increase of over 5% in women's presence in the Chamber of Deputies. The reform of 2008 established that candidate lists presented by political parties to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate should be integrated with at least 40% candidates of the same gender, and that they should work towards parity.

During recent years, gender quotas in Mexico have had a great impact in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The reforms establishing sanctions and ordering mechanisms in the lists have resulted in a significant increase of women's presence in both chambers. While the percentage of women in both Chambers was below 10%⁵²⁴ before the quotas were established, today those percentages have increased to over 30%.⁵²⁵

Despite such progress, political parties still resist giving women full access, and have found ways to circumvent quotas laws. One example is the use of women in principal positions, and placing men in the alternate positions. After the election, women were forced to resign in favor of the alternate male to occupy that position. These women were infamously known as "Las Juanitas." Additionally, the law did not apply for candidacies

⁵²² Lisa Baldez, "Cuotas versus Primarias: La Nominación de Candidatas Mujeres en México," in *Mujer y política: el impacto de las cuotas de género en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile: IDEA Internacional; FLACSO-Chile, 2008), 157–177.

⁵²³ Lisa Baldez, "Cuotas versus Primarias: La Nominación de Candidatas Mujeres en México."

⁵²⁴ United Nations Development Programme, "Mujeres. Participación Política En México 2012 - Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo México," 2012, http://genero.ife.org.mx/docs/docs_mat-PNUD-1_10jul2012.pdf.

⁵²⁵ Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in National Parliaments*, accessed February 1, 2014, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

that had primaries. As discussed by Baldez, the ambiguity regarding this exemption made primaries an obstacle for women's participation and appointment to political positions.⁵²⁶

However, in 2013, the major political parties approved a political reform that prevents political parties from continuing these practices by extending the (now) mandatory percentage of 50% quota for the principals, to also include the alternates, and all internal processes of political parties, including the primaries. The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate have both approved the political reform.

Women in Power

Mexican women have played an important role in the country's history; nevertheless, they still remain "marginal players in formal politics."⁵²⁷ It was not until 1953 that women in the country gained the right to vote and total citizenship recognition.⁵²⁸ However, this did not immediately translate into appointed or elected positions in the public administration. For example, five years passed before Amalia González Caballero de Castillo Ledón was appointed Subsecretary of the Education Ministry in the Department of Cultural Affairs, becoming the first female Subsecretary at a federal level.⁵²⁹

During the 1980s, women's participation in the public arena increased significantly. Patricia Galeana states that according to the IX General Population and Housing Census in 1970, 13.2% of the female labor force worked in government; and that by 1980, this number increased to 16.9%. Despite such growth, only 5% to 10% of these women occupied decision-making positions while the rest were assistants, teachers or nurses.⁵³⁰ The 80's, which came along with democratization processes in Latin America, represented a significant period for women's participation in decision-making processes: the first female Governor, Griselda Álvarez, was elected in Colima; four female Subsecretaries, and the first female General Attorney were appointed; twenty-seven women occupied General Director positions in the executive branch; Rosario Ibarra became the first female presidential candidate; and the first female President of Mexico

⁵²⁶ Lisa Baldez, "Cuotas versus Primarias: La Nominación de Candidatas Mujeres en México."

⁵²⁷ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, 21.

⁵²⁸ Mercedes Aguilar Perez, "¿Acceso Restringido? Reflexiones sobre los Obstáculos en la Participación Política de las Mujeres en México," in *Mujeres y Ciudadanía en México: Estudios de Caso*, ed. Mónica Inés Cejas and Ana Lau Jaiven (Mexico City: Editorial Itaca, 2011).

⁵²⁹ Lourdes Arizpe and Margarita Velázquez, "La participación de las mujeres en el sector público: hacia una nueva cultura política," in *La Mujer del México de la Transición: Memoria de un Simposio*, ed. Patricia Galeana de Valadés (Mexico City: Federación Mexicana de Universitarias, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994).

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 73–5.

City's High Tribunal was appointed.⁵³¹ During the 1990s and early 2000s, women such as Marcela Lombardo and Cecilia Soto (1994), and Patricia Mercado (2006) ran in Mexico's presidential elections; however, they did so in small parties with no possibilities of winning. In the most recent election of 2012, the PAN nominated Josefina Vázquez Mota as its presidential candidate. It was the first time that a main Mexican political party chose a woman as its candidate for the presidency.

Governors

In 2014, there were no female governors in Mexico. During the last elections in 2012, Mexico City and six states (Yucatán, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Tabasco, Chiapas, and Morelos) elected governors. From the seven elections, only Mexico City and Chiapas had female candidates in major parties. Beatriz Paredes from the PRI and Isabel Miranda de Wallace from the PAN participated and lost to the candidate from the left; while in Chiapas, María Elena Orantes, a former Senator, lost to the candidate of the Green Party, Manuel Velasco. Women candidates from the PANAL, a small political party, participated in the elections of Jalisco, Mexico City, and Yucatán. Female candidates did not participate in the elections of Guanajuato, Morelos, and Tabasco.⁵³²

Historically, Mexico has had only six women Governors (see Table 14). Only four women were elected while the other two were appointed after the elected governors left their positions. In 1979, Griselda Álvarez, from the PRI, won the governorship of the state of Colima and became the first woman to be elected governor in the country. In 1987 Beatriz Paredes Rangel, one of the PRI's most prominent members, was elected to govern the state of Tlaxcala. Amalia García Medina won the elections in Zacatecas with the PRD in 2004. The last elected female was Yucatán's governor from the PRI, Ivonne Ortega Pacheco, who stayed in power from 2006 to 2012. Two women acted as Governors after the elected ones resigned to compete in other elections: Rosario Robles Berlanga in Mexico City after Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas resigned to run for the presidency; and Dulce María Sauri Riancho, who governed Yucatán in an interim position from 1991 to 1994.⁵³³ Political parties, the most important gatekeepers in Mexican politics,⁵³⁴ remain reluctant to nominate women to run for governorships. The PAN has not had a single female governor, and the PRI and PRD have only nominated a handful of women.

⁵³¹ Arizpe and Velázquez, "La participación de las mujeres en el sector público: hacia una nueva cultura política."

⁵³² "Los Siete Estados que Elegirán Gobernador," *El Periódico de Quintana Roo*, accessed February 23, 2014, <http://www.el-periodico.com.mx/noticias/los-siete-estados-que-elegiran-gobernador/>.

⁵³³ Francisco Blanco Figueroa, ed., *Mujeres Mexicanas del Siglo XX: La Otra Revolución* (México: Editorial Edicol, 2001).

⁵³⁴ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, 183.

Table 14: Female Governors in Mexico

Governor	State	Period	Political Party	Mechanism
Griselda Álvarez Ponce de León	Colima	1979–1985	PRI	Elected
Beatriz Paredes Rangel	Tlaxcala	1987–1992	PRI	Elected
Dulce María Sauri Riancho	Yucatán	1991–1994	PRI	Interim
Rosario Robles Berlanga	Mexico City	1999–2000	PRD	Interim
Amalia García Medina	Zacatecas	2004–2010	PRD	Elected
Ivonne Ortega Pacheco	Yucatán	2006–2012	PRI	Elected

Source: Created by authors.

The Cabinet

Political negotiations and commitments have hindered women’s access to higher positions in the administration. The 2012 UNDP report *Mujeres y Participación Política en México* stated that only twenty-three women (without taking into account Peña Nieto’s administration) had occupied a position in the main cabinet. However, the report includes women appointed to positions in the extended cabinet. If those are excluded, that reduces the number to eighteen. The so-called extended cabinet includes the heads of decentralized organizations such as the Women’s Institute, the Youth’s Institute, the Committee for Culture and Arts, and the National Lottery. Such organizations do not hold the same rank, budget, or influence over Mexican policies as the original cabinet positions do.

Krook and O’Brien developed a “gender power score” to analyze the cabinets and political positions to which women in cabinets have been appointed around the world.⁵³⁵ Such score takes into account two categories: the categorization of ministries into feminine, neutral, or masculine (private vs. public, respectively); and the level of prestige of the cabinet, measured through the visibility and the level of control of policy that cabinets in specific cultural and political contexts hold. According to the authors, masculine cabinets include Fisheries, Defense, Foreign Affairs, Industry and Commerce, Finance and Economy, and Transportation; neutral cabinets include areas of Tourism, Civil Service, Justice, Environment and Natural Resources; and feminine cabinets include the portfolios of Culture, Education, Health, and Social Welfare. In the Mexican case, contrary to the general classification, the portfolios of Education and Social Development have high prestige. The Education Ministry requires high political expertise and rank due to the complexities of dealing with the teachers’ union, the most powerful in the country,

⁵³⁵ Mona Lena Krook and Diana Z. O’Brien, “All the President’s Men?”

and the media attention given to education policy in Mexico. Furthermore, the Ministry of Social Development is one of the ministries with higher visibility, and is usually used as a political platform for politicians seeking a candidacy at a federal or state level. The relevance of heading up Education and Social Development is best portrayed by Josefina Vázquez Mota, a woman who occupied these two Ministries during different administrations, and became the first woman from a major political party to be nominated as a presidential candidate.

Women appointed to cabinet positions in Mexico have occupied neutral and feminine cabinets with low and medium prestige, and very rarely masculine high prestige portfolios. Table 15 lists women appointed to cabinet positions from the 1980s to date. Women have been appointed most frequently to the Ministries of Social Development and Tourism. Women won important spaces in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to which two women have been appointed in the last four administrations; and in the Ministries of Education and Energy, to which Josefina Vázquez Mota and Georgina Kessel were appointed during Felipe Calderón's administration. Women in Mexico have not yet been appointed to higher prestige and masculine portfolios such as Secretary of Government (Gobernación), Finance, or Commerce; or the Banco de México.

In the administration that started at the end of 2012, the newly elected President Enrique Peña Nieto only appointed three women to his cabinet: Mercedes Juan López in the Ministry of Health; Claudia Ruíz Massieu Salinas in the Ministry of Tourism; and Rosario Robles Berlanga in the Ministry of Social Development. Mercedes San Juan is the first woman to be appointed as Secretary of Health in Mexico.⁵³⁶ The Ministries of Social Development and Tourism are the ones to which more women have been appointed (see Table 15). Women's access to cabinet positions has increased over the years, but growth has not been constant, and has been limited to specific cabinets.

Before taking office, the President Elect, Enrique Peña Nieto, sent a general Public Administration reform proposal to the Congress which included the merging of the independent Women's Institute (created under the Presidency of Vicente Fox in 2000) with the Social Development Ministry. As argued by more than forty activist and feminist groups, such a proposal reflected the lack of a gender vision in the administration, and framed women as a vulnerable group. Former presidential candidates such as Patricia Mercado, and founders of state-level Women's Institute such as María Elena Chapa, argued that such a change would also convert the Institute into a "handout"

⁵³⁶ *CNNMexico*, "Una Mujer Dirigirá por Primera vez la Secretaría de Salud," *CNNMexico*, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://mexico.cnn.com/nacional/2012/11/30/una-mujer-dirigira-por-primera-vez-la-secretaria-de-salud>.

organization.⁵³⁷ Due to these groups' pressures, the initiative was pulled back, and the Women's Institute kept its status and independence.

Table 15: Women in Cabinet Positions in Mexico

	Secretary	Ministry	Period	President
1	Rosa Luz Alegría Escamilla	Ministry of Tourism	1980–1982	José López Portillo
2	María de los Ángeles Moreno	Ministry of Fisheries	1988–1991	Carlos Salinas de Gortari
3	María Elena Vázquez Nava	Ministry of General Federal Accountability	1988–1994	Carlos Salinas de Gortari
4	Norma Samaniego de Villareal	Ministry of the Administrative Development and Accountability	1994–1996	Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León
5	Julia Carabias Lillo	Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources and Fisheries	1994–2000	Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León
6	Silvia Hernández Enríquez	Ministry of Tourism	1994–1997	Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León
7	Rosario Green Macías	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1998–2000	Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León
8	María Teresa Herrera Tello	Ministry of Agrarian Reform	2000–2003	Vicente Fox Quesada
9	Leticia Navarro Ochoa	Ministry of Tourism	2000–2004	Vicente Fox Quesada
10	Josefina Vázquez Mota	Ministry of Social Development	2000–2006	Vicente Fox Quesada
11	Ana Teresa Aranda	Ministry of Social Development	2006	Vicente Fox Quesada
12	María Beatriz Zavala Peniche	Ministry of Social Development	2006–2008	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa
13	Josefina Vázquez Mota	Ministry of Education	2006–2009	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa
14	Patricia Espinosa Cantellano	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2006–2012	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa
15	Georgina Kessel Martínez	Ministry of Energy	2006–2011	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa
16	Gloria Guevara Manzo	Ministry of Tourism	2010–2012	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa

⁵³⁷ *CNNMexico*, “La Inconformidad de Mujeres Obliga a Modificar la Iniciativa de Peña Nieto,” *CNNMexico*, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://mexico.cnn.com/nacional/2012/11/21/la-inconformidad-de-mujeres-obliga-a-modificar-la-iniciativa-de-pena-nieto>.

17	Rosalinda Vélez Juárez	Ministry of Labor	2011–2012	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa
18	Marisela Morales Ibáñez	General Attorney	2011–2012	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa
19	Mercedes Juan López	Ministry of Health	2012–	Enrique Peña Nieto
20	Rosario Robles Berlanga	Ministry of Social Development	2012–	Enrique Peña Nieto
21	Claudia Ruíz Massieu	Ministry of Tourism	2012–	Enrique Peña Nieto

Source: UNDP 2012 Report, “Mujeres y participación política en México 2012,” and authors’ creation.

Women in the Highest Judiciary Body

In 1961, María Cristina Salmorán de Tamayo was the first woman to be appointed Magistrate of the Supreme Court, and the first woman in the world to form part of a Supreme Tribunal or Court of Justice.⁵³⁸ Today, according to the Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL), female judges in the highest courts occupy only 18.2% of the positions, a percentage that is lower than that achieved during the period from 2004 to 2006 (20%), but higher than that between 1998 and 2003 (between 12.5 and 14.3%).⁵³⁹ A study comparing women’s presence in the highest judiciary bodies in Mexico, the United States, the European Union, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, shows Mexico as one with one of the lowest percentage of women in this branch, only above Chile.⁵⁴⁰

Women in the Legislative Branch

The legislative is the power that concentrates the higher rate of women participation. As reported by the CEPAL, in 2012 female legislators occupied 36.8%⁵⁴¹ of the seats, achieving a historical high. Women’s positions in the legislative have been significantly affected by the quotas’ design and enforcement mechanism across time. Women in the Senate occupy 22.7% of the seats. The highest increase of women in the Senate occurred in 2006, when women elected to the Senate registered a growth of 3 percentage points.⁵⁴² While the numbers for women in the legislative are highly positive, women will still need to struggle to enter the closed circle of legislators who make decisions. Members of the Pact for Mexico’s Committee for Political Coordination, in charge of the negotiation and

⁵³⁸ Olga Sanchez Cordero, “Juzgar con Ojos de Mujer” (presented at La Mujer y la Integración en el Derecho del Nuevo Milenio, Mexico City, 2000), <http://www2.scjn.gob.mx/Ministros/oscgv/Conf/Conf-009.htm>.

⁵³⁹ Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean, *Equality Indicators: Mexico*, Autonomy in Decision-Making, CEPAL, accessed February 16, 2014, <http://www.cepal.org/oig/indicators/Mexico/Mexico.htm>.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² United Nations Development Programme, “Mujeres. Participación Política en México 2012,” 5.

design for the major political reforms, are all men, with the exception of the PANAL's representative.⁵⁴³

In the case of local legislatures, the results are highly uneven among the different states. While in Oaxaca, Veracruz, Chiapas, Baja California, Tamaulipas, Morelos, and Veracruz women hold more than 30% of the positions, in states such as Aguascalientes, Coahuila, and Puebla women represent less than 15% of the seats.⁵⁴⁴

Broader Societal Factors

Political Transformations

The most obvious political transformation within Mexico was the Revolution and the end of a long dictatorship with the enactment of the Constitution of 1917. From then on, however, the PRI party dominated Mexican politics for more than seventy years.⁵⁴⁵ To the extent that this political control directly affected women's ability to influence and create a public space requires analysis beyond the scope of this case study. It is noteworthy, however, that this longstanding history of a single party's control of the political system is a likely component of women's underrepresentation in politics today.

Women's Movements

The political context in twentieth-century Mexico discussed above did not stop women from mobilizing and creating legislative change from the country's beginning. While Laura MacDonald argues that Mexican women's movements post-Revolution were minimal,⁵⁴⁶ the continued emergence of prominent women, organizations and legislative change suggests otherwise. Rodríguez emphasizes the resilience of Mexican women in the face of major political and economic hurdles: "Both the Revolution and the importance that the Mexican state placed on revolutionary rhetoric helped set in motion the first cohesive women's organizations in the country."⁵⁴⁷ With Mexican feminist congresses to early women's political organizations and influential organizations like Frente Único Pro Derechos de la Mujer (FUPDM), the first half of the twentieth century

⁵⁴³ "LVII Legislatura Cámara de Diputados. Junta de Coordinación Política," Chamber of Deputies, accessed January 30, 2014, http://www3.diputados.gob.mx/camara/001_diputados/002_organos_de_gobierno/003_junta_de_coordinacion_politica.

⁵⁴⁴ United Nations Development Programme, "Mujeres. Participación Política en México 2012," 6.

⁵⁴⁵ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, 101.

⁵⁴⁶ Laura MacDonald, "Globalization and Social Movements: Comparing Women's Movements Responses to NAFTA in Mexico, the USA and Canada," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 4, no. 2 (2002): 151–72, doi:10.1080/14616740210135469.

⁵⁴⁷ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, 94.

was full of the clear, determined voices of women. These efforts eventually led to women's national suffrage in 1953, but the movement lost momentum soon thereafter. Whether this was the result of women's competing regional or class perspectives, or political stronghold by the PRI, women's movements were not active again until the 1960s. Between then and the mid-1970s, the first politically driven feminist movement was taking shape in Mexico. The *Coalición de Mujeres Feministas* was formed from the 1975 UN women's conference in Mexico City. For the first time, Mexican women discussed the fractured perspectives between upper, middle, and lower classes and were able to organize more broadly. Eventually, the *Coalición* led to the formal political organization *Frente Nacional por la Liberación y los Derechos de las Mujeres*, from which major legislation for the protection of women was passed.

This history contributed to further advancement for women but only explains a fraction of women's underrepresentation in contemporary Mexican politics. Up until the late 1970s, Mexican women's movements focused on establishing collective networks and earning the basic civil rights necessary to move forward. As Mexico was on the verge of a long economic and political roller coaster, women would face a new and difficult struggle.

Economic Crisis in Mexico, 1970–2000

Another possible factor of women's marginal representation in Mexican politics is the effects of long-lasting, politically driven economic crises starting in the 1970s. Specifically, these crises were both the cause and effect of political corruption, a series of presidential administrations' poor economic policy decisions and foreign trade and investment practices. Together, the largest burden has been placed on women and, despite major legislative and political improvements, the effects have been worse for them.

Rodríguez notes that the beginning of the Mexican economic crisis was directly related to Mexico's economic dependence on oil exports. "[Mexico] became one of the largest suppliers of oil to the world market. As the price of oil quadrupled [in the mid-1970s and again in the early 1980s] . . . no one seemed to pay much attention to the fact that as interest rates were rising, so was the debt."⁵⁴⁸ This debt was attributed to massive public spending by President José López Portillo's administration in the late 1970s. As the oil market collapsed internationally, López Portillo nationalized Mexican banks to avoid Mexico's default. Overvaluation of the peso and corruption, Rodríguez says, further added to this public deficit.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

From this initial downswing, Mexico underwent a series of economic austerity measures throughout various administrations in the 1980s. These measures, such as the de la Madrid administration's decision to control Mexico's exchange rate in 1987, created an altogether erratic and unstable economy. The country saw a combination of high consumer good prices, high interest, and high unemployment rates. Lower-class women were forced to enter the workforce and produce goods in home that they once were able to afford. As the country welcomed more industrialization, new spaces were created for women, such as the *maquiladoras* industry. With an unprecedented number of women in and out of the workforce, it becomes difficult to assess how exactly women's political participation was impacted. Regardless, this background adds yet another layer of complexity to women's current standing in Mexican politics.

Networks and Personal History

The political biographies of Mexican women involved in politics show some general patterns: women that have been governors have strong ties to the political parties, where they usually started their careers; most of them come from political families; their fathers played an important role in their formation and their attitude towards politics and public service; and these women have been marked by national political events, mainly the student movement of 1968.

The six governors have had strong ties with the political parties from which they were elected to be governors. Namely, Beatriz Paredes was a prominent member of the rural sector of the PRI, the CNC (Confederación Nacional Campesina); Griselda Álvarez had the support of the President, López Portillo; and Rosario Robles was one of the founders of the PRD. Many of the women in politics in Mexico come from traditional political families in their respective states: Griselda Álvarez's great grandfather and father were governors of Colima; Amalia García's father was also governor of Zacatecas; and Rosario Ibarra's father was one the founders of the PNR (Partido Nacional Revolucionario), the precursor of the PRI.⁵⁴⁹ Claudia Ruiz Massieu Salinas, the Secretary of Tourism, is the niece of former President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and daughter of a former PRI Secretary, Franciso Ruiz Massieu.⁵⁵⁰

The 1968 student movement awakened some women's political consciousness. For Amalia García, it made her return from her family's self-exile in Poland to Mexico City and get involved in the fight for democracy. For Rosario Ibarra, her initiation in the political realm occurred when her son "disappeared" after a student demonstration; Dulce María Sauri's husband was incarcerated for more than seven years due to demonstration

⁵⁴⁹ Blanco Figueroa, *Mujeres Mexicanas Del Siglo XX*.

⁵⁵⁰ Tania L. Montalvo, "A un Día de Tomar Posesión, se Presenta al Gabinete de Peña Nieto," *CNNMexico*, November 30, 2012, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://mexico.cnn.com/nacional/2012/11/30/a-un-dia-de-tomar-posesion-se-presenta-al-gabinete-de-pena-nieto>.

activity; and for Rosario Robles, the student movement fostered her critical vision of the political system and of the PRI.

