

Women in Politics



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Introduction

Of countless words spoken by the incredible women we interviewed this project, the ones that impacted us the most were these: "If one woman goes into politics, it changes the woman. If many women go into politics, it changes politics." The quote is from Michelle Bachelet, former president of Chile, and it captures what happens when the gender imbalance among elected officials begins to wane. The stories we heard from our subjects led us to conclude that women who challenge the status quo – by which we mean the traditional power structure of Latin America – bring about both individual and collective change. And the power of that change comes, quite specifically, from the dynamic between the personal and the political. When one interacts with the other, Together, when one interacts with the other, they create a wave of energy that sweeps up individuals in the steady flow of a rising tide.

This may not be the most conventional way to start a report on politics. Poetic metaphors are not always a fit for political narratives: they are subjective, and writing about news and facts and institutions would seem to require the kind of scrupulous objectivity that leaves no room for creativity and imagination. In fact, with every passing day, politics and imagination seem to grow ever further apart. So it might sound romantic, or perhaps naive, to speak of politics in such a way. But we're confident in the choice we've made because we at Instituto Update, along with the more than 150 other individuals involved in this project, believe that politics is in its essence an exercise in the future.

That means that political innovation depends on imagining politics from a different perspective: creating something new requires reorientation. As such, political innovation is only possible if its objectives are to reduce inequality, to modernize political activity, and to fight the climate crisis – practices and processes that bring politics closer to individual experience. There can be no innovation without inclusion. Our quasi-poetic introduction is one result of the incredible enthusiasm and hope that have been with us since the first day of our journey, which started with a simple question: If the future is feminine, as we've so often heard, how are women changing the way power is exercised? And how are they using their time in power, their resources, and their alliances to construct a potentially better future?

We want to awaken people's political imagination. That's why we have decided to focus on stories that can build bridges and spark conversations. And we thank the women in academia, the philosophers, the artists, the activists and, of course, the politicians who enriched us with their knowledge and ideas.

"Elected: Women in Politics" (which is also available as a documentary series on YouTube) is about the political innovations of women elected to office in Latin America. Our journey began with a trip to Mexico in 2019, and ended during the Coronavirus pandemic with interviews of women in Bolivia and Brazil via videoconference. Along the way, we went to Colombia, Argentina and Chile, taking a head-first dive into the political scene to hear the stories and ideas of 107 women, among them 96 elected officials: city council members, state legislators, mayors, governors and members of Congress. (The other 11 were the academics, philosophers, artists and activists we referenced earlier.) In each of the six countries, we partnered with a local organization that could familiarize us with the political scene and help connect us with our subjects. Of the 107 women, twenty were Black, brown or mixed-race; 78 were white, and eight were indigenous¹.

During our year-and-a-half odyssey, we discovered an incredible world of women in politics, a world of a scope and power we hadn't previously imagined. We also found many challenges. As you will see in the coming pages, joy and pain coexist in the work of these innovative women in politics – and it would be a mistake not to present the good and the bad in full. Our goal is to inspire readers without hiding the extent to which women in Latin America (and elsewhere) risk their very existence the moment they dare enter the world of politics. We do not mean to romanticize them. They do what they do for their own sake and for their love of human dignity.

Our interviewees come from across the political spectrum, and from different classes, races, and walks of life. From a former guerilla fighter in Colombia to the first trans woman to hold elected office in Brazil; 1. Our questionnaire did not ask subjects to declare their race, so these numbers are not based on self-identification. To learn more about our subjects, <u>click here</u>. from a young woman inspired to go into politics by Argentine street demonstrations to a Mexican woman long steeped in her political family's traditions. What they have in common is the courage to question the status quo in an effort to redistribute power, and the firm belief that now is the time for action.

This project is, to be clear, a feminist one. We agree with French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir who said: "You are not born a woman, you become a woman." We understand that while becoming a feminist involves the continuous evolution of an individual, it is also a collective construction. The transformative process is also full of subjectivity that depends on the voices within the group: Black feminism, grassroots feminism, academic feminism, indigenous feminism, and LGBT+ feminism, among others – including those whose struggles do not fit into a specific profile. Our study assumes that each woman deals with the process at her own pace and constructs it in her own way. Our primary criterion for including subjects in the study is that they be aware of their political roles as women. We should point out that when we speak of gender awareness, the gender in question refers to all women, cis or trans, who are aware of the patriarchal system of oppression that has psychologically, physically and sexually abused women for millenia. The women's political work seeks to expand their rights and freedoms.