Substantive Representation

According to Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, the impact of women in power substantive's dimension analyses look at "whether women seek or are able to promote women's issues once they are elected to political office."⁵⁵¹ Substantive representation studies examine if women in power are able to make a difference for other women's lives. In other words, substantive representation is related to the construction of policy and public agendas. In Mexico, the relation between Mexican political and institutional organizations and women has progressively changed to a more open and inclusionary one from the first UN Conference on Women to the UN Conference on women in Beijing 1995.⁵⁵² Zaremborg argues that feminist and women's movements have been the main promoters of gender initiatives.⁵⁵³

Substantive representation analyses in Mexico have focused on the legislative branch. Studies conducted by Zaremborg⁵⁵⁴ and Martínez and Garrido⁵⁵⁵ have concluded that the number of initiatives with a gender perspective is still small, but more importantly, they cover a wide array of perspectives: equality, discrimination, violence, or/and transversality (mainstreaming). Zaremborg argues that while the agenda for women's reproductive rights has been largely ignored by political parties, most of the initiatives focus on the institutionalization of a gender perspective across the public administration, and on the design of mechanisms to prevent, eliminate, and punish violence against women.⁵⁵⁶ Martínez and Garrido argue that it was only during the recent legislatures (2003–2006 and 2006–2009) that gender legislation was approved through the passing of the Federal Law to Prevent and Eliminate Discrimination (2003); General Law for

⁵⁵¹ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, 8.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Gisela Zaremborg, "¿Cuánto y para qué? Los Derechos Políticos de las Mujeres desde la Óptica de la Representación Descriptiva y Sustantiva," in *Género y Derechos Políticos. La Protección Jurisdiccional de los Derechos Político-Electorales de las Mujeres en México* (Mexico City: Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación, 2009).

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ María Antonia Martínez and Antonio Garrido, "'Representación Descriptiva y Sustantiva: La Doble Brecha de Género en América Latina' 2013," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 75, no. 3 (July–September, 2013): 407–38.

⁵⁵⁶ Martínez and Garrido, "Representación Descriptiva y Sustantiva: La Doble Brecha de Género en América Latina 2013."

Equality between Men and Women; and the Law for Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence (2007).⁵⁵⁷

Another factor that affects the willingness of women in power to defend women's issues is their associated political party. According to Zarembeg, the left-wing party, the PRD, has presented more gender-focused initiatives, including those advocating for sexual diversity rights. The right-wing party, the PAN, has opposed many of the issues that feminist and women's movements consider important, such as reproductive rights. The PRI has presented initiatives that focus on gender and women only marginally.⁵⁵⁸

This case study analyzes women in executive power at the state level. Mexico has not had a female President, though it has had six female governors: Griselda Álvarez Ponce de León, Beatriz Paredes Rangel, Dulce María Sauri Riancho, Rosario Robles Berlanga, Amalia García Medina, and Ivonne Aracelly Ortega Pacheco. These six women governed in very different political, social, and economic contexts that, along with their individual characteristics, highly influenced the policies and programs they developed during their administrations.

In order to analyze the substantive dimension of these women's performances, we decided to extend the analysis to other aspects of their administration rather than focusing only on gender policies. To do so, we include an adaptation of the framework used by Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter⁵⁵⁹ in their analysis of contemporary leftist governments in Latin America. These authors evaluate two types of lefts in Latin America (the contestatory and the moderate left) in three categories: economic policy and performance (i.e., macroeconomic policy, and efforts to transform the market model); social policy and performance (i.e., redistribution strategies and equity-enhancing programs); and political strategy and performance (i.e., pragmatic vs. revisionist, relations with the opposition, and efforts of mass inclusion).⁵⁶⁰

There are two fundamental differences between Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter's framework and the analysis of the Mexican case. Firstly, we are not looking at national governments, but state administrations. Secondly, the analyzed Mexican female governors do not necessarily represent or lead leftist administrations.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Zarembeg, "¿Cuánto y para qué? Los Derechos Políticos de las Mujeres desde la Óptica de la Representación Descriptiva y Sustantiva."

⁵⁵⁹ Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter, *Leftist Governments in Latin America*, 155–167.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

Griselda Álvarez (1979–1985)

Griselda Álvarez was the first woman governor in Mexican history. Elected in the state of Colima, her campaign slogan was “Educating for Progress.” She was affiliated with the PRI and had a close working relationship with then-President José López Portillo. Before her term as governor, she served as a senator in Jalisco.

Much like Amalia García, Griselda Álvarez had a passionate interest in social welfare long before her governorship. She served as director of the Social Action Ministry of Education and Social Work within the Ministry of Health and Welfare, as well as the head of Social Services for Mexico’s Institute of Social Security. During her administration, the illiteracy rate in the State of Colima decreased from 13.2 in 1979 to 0.4 in 1985,⁵⁶¹ and she effectively provided public services for 100% of the population.

Álvarez’s gender policy was broad-based and the organizations she founded during her administration were largely focused on social welfare, health, and antiviolence for women. Among many of the women’s programs she created during her time in office were the Center for Women’s Care and the Women’s Alliance of Mexico.⁵⁶²

Álvarez focused on decentralization of the state’s power in order to facilitate trust and working relationships between various social groups in Colima. This political strategy allowed her to execute the aforementioned social policies and create overall public support.⁵⁶³

Beatriz Paredes (1987–1992)

Beatriz Paredes was elected Governor of Tlaxcala in 1987. She governed until 1992, when she left the governorship to occupy the PRI’s General Secretary position. She became the second governor to be elected in Mexico after Griselda Álvarez and the youngest to that date. Before becoming governor, she was also the first woman to lead the Ligas de Comunidades Agrarias (one of the PRI’s major agricultural/rural sectors), a congresswoman at the age of twenty-one, and Rural Reform Subsecretary under President Miguel de la Madrid.⁵⁶⁴ When running for the governorship, she had the support of de la Madrid and of Tlaxcala’s former governor, Emilio Sánchez Piedras (1975–1981). Due to

⁵⁶¹ José Francisco García Ayala, *La Profesionalización y el Servicio Civil de Carrera como Instrumentos de Modernización de la Administración Pública 1979-1997*, (Colima: Universidad de Colima, 2000), http://digeset.ucol.mx/tesis_posgrado/Pdf/Jose%20Francisco%20Garcia%20Ayala.pdf

⁵⁶² Universidad de Colima, “Griselda Álvarez Ponce de León; 1913, México: Primer Mujer Gobernadora de México,” accessed March 18, 2014, <http://ceupromed.ucol.mx/nucleum/biografias/biografia.asp?id=106>.

⁵⁶³ Universidad de Colima, “Griselda Álvarez: Constructora de la Nueva Universidad,” accessed July 29, 2014, http://www.ucol.mx/noticias_boletin.php?id=14280.

⁵⁶⁴ Enriqueta Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras* (Mexico City: Planeta Mexicana, 2009), 51.

the continuing economic crisis of the late '80s, employment was the core of her running platform.⁵⁶⁵

The administration of Miguel de la Madrid (1982–1988) was in its last year when Beatriz Paredes took power. In 1988, his successor, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, started an ambitious project of economic restructuring. Being of the same party, in a context where party discipline was completely aligned with the President, Beatriz Paredes' economic policy followed the same pattern of deregularization, privatization, and building of infrastructure.⁵⁶⁶ In 1987 Beatriz Paredes started a thinning out of government-owned industries and agencies, and by 1988 only ten of twenty-six state-owned industries remained. Furthermore, the state also merged several state-owned industries.⁵⁶⁷ These measures required a program of job creation that could support the losses that the privatization and deregulation processes created. The governor was able to forge alliances with the business community in Tlaxcala to promote the creation of new jobs. During the first months of 1988, the government, along with twenty-three businessmen, invested 53,553,000 pesos employing 2,102 workers.⁵⁶⁸

Paredes's social policies were based on poverty mitigation programs, and equity enhancing projects. Her major social project was what she called the "urbanization of the rural areas." The program consisted of the use of both state and federal funds to develop productive projects to bring basic services such as electricity, potable water, and sewage to rural areas in the state. Through the federal program Solidaridad, the governor allocated 7,000 million pesos (7 billion) to forty community projects, from which 12% was invested in infrastructure rehabilitation. During 1990, the state government built more than 99 miles of streets and avenues throughout different municipalities.⁵⁶⁹

Beatriz Paredes's government's gender policies were reflected in two specific arenas: the decision at the beginning of her administration to maintain all female directors and government employees,⁵⁷⁰ and the targeting of women in specific welfare programs. Paredes's stated goal toward women was the betterment of the general living conditions of women in Tlaxcala. However, there is little information on the work and policies developed to achieve this goal. Social programs toward women included the

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 65.

⁵⁶⁶ Jorge Cadena Roa and Pablo González Casanova, eds., *La República Mexicana: modernización y democracia de Aguascalientes a Zacatecas* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1994), 197.

⁵⁶⁷ Cadena Roa and González Casanova, *La República Mexicana*.

⁵⁶⁸ Miguel de la Madrid and Alejandra Lajous, "Gira de Trabajo en Tlaxcala," *Miguel de La Madrid. Cambio de Rumbo*, n.d., <http://www.mmh.org.mx/nav/node/837>.

⁵⁶⁹ Cadena Roa and González Casanova, *La República Mexicana*, 210.

⁵⁷⁰ Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras*, 61.

establishment of laundromats and the prevention health program “White Flag” (*Bandera Blanca*), which worked with rural and urban women to prevent cholera.⁵⁷¹

Beatriz Paredes identifies herself as a feminist. However, feminist and women’s groups have accused her of not doing much to advance women’s rights throughout her career, and have argued that during her administration she did not design any specific policy regarding women’s political or civic rights.⁵⁷²

The “silence” of Paredes regarding women’s issues, specifically reproductive rights, may have to do with her political strategy which is marked by her institutional discipline and pragmatism. She prioritized the party’s goals and principles above hers. Beatriz Paredes is a clear example of an institutional leader who is more pragmatic than revisionist; whose relations with the opposition are based on her ability to negotiate and reach middle ground.

Dulce María Sauri Riancho (1991–1993)

Dulce María Sauri was elected by Yucatán’s Congress to replace Víctor Manzanilla Schaffer after he was forced to resign due to constant conflict with President Carlos Salinas and Yucatán’s former governor, Víctor Cervera. Her work program principles were unity, respect, and work. During the almost two years that she governed, Sauri led a major economic transformation of the state’s most important industry, the henequen (a native agave from Yucatán; its main products are textiles) and faced a political crisis which would force her to present her resignation.⁵⁷³

Sauri took power in the middle of an extremely difficult economic and social period in Yucatán. The federal government was pressing for an urgent transformation of henequen production. From the federal government’s point of view, the heavy subsidy scheme sustaining the henequen industry was no longer viable due to Mexico’s economic situation and free trade policies.⁵⁷⁴

The transformation of the henequen industry became the governor’s most important project. Sauri liquidated the government-owned CORDEMEX (the state-owned industry in charge of the henequen industry in Yucatán) that employed more than 3,000 workers, and, with state and federal funds, was able to negotiate the workers’ settlements. However, the workers were not the only ones affected by the restructuring. CORDEMEX

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 62–63.

⁵⁷² Guadalupe Cruz Jaimes, “Las Mujeres . . . y el Silencio de Beatriz Paredes,” *Proceso*, January 27, 2012, <http://www.proceso.com.mx/?p=296233>.

⁵⁷³ Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras*, 81–121.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 107–110.

was the exclusive buyer of all the henequen plants in the State.⁵⁷⁵ Consequently, its liquidation also affected the agricultural sector. CORDEMEX's disappearance, and its economic and social effects on the population, forced the government to launch a wide array of social programs to ameliorate the living conditions of those linked to the henequen industry.⁵⁷⁶ This process proved to be the most difficult and complex that Sauri had to face during her administration.

The other significant economic project of Sauri's administration was the construction of the federal highway Mérida-Cancún. As with the henequen industry, the highway project was linked to President Salinas de Gortari's national program of economic restructuring, a program that required the building of infrastructure, especially highways.

Dulce María Sauri's social policy was based on the federal programs of PRONASOL (Programa Nacional de Solidaridad) and PROCAMPO (for agriculture), which acted as poverty-mitigating mechanisms rather than distributive or equity-enhancing strategies. PRONASOL was crucial to reducing the negative impacts of unemployment and the restructuring of the henequen industry, and by the end of 1992, half of Yucatán's population received some kind of direct benefit from PRONASOL. PROCAMPO consisted of a package of subsidies for producers to increase productivity in Yucatán's agriculture.⁵⁷⁷ According to Pérez Medina,⁵⁷⁸ the social policies carried out during this administration were successful in stabilizing poverty, and bringing it down despite the restructuring and regulation processes that were taking place.

At the beginning of her gubernatorial period, Sauri's political strategy seemed to be aligned with that of President Salinas de Gortari. Nevertheless, things changed when, during the local elections, President Salinas tried to force her to accept a party's defeat, and give the opposition an electoral win. Sauri refused to negotiate what she was convinced was a legitimate victory, and presented her resignation to the governorship. Despite the conflict, she continued to be involved in the PRI. During the administration of the following President, Ernesto Zedillo, she became the Women's National Program Director.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Susana Pérez Medina, "Políticas públicas de combate a la pobreza en Yucatán, 1990–2006," *Gestión y Política Pública* 20, no. 2 (2011): 291.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras*, 119.

Rosario Robles (1999–2000)

Rosario Robles was appointed governor of the Federal District in 1999 to finish Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas's term, after he resigned to run for the presidency. Like Amalia García, Robles was a founding member of the PRD and served in Congress from 1994 to 1997.⁵⁸⁰

Upon taking office, Rosario Robles proposed the same austerity measures as her predecessor, pledging in one speech to “promote an austere government, with our expenditures oriented primarily toward solving the needs of our people and making this a livable city.”⁵⁸¹ Additionally, she promised to continue transparency and anticorruption efforts also begun during the Cárdenas administration.

Robles faced increasing backlash during her governorship for charges of financial corruption and a 2004 scandal regarding misuse of public funds with her alleged romantic partner. Despite her unfavorable exit from office, she is the current Minister of Social Development, where she focuses on economic and social equality. She has been quoted as saying, “if there exists a ‘democratic’ country where half the population is poor, then it actually isn’t a real democracy.”⁵⁸²

Robles has noted in autobiographic writings and public speeches that she is a feminist, and has been known for her advocacy of women’s reproductive rights. In 2000, Robles was responsible for the enactment of a federal government mandate coined as the “Robles Law,” which decriminalizes abortions on the grounds of congenital defects and requires district attorneys to approve abortion for cases of rape.⁵⁸³

As a cofounder of the PRD, Robles maintained a political strategy with strong loyalty to her party, but unlike her predecessor, she also promised to work closely with the opposition. She emphasized a need for mass inclusion among all points along the political and social spectrum throughout the PRD’s creation, stating “The PRD is the single party that has opened space for women . . . the party’s statutes recognize the [need for] popular

⁵⁸⁰ Roderic Ai Camp, “Robles Berlanga, Rosario (1956?),” in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, ed. Jay Kinsbruner and Erick D. Langer, 2nd ed., vol. 5 (Detroit: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 2008), 575,

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3078904788&v=2.1&u=txshracd2598&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=caabd1979c8fccc0c59ed266ba213e1c>.

⁵⁸¹ Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras*, 133.

⁵⁸² Agencia el Universal, “México no es un país democrático: Rosario Robles,” *El Universal*, October 9, 2013, sec. Politics, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/1440487901>.

⁵⁸³ Miriam Ruíz and Nelda Aznar, “Robles in Favor of de-Criminalizing Abortion,” *Cimacnoticias*, October 4, 2002, <http://www.cimacnoticias.com.mx/especiales/awid/eng026.html>.

representation.”⁵⁸⁴ During her governorship, Robles shared her pro-state sentiments in a 2002 speech where she stated that the federal government attempts to hold back the cause of women’s rights.

Because Robles was chosen to finish Cárdenas’s term in the Federal District while he ran for the presidency, it can be assumed that her political strategy was largely dictated by his larger campaign agenda. Undoubtedly, Cárdenas required a successor to his governorship who would maintain continuity and act as a successful model of his political platform. Robles has iterated this notion, stating, “[Cárdenas’s nomination for the governorship] was not easy or unimportant . . . it required two issues: ensuring continuity and good government in the city and largely winning the votes.”⁵⁸⁵

Amalia García (2004–2010)

Amalia García became the first woman to lead a major political party in Mexico. In 2004, her win for the governorship in Zacatecas made her the third female governor in Mexican history. As a founding member of the PRD, García played a major role in the party’s growing dominance over the PRI, which had a longstanding hold in Mexico. Though she played an allegiant role in her own party, García was praised for her ability to communicate effectively with an often-fractured party and even with members of opposing parties.

Amalia García was especially focused on economic growth in Zacatecas; at the time of her election, a significant portion of the state’s population had left to find work in other states and in the United States. For this reason, her policy focused on creating new economic programs in collaboration with Mexican businesses in the United States. She encouraged these businesses to invest in their home state and, for the first time, bridged the gap between her constituents living in Zacatecas and in the United States. As she stated in a *New York Times* interview, “I consider Zacatecas a bi-national state.”⁵⁸⁶

García’s social policy was undoubtedly influenced by the social landscape she was exposed to by her father, also a former governor of Zacatecas. Her rise to politics is said to have begun after the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre in Mexico City. In college, she was involved in the student-rights movement and at the beginning of her political career was affiliated with socialist and communist groups.

⁵⁸⁴ Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras*, 133.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁵⁸⁶ Karla Garduño Morán, Ernesto Núñez, and Martha Martínez, “Entrevista / Beatriz Paredes, Josefina Vázquez Mota y Amalia García / ¿Presidenta de México?,” *El Norte*, March 7, 2010, sec. Nacional, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/311143838>.

Amalia García's administration prioritized health and education as the cornerstones for development, and as tools to advance life conditions in the state. Consequently, she implemented programs to improve health and education infrastructure in Zacatecas. One example of this was the program "Por amor a Zacatecas/ For Love of Zacatecas" which sent medical brigades to poor rural communities. In addition to this, García envisioned Zacatecas, located in the center of Mexico, as a "star" for connectivity, and started the construction of two important highways, one to the city of San Luis Potosí and another to Saltillo, Coahuila.

García's focus on gender policy began early in her political career; as a legislator in the 1990s, she was a leading activist for new legislation implementing harsher sentencing for physical violence against women. Additionally, García was an active proponent for new gender quotas rules within the PRD party. A rule that was successfully passed in the late 1990s mandated a minimum 70/30 gender split in the PRD candidate lists. García attributed her governorship victory to the female voters she focused on during her campaign, largely due to the aforementioned decrease in Zacatecas's male workforce at the time of her election.

As previously mentioned, García's political strategy was largely grounded in communication and alliances within and between party leaders to create effective change. Likewise, she maintained her nationalist beliefs but realized the importance of gaining economic support from Mexicans living north of the border.

Ivonne Aracelly Ortega Pacheco (2007–2012)

Ivonne Ortega Pacheco began her administration with the statement: "A stronger and fairer Yucatán" (*Yucatán más fuerte y más justo*). The first day of her administration she released three decrees: a 50% reduction of her salary; a project promoting the footwear industry; and Reconocer, a welfare state program targeting the elderly.⁵⁸⁷

The 2008 world financial and economic crisis impacted Mexico and forced Ortega to create Yucatán's Economic Pact which included the reduction of government expenditures; agreements to avoid price increases in medicines and foods; the expansion of welfare programs to the poor; and the stimulation of employment, tourism, and investment in the state.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁷ Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras*, 198–199.

⁵⁸⁸ Government of Yucatán, *Pacto Económico por Yucatán: Qué es el PEY*, <http://pey.yucatan.gob.mx/que-es-el-pey.html>.

Of these strategies, the promotion of tourism became crucial for her administration. The governor's budget for tourism has been the highest in Yucatán's history.⁵⁸⁹ Ortega's plan for promoting tourism was heavily based on the glorification of the Mayan culture. She started the construction of the Great Museum of the Mayan World, which cost 770 million pesos.⁵⁹⁰ The governor was criticized for this megaproject, whose social and economic benefits seem uncertain, as well as for expensive concerts in Chichén Itzá pyramids featuring Elton John, Shakira, and Plácido Domingo among others.⁵⁹¹

Another cause of scandal during her administration was the significant increase in government debt and expenditures. The government's debt increased from 300 million pesos in the past administration to 8 billion pesos.

Ivonne Ortega's social policy was focused on the development of programs for the poor, but did not include redistribution or equity enhancing programs. The governor used federal programs such as Oportunidades and Habitat, and increased the number of beneficiaries of such programs. Pérez Medina argues that during her administration, the number of beneficiaries from Oportunidades grew from 1,631 to 6,781 families. The state also created other programs at the state level such as Steps that Leave Footprints (Pasos que Dejan Huella), consisting of giving shoes to students; Cobijar, which gave jackets to children in public schools and blankets to the elderly; and Producir, which consisted of giving supplies such as sewing machines. According to Pérez Medina, these programs were characterized for their lack of transparency. Furthermore, they were not coupled with other programs that could have triggered social and economic betterment in the long run.⁵⁹²

Ivonne Ortega's gender policies were always presented in the government reports as part of the administration's social policy. In her last activities report, the governor describes the following actions to promote equality between men and women: the elaboration of budgets with a gender perspective; agreements with the judicial power to incorporate the gender perspective in their processes as well as to eliminate the mediation process in cases that involved violence against women. Among the administration's actions for the

⁵⁸⁹ "La Gobernadora Cochinita," *Reporte Indigo*, January 25, 2013, <http://www.reporteindigo.com/reportes/articulo/la-gobernadora-cochinita>.

⁵⁹⁰ Abida Ventura, "A Prisa, Inauguran Gran Museo Del Mundo Maya," *El Universal*, September 25, 2012, accessed March 6, 2014, <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/cultura/69882.html>.

⁵⁹¹ "La Gobernadora Cochinita."

⁵⁹² Pérez Medina, "Políticas públicas de combate a la pobreza en Yucatán, 1990–2006."

“attention to women,” several social programs are described. However, Ortega did not include a single woman in her main cabinet.⁵⁹³

Ortega’s alignment with the PRI suggests her institutional approach to politics. After being governor, she became general secretary of the PRI, and still holds this position. Ivonne Ortega is close to President Peña Nieto, and supported him since the beginning of his campaign.

Conclusions

Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo argue that substantive representation studies have shown that women in power may have different priorities than men in their agendas, but that they do not always translate into benefits or “policy gains” for women. That is, women in power have not typically implemented policy congruent with their unique political priorities. The impact that these female leaders’ policies have on women constituents is mediated by various explanations: the proportion of women elected and their ability to form strategic alliances; individual factors such as party membership and feminist attitudes; and contextual and institutional factors such as party discipline and civil society pressures.⁵⁹⁴

In the Mexican case, and as argued in the descriptive section, the contextual and institutional factors seem to be the ones that better explain the policies and approaches to gender issues of the women in power. Political parties are very strong in the country, and their agendas seem to weigh more than the female governors’ political will or ability to implement gender policies. Furthermore, governors such as Beatriz Paredes and Dulce María Sauri governed in a political context where power was highly concentrated in the presidency, leaving the governors’ agenda priorities overrun by the president. Dulce María Sauri hardly implemented any gender policies during her short administration, and her efforts were focused on economic restructuring projects. Women’s political participation at the state executive level is often confined by the political strategies of their predecessor, as in the case of Rosario Robles.

Female governors have concentrated their gender agenda on social policies for women and on the prevention and eradication of gender violence; likewise, they have avoided the design and implementation of women’s reproductive rights. The governors’ selection of focus may be due to the higher priority that these issues hold due to a sense of emergency, but also because of the social pressures that come from the highly conservative societies in which they have governed. It is noteworthy that this lack of

⁵⁹³ Ana Hernández, “Presenta su Gabinete Ivonne Ortega Pacheco,” *Sipse.com*, August 1, 2007, <http://sipse.com/archivo/novedades-de-quintana-roo/presenta-su-gabinete-ivonne-ortega-pacheco-56552.html>. [Link no longer available.]

⁵⁹⁴ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, 9.

prioritization for women's policies is not necessarily a reflection of personal ideology; most of the governors here have called themselves feminist at some point in their career. Explanations for the gap between principle and policy are unknown but may be worth further exploration.

Symbolic Representation and Leadership Style

This section aims to analyze two distinct yet related categories. On the one hand, to examine the impact of Mexican women's presence in politics in the symbolic dimension; on the other, to examine their leadership styles. These two analyses are crucial to understand women's roles in politics, to advance the engagement of more women in political careers, and to challenge gendered stereotypes of leadership.

Of the three aspects of representation analyzed in this report (descriptive, substantive, and symbolic), the symbolic one is the one with most ambiguous results. Symbolic representation regarding women's presence in politics refers to the impact that their presence has on two dimensions: on the perception of the quality of the political system (i.e., if it is perceived as more democratic or less corrupt) and on the perception of politics as a male domain.⁵⁹⁵ Studies in this dimension have had varied results due to the ambiguous nature of the questions, and to the wide array of methods employed.⁵⁹⁶ In the Mexican case, Zetterberg has found that there are methodological obstacles that prevent the adequate analysis of women's participation in this realm, and that the introduction of quotas did not have a significant or generalizable effect on the symbolic arena.⁵⁹⁷

The leadership style discussion will draw from Genovese's *Women As National Leaders*, whose main claim is that women's leadership studies should be grounded in the culture of each region and subregion and should be contextualized to specific cultures and political climates.⁵⁹⁸ Genovese argues that traditional gendered notions of leadership relate men with hierarchy, dominance, and order, and women with cooperation, influence and empowerment, but case studies have shown that there are not clear patterns and even suggest an androgynous style of leadership exists. Furthermore, leadership is a mixture of opportunities and skills; consequently, Genovese and Thompson state that when studying leadership, the depth and tenacity of gender stereotypes have to be addressed, as well as women's strategies to cope with them. In other words: do these women challenge gendered notions of leadership?⁵⁹⁹ In the same book, Patricia Lee Sykes⁶⁰⁰ defines

⁵⁹⁵ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Pär Zetterberg, "Political Engagement and Democratic Legitimacy in Mexico," in *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, 173–89.

⁵⁹⁸ Genovese, *Women As National Leaders*.

⁵⁹⁹ Michael A. Genovese and Seth Thompson, "Women As Chief Executives: Does Gender Matter?," 1–12.

transformational leaders as those who were able to fundamentally transform the relations between and among citizens and the State. Furthermore, she argues that women who foster such fundamental change have done so within the traditional left-right political framework, but have failed to advocate for what she calls a “new dimension” that escapes the traditional left-right spectrum.⁶⁰¹ The framework used in this section questions the existence of “female” and “masculine” leadership styles, and stresses the importance of studying each case in relation to specific political and cultural contexts.

We found the absence of analyses examining Mexican female leadership staggering. As stated by Ortiz-Ortega, there is a lack of studies regarding female Mexican leadership; most studies in the country have focused on gender institutionalization processes.⁶⁰² In this section, the leadership style analysis will focus on two main questions: have female Mexican politicians challenged gendered classifications of leadership styles? And, have female politicians in Mexico been able to radically transform relations between and among different actors within the state? Because analyses in this regard are scant, we will rely on the testimonies of female politicians to analyze how they see female leadership, and will also review female politicians’ media depictions as an approximation to examine the depth and strength of gendered stereotypes in Mexico.

Symbolic Representation

Drawing from the Latinobarómetro political climate database,⁶⁰³ the most recent survey data in 2011 shows that an overwhelming majority of respondents are either “not very satisfied” or “not satisfied” with the current democracy. Likewise, public opinion about democratic improvement was overwhelmingly unfavorable, with 79% of total responses either “democracy has worsened” or “democracy has stayed the same.” In terms of corruption, 67% of respondents felt there was little or no decrease in Mexico’s political corruption. At the state level, 2011 showed a 65% approval in statewide government management.

The data was then analyzed across multiple-year surveys and the aforementioned questions at the national and state level were compared. Figure 15 shows percentage responses to the question, “How satisfied are you with the democracy?” from 1995 to 2011. For purposes of time series comparison, those who responded either “very satisfied” or “more satisfied” were counted as a “favorable opinion” answer. Likewise,

⁶⁰⁰ Sykes, “Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects,” 219–29.

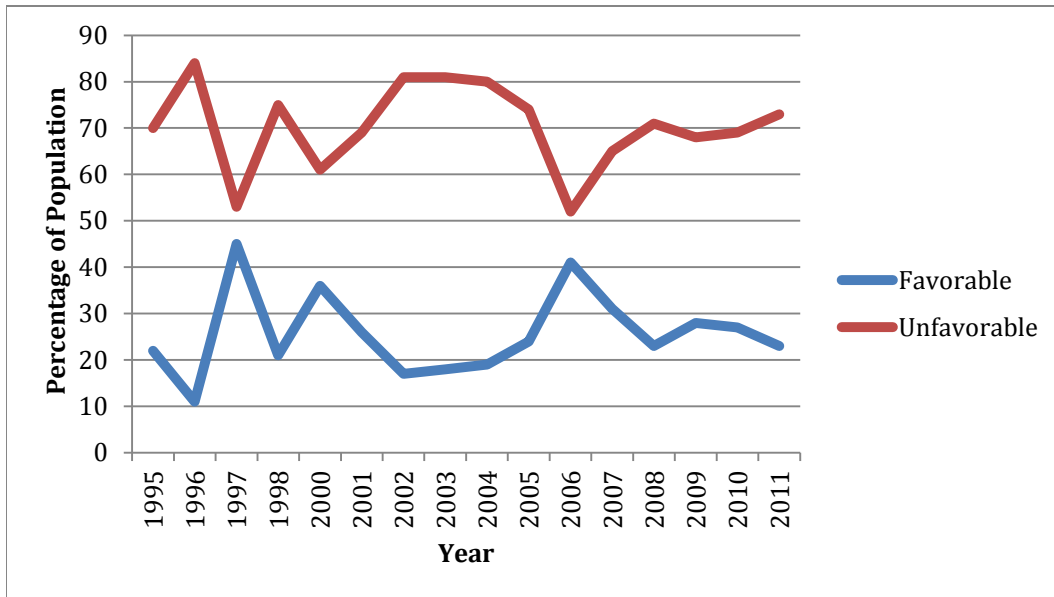
⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁶⁰² Adriana Ortiz Ortega, *Poder, Mujeres y Liderazgo: Guía Incluyente en un Contexto Global*, Serie Investigaciones (Nuevo León, Mexico: Instituto Estatal de las Mujeres, March 2009).

⁶⁰³ “Latinobarómetro: Mexico,” Latinobarómetro Database, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.latinobarometro.org/latOnline.jsp>.

respondents who answered either “not very” or “not satisfied” were included as an “unfavorable opinion.”

Figure 15: Public Satisfaction with Democracy in Mexico, 1995–2011

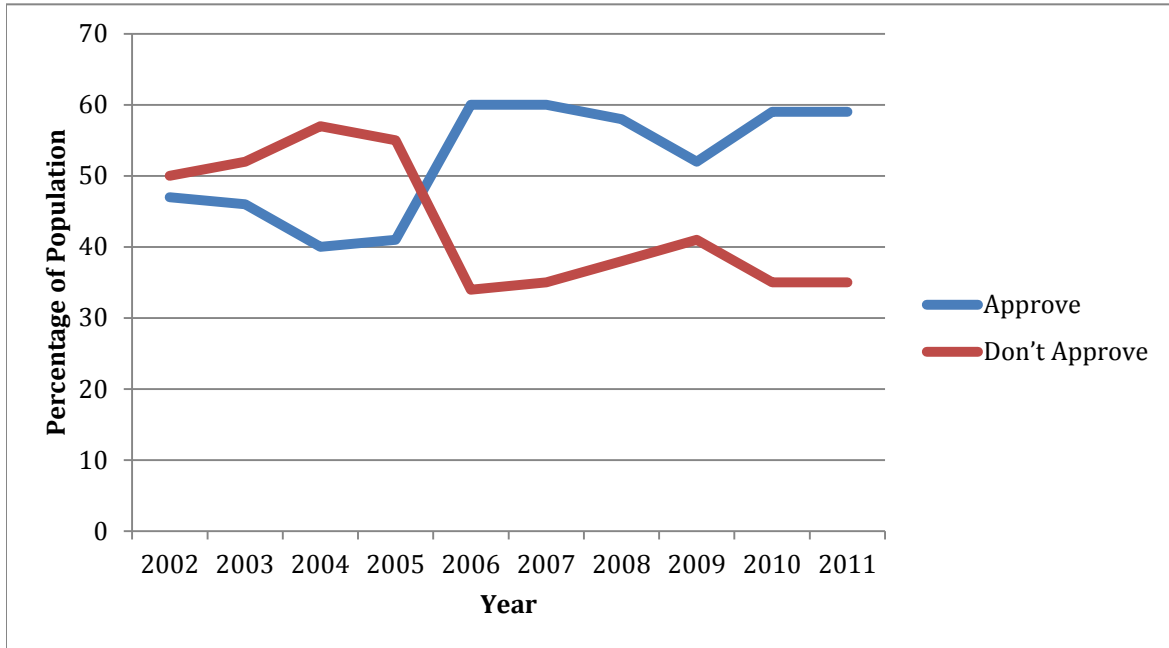


Source: Latinobarómetro, Online Analysis Time-Series Data.

Despite frequent variation in responses over time, the data shows an overall unfavorable level of satisfaction with democracy. A sharp decrease in favorable response and increase in unfavorable response between 2000 and 2006 suggests that respondents were most dissatisfied with democracy during this time; this period correlates with Vicente Fox’s presidential term. Because Fox’s administration marked a turning point in political party power, the trend could be attributed to the fact that Fox’s election largely affected PAN constituents and changed a longstanding political party structure.

Figure 16 shows public opinion of state-level government management between 2002 and 2011, where data was collected from survey responses to the question “Approval of State Government Management.”

Figure 16: Public Approval of State Government, Mexico, 2002–2011



Source: Latinobarómetro, Online Analysis Time-Series Data.

Although the state-level survey data was collected for a shorter period of time than that of the national level, statewide disapproval was only slightly higher than approval in 2002. Overall the trend shows a growing level of approval starting in 2004. This time period correlates with the terms of two female governors: García in 2004 and Pacheco in 2007. Additionally, the increasing favorability for state governments starting in 2006 is inversely related to decline in favorable public opinion about national level government and democracy as a whole. This satisfaction with state-level government could be attributed to the rise in female state leadership; however, such conclusions would require much more comprehensive empirical analysis.

Leadership Style

Culture

Gender roles in Mexico continue to be rigid. According to Ortiz-Ortega, the relation between the State and Catholic Church in Mexico becomes a crucial element in the study of the culture, and how their discursive practices regarding the separation of the public and private spheres are one of the most pervading ways through which women are being kept out of political participation. The presence of strong and deep traditionalism in

Mexico emphasizes women's role in the private sphere, and reinforces the idea that public activities are those pertaining to men.⁶⁰⁴ Some female Mexican politicians are well aware of this division. When talking about her experience in politics former Senator and former PRI President, María de los Ángeles Moreno, states that “the world is organized so that men are dedicated to public activities, and women to the private ones,”⁶⁰⁵ while Dulce María Sauri, former governor of Yucatán and also former president of the PRI, says that what women in power in politics face is a “cultural reluctance.” Religion and cultural practices deriving in machismo⁶⁰⁶ contribute to the rigidity of gender roles in Mexico.

Political Climate

As described in previous sections, women in Mexico have gained important political spaces in the last decades. The implementation of quotas in the legislative branch and the increasing presence of women in politics are positive signs (see descriptive section in this case study), and in that sense it may seem that the political climate towards women is all positive. However, as female Mexican politicians recognize, politics are still a “world of men.” Beatriz Paredes states: “Politics are a space for masculine solidarities” where men continue the work in bars—sharing drinks while sharing information to which women have no access.⁶⁰⁷ The political climate in Mexico then is marked by an inclusive institutional discourse that recognizes women's equality and participation in politics, while in practice restricting their full access to participation.

Challenge Gendered Qualifications?

In practice, female politicians in Mexico do not follow a specific leadership style pattern, nor can they be classified as following “masculine” and “feminine” qualifications. In that sense, the Mexican women support the argument of Genovese and Sykes that states that women leaders around the world do not seem to follow what are considered traditional notions of leadership.⁶⁰⁸ Women such as Beatriz Paredes, Dulce María Sauri, Rosario Robles, or Amalia García cannot be categorized in either female or masculine styles of leadership.

⁶⁰⁴ Ortiz Ortega, *Poder, Mujeres y Liderazgo: Guía Incluyente en un Contexto Global*, 286.

⁶⁰⁵ Anna M. Fernández and Lilia Venegas, “Mujeres Políticas: Los Estilos de Liderazgo,” *Comunicación e Información de la Mujer (CIMAC)*, April 4, 2000, <http://www.cimac.org.mx/noticias/semanal00/s00040202.html>.

⁶⁰⁶ Machismo is defined by the Merriam Webster dictionary as “a strong sense of masculine pride: an exaggerated masculinity.” *Merriam Webster Online*, s.v. “machismo,” accessed July 29, 2014, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/machismo>.

⁶⁰⁷ Fernández and Venegas, “Mujeres Políticas: Los Estilos de Liderazgo.”

⁶⁰⁸ Genovese, *Women As National Leaders*.

However, in their discourse, female politicians do differentiate between “masculine” and “feminine” leadership styles. For example, Beatriz Paredes states that women in the “masculine world” (politics) acquire certain reflexive attitudes and lose spontaneity due to masculine stereotypes; and that women in politics in Mexico have a reputation of being harsh, but that that occurs because they unconsciously assume and reinforce certain gender stereotypes. María de los Ángeles Moreno argues: “we do not pretend to be identical to men, we want to complement the approach, to be closer to vulnerable groups, to have more sensitivity to discrimination.”⁶⁰⁹ Amalia García mentions that she has tried not to assume masculine traits or actions such as authoritarian attitudes or pronouncing edicts; she has instead acted in a balanced way, she says, using heart and mind. Rosario Robles asserts that she is a team player because she is a woman.⁶¹⁰

Media Representations

Reyes’s dissertation “Nagging Mothers and Monstrous Teachers: Female Politicians in Political Cartoons: A Comparative Analysis between Mexico and the U.S.” analyzes national media’s representations of female politicians. While her work focuses on the depiction of female politicians in political cartoons, and does not include other discursive analysis, it is useful to understand how the media perceives women in politics in Mexico. Reyes found that women in these cartoons were “domesticated” and pushed back to the private sphere by being portrayed as either housewives or “motherly stereotypes,” and that their physical features were objectified (either as objects of desire, or as repulsive).⁶¹¹ A three-month analysis of women’s representation in the two Chambers of Congress, in government offices, and in political parties conducted by CIMAC (Communication and Information for Women) during the 2009 midterm elections came to similar conclusions. The study, which included print media and five Internet portals, found that informative news tended to discount women as meaningful political actors, that their presence was either incidental or aleatory, and that only physically attractive women were included in the graphics.⁶¹²

Women As Transformational Leaders

Female politicians in Mexico have not been transformational leaders due to several elements. Firstly, no woman has ever held the position of president in Mexico; thus, the scope and autonomy have been limited by features of the political system such as the

⁶⁰⁹ Fernández and Venegas, “Mujeres Políticas: Los Estilos de Liderazgo.”

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Zazil Elena Reyes García, “Nagging Mothers and Monstrous Teachers: Female Politicians in Political Cartoons. A Comparative Analysis between Mexico and the U.S” (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013).

⁶¹² Hena Carolina Velázquez Vargas, *Hacia la Construcción de un Periodismo no Sexista* (Mexico City: CIMAC, 2011).

concentration of power in either political parties or the president. Secondly, as stated by Beatriz Paredes, women in relevant political positions have performed according to the ideological and political patterns of the political organization that took them to power.⁶¹³ Furthermore, as stated by Cabrera, female governors seem to be closer to the people, and spend their time in office developing social and welfare programs.⁶¹⁴ Female governors' programs and social policies register on both the right and left of the political spectrum. However, they resemble the findings of Sykes's "Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects"⁶¹⁵ in that they have failed to advocate for the so-called new dimensions of power; in other words, they have not changed the nature of power and the relationship between and among citizens and the State.

Conclusion

The findings outlined in the above graphs show a growing distrust and unfavorable opinion of Mexican democracy and executive level government. In terms of symbolic representation, the findings do suggest that Mexico's national level government is being adversely affected by either its lack of gender diversity, dissatisfaction with political parties, or a combination of the two. Women have been able to enter state-level government more easily than executive level branches but, without a female president or greater numbers of women in executive positions, it is nearly impossible to make a conclusion about the symbolic effects of their governance.

Contrary to the analytical framework used in this case study, female politicians in Mexico believe that there are gendered qualities that determine a "feminine" or "masculine" style of leadership. This resembles Fukuyama's approach to women in leadership which states that a world ruled by women would follow a different direction, with states that are less aggressive, competitive, and violent.⁶¹⁶ The fact is that, in practice, there are no clear patterns around the way female Mexican politicians govern. Their style seems to be marked by sociocultural context, past experiences, individual characteristics, and their political party's ideology. This finding is aligned with and further supports evidence suggested in the substantive section that female governors' personal feminist ideology does not translate to the ways in which they governed.

In the end, one comes across Genovese's question: does it even matter? Women should be a critical mass in political leadership and representation because they are part of the society and their presence should be reflected in a representative government, and because gender equality processes strengthens democracy.⁶¹⁷ Women should be held to

⁶¹³ Fernández and Venegas, "Mujeres Políticas: Los Estilos de Liderazgo."

⁶¹⁴ Cabrera, *Las gobernadoras*, 13.

⁶¹⁵ Sykes, "Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects."

⁶¹⁶ Francis Fukuyama, "Las Mujeres y la Evolución de la Política Mundial," *Letras Libres*, April 2000.

⁶¹⁷ Rodríguez, *Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics*, 19–27.

the same standards as men to measure their capacity to govern, and female politicians' bad performance should not account (as it frequently does) for the performance of all female politicians, just as that equivalence is not made in the males' case. Beatriz Paredes makes this argument clear:

In Mexico we cannot generalize about 'women' in leadership positions without looking to the specific woman, and her specific position. . . . Being a woman is not a guarantee against corruption, stupidity, or laziness. . . . We women cannot separate ourselves from human condition. There are few, very few women who exercise power differently.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁸ Fernández and Venegas, "Mujeres Políticas: Los Estilos de Liderazgo."

Chapter 10: United States and Canada Case Study

Descriptive Representation

Introduction

The governments of Canada and the United States share some similarities; understanding their differences, however, is key for this case study. Both governments have three major branches of power: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. They differ in that Canada is a constitutional monarchy while the United States is a constitutional republic. Democratic elections play a vital role in governments, but these elections vary in form and function in both countries. Neither country has imposed nor enacted gender quotas to elevate more women into higher governmental positions in their election processes, yet equitable gender representation has been a visible issue in both countries in recent decades as neither country has elected a female candidate to its highest executive office.

Canada

Government Structure

Canada's constitutional monarchy is structured so that the reigning monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, who presides over a large commonwealth that includes territories in Europe, the Americas, and the South Pacific, has a legal and traditional role but not a political one. The monarch appoints a Governor General who serves as a liaison or ambassador between the Monarchy (the traditional government) and the Parliament (the political government). While this Governor General interacts primarily with the executive branch of government, it is the Prime Minister who actually leads the government. The Prime Minister is appointed to his/her position by the members of the political party that holds the majority in the House of Commons, one of two legislative bodies of the Parliament. The legislative branch of Canadian government, the Parliament, is made up of two houses: the Senate (the Upper House) and the House of Commons (the Lower House). The Governor General appoints the 105 senators to their seats on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.⁶¹⁹ The citizens of Canada elect the 308 members of the House of Commons and each one is the representative of an electoral district.⁶²⁰

The Constitution requires that elections be held every five years, but the House of Commons reserves the right and privilege to call an election at its discretion. As a result,

⁶¹⁹ Government of Canada, "Legislative Branch," Government of Canada official website, December 13, 2013, <http://www.canada.ca/en/gov/system/legislative.html>.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

political parties have a great deal of power in Canadian politics. Each individual elected to a seat in the House of Commons is elected as a representative of his/her political party. Following an election, the party that holds the majority of seats has the privilege of appointing one of its party members Prime Minister. However, any member of Parliament can switch party allegiance at his or her discretion while holding his or her seat. This can lead to shifts in majority power, and often results in the House of Commons calling a new election to ensure that these party allegiances are still representative of the populace.