This study covers a specific time period: it starts with the Ni Una Menos movement that began in Argentina and spurred the rapid expansion of feminism in contemporary Latin America. But we cannot fail to recognize that struggles and resistance efforts by women did not start then, by a long shot: they have always existed, especially in Latin America. The movement was created in many countries, by women of every race and social class. Brazilian women were in the vanguard in the 1980s - during the 1988 Constituent Assembly to create a new Constitution, women like Sueli Carneiro, Heloísa Buarque, Schuma Schumacher, Branca Alves, Jacqueline Pitanguy, Benedita da Silva, Luiza Erundina and others fought to have their rights safeguarded in the country's new charter.

The women's struggle neither began nor ended in this period. Its strength lies in resiliency supported by intergenerationality, the interaction of generations as they exchange practices and knowledge, constantly honoring one another. The youngest woman to be elected to the Buenos Aires City Council, Ofelia Fernández, told us this explicitly: "It's not as if when we were born, in the 2000s, a feminist lightning bolt struck us and the planets aligned. It has been a much longer process that allows us to be who we are and discuss what we discuss today.

In the coming pages, you'll encounter tales of the power – and challenges – of women in politics. The first chapter, **"The Politics of Now: The Utopia of the Present,"** addresses the cultural shift we saw emerging throughout the continent and how the power of the streets has awakened more and more women's desires to run for office and occupy the spaces of power. The second chapter, **"Parity: The Way Forward"** explains how to guarantee women more rights and equality in the rooms where decisions are made. Since we know the path into those rooms is arduous and staying there once you've made it is even harder, we cover the different forms of political violence and ways we can combat it in the third chapter, **"The Challenge of Gender-Based Political Violence."**

We've called the fourth chapter in our study "Imagination in Action." In it, we describe how women have constructed new ways to do politics. This starts with continuous, ongoing interaction between the people and the state in order to combat the personalismo – subordination of the people's interests to that of a leader – so typical of a patriarchal, colonial political system. It also involves transversalism, with women in power crossing party lines to combat the polarization of Latin American politics. Finally, it uses creativity as an ally when crafting solutions to complex problems. This creativity is not so much an instrument as an ethic – a creative ethic.

Finally, in the fifth chapter we amplify the voices of our partners in each of the six countries. And in the appendices, we include information about our methodological choices, references to the studies and research that aided and inspired us throughout the project, and information about Instituto Update and our team.

It is an immense pleasure to be able to share with you what we have learned from these Latin American women, their experiences and their political practices. At a moment in which the future inspires more fear than hope, we feel the responsibility to shed light on their transformative power. We invite you to join us and support the creation of this emergent, urgent future.

Happy reading!



The Politics of Now, The Utopia of the Present

The political imagination of women in Latin America

"We don't think: someday the time for revolution will come. We think the time for revolution is now."

Cecília Palmeiro activist and argentina novelist

The spirit of time lulls political innovation.

Politics is imagination. It is the power to put together our past experiences to imagine alternative realities. It is also an esthetic ability that can create a new form of conducting politics.

Unequal societies do not permit all citizens the right to political imagination. Economic, racial, social or political inequalities distance voters from public debate. This lack of dialogue strains the social fabric – the interactions among people – just as it strains our communities and institutions.

It is only once we come to understand that we are both part of the problem and part of the solution that we seek to exercise our full rights as citizens. That is why social equality, including the eradication of inequalities imposed on women and other political minorities, is so profoundly connected to a healthy democracy.

Today, some Latin American countries have the highest indices of social inequality and femicide in the world. According to <u>UN Women</u>, the region is, excluding war zones, the world's most dangerous for women.

But Latin America is also the region <u>that boasts the highest</u> <u>number of women who have served as head-of-state</u>: Mireya Moscoso (Panama), Violeta Chamorro (Nicaragua), Cristina Kirchner (Argentina), Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), Michelle Bachelet (Chile), and Laura Chinchilla (Costa Rica). The region has also produced ground-breaking legislation promoting gender equality in politics and in the combat of gender-based political violence against women and the LGBT+ community.

IT IS AMONG SUCH CONTRADICTIONS THAT LATIN AMERICA **IS WITNESSING A NEW POLITICAL AWAKENING THIS AWAKENING IS POWERFUL CREATIVE** AND LED BY WOMEN AND AS YOU WILL **SEE IN THE COMING PAGES IT IS ALSO FEMALE**

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The strength of a future that began with our ancestors.

Politics is also an exercise in the future. That future is being drawn up right now by women both in and outside of spaces of power: women who are working to change what goes on around them, to transform society, to engage in politics and to modernize institutions.

And if they are here now, it is thanks to the women who came before them, dreaming up and then paving the way – women like Tereza de Benguela, the Black woman who in the 18th century led the Quilombo de Quariterê (a community of black and indigenous Brazilians) and dedicated her life to fighting for the emancipation of Black people and established within the quilombo a form of government that resembled a modern parliament, with representatives, a counselor, and regular meetings taking place in headquarters.