In the case that an election is called and the majority party loses their majority position, it is tradition that the current Prime Minister resigns and allows for the new majority party to appoint a representative to the post. As a result, the term length for Canadian Prime Ministers has varied greatly across history. For example, Kim Campbell, who was appointed by a retiring Prime Minister (thus *not* following an election), only held office from June 25, 1993, to November 4, 1993, when a new election was called.⁶²¹ The prime minister has the sole responsibility for assembling and organizing his or her own cabinet, all members of which also serve on the Queen's privy council to directly advise her on the state of Canada. The Prime Minister chooses cabinet members from among the elected members of the House of Commons, traditionally from his or her own party.⁶²² Each Prime Minister creates the individual cabinet positions in his or her cabinet, so every Prime Minister's cabinet has been composed of a different number of members, responsible for varying sectors of government.

The ten provinces and three territories of Canada elect the members of their provincial legislature and the majority party then recommends one of these members to the local Lieutenant-Governor, an appointee of the Crown, who then appoints the recommended member as the Provincial Premier.

The Supreme Court of Canada heads the judicial branch of the Canadian government. The Governor General appoints the court's nine justices at the recommendation of the Prime Minister.⁶²³ Unlike in the United States, these justices are required to retire at the age of 75, so they do not serve lifetime posts.

⁶²¹ "EV Fast Facts: Women in Provincial Politics," Equal Voice, August 7, 2013, http://www.equalvoice.ca/assets/file/08_07_13%20last%20updated%20-%20Provincial-territorial%20fact%20sheet.pdf.

⁶²² Privy Council Office Government of Canada, "About Cabinet," July 30, 2001, http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/index.asp?lang=eng&page=information&sub=Cabinet&doc=about-apos_e.htm.

⁶²³ Supreme Court of Canada, "Supreme Court of Canada—Word of Welcome from the Chief Justice of Canada," January 1, 2001, <http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/home-accueil/index-eng.aspx>.

Gender Representation

Due to the power of the chief executive to exercise choice in the composition of his or her cabinet, examining the gender representation in these cabinets is pertinent for this case study. Prime Minister John George Diefenbaker appointed the first female minister, Ellen Loukes Fairclough, to the Ministry of the Crown in 1957 as Secretary of State.⁶²⁴ Fairclough served in this role for just under a year before becoming Minister of Citizenship and Immigration for the next four years.⁶²⁵ She finished her time as a cabinet official by serving as Postmaster General for around eight months.⁶²⁶ Since Fairclough's appointment, Canada has had a total of sixty-one women serve in the Ministry of the Crown, holding seventy-nine different appointments. The most commonly held positions are: Minister for International Cooperation, Minister of Canadian Heritage, Minister of National Revenue, and Minister of the Environment.⁶²⁷ Six different women have held each of these ministerial positions.⁶²⁸

Current Prime Minister Stephen Harper has appointed more women to cabinet positions in his tenure than any other prime minister before him, with eighteen women holding thirty-two different positions thus far.⁶²⁹ Currently, Prime Minister Harper has thirty-nine total ministerial positions in his cabinet and women hold twelve of them.⁶³⁰ These positions are: Minister of Health, Minister of Public Works and Government Services, Minister of Canadian North Economic Development Agency/Minister of Arctic Council/Minister of Environment, Minister of Transport, Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, Minister of National Revenue, Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages, Minister of Labour/Minister of Status of Women, Minister of State (Foreign Affairs and Consular), Minister of State (Seniors), Minister of State (Social Development), and Minister of State (Western Economic Diversification).⁶³¹

Overall, sixty-one women have served in the Ministry of the Crown, a seemingly impressive number. However, of these sixty-one women, thirty-eight have been Ministers of State.⁶³² Regardless of the portfolio, this position is the least prestigious of the cabinet-

⁶²⁴ Library of Parliament, "Women Members of the Ministry," Parliament of Canada official website, May 14, 2014, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/parlinfo/compilations/federalgovernment/WomenMinistry.aspx>.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Ibid.

level positions. The Ministers of State do not oversee a specific portfolio; rather, they are assigned to *assist* other Ministers.⁶³³

In the years since Campbell's term in office, the public has been examining gender representation in the legislative branch of government, where seats are determined by election rather than appointment. Currently, Canada does not have any electoral quotas in place to encourage parity in the House of Commons, but there has been an upward trend in female representation in Canadian politics. In the Canadian Parliament, there have been 257 female members of the House of Commons and 92 female Senators.⁶³⁴ The first female member of the House of Commons, Agnes Campbell Macphail, was sworn in December 6, 1921, and served until she was defeated in the March 26, 1940 election.⁶³⁵ The Canadian Senate did not have a female member for another nine years, when Cairine Reay Wilson took office on February 15, 1930. Wilson served until March 3, 1962.⁶³⁶ Currently, there are thirty-eight women in the Canadian Senate and seventy-seven women in the House of Commons.⁶³⁷

The national government is not alone in experiencing an upward trend in female representation; local governments have also seen a rise in participation from female politicians in recent decades. At the provincial level, a total of ten women have served as premiers, with seven coming from provinces and three from territories.⁶³⁸ After the 2011 election, there was parity amongst the premiers, with five men and five women serving.⁶³⁹ These five female premiers governed over 85% of the population of Canada.⁶⁴⁰ Currently, two female premiers—Christy Clark and Kathleen Wynne—remain in office and preside over two of the three most populous provinces, British Columbia and Ontario.⁶⁴¹

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ "Women—Federal Political Representation," Parliament of Canada, July 25, 2014, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/compilations/parliament/WomenRepresentation.aspx?Language=E>.

⁶³⁵ "Macphail, Agnes Campbell," Parliament of Canada, 2014, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/Files/Parliamentarian.aspx?Item=1d6a8f18-7d15-4909-b0f5-88f9b514f20a&Language=E>.

⁶³⁶ "Wilson, The Hon. Cairine Reay," Parliament of Canada, 2014, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/Files/Parliamentarian.aspx?Item=176923a1-4b32-4b92-8bee-1d447764ec79&Language=E>.

⁶³⁷ "Women in the Senate," Parliament of Canada, 2014, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/SenatorsMembers/Senate/SenatorsBiography/isenator.asp?sortord=W&Language=E>.

⁶³⁸ "EV Fast Facts: Women in Provincial Politics."

⁶³⁹ "Fundamental Facts | Equal Voice," Equal Voice, 2014, <http://www.equalvoice.ca/facts.cfm>.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ "Premiers," Parliament of Canada, April 29, 2014, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/compilations/ProvinceTerritory/PremiersTerritorialLeaders.aspx>.

The Supreme Court of Canada currently has three female justices—Beverley McLachlin, Rosalie Silberman Abella, and Andromache Karakatsanis—with Beverley McLachlin serving as chief justice since 2000.⁶⁴² The Right Honorable Chief Justice McLachlin is the only woman to have served in this position.⁶⁴³ The first female justice, Bertha Wilson, was appointed to the court in 1982; since her appointment, seven other women have been appointed to the court.⁶⁴⁴

United States

Government Structure

The United States of America is a constitutional republic made up of fifty states and one capital district. The government is mostly composed of elected representatives at national, state, and local levels. As in Canada, the government is broken into three branches: the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. The head of the executive branch is the President, who is elected to the position by a proportional, national vote. The legislative branch is comprised of two chambers: the Senate and the House of Representatives. Each of the fifty states is allotted two senators and a varying number of seats in the House Representatives according to the state's population. Senators and Representatives of the House are elected to their posts by a direct election in their home state. The Senate has a permanent number of 100 members, while the House of Representatives currently has 435 representatives. Lastly, the Supreme Court heads the judicial branch of government. The Supreme Court is a panel of nine justices who are nominated by the President and then confirmed by the Senate. Each justice serves a lifetime tenure, thus not every president has the opportunity to nominate a justice to the Supreme Court.

Gender Representation

Although the United States has never had a female president, women have served as members of Congress for all states, with the exception of Delaware, Iowa, Mississippi, and Vermont. These states have never elected a woman to either house of Congress.⁶⁴⁵ To date, there have been 294 total women elected to Congress, with 33 elected to the Senate, 251 elected to the House of Representatives, and 10 serving in both houses. The first

⁶⁴² Supreme Court of Canada, "Supreme Court of Canada—Current and Former Puisne Judges," January 1, 2001, <http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/court-cour/judges-juges/cfpju-jupp-eng.aspx>.

⁶⁴³ Supreme Court of Canada, "Supreme Court of Canada—Biography—Beverley McLachlin," January 1, 2001, <http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/court-cour/judges-juges/bio-eng.aspx?id=beverley-mclachlin>.

⁶⁴⁴ Canada, "Supreme Court of Canada—Current and Former Puisne Judges."

⁶⁴⁵ Center for American Women and Politics, "Women in the U.S. Congress 2014" (Center for American Women and Politics, January 2014),

http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/cong.pdf.

female Senator, Rebecca Latimer Felton of Georgia, was appointed in 1922, though she only served one day until the Senator-elect could be sworn in.⁶⁴⁶ Jeanette Rankin, of Montana, was the first woman elected to the House of Representatives in 1917.⁶⁴⁷ Currently, there are twenty female Senators and seventy-nine Congresswomen, making up 20% and 18.2% of each body's composition, respectively.⁶⁴⁸

Across the fifty states that comprise the United States, thirty-five women have served as governor of twenty-six different states.⁶⁴⁹ The first two—Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming and Miriam “Ma” Ferguson of Texas—were both elected in 1925 to replace their husbands as governor.⁶⁵⁰ In 2004 and 2007, nine women served as governors concurrently, the largest number ever observed.⁶⁵¹ Currently, five female governors preside over the states of Arizona, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and South Carolina.⁶⁵²

In addition to a lack of a female executive in the United States, there has also never been a female Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In total four women have served on the country's highest judicial body—the first, Sandra Day O'Connor, was appointed by President Ronald Reagan in 1981.⁶⁵³ The other three women remain a part of the current makeup of the court: Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Justice Sonia Sotomayor, and Justice Elena Kagan.⁶⁵⁴

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt made the first female cabinet appointment when in 1933 he chose Francis Perkins as his Secretary of Labor.⁶⁵⁵ Perkins served as Secretary of Labor for the entire twelve-year duration of President Roosevelt's tenure, leaving her office not long after his death.⁶⁵⁶ During this time, she helped draft and implement much of Roosevelt's historic New Deal legislation.⁶⁵⁷ Since then, forty-four other women have

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁹ Center for American Women and Politics, “History of Women Governors,” February 2013, http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/govhistory.pdf.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ “Members of the Supreme Court of the United States,” The Supreme Court of the United States, February 23, 2014, <http://www.supremecourt.gov/about/members.aspx>.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Center for American Women and Politics, “Women Appointed to Presidential Cabinets” (Center for American Women and Politics, October 2013), http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/prescabinet.pdf.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

held fifty appointments to a cabinet or cabinet-level position, with some women holding multiple positions. In addition, twenty-eight of the forty-five total women held a first-tier position in the cabinet itself as opposed to a second-tier, cabinet-level position.⁶⁵⁸ The most common position for a woman to hold has been Secretary of Labor, with seven different women serving in this position since Perkins first held it.⁶⁵⁹ Other popular posts have included Secretary of Health and Human Services (a cabinet position) and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator (a cabinet-level position), with five different women holding the former post and four different women holding the latter post.⁶⁶⁰ Women have yet to fill three cabinet positions: Secretary of Defense, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of Veterans Affairs.⁶⁶¹ Presidents Barack Obama and Bill Clinton both appointed historically high numbers of women to their cabinets, each selecting fifteen total.⁶⁶² At one point during President Clinton's second term, nine women served concurrently, accounting for 41% of the cabinet.⁶⁶³ During President Obama's second term, three women currently serve in cabinet positions: Secretary of the Interior (Sally Jewell), Secretary of Commerce (Penny Pritzker), and Secretary of Health and Human Services (Sylvia Mathews Burwell).⁶⁶⁴ Another three women hold cabinet-level positions as Administrator of the Small Business Administration (Maria Contreras-Sweet), Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (Gina McCarthy), and Ambassador to the United Nations (Samantha Power).⁶⁶⁵

Broader Societal Factors

Women's movements have played an instrumental role in increasing the number of politically active women in Canada and the United States. Women's priorities during the first, second, and third waves of the feminist movements in Canada and the United States varied across class and racial lines. Differing priorities were a result of women of color's inability to gain political and social rights at the same time as white women. For white women, the first wave secured their suffrage, the second wave focused on the passage of women's rights legislation, and the third wave has concentrated on increasing the number of women in leadership positions. For women of color, the second wave secured their suffrage and the third wave has focused on addressing the unique social barriers they face as a result of their gender and race. For all women, the movements have succeeded in bringing national awareness to the obstacles they encounter due to their gender.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ "The Cabinet | The White House," The White House, 2014, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/cabinet>.

⁶⁶⁵ Center for American Women and Politics, "Women Appointed to Presidential Cabinets."

In both countries the first wave of feminist movements, taking place between the late 1800s and the 1940s, was successful in securing suffrage for white women, thereby linking women's activism to political action. In the United States, the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 is cited as the first women's rights convention. At the convention the participants created the Declaration of Sentiments, a document that established the foundation for how to achieve equality for women. Following the convention the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association were founded. A few decades later, in the early 1890s, an organization that advocated for women's suffrage was also founded in Canada, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC).⁶⁶⁶ These organizations helped to mobilize middle class white women to seek the right to vote. In 1918, Canadian white women obtained the right to vote on the federal level, compared to 1920 for white women in the United States. The 1920 amendment also enforced white women's suffrage on the municipal level, stipulating that no state shall deny the right of a citizen to vote on the account of sex. Meanwhile, Canadian white women did not obtain the right to vote at the provincial level in all territories until the 1940s.⁶⁶⁷

The second wave of the Canadian and American feminist movements, starting in the early 1960s and ending in the 1980s, had a broader political agenda. Sparked by the release of Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* in 1963, the second wave challenged traditional gender roles and illustrated that women were political leaders capable of pushing their own legislative agendas. Friedan's book called for women to reject confinement to the domestic sphere and to pursue "meaningful work." It also challenged readers to rethink previous notions of femininity. The book impacted women throughout the world.⁶⁶⁸ Scholars of the Canadian feminist movement acknowledge its significance in Canada, recognizing that it also sparked female activism there.⁶⁶⁹

Following the release of Friedan's book, national feminist organizations and female-centered government committees were developed. A few years prior to Friedan's *Feminine Mystique*, in 1961, President Kennedy established the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, which published a report on gender inequality. The report stated that women faced discrimination in American society and outlined recommendations to reach gender equality. These recommendations included paid maternity leave and fair hiring practices. In 1966, Friedan founded and then led the National Organization for Women (NOW). In 1970 in Canada a commission comparable to the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women was established, the Royal Commission on the

⁶⁶⁶ Shane Mountjoy and Tim McNeese, *The Women's Rights Movement: Moving Toward Equality* (New York: Chelsea House Publications, 2008).

⁶⁶⁷ Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty, *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

⁶⁶⁸ Mountjoy and McNeese, *The Women's Rights Movement: Moving Toward Equality*.

⁶⁶⁹ Backhouse and Flaherty, *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*.

Status of Women. This commission also published a report on sex discrimination and developed recommendations for improvement. These events in the United States influenced the Canadian government.⁶⁷⁰ A year later, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) was founded; similar to NOW, it was an autonomous feminist organization that championed women's rights legislation. Both NOW and NAC fought for abortion rights and were important participants in the passage of 1970s equal rights legislation.⁶⁷¹

In the 1960s women of color in both the United States and Canada developed their own separate movements to address the unique gender and racial issues they faced. For example, in Canada in the 1960s aboriginal women involved in the aboriginal rights movement fought alongside aboriginal men to secure their right to vote. Additionally, in the United States Asian, black, and Latina women created separate women's rights groups to fight gender and racial discrimination simultaneously.⁶⁷²

During the third wave of the movements, occurring from the 1990s to present day, the number of female governors in the United States has increased dramatically.⁶⁷³ Additionally, Canada has had eleven female premiers since electing their first female premier in 1991.⁶⁷⁴ The third wave has advocated for a stronger female presence in positions of power. It has also emphasized that women do not face monolithic gender oppression and has called for research exploring the impact of gender barriers that develop as a result of the intersectionality of gender and race. Until the number of female leaders who are women of color increases, it will be hard to address on a political level the specific social barriers they face.

Substantive Representation

Introduction

This section examines the substantive representation of female governors in the United States and female premiers in Canada from the 1990s to present day; essentially it examines *how* these women have governed. The authors analyzed their substantive representation by reviewing the major campaign platforms and the policy agendas they advanced during their time in office. American society has developed a subconscious

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.; Mountjoy and McNeese, *The Women's Rights Movement: Moving Toward Equality*.

⁶⁷² Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race & Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983); Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁶⁷³ Center for American Women and Politics, "History of Women Governors."

⁶⁷⁴ Caroline Andrew and Manon Tremblay, eds., *Women and Political Representation in Canada* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1998).

prejudice regarding *how* women will govern. Society assumes that women will focus more on social policies than economic ones, be keener on domestic issues than foreign policy, softer on criminal policies, favor appointments of other women over those of men, and be less knowledgeable and confident on environmental issues. However, an inspection of female executives in North America reveals that these assumptions are simply anecdotal. The policy choices of these women are as varied as the women themselves. These women run on platforms ranging from liberal to conservative, hold résumés that boast strengths in every sector, and each possess individual “pet policy” areas. This section is divided into policy areas, with each policy section highlighting notable policies female governors and premiers have implemented during their careers, providing a snapshot of the breadth of policy choices made by female executives.

Social Policy

Canadian Premier Nellie Cournoyea’s ties to the aboriginal community heavily influenced her policy agenda. Nellie Cournoyea was Canada’s second female premier and first aboriginal premier. Throughout her political career, Cournoyea fought for the rights of aboriginal groups.⁶⁷⁵ She was responsible for the negotiations that led to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement 1993.⁶⁷⁶ This agreement established the territory of Nunavut and an independent government for the Inuit people.⁶⁷⁷

Jeanne Shaheen, the former governor of New Hampshire, was the first woman in the United States to be elected as both a governor (1997-2003) and senator (1992-1996). She implemented a number of policies that focused on gay rights. She repealed a law that prevented gays and lesbians from serving as foster or adoptive parents. She also added sexual orientation as a protected class in antidiscrimination laws.⁶⁷⁸ Similar to Shaheen, in 2001, former Washington governor, Christine O’Grady Gregoire, added sexual orientation and gender identity as protected classes. In 2007, she granted gay and lesbian couples the right to marry.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁵ “Nellie Cournoyea: First Native Woman to Head Canadian Government,” *CBC Digital Archives*, November 26, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/politics/provincial-territorial-politics/northwest-territories-voting-in-canadas-north/nellie-cournoyea-first-native-woman-to-head-canadian-government.html>.

⁶⁷⁶ “Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.,” Land Claims Agreement Coalition, 2014, <http://www.landclaimscoalition.ca/coalition-members/nunavut-tunngavik-inc/>.

⁶⁷⁷ “Nellie Cournoyea Rolls On, and On—Northern Journal,” *Northern Journal*, February 25, 2013, <http://norj.ca/2013/02/nellie-cournoyea-rolls-on-and-on/>.

⁶⁷⁸ “Jeanne Shaheen’s Record as Governor,” Jeanne Shaheen: US Senator for New Hampshire, 2014, <http://www.shaheen.senate.gov/about/biography/jeanne-shaheens-record/>.

⁶⁷⁹ “Washington Governor Signs Gay Marriage Bill into Law,” *USA Today*, February 14, 2012, <http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/story/2012-02-13/washington-state-gay-marriage-law/53079236/1>.

Barbara Roberts served as the first female governor of Oregon from 1991 to 1995. She focused heavily on helping low-income families, by increasing the number of children enrolled in Head Start and expanding the number of welfare-to-work transition programs. She also worked to ensure Oregon increased the number of affordable housing units. Additionally, Roberts's administration appointed significant numbers of minorities and women to state government positions.⁶⁸⁰

During her time in office, former Governor of Kansas Joan Finney issued multiple executive orders addressing discrimination on the basis of ability and race. Executive Order 92-153 established a requirement that state agencies provide disability awareness training and sensitivity training, while Executive Order 92-154 created a liaison position between each state agency and the statewide Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) coordinator. This new position helped ensure that information regarding the ADA was adequately and appropriately disseminated within each agency. In addition, Finney issued Executive Order 93-159, which articulated that affirmative action programs were still necessary and would therefore continue to be used in Kansas.⁶⁸¹

While campaigning for office, former Louisiana Governor Kathleen Blanco promised to improve the state's public education system.⁶⁸² She fulfilled this promise by expanding prekindergarten access to all at-risk children; passing two consecutive pay raises for public school teachers across Louisiana; and fully funding all state colleges and universities for the first time in nearly twenty-five years.⁶⁸³

The former Premier of Prince Edward Island, Catherine Callbeck, attempted to rectify a budget deficit by legislating a 7.5% wage rollback for provincial public sector employees. This rollback affected 12,000 employees and upset many more. In order to institute the rollbacks, Callbeck broke several collective agreements between the provincial government and public employee unions. As a result of breaching the agreements, Callbeck had limited support and popularity throughout the duration of her term. Her party lost handily in the subsequent elections.⁶⁸⁴

Attempting to address a growing problem of suicide in the territory of Nunavut, former Premier Eva Aariak created a suicide prevention plan. The plan was primarily focused on

⁶⁸⁰ "Governor Barbara Roberts," The Oregon Historical Society, 2008, <http://ohs.org/education/focus/governor-barbara-roberts.cfm>.

⁶⁸¹ "Historical Perspective," Kansas Department of Administration, 2014, <http://admin.ks.gov/docs/default-source/ops/affirmative-action-plans/historical.pdf?sfvrsn=2>.

⁶⁸² "Kathleen Babineaux Blanco," Office of the Governor, Kathleen Babineaux Blanco, State of Louisiana, 2014, <http://www.blancogovernor.com/index.cfm?md=pagebuilder&tmp=home&cpid=2>.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ "Catherine Sophia Callbeck," *Prince Edward Island Legislative Documents Online*, 2014, <http://www.peildo.ca/fedora/repository/leg:27464>.

expanding mental health services; extending research on suicide, including data collection; and suicide intervention training. The plan also specified that the trainings, along with grief counseling, be culturally appropriate for the territory of Nunavut, which is home to a large Inuit population. In order to develop the plan, Aariak used suicide prevention and intervention best practices from around the world and relied on input and knowledge from the Inuit population.⁶⁸⁵

Economic Policy

Prior to serving as governor of New Hampshire, Jeanne Shaheen owned a small business.⁶⁸⁶ As a result, a number of her policies sought to connect small businesses to the global marketplace. For example, she spearheaded Experience New Hampshire, an annual event that allows New Hampshire businesses to showcase their goods and services in Washington DC. Shaheen also enacted legislation to create a \$1 million annual fund to help businesses finance employee training.⁶⁸⁷

The former governor of Montana, Judy Martz, emphasized economic policies while she was in office. Martz had also been a small business owner prior to serving as governor. She ran on a platform of tax reform policies and in 2003 was able to pass the first major tax reform in Montana in three decades. She created the Office of Economic Opportunity to help promote local businesses and assist residents in business and workforce development.⁶⁸⁸

Kathleen Sebelius, the former governor of Kansas and until recently the United States' Secretary of Health and Human Services, was named one of *Time Magazine's* top five governors in 2005. The magazine praised Sebelius for eliminating the \$1.1 billion debt the state faced when she took office without raising taxes or cutting public education funds. Instead, Sebelius achieved this by removing wasteful state government programs.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁵ "Nunavut Unwraps Anti-Suicide Action Plan," *Nunatsiaq News*, September 12, 2011, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nunavut_unwraps_long-awaited_anti-suicide_action_plan/.

⁶⁸⁶ "About Jeanne," Jeanne Shaheen: US Senator for New Hampshire, 2014, <http://www.shaheen.senate.gov/about/biography/>.

⁶⁸⁷ "Jeanne Shaheen's Record as Governor."

⁶⁸⁸ "Biography of Governor Judy Martz," *Discovering Montana*, accessed March 16, 2014, <http://www.mt.gov/gov2/bios/martzbio.asp>.

⁶⁸⁹ Perry Bacon Jr., "Kathleen Sebelius | Kansas," *Time*, November 13, 2005, accessed March 21, 2014, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1129537,00.html>.

British Columbia Premier Christy Clark's administration focused on strengthening the economy. In 2011 she developed and implemented the British Columbia Jobs Plan.⁶⁹⁰ The plan's primary methods included lower taxes for families and businesses, and new investment in workforce development. The plan also outlined steps British Columbia should take to increase trade with Asia.⁶⁹¹ Critics have argued that the plan has failed to deliver the economic growth it promised, citing its inability to create long-term jobs for residents.⁶⁹² Another major initiative of the Clark administration was the Families First program, which she also implemented in 2011. The program concentrated on four main policy areas: job creation, encouraging civic engagement through government transparency, increasing tax credits for families, and establishing safe communities. Limited government funding has led to slow implementation of the program.⁶⁹³

Former Governor of New Jersey Christine Todd Whitman is most well known for her economic policies, which gained her both praise and criticism throughout the United States. Facing a \$1.1 billion state budget gap in 1994, Whitman eliminated both the Department of Higher Education and the Department of the Public Advocate, and reduced New Jersey's pension fund and retiree healthcare contributions by \$1.3 billion over two years. In addition to cutting the size of the state government, she also instituted a 30% decrease on state income taxes, to be carried out over three years.⁶⁹⁴

Noticing that the economy was shifting away from manual labor toward knowledge-based labor, former Michigan Governor Jennifer Granholm established the No Worker Left Behind (NWLB) program in 2007. The main focus of NWLB was to train unemployed and low-wage workers for the emerging technologically driven job market by offering up to two years' worth of free tuition at Michigan universities and community colleges. The program was initially well received across the state; however, as the

⁶⁹⁰ "Premier Christy Clark," *BC Liberals*, 2012, http://www.bcliberals.com/premier_christy_clark/.

⁶⁹¹ Tamsyn Burgmann, "Clark Unveils Long-Awaited B.C. Jobs Plan," *The Huffington Post*, September 22, 2011, accessed March 18, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2011/09/22/clarks-jobs-plan-promise-bc_n_976662.html.

⁶⁹² Iglia Ivanova, "Two Years In, the BC Jobs Plan Failing to Deliver," *Vancouver Sun*, January 9, 2014, accessed March 18, 2014, <http://www.vancouversun.com/business/years+Jobs+Plan+failing+deliver/9368555/story.html>.

⁶⁹³ Keith Baldrey, "'Family First' Slogan No Longer Fits for Clark and Her B.C. Liberals," *Global News*, December 3, 2013, <http://globalnews.ca/news/1006274/family-first-slogan-no-longer-fits-for-clark-and-her-b-c-liberals/>.

⁶⁹⁴ Jacob Weisberg, "Desperate Copying Christie," *New York Magazine*, October 31, 1994, <http://books.google.com/books?id=TcG4v4QoAcEC&pg=PA32&lpg=PA32&dq=christie+whitman+lower+taxes+three+years&hl=en#v=onepage&q=christie%20whitman%20lower%20taxes%20three%20years&f=false>.

economic downturn known as the great recession of 2007-2009 began to hit Michigan particularly hard, the cost-benefit of NWLB was highly contested.⁶⁹⁵

Upon beginning her term as the current Governor of New Mexico, Susana Martinez took measures to help balance the state budget. She started by looking toward her own office to cut expenditures. Governor Martinez found ways to reduce her office's budget, including a 10% salary reduction for employees within the governor's office and the cabinet. The salary reduction also included a provision that prohibited current cabinet members from earning more than their predecessors. Governor Martinez's official website also includes an email address through which citizens can submit their suggestions on how the state government can continue to downsize on spending.⁶⁹⁶

The Innovate NH Jobs plan, created by current New Hampshire Governor Maggie Hassan, takes a multifaceted approach to strengthening the state economy by targeting workforce development, small business growth, and renewable and efficient energy strategies. The plan also aims to minimize government waste. The specific action items of the plan range from increasing funding for higher education scholarships and job training programs, to aiding unemployed workers in starting their own businesses, to creating a commission tasked with finding ways the state government can become more innovative and efficient.⁶⁹⁷

The Public Sector Services Continuation Act, also known as Bill 45, promoted by the government of former Premier of Alberta, Alison Redford, has caused widespread opposition throughout Alberta. Worker strikes by provincial public sector employees, which have been outlawed in Alberta since 1977, would be certified as illegal in this bill. Bill 45 also increases the financial penalty for illegally striking and includes a provision stating that nonemployees who are found to promote striking or engage in strikes may also face the same penalties as employees.⁶⁹⁸ The largest labor union in Alberta is continuing to actively fight against the bill due to this provision, even after Redford's resignation as Premier.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁵ Michigan Department of Energy, Labor & Economic Growth, "Fact Sheet: No Worker Left Behind," Michigan Department of Energy, Labor & Economic Growth, May 2010, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nunavut_unwraps_long-awaited_anti-suicide_action_plan/.

⁶⁹⁶ "Balancing the Budget," Office of the Governor, Susana Martinez, 2011, http://www.governor.state.nm.us/Fixing_The_Budget_Deficit_1.aspx.

⁶⁹⁷ "Innovate NH Jobs Plan," New Hampshire Governor Maggie Hassan, 2013, <http://www.governor.nh.gov/innovate/>.

⁶⁹⁸ Public Sector Services Continuation Act, 2013, http://daveberta.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/20120523_bill-045.pdf.

⁶⁹⁹ "Bills 45 and 46," *Alberta Union of Provincial Employees*, 2014, <http://www.aupe.org/bill45-46/>.

Foreign Policy

In an exceedingly contested move, in 2005, during her governorship of Louisiana, Kathleen Blanco met with then President of Cuba Fidel Castro in Cuba to discuss a trade agreement; after four days of discussions, the agreement was ultimately signed. This was during an era in which the United States had no formal diplomatic relations with that country. In the agreement, Cuba pledged to purchase \$2 million worth of milled rice and powdered milk from companies in Louisiana, and also guaranteed increased Cuban shipments through the Port of New Orleans.⁷⁰⁰

Governors Jan Brewer and Nikki Haley both advocated for controversial immigration policies during their time in office. Jan Brewer is the current governor of Arizona. In April 2010, Brewer signed into law SB 1070, the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act. SB 1070 was enacted to deter undocumented immigrants from entering and becoming employed in the United States.⁷⁰¹ The most disputed segment of the bill was the provision that required police to determine the immigration status of persons arrested or detained when there was “reasonable suspicion” that they were illegal immigrants. The United States Department of Justice filed a lawsuit alleging that SB 1070 was unconstitutional. In April 2011, the court blocked the enforcement of four provisions of SB 1070, including the highly disputed segment.⁷⁰² In June 2011 South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley enacted a bill modeled after Arizona’s SB 1070. Haley, the first female governor of South Carolina and the current youngest governor in the United States, praised the Arizona bill during her campaign.⁷⁰³ As with SB 1070, the constitutionality of Haley’s illegal immigration reform bill has been debated by civil rights advocate groups including the American Civil Liberties Union. Haley defended the bill to the press by stating that the state has a right to enact legislation that ensures “they no longer support people that don’t come here [to the United States] the right way.”⁷⁰⁴ Haley contended the bill was merely a mechanism to ensure the state could enforce existing immigration laws.

⁷⁰⁰ Mary Murray, “Louisiana Governor Seals Trade Deal with Cuba,” *NBC News*, March 10, 2005, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/7147701/ns/world_news/t/louisiana-governor-seals-trade-deal-cuba/#.Uy9Q3VxG4wh.

⁷⁰¹ Ann Morse, “Arizona’s Immigration Enforcement Laws,” National Conference of State Legislatures, July 28, 2011, <http://www.ncsl.org/research/immigration/analysis-of-arizonas-immigration-law.aspx>.

⁷⁰² Randal C. Archibold, “Arizona Enacts Stringent Law on Immigration,” *New York Times*, April 23, 2010, sec. U.S. / Politics, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/24/us/politics/24immig.html>.

⁷⁰³ Suzy Khimm, “Nikki Haley’s Arizona-Style Immigration Crackdown,” *Mother Jones*, June 22, 2011, <http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2011/06/nikki-haley-south-carolina-immigration-crackdown>.

⁷⁰⁴ Jim Davenport, “Gov. Nikki Haley Signs Illegal Immigration Police Checks Law,” *The Post and Courier*, June 27, 2011, <http://www.postandcourier.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?avis=CP&date=20110627&category=PC16&lopenr=306279931&Ref=AR>.

Environmental Policy

In addition to her economic policies, New Hampshire's Shaheen enacted legislation focused on energy efficiency. In 2002, Shaheen signed into law the Clean Power Act, which was the country's first state law enacted to reduce power plant emissions. Additionally, she created the state's first comprehensive energy plan.⁷⁰⁵

Former Governor of Alaska Sarah Palin introduced and eventually enacted the Alaska Gasline Inducement Act, which called for bidders to submit proposals to win a contract to build a natural gas pipeline from Alaska's North Slope, through Canada, and into the continental United States.⁷⁰⁶ The contract was awarded to a Canadian company, TransCanada.⁷⁰⁷ By introducing the concept of an Alaskan natural gas pipeline and pushing for its realization, Palin hoped to bolster the Alaskan economy in the long term and encourage the exploration of new fields and discovery of new reserves in the rich lands of the North Slope.⁷⁰⁸

Symbolic Representation

Introduction

This section analyzes the symbolic representation of female governors in the United States and female premiers in Canada. As this case study has already noted, the women examined are a diverse and politically varied group, and the symbolic observations are a reflection of this diversity.

Transformational Leaders: Canada

A number of the women previously analyzed in this study are key examples of female leaders who have not only transformed the population's view of women as leaders, but also of the view of members of marginalized groups as leaders. Nellie Cournoyea, Canada's first aboriginal premier was heavily involved in the struggle for aboriginal civil rights prior to pursuing a political career. She cofounded the Committee of Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), a political organization dedicated to advocating for the

⁷⁰⁵ Cat Lazaroff, "New Hampshire Passes Nation's First CO2 Cap," *Environment News Service*, April 22, 2002, <http://www.ens-newswire.com/ens/apr2002/2002-04-22-06.html>.

⁷⁰⁶ "Governor Palin Unveils the AGIA," The Office of Governor Sarah Palin, March 2, 2007, http://wayback.archive-it.org/1200/20090726180436/http://gov.state.ak.us/print_news.php?id=170.

⁷⁰⁷ "Alaska Governor Signs Natgas Pipeline License Bill," Reuters, August 29, 2008, <http://www.canada.com/calgaryherald/news/story.html?id=2e84b1e8-9a4a-4558-ad05-21b517c50fae>.

⁷⁰⁸ "Governor Palin Unveils the AGIA."

Inuvialuit.⁷⁰⁹ She also directed the Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre, a federally funded program providing cultural programs to aboriginal youth. After serving as premier of the Northwest Territories, Cournoyea received the highest honor in the country: she was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada.⁷¹⁰ She has also been awarded honorary doctorates in law from Lakehead University, Carleton University, and the University of Toronto.⁷¹¹ Receiving these honors illustrates the respect she has gained as a Canadian leader.

Early on in Kathleen O'Day Wynne's career, the media labeled Wynne, the first openly gay premier in Canada, an "extremist lesbian." She has stated that this negative media attention only emboldened her to pursue a higher political position. She said, "To have somebody say. . . you are 'other' and we can marginalize you. I was indignant. . . I wasn't going to let that stop me."⁷¹² Wynne became the first female premier of Ontario in 2013. A few months before her election, the *Toronto Star* newspaper published an editorial on Wynne. The article ended with a brief narrative intended to illustrate young Canadian girls' excitement at the prospect of Wynne's election:

At the Tim Hortons in Grand Bend, Wynne meets sisters Abby and Emma Maguire, ages 10 and 9. She was out of earshot as the girls trilled about the prospect of Wynne becoming the province's first female premier. "There's more population of girls in the world," Abby says, knowingly. Both girls are working toward their junior black belts. Wynne makes her approach, takes a seat, and explains to her new fans just what a minority government is all about.⁷¹³

A recent article featured in the Huffington Post gauged Wynne's impact on Canada's gay community. In the article, Helen Kennedy, executive director of Egale Canada, a national lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and queer (LGBTQ) human rights group, described Wynne's election as a significant historical moment. Kennedy explained the important message the moment has sent to LBGQT youth in Canada: "It sends a strong message to

⁷⁰⁹ "Nellie J. Cournoyea," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, December 15, 2013, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/nellie-j-cournoyea/>.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹¹ "Native Leaders of Canada: Nellie Cournoyea, Inuk, 1940–" New Federation House, 2008, http://www.newfederation.org/Native_Leaders/Bios/Cournoyea.htm.

⁷¹² Jennifer Wells, "Kathleen Wynne Discusses the Economy, Education, Adversity, Skills Set, the Forces That Framed Her, the Ring of Fire and More," *Toronto Star*, January 25, 2013, http://www.thestar.com/news/insight/2013/01/25/ontario_liberal_leadership_behind_the_scenes_with_kathleen_wynne.html.

⁷¹³ Jennifer Wells, "Ontario Liberal leadership: Behind the scenes with Kathleen Wynne," *Toronto Star*, January 25, 2013, http://www.thestar.com/news/insight/2013/01/25/ontario_liberal_leadership_behind_the_scenes_with_kathleen_wynne.html

those young kids who are cautious and nervous about their own journey with respect to their sexual orientation and gender identity, that you can do it if you're true to yourself. . . . It's also important for the parents of LGBT children to know that their kids can be and do whatever they want, regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity."⁷¹⁴ Wynne's willingness to be open about sexuality has made her a hero to many members of Canada's gay community.⁷¹⁵

Transformational Leaders: United States

As a result of their political careers as governors, many of these women have gained a national presence as important leaders. The national attention they received allowed a number of the women to pursue higher political positions following their governorship or premiership. The first elected female governor in the United States was Wyoming governor Nellie Tayloe Ross, elected in 1925; this election was followed by Miriam "Ma" Ferguson of Texas, also in 1925.⁷¹⁶ However, both of these women were the wives of previous governors and their victories are perceived to have been influenced by their husbands' former titles. It was not until 1974, with the election of Ella T. Grasso in Connecticut, that a woman won a gubernatorial seat without this male connection. Ella Grasso's election started to change the American public's view on women as viable candidates in their own right.

In recent decades other female governors have been making progress in changing the public perception of women in power in the United States, and giving future candidates a more level playing field. The second female governor of Texas, Ann Richards, was elected to the position in 1990 after delivering a striking keynote address at the 1988 Democratic National Convention. During her time as governor, Richards used her ability to appoint individuals to state positions to increase the representation of both women and people of color in such roles. In addition, the United States Congress passed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—a vital trade agreement between Canada, the United States, and Mexico—while Richards was in office.⁷¹⁷ When uncertainty arose in Congress about whether NAFTA would pass, Richards's leadership was integral in

⁷¹⁴ "Wynne On What It Means To Be First Gay Premier," *The Huffington Post*, January 27, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2013/01/28/kathleen-wynne-gay-lesbian_n_2562380.html.

⁷¹⁵ Eric Andrew-Gee, "Gay Village Congregation Hosts Slew of Top Canadian Politicians at 'Church on Church Street' Pride Week Event," *Toronto Star*, June 30, 2013, http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/06/30/pride_week_premier_kathleen_wynne_receives_heros_welcome_at_church_on_church.html.

⁷¹⁶ "History of Women Governors."

⁷¹⁷ "Portraits of Texas Governors: Ann W. Richards," Texas State Library and Archives Commission, September 20, 2011, <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/governors/modern/page3.html#Richards>.

rallying Democratic support for the agreement.⁷¹⁸ Though she accomplished a great deal while in office, it is said that the popularity of Richards, both during her tenure as governor and after, was due more to “her style . . . and who she [was],” suggesting that she was a figure with whom people could easily identify. Richards embodied the values that many Texans cherish most, regardless of political ideology. Richards had been a schoolteacher, a mother, and a fiercely proud woman in a state where there was never a shortage of individual or state pride.⁷¹⁹ Furthermore, her public struggle with and eventual triumph over alcoholism prior to her election as governor illustrated to Texans a willingness and determination typically reserved to describe only male politicians.⁷²⁰

Sarah Palin, governor of Alaska from 2006 to 2009, made headlines during the 2008 presidential election when Republican presidential candidate Senator John McCain named her his vice-presidential nominee. Openly conservative, Palin was prolife, supported abstinence-only education, and stood in favor of the war in the Middle East—plus she was an outspoken gun advocate. This made her a woman who stood out against what Americans had previously viewed as a “female politician.” Typically, women in politics were expected to be feminist, prochoice, and socially liberal. Palin did not fall into any of these categories. She was a mother, a wife, and also an avid hunter, sportsman, outdoor enthusiast, and social conservative. She was quite popular among voters on the right, both male and female, and changed the way both sides of the aisle viewed what a woman in national office could mean.

Kathleen Sebelius served as Kansas governor for two terms. In 2003 she was named one of *Governing Magazine*’s Public Officials of the Year, and in 2005 *Time Magazine* named her one of the Best Governors.⁷²¹ In 2008 she was the Democratic respondent to the State of the Union Address. Soon after, she accepted President Barack Obama’s nomination for the position of Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services and continued to serve in this position until her resignation in April of 2014, officially ending her tenure in June of the same year.⁷²²⁻⁷²³

⁷¹⁸ William A. Orme, *Understanding NAFTA: Mexico, Free Trade, and the New North America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

⁷¹⁹ “Ann Richards,” *Texas Monthly*, 2014, <http://www.texasmonthly.com/topics/ann-richards>. Par 4.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷²¹ Bacon Jr., “Kathleen Sebelius | Kansas.”

⁷²² US Department of Health and Human Services, “Biography: HHS Secretary,” HHS.gov, 2014, <http://www.hhs.gov/secretary/about/biography/>.

⁷²³ US Department of Health and Human Services, “Historical Highlights,” HHS.gov, June 6, 2014, <http://www.hhs.gov/about/hhshist.html#secretaries>.

Conclusion

Assessing the symbolic representation of female Governors and Premiers reveals several important findings. First, that their time in office had a significant impact not only on their female constituents, but also on other historically marginalized groups in their constituencies. Also, a number of the female leaders analyzed in this case study have received national recognition for their leadership achievements. This has allowed them to move on to more prominent positions after their governorship or premiership. Overall, the female leaders have demonstrated that women are diverse in their leadership ideologies and styles.

This discussion of female executives shows that the gender of the official has little effect on the type or success of her policy agenda. Many external factors shape an official's policy agenda, such as prior work history, educational background, type of office held, geographical location, and economic climate; gender does not appear to be among these noted factors. This lack of inclusion implies that it is not the *ability* of women to govern that is stopping women from holding office, but perhaps the perception of *how* women will govern that needs to change.

Chapter 11: Conclusion: Finding the Common Themes

In the twenty-first century, the world has seen the emergence of women into positions of power around the globe. Each of the case studies in this report seeks to analyze the countries, their respective female leaders, and political processes through three lenses: the descriptive, the substantive, and the symbolic. This chapter explores the common threads found across the case studies in these three areas. First, the descriptive analysis examines *how* the structure of the democratic governments can impede or encourage women's political participation and *what influences* bring these women into executive roles across the case studies. Second, the substantive analysis assesses the commonalities and differences in the *policymaking agendas* of the women studied in the report. Third, the symbolic section evaluates the *impact* of having a female leader in the executive, in terms of their transformational power and their effect in dominant societal discourses. The last section contains a discussion of the main conclusions extracted from each area of the common themes analysis and emphasizes the major findings from the report.