Or like the groundbreaking thinkers of the 18th century, such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), who started to meet up to demand more rights for women, inspired by the Enlightment's ideals of individual freedom. Her book, A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792), would only be translated and published in Brazil in 1832 by the teacher and activist Nísia Floresta (1810-1885), a Brazilian women's rights pioneer. Some years later, in 1851, the first National Women's Rights Convention of the United States would be remembered for "Ain't I A Woman?", the speech given by Black abolitionist and women's rights activist Sojourner Truth. She reflected on the different realities and perspectives of the women present. The fact that her race and economic status were different from the white women did not negate her status as a woman. And as a Black woman, her claim to equal rights was just as legitimate as the white women who were starting to organize feminist movements.

Not everyone knows that International Women's Day, March 8, dates back to a women's march in New York in 1908 in which participants sought fair wages and the right to vote, demands that did not gain momentum with Brazilian suffragettes until the 1930s.

After winning the right to vote, next came sexual and reproductive rights. In the late 1940s, Simone de Beauvoir published The Second Sex, a work that would influence coming generations, including the women who began taking to the streets in 1968 throughout the United States and Europe. In Brazil as well as many other Latin American countries, the women's movement that spread around the world in the 1970s and 1980s would also fight against the oppression of military dictatorships.

Speaking to us in Chile, the journalist Beatriz Sánchez reminded us of the strength of the women who fought against dictatorship there. In the 1980s, women of different political stripes but all opposed to the regime of Augusto Pinochet came together in a movement called "Women for Democracy." And they did this long before political parties, run by men, did. "They acted in a most interesting manner," Beatriz said. "Silently. These were enormous women's marches conducted in total silence. And the police would come and disperse them with water cannons, quite violently."

After the return to democracy in Brazil, this women's movement became the base of the "lipstick lobby," as the 26 female representatives who fought for a more egalitarian constitution in the 1988 Constituent Assembly were known.



Brazilian feminist movement's political lobby – also known as the 'lipstick lobby', 1988. Around the same time, Lélia Gonzalez, a Black Brazilian intellectual and feminist, wrote several pieces reflecting on the differing trajectories women's resistance to the patriarchy took in Brazil, Latin America and the Caribbean, highlighting stories of Black and indigenous women across the region. As democracy matured, calls to fight domestic violence and rape also became part of public debate, thanks to feminism's strong presence in Congress and civil society. The 1980s also saw the emergence of the first police stations dedicated to crimes against women, government-mandated women's advisory councils, and feminist NGO's, all of which strengthened the movement.

Women's quest for more rights is an ancestral and constantly evolving process. In the 21st century, the movement reached ever more people and harnessed the power of the internet. It became a mass movement sweeping across many societies, as unstoppable as an ocean wave.

With new forms of communication, we also could shift to new language, new symbols. Changing our vocabulary changes the way we understand the world, and the way we organize. Just think of how what we once called "crimes of passion" are now called for what they are: femicides. And this new language is powerful: it changes the way thought is structured and contributes to modernizing an entirely outdated culture.



"It interests me to reconsider the importance of language, of the creation of new language, precisely to create another kind of political organization and another kind of mass conscientization."

Cecília Palmeiro,

argentine scholar of Queer feminism, novelist and activist of the #NiUnaMenos movement.

Out of the house, into the streets.

"Each era has a role, a responsibility," we were told by representative Jó Pereira, president of the Commission on Children, Adolescents and Women's Rights of the State Assembly of Alagoas, Brazil. "In the past, women fought for the right to vote, the right to be voted for. I think the role of this generation is to occupy spaces."

And she is right. The study that you are reading starts with one such movement organized on social media: *Ni Una Menos* ("Not One Less Woman"), in Argentina, the beginning of a true women's uprising in Latin America. Across Peru, Paraguay, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, anyone who participated in these protests would have heard the chant: "Look out, chauvinists: Latin America will be all feminist. "

The first Ni Una Menos march, on June 3, 2015, attracted an impressive 300,000 people. From then on, the wave became a tsunami: 500,000 people, then 800,000.

2. The uprising was powered by organic movements, networked organizations, the strength of women's indignation. There was also a theoretical uprising in the background – one of gender studies where race and gender converged, or of the theories of racial inequality viewed through the lens of decolonization. Oppression of women in Latin America still bears the deep scars of colonization.

WHAT WAS MOST STRIKING T THE MASSES WAS **A B O** PR R 5 WAR HS. DANCES Ξ EUP ٨ ARK R 리 POLITICS NSTIT UTION

But don't be fooled by the joy of the marches: there was also anger, indignation, fatigue. There was also power. *Ni Una Menos* nudged femicide into the popular consciousness and newspaper headlines.