Descriptive Representation Analysis

As described throughout the report, a descriptive representation analysis examines the institutional and contextual factors that have an impact on the number of female representatives and the attributes of women elected or appointed to decision-making positions.⁷²⁴ This descriptive analysis first looks into the specific political, social, and cultural structures of each examined country, including their differences, to understand how these structures impact women's presence in decision-making positions. Next, it explores the specific nuances of each country's election structure, power and influence of political parties, use of electoral quotas, and the role of women's movements to examine the impact these factors have in a country's success or failure at promoting women to the highest level of elected office. Finally, this analysis discusses the impact that previous women in power and the personal history of the women who have been elected has on the future of women seeking high office in the countries studied.

Typically, women have entered the political arena through election to positions in the legislative branch before seeking to hold titles in the judiciary and executive branches; the case studies covered countries in this report are no exception. By linking the common themes from the individual descriptive analyses of the case studies in this report, we begin to see various ways in which different country's characteristics interact to hinder or facilitate women's access to executive office. By taking a cross-country look into the specific political structures, roles of women in social movements and in power, female presence in national cabinets, and the personal backgrounds of female leaders, the

⁷²⁴ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, 4.

question remains: how does women's presence in the executive branch impact the nature of representation in modern democracies?

Democracy and Government Body

Democracy and the electoral process are crucial factors in the examination of female executives in the Americas. Our case studies explore the female executives, their political actions, and the governments of Canada, the United States of America, Mexico, Costa Rica, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina. Across the seven countries the report examines, each one is practicing its own version of a democratic electoral system. In addition, each of these countries formed their democracy under different circumstances, at varying points in history, and with different structures of power within their government. Canada stands out because it is the only constitutional monarchy that was examined. In 1867, Canada enacted its constitution, making it an independently governing territory of the monarchy of Great Britain (the Crown). The monarchy remained intact for mostly ceremonial purposes, while the people formed the government that consists of a Parliament, House of Commons, Supreme Court, Governor General, and Prime Minister. The United States of America, established in 1776, possesses a similar democratic structure within its democratic republic. The government's power is divided into three branches: the legislative (Senate and House of Representatives), the judicial (Supreme Court), and the executive (the President). The other countries we studied have a similar structure, with separation of powers and checks and balances, based on a Constitution that forms separate governmental branches and levels of government, and elects its representatives through direct elections.

The most important commonality in these democracies is that the entire population of eligible voters elects each political executive—the country's President, Prime Minister, or head of state. The key characteristic of a democracy as a structure of government is that it does not discriminate in its function. All of the examined democracies share the virtue that an official is elected solely as a representative of the needs, interests, and agenda of its constituency, not as a representative of the individual characteristics he or she possesses. Since the goal of this type of election is to choose *one* individual to represent an entire spectrum of peoples that are of different genders, races, and religious backgrounds, it is not possible for the chosen individual to possess all of the characteristics of each of its constituents at one time. Though a representative should share the political goals, ideals, and values of their constituency, they cannot represent all of the physical characteristics of the electorate. This electoral practice implies that each vote from a member of the constituency has equal weight to any other member's vote. In addition, it is assumed that each member has equal access to seek a representative position. Yet, historically, men of the majority race and religious background have dominated the representative positions in the legislative and executive branches of government in the seven examined countries.

Electoral Formats and the Executive

The way a country formats elections can play a significant role in what the path to power for women looks like. Certain systems, such as proportional representation, can provide a clearer path while others can produce a more difficult path for a minority group, such as women, to negotiate. While the governments of many of the countries discussed are structured in similar ways, the regulations for electing officials to power vary in small, yet significant, ways. Though voters elect the executives in each country, the process for deciding the winner of an election varies. Primarily, national direct vote is the most popular form; Mexico, Costa Rica, Chile, and Brazil all determine the winner by popular vote, where each voter receives one vote and the candidate with the majority of votes wins, regardless of the margin. However, the United States and Canada each have variations on national voting standards in an effort to have a more representative election. The United States holds a national election but distributes a proportion of points to each state based on the proportion of the US population residing in that state. The candidate who wins the popular vote in each state is awarded all of the points for that state. The winner of the presidential election is decided based upon which candidate garners a majority of the points. Canada has the most unique proportional representative election, as each province elects its own representatives to the House of Commons by popular vote, and then the party with the most seats in the House nominates an elected party member to hold the Prime Minister's seat.

The differences in the type of representation that each country employs have been shown to impact the ease of access for a minority group to win an election. Studies show that the percentage of women in national parliaments can be traced back to the electoral system, with countries that employ proportional representation having a higher percentage than countries with majoritarian representation.⁷²⁵ The differences in female representation in the United States and Canada serve as a fitting example for these conclusions: Canada's parliament employs proportional representation and has seen female representation in the legislative branch increase at a pace significantly greater than that of the United States, which practices majoritarian elections. Proportional representation "is also associated with effective implementation of gender quota policies aimed at increasing the number of female candidates"⁷²⁶ and representatives. Thus, one would assume that increasing the number of women in Parliament would increase the number of the women chosen as Prime Minister, since the only candidates for the position are chosen from within the Parliament. However, this assumption has not proven true. While women have increased greatly in number in the Canadian House, only one woman—Kim Campbell—has been selected from this pool as a candidate for Prime Minister. She was appointed by a retiring Prime Minister and only held the office for less than four months until a new election was

⁷²⁵ Krook, "Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach," 234.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*

called. The limited timeframe of her administration left little room for her to have a substantive impact on the country.

Political Parties and Campaigns

The final, and most intricately varied, component of the governmental structure and electoral format to consider is the power and regulation of political parties and the structure of campaigns. Not all seven of the countries studied allow political parties the same amount of power and influence. The countries examined fell into one of two categories: governments that were dominated by a small number of powerful parties and governments that had many, weak political parties. In countries where political parties have substantial influence, the diversity of candidates in terms of gender is greatly in the hands of the parties, as is the success of a specific candidate. Prominent party members are often responsible for choosing a candidate for the ballot that best represents the needs and interests of members themselves, often above the greater needs and interests of the party and its constituency.

The United States, Mexico, Costa Rica, Argentina, and Chile are all countries that have long histories of two or three strong, ruling parties or coalitions that have dominated elections. This type of party structure means that the groups of individuals behind the parties themselves retain most of the selection power in determining the candidates who appear on the ballots. However, in Canada and Brazil, the political parties are plentiful, often passing off majority power from one to another in each election. As evidenced by the significant rise of female representation in the Canadian parliament, but a much slower increase in female representation in the United States, the influence of the political parties is apparent. Canada's parties are individually weak and thus are easier for women to "break into" and make a name for themselves, while the parties in the United States are few and strong, making rising through the ranks much more difficult.

Traditionally, political parties have been composed of wealthy, powerful, privileged men, especially in the upper echelons. These "boys' clubs" are the powerhouses that decide whose name appears on the ballot, determine where the money flows, and decide how much media support a candidate receives. As within the international business sector, the prominence and power of men in political parties has created a "glass ceiling" that women, as well as other minority groups, must break through to become a part of these important discussions. However, unless a powerful party supports gender diversity and is therefore more likely to have gender diversity, the most common way to become a member of such a "club" and to be invited to the important discussions is to win an election and become a powerful political player. Yet, without the support of a major political party, winning the seat is significantly more difficult. As a result, female candidates are largely stuck in a situation where they cannot win. Gaining election will typically require the support of a political party, however that support is not likely to be

provided unless a female candidate can prove her potential to the party by winning election.

This male-dominated party structure has an impact on the way candidates are funded and viewed by the public. In a country like the United States, where party is power, funding can come to a candidate through multiple channels: individual donors, the party campaign funds, and large donations from corporations and organizations that give blanket support to all candidates of one party. In these cases, national political power can have an impact on even small, local elections because of the involvement of the party's national agenda (which can also be driven by the political agenda of nationwide donors). Conversely, countries like Canada have many parties vying for funding which enables individual donors to have a more noticeable influence on elections by donating to their chosen candidates.

Funding distribution impacts women who choose to run, as the likelihood of being outspent in an election by a male counterpart increases significantly if the women are not supported and backed by a major political party. Consequences of being outspent include the better-funded candidate having more access to media outlets, screen and print advertisements, national endorsements, and expansive campaigns that include increased Internet presence, polling, and fundraising from private donors. These campaign advantages often result in the public being more familiar with the better-funded candidate, who can easily overshadow another candidate without access to comparable funds. Women who run on independent or lesser-known party tickets are also less likely to be capable of matching the spending capability of a top national party. Thus, in countries dominated by strong political parties, women must rise to the top of one of the more influential parties to have access to the necessary funds to win an election, while in countries with more competitive political parties funding is more evenly distributed and women can find a position more easily.

Women's Movements

Women's movements in the case studies varied between and within each country. While at times influenced by international events such as the Beijing Conference in 1995, the struggles of each movement were marked by specific political, social, and economic contexts that made each of them unique. Yet, the case studies illustrate some salient common themes regarding women's movements in the Americas such as their dynamism and diversity, the tensions between and within these movements, and their relations with "formal" politics.

Women's movements did not start with suffrage and did not stop after obtaining it. For example, during the 1880s and 1890s, women in Canada formed the Women's Christian Temperance Union to demand the prohibition of alcohol, and in Chile women were fighting for inclusion in the political system. Furthermore, after the right to vote was

granted to women in almost every country in the Americas, some women's movements continued to fight for the betterment of society in times of economic distress (Central America and Mexico) and against human rights' violations (Argentina, Chile, and Brazil). Now, women's movements have become more concerned with diversity along social classes and ethnic lines (Brazil). What the case studies show is that women's movements go beyond formal politics and that they fight for and against several causes. One of the most important lessons provided by the cases in this report is the assessment of women's movements as heterogeneous and dynamic rather than uniform and static.

The case studies in this report illustrate that the increase of women's participation in "formal" politics has not lacked tensions and conflicts within the movements. Such conflicts were especially evident in South America, where the redemocratization processes brought the institutionalization of women's movements. In Chile, such institutionalization provoked a sharp division between women fighting inside the "formal" political structure and those who decided to stay away from it. Similarly, in 1982, Brazil's redemocratization process institutionalized women's movements and brought feminist activism into the new state, such as with the creation of women police stations. As in Chile's case, the institutionalization of women's movements generated tension between individuals "inside" the system, and those who chose to stay "outside." Women's movements that decided to act within the larger political structure pushed for the institutionalization of women's issues and to position their demands on the agenda. Women's movements that endured "outside" the political structure remained independent from the state, and thus maintained their critical view of state policies. Ultimately, these tensions reflect a larger philosophical and political stance on whether women's movements should remain independent from the state to better advocate for and denounce women's issues, or whether women's movements' agendas should be taken into the state to advance women's rights.

Finally, the case studies identified several factors of underrepresentation that go beyond the institutional and formal granting of rights within the legal structures. What this reflects is that there are larger political and sociocultural contexts, including societal roles, inflexible workplace structures, inadequate policies, cultural norms, and religious beliefs that impede women's access to power. Ultimately, the case studies in this report reaffirm not only the absolute need to have strong women's movements to advance women's living conditions, equality, and access to both elected and appointed positions in the political arena, but also the need to strengthen democracy, to have more equal societies, and to guarantee that gender issues are included in the policy agenda.

Personal Histories

The case studies analyzed women's careers, mentors, socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, and their political ties. While the female leaders' trajectories vary widely (from Chinchilla's experience as a well-known international consultant, to Bachelet's and

Rousseff's opposition to dictatorships in their respective countries), a look into their personal histories allows for a better understanding of how their personal experiences and background have impacted their priorities while in office and the way they govern. Dictatorships in the Southern Cone profoundly marked the lives and administrations of the female Presidents on ideological grounds. Their convictions regarding human rights' violations, their countries' relations with the United States, and their positions regarding social and economic policy also appear to have been impacted by these leaders' experiences with dictatorship.

In our analysis of the "mentors" of the female leaders, we found through the case studies that the significance of the "mentors" and even the term itself might not be appropriate. While most of the women had a strong relationship with their predecessor and served in their predecessor's administrations before becoming presidents themselves, most of these relationships changed when female leaders came into power, with the exemplary case being that of Chinchilla with Óscar Arias in Costa Rica. But, is this experience different from what men have done to get to power? To achieve power, female leaders must have political connections, just as their male counterparts do. The term "mentor," then, does not always apply as much as the concept of a supporting political connection or group. That being said, what stands out is that all of the so-called mentors in the report were all male figures. On the one hand, this trend could raise the question of why more women are not supporting other women's access to power. On the other hand, the trend is more likely to be a reflection of a continuing lack of female figures in key decision-making positions.

Critics of female leaders have highlighted the fact that the majority of women in power come from privileged backgrounds, with access to education and informal and/or formal political ties; thus, the critics have questioned the capacity of these female leaders to represent women in their respective countries. While the women in the case studies do predominantly come from such backgrounds, it is also true that the same can be said about male leaders in power. Women getting to office might share the same social and economic backgrounds as men; however, men's capacity to adequately represent the societies they govern is not frequently pointed out or addressed.

When looking at women's histories across the case studies, one overarching conclusion related to the nature of the political system and how to address representation emerges. Women must be included in decision-making positions and processes because they are part of society, just as their male counterparts; if female leaders only come from upper and upper-middle classes, or have had male "mentors," the problem does not lie on the kind of women being elected, but on the unequal sociopolitical context that continues to prevent equal and full access for all citizens into the political systems.

Women in Power and Quotas

While the various countries studied appear to be in quite different stages of progress in regards to electoral gender quotas and women holding political power, a few overall themes can be drawn from the research. These themes range from discussing the point at which women's representation in politics began to rise, to the overall numbers of women holding office.

For the Latin American countries especially, the transition to a democratic form of government can be identified as the point at which women's political representation begins to increase. The understanding of a democratic form of government is that it should be reflective of its citizens, whereas no such premise exists under a dictatorship. As a result, citizens in a democratic society possess the ability to raise concerns when the promise of representation that is reflective of the people is not kept. In Chile, for example, women played critical roles during the dictatorship but were not fully integrated into the political system, where the norm was for men to hold political office. With the creation of Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM) in 1988 and the transition to democracy in 1990, however, women were able to channel their demands through formal institutions (like SERNAM) and force the government to address the issue of few women holding elective office, ultimately leading to more women becoming elected officials.

Though women have faced barriers to being elected, women's representation in politics appears to be on the rise overall in each of the countries studied. As previously noted, democratic forms of government are at their best when the individuals holding elective office reflect the general citizenry across varying dimensions, including gender. This rise therefore not only provides encouragement to women seeking office, but also improves government—a government for the people is one that is run by the people. The inclusion of electoral quotas, the deployment and systems for which varied significantly across the countries compared, has had a great impact on the trajectory of women as government representatives in the democracies examined. Quotas have been established in some democracies around the world in different forms in an effort to achieve parity (equitable gender representation) in elected bodies. The implementation of these quotas, in many cases, has led to greater female representation in elections, but not always in greater representation in the outcome of these elections. One definitive finding regarding gender quotas is that countries that have chosen not to implement any form of formalized gender intervention have seen much slower growth in female representation than those that have.

Regardless of what stage a country is in with regard to electoral quotas, it can be observed that when a woman holds the executive position, an increased presence of other women in her cabinet has been noted when compared to male executives. For example, in the first term of President Bachelet of Chile, more women were appointed to the presidential cabinet than ever before. Moreover, Bachelet appointed women to traditionally masculine positions, including the portfolios of Defense, Economy, Labor,

and Mining. The effects of these appointments are of significance, regardless of the intention behind appointing a larger number of women to cabinet positions than male executives typically do. The result is that the representative aspect of a democracy has pervaded a part of government that is usually dominated by the person in the executive position. This extension of representation into the executive cabinet serves to ensure these bodies remain reflective of the general population, not of the elected individual.

Overall, however, more women tend to occupy second-tier cabinet positions in countries where they exist, such as in Canada, where 62% of women who have ever served in the Ministry of the Crown have held Minister of State positions. Ministers of State are not the heads of specific portfolios; instead, individuals with this title serve underneath Secretaries of State and are subsequently less prestigious positions. By relegating women to these lower-level positions the majority of the time, Prime Ministers appear to send a message that women are unfit to hold more prominent positions in executive cabinets despite increasing numbers of women in high-level elected office. As the first-tier cabinet positions also comprise most of the masculine portfolios like finance and defense, women remain confined to so-called feminine portfolios such as health and education, reinforcing gendered notions of the necessary qualifications for being appointed to certain cabinet positions. With gendered notions in place, women will continue to be analyzed first and foremost by their gender, instead of in the broader context of skills and experience.

Substantive Representation Analysis

According to Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, in the study of women's representation, substantive research refers to "whether women seek or are able to promote women's issues once they are elected to political office."⁷²⁷ In other words, substantive representation examines if women in power try and are able to make a difference in the lives of other women. Therefore, in its essence, substantive representation is related to the construction of policy agendas. This section seeks to highlight common themes in women leaders' social, economic, and foreign policies. Additionally, the section considers whether or not these policies promote women's issues.

The methodology of this section brought about certain challenges. The themes follow the approach laid out in Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter's *Leftist Governments in Latin America*.⁷²⁸ In the book, Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter focus on the rise of leftist governments in Latin America, examining several countries as their case studies. Their gender-neutral analysis of each country's administration is divided into three policy areas: social, economic, and foreign affairs. Utilizing this framework, the information for this section is drawn from the case studies we researched in this report. In the case studies, if a country had a female chief executive, the study focuses on the executive; if a

⁷²⁷ Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo, *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, 8.

⁷²⁸ Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter, *Leftist Governments in Latin America*.

country did not, the study focuses on a selection of governors. Because the Mexico case study focuses on governors, there was no significant foreign policy material. The United States and Canada have also only had governors and premiers; consequently, there is a limited amount of foreign policy material available for those case studies. Despite this, there were commonalities in social, economic, and foreign policy across all of the cases studied.

Social Policy

Gender Mainstreaming

The 1990s mark a pivotal period for gender policies. International attention to gender-focused issues, combined with domestic pressures from female voters, propelled the need to incorporate women's issues into public policy. This movement required governments to publicly acknowledge women's issues and find ways to integrate these in their policy agendas.

The United Nations spearheaded strategies to promote gender equality at all levels of government. The concept of gender mainstreaming, which embeds gender equality issues into all policies, was introduced as an instrument to promote gender equality in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Gender mainstreaming provided practical ways for governments to consider women in their policies. The primary goal of gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.

A majority of the female leaders studied utilized this strategy to integrate gender equality issues into broader social policies and programs that target women. Interestingly, it was these leaders' male predecessors who first implemented these policies. Thus, gender mainstreaming is not distinctive of the way in which female leaders incorporate women's issues into public policy; male leaders also utilize this strategy. At this point, it is clear that government leaders, whether female or male, are obligated to include gender issues in their agendas, and gender mainstreaming has proven a feasible strategy to do so.

Early female leaders focused on promoting women's rights through social policies. The case studies demonstrate that this is still the case. It is important, however, to discern that there are inextricable links between social and economic policies. The female presidents studied have made poverty reduction, violence against women, and family-oriented programs key aspects of their respective social agendas. As mentioned before, their predecessors first implemented many of these policies, but the fact that female leaders subsequently promoted them may have been the reason why they were continued, or in some cases, even expanded. In addition, some female leaders chose to incorporate more clear-cut women's and gender equality initiatives into their broader agendas.

Poverty Reduction

Poverty reduction has been a focal point of social policies in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and the United States. Unfortunately, women are disproportionately affected by poverty. Women represent about half the world's populations yet constitute 70% of the people living in poverty.⁷²⁹ Because of this, the United Nations has urged governments to implement poverty reduction programs into social and economic policies. The female leaders studied have sought to combat poverty through the implementation of policies focused on unemployment, cash transfers, affordable housing projects, and other social development programs.

Poverty reduction programs can positively impact women's lives, especially when they contain explicit gender-equality components. In Argentina, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner implemented by presidential decree the Universal Child Allowance (*Asignación Universal por Hijo*, or AUH) in late 2009. Specifically, it was created for children and adolescents from unemployed families, from families working in the informal sector, or whose parents are domestic workers earning less than the minimum living wage. The AUH provides a monthly cash allowance, subject to health and school attendance checks. Beginning in May 2011, coverage was further extended to pregnant women (after reaching the third month of pregnancy) working in the informal economy. President Bachelet has also integrated gendered elements into employment policies. Bachelet passed legislation to guarantee that women and men receive equal wages for the same jobs. Reducing poverty through cash transfer programs was a key component of the social policies in Argentina and Brazil. *Jefes y Jefas de Hogar*, *Familias*, and the AUH in Argentina as well as *Bolsa Familia* in Brazil are cash-transfer programs that provide welfare services to low-income families. Female leaders, such as Governor Barbara Roberts of Oregon and Presidents Rouseff and Fernández de Kirchner, also tend to integrate affordable housing programs into their social policies. In Mexico, female governors have supported poverty-mitigating measures through a variety of unemployment and infrastructure projects.

These policies have clear benefits for women, but they also have implicit and profound effects on families in general. The poverty-reduction programs implemented by the female leaders help women provide the basic necessities for their families. Often, we observed that these poverty reduction and economic empowerment policies were complemented with education and family-oriented policies.

⁷²⁹ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Gender and Sustainable Development Maximising the Economic, Social and Environmental Role of Women* (OECD, July 7, 2008), <http://www.oecd.org/social/40881538.pdf>.

Education and Family Policy

Scholars have noted that educating women is “instrumental in raising the health and educational standards” of communities.⁷³⁰ Recently, scholars studied the effects of maternal education on children’s outcomes. They concluded that mothers that achieved higher levels of education had healthier children that performed better academically than children of uneducated mothers.⁷³¹ This research resulted in scholars pushing politicians to center their family-oriented policies on maternal literacy and education. Despite this research, a number of family policies focus primarily on early childhood development. Both female and male politicians argue that ensuring every child has equal access to health services and education will guarantee that mothers are able to provide adequate support to their children regardless of their class background.

The leaders used a combination of policies focused on educational access and economic programs to increase positive outcomes for children. Canadian Premier Christy Clark’s administration recently implemented the Families First program, which focused on increasing job creation, civic engagement, and tax credits for families. Former Governor of Oregon Barbara Roberts concentrated on helping low-income families, by increasing the number of children enrolled in Head Start and the number of welfare-to-work transition programs throughout the state. In Chile, Bachelet implemented Chile Crece Contigo, a program centered on early childhood development and physical education for children up to fourth grade. Additionally, former Louisiana Governor Kathleen Blanco expanded prekindergarten access to all children. And, as mentioned above, President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner implemented the Universal Child Allowance (AUH), which provides monthly cash benefits to mothers on the condition that their children attend school and meet health requirements.

Explicit Gender Agenda

Although a majority of female leaders used gender mainstreaming to promote gender equality, a number of the leaders studied also advanced explicit gender agendas. As females, these leaders gained the trust of their constituents especially because of the unique gender lens they bring to gender issues. Women can also have higher repute, and therefore can have more success, in driving explicit gender agendas. Female leaders with explicit gender agendas took on issues primarily faced by women or the LGBTQ community. The areas they tend to focus on are violence against women, sexual orientation, and reproductive rights.

⁷³⁰ The United States Air Force Academy, “Celebrating Women’s History Month,” *USAF*, March 30, 2012, <http://www.usafa.af.mil/news/story.asp?id=123296159>.

⁷³¹ Janet Currie and Enrico Moretti, “Mother’s Education and the Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital: Evidence from College Openings,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118, no. 4 (November 1, 2003): 1495–1532.

Violence against Women

Violence against women is a global phenomenon and is prevalent in all the countries examined in the case studies. Although violence against women has always been an issue, it wasn't until recently that it began to be included explicitly on public policy agendas. A recent report published by the UN contends that because there are 57 million more women than men in the world, it is important that their issues become the priorities of politicians worldwide.⁷³² A policy implemented to reduce the incidence of violence against women is one example of an explicit gender agenda used by politicians, be they female or male.

Preventing and eradicating violence against women is a key social policy area for many of the female leaders studied, such as those in represented in the Mexico and Chile case studies. Mexican governors Griselda Álvarez, Amalia García, and Ivonne Ortega advocated for measures to be taken to reduce violence against women. García was an active proponent for increasing criminal penalties for perpetrators of violence toward women. In Chile, Bachelet's Proyecto de ley sobre Femicidio has introduced criminal penalties for perpetrators of women's homicide. Additional services, such as domestic abuse shelters and medical attention, are provided to victims of violence in these countries. Female leaders in Mexico and Chile have raised awareness of issues concerning domestic violence and sexual assault. As a result, governments have been prompted to increase resources dedicated to preventing violence and providing services to victims.

LGBTQ and Reproductive Rights

The majority of the explicit gender agendas utilized by female leaders in the case studies focused on LGBTQ or reproductive rights. For example, in the United States former Governors Christine O'Grady Gregoire and Jeanne Shaheen added "sexual orientation" and "sexual identity" as protected classes for antidiscrimination laws. Gregoire also granted gay and lesbian couples marriage rights in 2007. President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner implemented similar policies. In 2010, she passed a law that legalized same-sex marriage and gave same-sex couples inheritance and adoption rights. Additionally, she enacted a law that granted individuals the right to choose their gender and have that gender legally recognized in official government documents.

Abortion is considered the banner issue of reproductive rights and was a controversial policy issue in Costa Rica and Mexico. In Mexico, former Governor Rosario Robles, a self-proclaimed feminist, implemented "Robles Law," which decriminalized abortions on the grounds of congenital defects and required district attorneys to approve abortion for

⁷³² "Violence against Women a Global Phenomenon—UN Report," UN News Centre, October 20, 2010, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=36513#.U2aIN_ldVG8.

cases of rape. In Costa Rica, President Laura Chinchilla publicly opposed abortion. She strongly supported Costa Rica's restrictive abortion laws, which stipulate that abortions are only legal when the mother's health is at risk.

Chinchilla took a different approach than the majority of women studied who implemented social policies focused on women's equality. In addition to opposing abortion, she also opposed same-sex marriage throughout her presidency. Chinchilla contended that her stance on these issues is based on adherence to Catholic Church values and public opinion. Chinchilla illustrates that gender agendas do not always advocate for increased rights for women.

The female leaders' decision to concentrate on LGBTQ rights is one example of scholars' argument that female politicians are more likely than their male counterparts to prioritize issues of concern to marginalized groups. As a result, some scholars stated that electing more women can lead to greater inclusion of all minority groups' issues on policy agendas.⁷³³

Overall, we found that female leaders were not more likely than men to advance gender agendas in the area of social policy. Female leaders were more likely to attend to the needs of marginalized groups. The increased awareness of the correlation between adequate access to social services and education for women and positive outcomes for children has led to all politicians regardless of gender, concentrating on women's issues.

Economic Policy

Political portfolios including enterprise, finance and economic affairs have historically been reserved for males as they rely on traditionally held notions of hard, or masculine, leadership skills.⁷³⁴ After examining the economic initiatives of the female leaders studied it is clear that gender is not, by itself, indicative of the type of policies implemented or their success.

Of the female leaders studied, most of their fiscal policies addressed the delicate interplay between maintaining healthy financial conditions and providing adequate support and assistance to citizens. It should be noted that because the female leaders studied assumed office in differing economic conditions, finding salient common themes proved difficult. Whereas some of the countries were enjoying economic prosperity, others were working diligently to control national debt and inflation and manage limited resources. Even still,

⁷³³ Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard L. Fox, *Men Rule: The Continued Under-Representation of Women in U.S. Politics* (Washington, DC: Women and Politics Institute, American University, January 2012), <http://www.american.edu/spa/wpi/upload/2012-Men-Rule-Report-final-web.pdf>.

⁷³⁴ Krook and O'Brien, "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide."

we were able to conclude that many of these executives used economic policies to catalyze social change and remained committed to their economic initiatives despite public criticism. In addition, almost invariably across all of the case studies we found a strong commitment to transparency and to decreasing national corruption.

Achieving Social Progress through Economic Initiatives

Across the case studies, a deep connection existed between social objectives and economic initiatives. Many of the female leaders utilized economic policy to drive social change. In particular, Dilma Rousseff's implementation of policies such as Minha Casa Minha Vida, which built more than 1 million homes for low-income families, and the creation of the More Jobs Portal, which created 1.2 million jobs in 2012, helped alleviate poverty in Brazil. She contributed a sizable portion of the domestic budget toward social welfare programs. In Chile, during her first administration, Michelle Bachelet utilized economic growth to protect citizens from the negative consequences of international economic crises and advancing social programs, thereby creating a better state-citizen relationship. Likewise, Mexican governor Rosario Robles focused on funneling economic gains in order to meet the needs of citizens in the Federal District and to improve overall quality of life.

Is the connection between social progress and economic initiatives gendered? The women leaders in this report developed a relationship between social progress and economic initiatives, clearly—does this seem surprising? Again, though economic policy is largely dependent upon the state of the economy when a leader comes to power, we have seen the women leaders carve out resources to help those marginalized, specifically through creating new policies similar to the one described above by Rousseff. Nonetheless, further research is needed in order to conclude if the prevalence of this type of connection is higher when women are in office.

Addressing Controversy

Other elements of the economic agendas of the women we studied proved more controversial. In Argentina, one of the primary foci of Fernández de Kirchner's economic policy was controlling Argentina's growing inflation problem. She implemented strong-armed policies aimed at freezing current good costs while severely restricting the purchase of international goods. Even though her economic policies were controversial and hurt her approval ratings, she showed no signs of altering her agenda. In a similar manner, former Governor of New Jersey, Christine Todd Whitman, made headlines when she eliminated entire government departments while implementing massive tax cuts. Amidst harsh criticism, Whitman also remained unwavering.

Do women typically remain resolute when faced with such criticism? Is a gender difference in leadership style present? In the past, research has found women tend to have

a “soft” leadership style that consists of “cooperation, influence, and empowerment,” whereas men focus on “hierarchy, dominance, and order.”⁷³⁵ Our research on women leaders appears to negate those claims. The women leaders studied displayed an unwillingness to compromise when their economic policies came under fire. Their resolution is proof that there are women leaders who display hard leadership skills that have historically characterized male leadership. Moreover, the research indicates women take on a wide array of leadership styles and that they cannot be pigeonholed into a single, gendered dimension.

Anticorruption Efforts

Across almost all of the administrations studied, decreasing corruption was a high priority. Scholars have found through empirical research that women are less likely to condone corruption and less likely to become entangled in bribery, and that the presence of women in government leads to lower levels of corruption.⁷³⁶ Other scholars have qualified this notion, implying that context and feasibility concerns are the primary indicators of corruption levels.⁷³⁷ While researching the female leaders’ economic policies, we found that several of them employed varying strategies to decrease governmental dishonesty and increase transparency.

In the case of Brazil, the efforts to decrease corruption were widely effective. Rousseff separated herself completely from corruption. She avoided becoming involved with the allegations surrounding her predecessor and even fired cabinet officials who were accused of bribery and fraud. In addition, Rousseff implemented several successful anticorruption initiatives including the Freedom of Information Act and the Clean Companies Act. Rousseff’s commitment to transparency sharply contrasted with previous Brazilian presidents who were mired in scandal.

In Chile, Bachelet implemented the Transparency and Access to Public Information Law, which has a strong emphasis on accountability and increased public participation in government, while garnering international praise. Conversely, in Costa Rica, Laura Chinchilla’s efforts at increasing transparency were largely unsuccessful due to the scandals in her administration. In addition, other economic reforms created by Chinchilla’s administration failed to pass because of distrust surrounding her character. In essence, from the leaders studied we have seen myriad approaches and outcomes in dealing with corruption and transparency. But what would we expect to see from these women leaders?

⁷³⁵ Genovese, “Women As National Leaders: What Do We Know?” 214.

⁷³⁶ Anand Swamy et al., “Gender and Corruption,” *Journal of Development Economics* 64, no. 1 (February 2001): 25–55, doi:10.1016/S0304-3878(00)00123-1.

⁷³⁷ Justin Esarey and Gina Chirillo, “‘Fairer Sex’ or Purity Myth? Corruption, Gender, and Institutional Context,” *Politics & Gender* 9, no. 04 (2013): 361–89.

Historically, women have been thought of as paragons of purity and honesty, essentially devoid of corruption. These stereotypes have played out in history, and many women have used them to their advantage; Chinchilla constantly referred to her feminine traits and how they would make her a solid leader. Nevertheless, she did not rule in a one-dimensional manner, solely exhibiting traditionally feminine characteristics. Juxtaposing the results of these anticorruption and transparency efforts across Brazil, Chile, and Costa Rica showed that gender is not closely tied to levels of corruption. Instead, our analysis indicates power has the ability to corrupt any leader, and women are not immune to that corruption.

Foreign Policy

Reviewing the leaders' foreign policy initiatives, there are two main conclusions. The first is that the leaders often pursued trade agreements to foster more economic opportunities. The second is that the leaders acted as strong advocates in contentious international disputes. Ultimately, with both trade agreements and international disputes, there was no discernible difference between how a male leader would have acted and how the female leaders acted.

Trade

The female leaders of this report successfully used trade agreements to further their countries' or states' growth. This can be seen in the United States, Brazil, Chile, and Costa Rica. In the United States, for example, Governor Kathleen Blanco met with former Cuban President Fidel Castro to negotiate a trade agreement in 2005. Cuba ultimately agreed to purchase \$2 million worth of goods from Louisiana companies. Although Blanco was a governor and not a national executive, she pursued a controversial trade agreement for economic development purposes. In Brazil, despite a tense economic situation, President Rousseff focused on trade policies to ensure that there was a trade surplus. To do so, Rousseff increased trade with the European Union. Clearly, both Blanco and Rousseff had distinct goals with their trade initiatives.

Female leaders in Chile and Costa Rica focused on boosting trade as a whole. In Chile, Bachelet signed a number of agreements on free trade with regional neighbors as well as partners abroad. Between 2006 and 2010, Chile signed ten free trade agreements to pursue Chile's growth strategy. In her quest to expand and diversify Costa Rica's economy, Chinchilla focused on trade. Currently, Costa Rica has the most foreign direct investment in Central America. Chinchilla signed an Association Agreement with the European Commission as well as a declaration of intent to join the Pacific Alliance (a trade bloc including Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru). These four leaders focused on trade to increase economic development, whether it was by focusing on an issue or agreement or trying to increase levels of trade overall.

From our conclusions thus far, we found that female leaders often used economic policy initiatives to fund social policy. If the pattern of using economic initiatives to fund social goals holds with respect to international trade, how would we expect that to become manifest? First, leaders could incorporate social aspects in the trade agreements. This could determine requirements about what type of firm was eligible to participate. Secondly, we could see the leaders pursuing trade agreements for certain industries that would benefit domestic social initiatives. However, there is no indication of either of these in the trade agreements. Likely, this is due to the international dynamics. With domestic policy, there is the opportunity for intertwined objectives as the leaders have authority to enact policy on any number of issues. With trade agreements, the leaders have no authority over the other country involved. Given this, leaders do not seem to be using trade agreements to fund social policies in the same way that they use domestic economic initiatives to do so.

Another area that we would expect to differ for female executives is related to cultural perceptions about women and their roles. When these female leaders' structure and sign trade agreements, they are representatives of their respective countries. As these representatives interact with different cultures with varying expectations about women, what can we observe? Our research has not shown that cultural expectations were a barrier to successfully engaging in long-term, collegial trade relationship. The women were able to implement a great number of trade agreements with a variety of partners. Overall, trade was an area of great success for the leaders.

Ultimately, we would expect to see male leaders engage with trade in a similar way. Leaders of both genders pursue trade agreements in order to further economic development goals. This is logical, considering that most countries' leaders strive to increase economic opportunity for their citizens and trade is a primary way to achieve that goal. Even years after the recent financial crisis, many countries are still recovering. Increased economic activity, and the increased jobs that often come with that prosperity, are vital in policy agendas across the board. We conclude that women and men are both likely to pursue trade as a means to further economic prosperity.

International Disputes

The female leaders have also steered their countries through contentious international issues and acted as advocates on the international stage. In these cases, the issues have been longstanding, but the female leaders have responded to them strongly. In Argentina, President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner has been a vocal advocate of Argentina's sovereignty claim over the Falkland Islands (a British territory). After her election, she sent an open letter to the British Prime Minister stating that Britain was violating a United Nations resolution, and sought negotiations to hand over the islands back to Argentina. This is a long-standing and contentious dispute, but Fernández de Kirchner has actively pursued Argentina's interests. While the issue is not resolved, she has

ensured that the Falklands/Malvinas issue receives constant media coverage and Argentina's claim is not forgotten.

In another example, Costa Rica and Nicaragua have an enduring land dispute, regarding an area on the Atlantic Coast called Isla Calero. After Nicaraguan troops were sent to the area in 2010, Costa Rica gave Nicaragua forty-eight hours to leave the area and put their police force on the border. Chinchilla referred the issue to the United Nation's International Court of Justice (ICJ). She argued that Costa Rica was acting to preserve the ecosystem of the area and wanted the issue resolved without violence. In the end, the ICJ ruled in favor of Costa Rica. Chinchilla was successful at handling the dispute; she acted quickly and decisively.

It is interesting to examine these leaders' actions in light of traditional assumptions about female leadership. In this report, we have referenced Michael Genovese's traditional notions of leadership. The female style of leadership is "characterized by a soft style of cooperation, influence, and empowerment."⁷³⁸ In negotiations, we do not see the female leaders exhibiting traditional female characteristics of leadership; in fact, they are aggressive, resolute, and do not recoil from using force.

In addition to traditional gender assumptions about leadership, women are not as often at the table in international negotiations. In a Harvard Law Program on Negotiation piece, one author notes that in the non-Western world, "women face the daunting challenge of winning a place at the negotiating table in the first place." UN Women has noted that women are underrepresented in major negotiations worldwide.⁷³⁹ The women in this report are at the negotiating table due to their elected executive position. Likely, there are many different assumptions about how the leaders' behavior will be different due to their gender. However, we see no indication of a different response due to gender.

Overall, gender does not seem to play a major role in the foreign policy arena. With trade, leaders of either gender do not have the opportunity or authority to integrate agendas as they do domestically. Therefore, leaders of both genders pursue economic goals that are not integrated with social goals. In major dispute negotiations, the issues are largely determined by circumstance. Leaders' decisions are about how to respond to issues that rise to prominence or are revived. Given this, leaders of both genders respond in similar ways.

⁷³⁸ Genovese, "Women As National Leaders: What Do We Know?," 214.

⁷³⁹ Keith Lutz, "Women in Negotiation: South Sudan Peace Talks," Harvard Law School Program on Negotiation blog, February 4, 2014, <http://www.pon.harvard.edu/daily/women-and-negotiation-daily/women-in-negotiation-south-sudan-peace-talks/>.

Symbolic Representation Analysis

The election of a woman as the head of state is typically surrounded by considerable fanfare. Pundits predict that the event signifies a paradigm shift in which women and other minorities will be treated more fairly and have better access to opportunities. There is a gleeful and resounding sentiment that the election of a woman *means something* for women and other minorities. Implicit in this *meaning* are two key assumptions: First, that women in power will cater specifically to the needs of women and other minorities and will build a policy agenda that focuses on equality; and second, that the sheer symbolic power of a female leader, regardless of an equality-centered agenda, will have a positive impact on the daily lives of women, girls, people of color, the poor, and other marginalized groups. Put more simply, there is a well-worn assumption that women in power will actively and symbolically *transform* the social and economic structure of society to make it a better place for all minority groups. This section of the report evaluates the validity of that sentiment.

Beyond her sociopolitical context, party background, personality, career, and agenda, an analysis of female leadership adds the gender element in order to show a more complete picture. This “gender” lens overlays all other characterizations of all female leaders. As Sykes suggests, the archetypal leadership of the “Iron Lady” brings into question the role of gender in leadership.⁷⁴⁰ Do “Iron Ladies” have “masculine” leadership techniques because we need to see female leaders as masculine in order to better imagine them as leaders, or is it because women with more masculine leadership attributes are more successful leaders? If the latter is true, then how do we assess female leadership that is characterized broadly in “feminine” language? More to the point, how do we typify leadership like that of Angela Merkel or Dilma Rousseff, which have been characterized as both masculine and feminine but not necessarily androgynous?

Gendered Notions of Leadership

This report addresses the question of whether women govern differently. In this endeavor, the authors of this report have attempted to establish how a selection of powerful women has governed. A significant obstacle during this process has been that women’s leadership continues to be analyzed according to a gender binary that is more informative of culturally constructed expectations of femininity than it is about women’s leadership. A gendered concept of leadership implies that a leader’s styles and strategies of management, negotiation, and problem resolution are all related to whether that leader is male or female. There is an assumption that male and female leaders have different leadership styles that correspond to traditional notions of masculinity and femininity. Given that political leadership is traditionally designated as a masculine sphere, this gender lens is invisible in the analysis of men’s leadership style precisely because it is

⁷⁴⁰ Sykes, “Women as National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects,” 219–29.

normative. It is only when women subvert this norm and assume leadership positions that gendered leadership analysis enters political discourse.

As a result of the increasing number of female political leaders, feminine adjectives have been added to the dialogue of leadership analysis. Because feminine adjectives, such as “maternal,” already have marginalizing connotations, female leaders are analyzed with descriptive words that echo their historically depoliticized social positions. While some women in politics fit comfortably and consistently in this “feminine” box, others challenge the expectations of how women should lead, and commentators use the classifications “androgynous” and “style-flexing” to explain these behaviors. Female leaders who are perceived to combine feminine and masculine styles are described as androgynous.⁷⁴¹ Those who display masculine notions of leadership and continue to display femininity through style of dress or behavior, or vice versa, are considered to be engaging in style-flexing.⁷⁴² Political analysts suggest that female leaders feel compelled to cultivate a leadership style that mimics traditional notions of male strength in order to gain respect from their political peers and confidence from their electorate.⁷⁴³ Implicit in this discussion is the idea that these characteristics are inherently male, and that a woman is transgressing a natural expectation by exhibiting them.

A key example of this gendered notion of leadership is the “Iron Lady” trope that has been used to describe any female head of state who exercises power and authority, ranging from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff. This characterization identifies these female leaders as anomalies. An “Iron Lady” is not the personification of a woman that society regards as appropriately feminine. The term implies that the female leader is inherently different from her electorate, and therefore must explain why she among all other women is capable of holding high political office. Male leaders are not described as “Iron Gentlemen,” or “paternal,” or any other type of man. Instead they are categorized using words associated with executive leadership like “decisive” and “powerful.” The authors of this report hope that one of the symbolic effects of increasing numbers of women holding high political office will be to normalize the notion of female leadership and thereby remove this pervasive sexist frame.

This report highlights female heads of state who have prioritized the interests of women, as President of Chile Michelle Bachelet did during her first term. However, this criterion alone does not make her a successful leader, nor does it mean that male leaders that preceded her were failures because they did not prioritize women’s and minority issues. Additionally, this report shows that Dilma Rousseff’s choice to appoint nine women to her presidential cabinet in Brazil has not made her a transformational or successful leader

⁷⁴¹ Genovese and Thompson, “Women As Chief Executives: Does Gender Matter?,” 10.

⁷⁴² Genovese, “Women As National Leaders: What Do We Know?,” 215.

⁷⁴³ Genovese, ed., *Women As National Leaders*.

on its own. Instead, it argues that female heads of state in Latin America have advanced the political representation of women in high political office, and those actions stand alone to have a symbolic impact on the population. Those actions should be understood apart from their leadership style. Considering the advancement of democratic ideals of equality in the world today, all leaders should be analyzed equally, and without a gendered lens. Continually holding female leaders to a separate standard than male leaders is antifeminist and antidemocratic.

Measuring women's political performance against gendered standards not only reflects socially cultivated traits but also reaffirms them. Thus, the field of women and politics would benefit from integrating approaches used for studying leadership in a normative context. In other words, when scholars evaluate male leadership, gender is an invisible factor, so the discussion is forced to focus on other dimensions of leadership. Given that "male" is no longer the sole gender of political leadership, a new framework is needed to analyze a diversifying political landscape where women and men lead cities, states, and countries. This framework should also allow for political leaders who identify outside of the gender binary.

The fields of political science, leadership, and management do not lack theories and frameworks for examining political leadership, but that body of work is rarely applied to the study of female political leadership. The authors of this report do not advocate an analysis grounded in any particular framework: Functional Theory, Situational Theory, even Great Man Theory may be appropriate for different researchers.⁷⁴⁴ It remains important to consider barriers to power and strategies for leadership that may be unique to women, but moving beyond the context of a masculine/feminine dichotomy will enrich this conversation too. Ultimately, our contention is simply that in order to evaluate how women govern (and implicitly, how women govern *compared to men*), we must begin by analyzing actual dimensions of leadership and by challenging gendered assumptions, not reinforcing them.

Transformational Leadership

Defining Transformation

To assess whether the female leaders studied in this report have been transformational, we must first establish a common understanding of a term that has a broad range of interpretations. Here, we conceive of transformational leaders on a spectrum that runs from a soft criterion of influencing society's perceptions of women and their capacity to lead, to a stringent, Marxist standard of shifting the power relations between groups and institutions within a nation. Patricia Lee Sykes collapses this whole spectrum into a succinct definition when she states, "transformational leaders seek to change individual

⁷⁴⁴ Ortiz Ortega, *Poder, Mujeres y Liderazgo: Guía Incluyente en un Contexto Global*, 109–10.

citizens, their states, their societies and the relationship among these.”⁷⁴⁵ Soft transformation may take place in the minds of the citizenry or in interpersonal interactions, while hard, more revolutionary transformation would take place in the interactions between the state and the individual, between different groups in society, or through restructuring a country’s systems and structures of power.

In an analysis of women in power, one of the metrics of transformation must be the impact of female leadership on gender relations and the state of patriarchal power. In *Women As National Leaders*, Michael A. Genovese states that in a patriarchal society “any woman who aspires to the top is potentially subversive of the established order.”⁷⁴⁶ In cultures where the public sphere and positions of authority are designated for men, and supportive roles and familial tasks are designated for women, a woman who seeks and gains a nation’s top political position is directly challenging accepted notions of gender, whether she is conscious of it or not. Due to its unique level of power, visibility, and prestige, the seat of presidency occupied by a woman is of unparalleled symbolic importance.

It is fairly easy to conclude that the female leaders examined here have been softly transformational and have shown their respective nations that being a woman is not antithetical to holding political power. However, this observation must be qualified because the more characteristics a female leader shares with the traditional political elite, the narrower her transformational potential in facilitating marginalized groups’ access to power. For example, a wealthy, white, heterosexual female leader presents a challenge to the gender aspect of power but not to any of the other privileged identities that are synonymous with national leadership.

To determine whether any of these leaders has been transformational with regard to systems, institutions, or structures of power we must evaluate them individually. When Genovese judged the impact of female world leaders in 1993, he concluded that not one of them had “challenged, in any fundamental way, the patriarchal power structure of society. To do so would have been political suicide.”⁷⁴⁷ In the following section we discuss whether the same conclusion is appropriate two decades later.

Are These Leaders Transformational?

Throughout the case studies presented in this report, a certain degree of transformational power is identified in female leaders, particularly from the softer perspective of going beyond the traditional limits of politics that placed women outside of the higher spheres of power. The leaders analyzed in this report occupied high-ranking positions in the

⁷⁴⁵ Sykes, “Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects,” 220.

⁷⁴⁶ Genovese and Thompson, “Women As Chief Executives: Does Gender Matter?”

⁷⁴⁷ Genovese, “Women As National Leaders: What Do We Know?” 217.

executive branch, at the national or state level, further opening politics to a traditionally underrepresented group as women. The election of Fernández de Kirchner, Rousseff, Bachelet, and Chinchilla marked the election of the first female president in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Costa Rica, respectively. Similarly, some states in Mexico, the United States, and Canada had never before had women occupying governor or premier positions. In that sense, women holding office affected societal perceptions of a woman's ability to be an effective leader. However, this is a double-edged sword because women who perform well can open more spaces for other women in the political sphere, as in Bachelet's case in Chile, or they can taint women's image as effective political leaders, as with Chinchilla in Costa Rica. A gendered assessment of female leaders emerges particularly in the case of women who are not judged as performing competently. By contrast, in the case of competent female leaders, the ability to govern is not evaluated from a gendered perspective. Women who are generally perceived as highly effective political leaders, even when criticized, tend to be evaluated based on the content of their actions and policies. Criticisms of Dilma Rousseff's management of the issues surrounding the World Cup and of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's government's economic policies are not associated with their ability to govern as women but with their management of specific situations, regardless of their gender.

Beyond social perceptions, some of the female leaders studied in the report have been transformational with respect to their policies. Rousseff has concentrated her administration's efforts on poverty alleviation programs that aim to improve disadvantaged groups' position within society. Bachelet's first administration emphasized social protection, particularly targeting vulnerable groups such as low-income families, the elderly, and women. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's administration emphasized social protection as well, particularly targeting vulnerable groups such as low-income families, the elderly, and women. She also passed a same-sex marriage law, thereby advancing sexual minorities' rights. Canada's premiers Cournoyea and Wynne advocated for aboriginal and sexual minorities' rights, respectively. These efforts can be interpreted as attempts to drive social transformations by confronting the power relations within society and improving the conditions of underrepresented or underprivileged groups.

In terms of political transformation, the progress of the women analyzed in this report has been limited. Bachelet's first administration attempted to include more women in the higher spheres of the executive. Despite the number of women in cabinet positions being comparatively high by Chilean standards, female representation then decreased under her successor Sebastián Piñera. This decrease in women's cabinet representation is evidence of the lack of a profound transformation within the political system. Bachelet's second administration intends to formulate a new Constitution, which would represent a deep political transformation, defying the legacy of dictator Augusto Pinochet. However, it is too soon to assess whether her efforts will be successful.

The female leaders analyzed in this report ignite transformational efforts in micro areas, being less successful in challenging traditional political structures and relations at a macro level. Even when these leaders make progress in improving marginalized groups' conditions in society, their political behavior and platforms follow traditional political patterns in their respective countries. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that the lack of transformational power is not a unique characteristic of female leaders. Their male counterparts habitually fail in creating the conditions to achieve profound changes in the structure of power.

Scholarship on women as transformational leaders points out that women who do not use their power and position to “alter the place and perception of women in the state or society,” diverge from the traditional expectations of a woman’s duty in political office.⁷⁴⁸ Conversely, society does not expect male political leaders to advance the interests of all men, and leave out the interests of women, children, and minority groups. The expectation of a head of state, regardless of gender, should be one of comprehensive political representation.

Symbolic Impact and Political Discourse

Women in the executive tend to look like their male counterparts in every way but gender: they come from within political institutions, they tend to be white, upper-middle class, well-educated, and deeply connected (professionally and personally) to male leaders. How then, does their leadership impact women, beyond gender-agenda policies?

Despite a widely held assumption that women in elected office will enact policies that positively impact other women, the cases presented here show that this is not necessarily true. Female leaders do not drastically transform political and economic power structures while in office. Like their male counterparts, women in the executive produce complex agendas in all policy areas; the inclusion of equality-based policy as part of a larger agenda is not necessarily transformational. Regardless of substantive transformational impact, there is significant cultural value in the ascendance of a woman to the executive level. That symbolic impact translates into a shift in political discourse, which mainstreams female political participation. The shift translates into a real substantive change in the way party officials view female candidacy at more localized levels.

Media coverage of “first female heads of state” implies that the sheer symbolic impact of their election will change the way in which women lead their lives, the way young girls imagine their futures, and inequality in general. Female leaders studied in these cases have had varying levels of commitment to fostering political aims in young women, although all leaders studied imagine themselves to be role models to young women in general. Some leaders have seen their role as a voice for the marginalized as at the

⁷⁴⁸ Sykes, “Women As National Leaders: Patterns and Prospects,” 220.

intersection of other marginalized identities. Kathleen Wynne, who was elected as premier of Ontario in 2013 and is the first openly gay premier in Canada, has become an icon for the Canadian LGBT community. She often speaks about the importance of acceptance in youth communities, and her election has sparked a national conversation about the marginalization of LGBT youth.

Symbolic Effects of Female Heads of State in the Americas

No female heads of state have been elected in the United States or in Mexico. However, the Mexican case shows that female governorship is associated with increased favorable opinion of state government. It should be noted, however, that the correlation between approval ratings and female leadership does not necessarily signify causality.

Perhaps most importantly, when women are elected to the executive branch, there appears to be a rise in the number of women participating in local government. Popular demand for female candidates means that parties will foster female leadership on the local level. For instance, in the Brazilian 2010 elections, forty-eight women ran for mayoral office, almost twice as many as the last election.⁷⁴⁹ In 2014, Chile's Bachelet ran for her second presidency against another woman. As more and more women enter into higher levels of government, both party officials and the general public tend to be more receptive to female candidates.

Perceptions of Democracy

Perception of democracy varies across countries, and is highly contextual to historical and political conditions. Perceptions of democracy can be used to analyze the effects of presidents on political interest and satisfaction across Latin America. Data from Latinobarómetro shows that people in countries such as Argentina and Chile, which were governed by authoritarian regimes from the 1960s to the 1980s, significantly prefer a democratic government to other types of government.⁷⁵⁰ The variation in a population's satisfaction with democracy may be associated with the public opinion of the current political leader in office. For example, in Chile, satisfaction with democracy increased after President Bachelet's first administration. In contrast, data gathered after Dilma Rousseff's first year in office (2011) showed that Brazilians had an increased dissatisfaction with democracy from 2010 to 2011.⁷⁵¹ However, public responses to survey questions may only portray some effects of each leader's symbolic representation.

⁷⁴⁹ Juliana Barbassa, "Brazil's Dilma Rousseff Sets Example," *Huffington Post*, December 29, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/12/29/brazils-dilma-rousseff-se_n_1174760.html.

⁷⁵⁰ Corporación Latinobarómetro, *Latinobarómetro 1995-2013*, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://www.latinobarometro.org/latContents.jsp>.

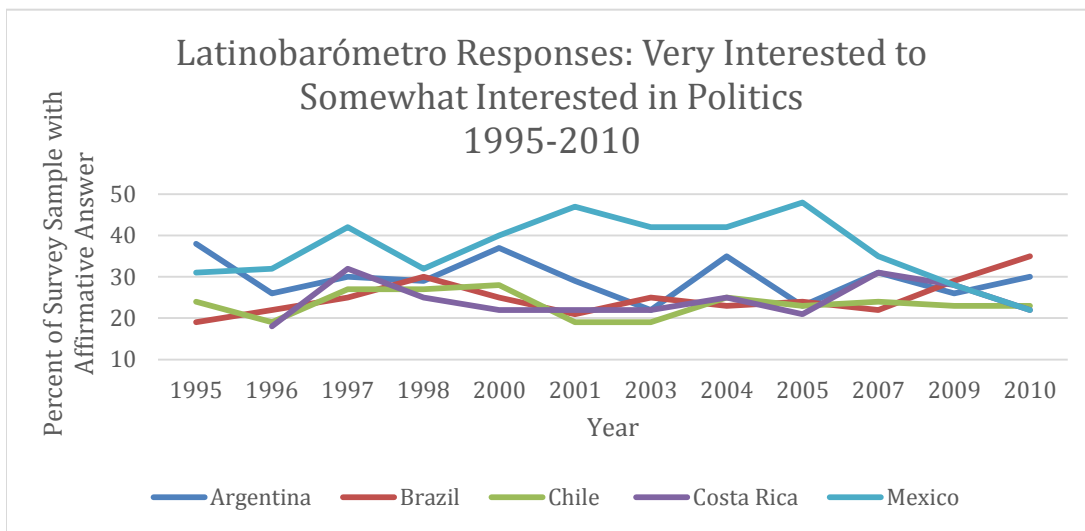
⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Other effects are still to be determined as leaders such as Bachelet, Rouseff, and Fernández de Kirchner have yet to finish their terms.

Critical Data Analysis to Measure Symbolic Effects

Data collected by Latinobarómetro from 1995 to 2010, shown in Figure 17, suggests that public perception of politics fluctuates over time, regardless of the leader’s gender.⁷⁵² The United States and Canada are not included in the data analysis because Latinobarómetro does not collect data from those countries. According to time series data from Latinobarómetro depicting the public’s interest in politics, it can be observed that when the general perception of the current leader is negative, interest in politics and satisfaction with democracy decline.⁷⁵³ It can be assumed that positively evaluated leaders will trigger favorable responses from the public to questions about their satisfaction with democracy and level of political interest. Latinobarómetro did not collect data from Costa Rica in 1995 on the level of political interest, nor were time series data available for all countries selected in 1999, 2002, 2006, or 2008. At the time of this report, data from Latinobarómetro was not available for all countries’ level of political interest for 2011–2014.

Figure 17: Interest in Politics of Both Genders Over Time



Source: Latinobarómetro. Table created by authors with data from Latinobarómetro.

⁷⁵² Ibid.

⁷⁵³ Ibid.

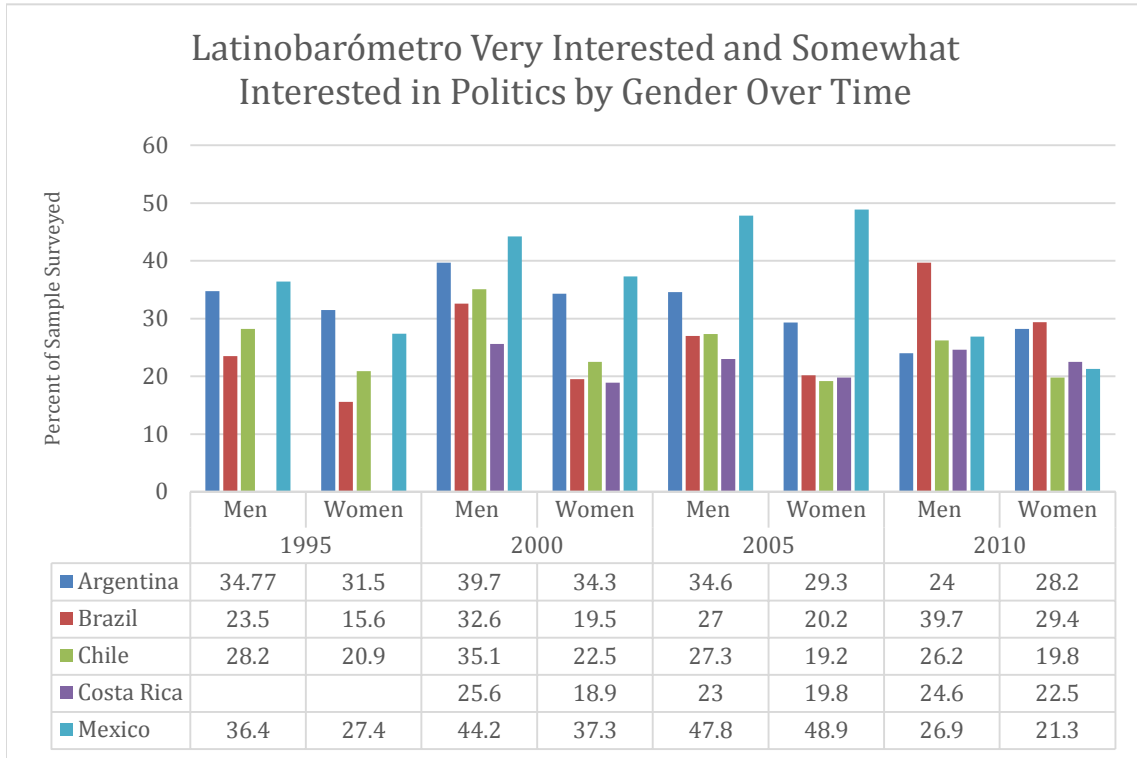
Data from Latinobarómetro, shown in Figure 18, shows that women were typically less interested than men in politics in the case study countries evaluated, regardless of the gender of the current head of state. The only exceptions were in Mexico in 2005, and Argentina in 2010.⁷⁵⁴ This variation from the group shows that women and men both have an interest in politics, and that an exogenous factor is responsible for the historical trend of women's disinterest in politics. Factors for this disparity in political interest differs by country, but common themes across the case studies are delayed emergence of female suffrage, military regimes that marginalized women's social and political participation, and the recent rise of democracy in many Latin American countries.

It is possible that the results from Argentina's 2010 survey represent a manifestation of the symbolic effects of Fernández de Kirchner's candidacy and presidency on the female population. Likewise, a political transition was approaching in Mexican politics in 2005. It was the last year of Fox's presidency and the election runoff between Calderón (PAN) and López Obrador (PRD), which turned out to be the most competitive presidential election in Mexico's history. The high visibility of this contest may explain the rise in women's interest in politics, as well as the overall highest interest in Mexican politics polled by Latinobarómetro. However, there is a possibility that both occurrences mentioned above, where women polled were more interested in politics than men, may be the result of a biased sample, exogenous factor, or error.

Further research is needed to understand why men and women have different levels of satisfaction with democracy and political interest under different administrations. Moreover, additional research is needed to evaluate if the presence of female heads of state increases women's and men's political interest after 2010, and for the long term.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

Figure 18: Interest in Politics Divided by Gender Over Time



Source: Latinobarómetro. Table created by authors with data from Latinobarómetro.

Conclusion

When analyzing the descriptive representation of women in power, the case studies offer evidence that the level of women's political representation is largely a function of a country's political system and institutional features. These features, such as electoral laws and political party structures, are important because they define who gets the most political power and how that power can be used to get a seat in office. Whether precipitated by women themselves, or a social or political movement, major changes to a country's defining political elements have opened a space for women to fill. Unless a change such as quotas (backed up with placement mandates) or electoral reform occurs, it can be expected that men will continue to hold a much larger concentration of political power than their female counterparts. Even then, it is difficult to determine the long-term impacts of such reforms on women's political representation. This begs us to begin examining not who is in office, but how and why they got there.

The analysis drawn from the countries examined supports these inferences, but is limited by a number of factors that prevent definite conclusions from being drawn. The observations in these case studies are just scratching the surface of what further, deeper research could reveal and address. At this time, the sample of female executives that can be studied is miniscule compared to the vast pool of male executives across the history of these countries. This sample is so small because women have only just begun to emerge onto the executive stage. The larger this sample becomes, and the longer the length of time stretches that we can study, the more reliable these conclusions will become.

In terms of substantive representation, there is a wide array of social, economic, and foreign relations policy perspectives, in line with the diversity of countries and years studied in the report. Nevertheless, a few salient themes emerged across the case studies. The social policies of the women studied utilized gender mainstreaming to promote women by a policy emphasis on poverty and combating violence against women. A key strategy of the female leaders was to put families at the center of social policies. With regards to economic policies, several of the women used their economic policies to fund these broad sweeping social initiatives. We also found evidence of various efforts to decrease corruption and increase transparency and trust. Lastly, the foreign policies of the women studied centered around liberalized trade and strong positions in international disputes. While common themes did emerge, the research did not indicate that the women leaders as a whole focused on the promotion of women through their policy agendas.

The case studies demonstrate that both men and women have realized the importance of incorporating women's issues into policy agendas. This is reflected in the policies that were spearheaded by male presidents, including Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva and Ricardo Lagos of Brazil and Chile, respectively. Their gender-targeted policies were continued by their female successors. This was clearly the case in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, where female presidents promised continuation of their predecessors' social, economic, and political agendas. In some cases, like in Chile, gender-specific agendas were even expanded. For example, Bachelet increased SERNAM's budget and enacted gender parity in the cabinet. On the opposite side of the spectrum, Chinchilla's approach to women's issues breaks the mold altogether on what we would expect from a female leader. In the United States, Canada, and Mexico, female leaders seem more likely to have explicit gender agendas than their male counterparts. Across the board, however, it has become apparent that governments are obligated, by domestic and international advocates, to consider women in their public policy decisions.

The number of women elected to office increased over the last several decades. As the political representation of women continues to increase in countries, what implications will this have for policy? Scholars predict that it will eventually lead to increased attention to women's issues in the political arena. However, our findings suggest that the presence of a female leader in a country does not necessarily result in the advancement of a gender agenda. Our analysis finds that female leaders are more likely to concentrate on

the needs of marginalized groups, and this is even more true when the female leader personally identified with the group.⁷⁵⁵ The main finding regarding the substantive analysis is that increased women's representation has the capacity to lead to more diverse policy agendas that include issues that concern a variety of marginalized groups.

With regard to the symbolic representation of female leaders, this report raises the issue of the uneven expectations towards elected women in comparison to men. Female leaders are expected to be transformational, to focus on particular policy issues, and to have a specific management or leadership style. However, all these elements of change and policy depend on other factors that go beyond gender. Gender is only a visible factor in the study of female politicians but it goes unnoticed in the analysis of men's representation. The women studied in this report are located along the entire spectrum of transformational leaders—many being highly transformational in some areas while maintaining the status quo in others—just like men.

The examples discussed in this report show a complex portrait of gender in the executive branch. In some cases, female leaders are amenable to creating and implementing policy agendas which address issues that disproportionately affect women: domestic violence, reproductive rights, equal representation, and fair pay. Largely, however, this is not the case. Defining the substantive success or failure of female leadership by this metric dismisses the complexities of leadership and female leadership in particular. Furthermore, evaluating or describing female leadership in a limited masculine-feminine binary restricts understanding of the impact of gender on leadership style and ability. Both the expectation of societal transformation and the narrow characterization of leadership as gendered have prevented an assessment of the actual significance of female leadership, both in terms of policy development and symbolic cultural power. Further research is needed to develop a more complex framework for assessing the particular value of female leadership in the executive branch. There is a symbolic value attached to female leadership, one which will be revealed as the next generation of women rise to the highest level of government.

⁷⁵⁵ Vanessa Cárdenas, "Why We Need a Political Leadership Pipeline for Women of Color," Center for American Progress, March 7, 2014, <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/news/2014/03/07/85454/why-we-need-a-political-leadership-pipeline-for-women-of-color/>.

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