"The public debut of this collective body of 300,000 people who had never, ever appeared on the streets before was the result of a poetic calling," said Argentine activist Cecilia Palmeiro. It was as if poetry had been translated into the language of social networks. "And the language of social networks was translated into the bodies on the streets."

Ni Una Menos awakened <u>a wave of women's uprisings throughout</u> <u>Latin America.</u> In Argentina, that wave became Maré Verde - the Green Tide – a campaign to legalize abortion. In 2018, two million women took part in demonstrations sporting green handkerchiefs, which become the symbol of the movement.

Also in 2018, Argentina's Chamber of Deputies – the lower house of Congress – passed a bill drafted by both female deputies and members of civil society. But it was defeated in the Senate. The "tide" didn't achieve its ultimate goal, but it did manage to bring the subject of abortion to the nation's dinner tables.

After *Ni Una Menos*, women in Brazil (and those in neighboring countries) seized upon the meaning of March 8th as a day of protest and each year the marches have grown.

Ni Una Menos also inspired Brazilian women to <u>organize</u> <u>demonstrations against then-president of the Brazilian Chamber</u> <u>of Deputies Eduardo Cunha,</u> who had authored a bill restricting women's access to legal abortions.

The protests intensified as Brazilain women demanded answers about the assassination of Rio de Janeiro city council member Marelle Franco on March 14, 2018, and returned to the streets once again to protest the presidential candidacy of Jair Bolsonaro with a clear message: #EleNão (#NotHim). The next year, in Mexico, #NoMeCuidanMeViolan (#TheyDontTakeCareOfMeTheyRapeMe) brought women to the streets to protest police violence.

The most recent of these uprisings took place at the end of 2019 in Chile when women from the LASTESIS collective closed off a street in Valparaíso and sang "Patriarchy is a judge that convicts us for being born. And our punishment is the violence you don't see. It is femicide. Impunity for my killer. It is the disappearing of people. It is rape." The Politics of Now, The Utopia of the Present

#EleN

#NotHin BUS WAU +AMOR +AMOR +RESPENTO

No MeCuidan MeViolan heyDontTakeCareOfMeTheyRapeMe

#UnVioladorEnTuCamino #ARapistInYourPath

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The choreographed dance that went along with the song went viral amidst a wave of protests that paralyzed Chile at the end of that year. In the days that followed, the music and accompanying choreography called "A Rapist in Your Path" was performed by women in cities that included Bogotá, Mexico City, New York, Barcelona, Paris and Sydney. The message of the women of Valparaíso was felt by women around the world. The anthem went global.

"This particular way of being political is not exclusive to our times," said Chilean journalist Beatriz Sánchez. "Women defied the status quo at other moments in time, as well, as was the case with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina." But taking to the streets with political discourse done as poetry, celebration of togetherness, music, dance, glitter: these were poetic test-runs, experiments with new forms of power. She continued: "Though the tone is accusatory, it is also performance. We're being the opposite of the system we're criticizing. There is something deeply powerful in that."



When we took to the streets, we did not return home unchanged. We introduced the act of questioning into the family structure that is so vital a cultural factor [in Latin America].

Today, in every corner of Latin America, women are regaining the ability to reimagine politics. The new politics is focused on human dignity, reduction of inequality, the preservation of female life, the right to health and happiness – in other words, the polar opposite of the old (yet still current) politics of violence, military power and lethal force.

Out of the streets and into politics.

This system of organization, where groups are not so much on opposing sides as in connecting circles, transforms women both inwardly and politically, and is experienced both individually and collectively.

Those who have participated in one of the marches know the physical sensation of being among thousands of people united in a cause: it is electrifying. For some, it is transformative.

To hear from other women who live through the same kind of daily violence as you do is to understand that the personal is political and the political personal. Such an experience can change how a woman feels within herself and empower groups of women to make collective demands. It alters society's culture at its base; bringing it into institutional politics can produce real revolution.

In the words of Argentine legislator Victoria Donda: "The place of women in politics has changed. And these girls who took to the streets came home forever changed." Donda knows this all too well: the daughter of militants who were killed by the Argentine dictatorship, she was born while her mother was still imprisoned at the Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada, better known as ESMA. She was kidnapped and raised as the daughter of a former mayor and his wife. Yet, from an early age, she was drawn by student activism. In 2003, at age 26, she discovered her true identity as the 78th granddaughter of the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo; it was soon after that she became interested in institutional politics.



Out of the streets into the institutions.

A woman's experience in a demonstration or political debate changes her perceptions and can impact her day-to-day thinking and awaken her consciousness over her political role in society. Feminism in its different forms can be strong enough to politicize one's life.

Women young and old, from old money and no money, old-school and revolutionary: they embody the spirit of our time. They have realized that they can make a change, and dream of a new political day.

The good news is that this awakening is already bearing fruit. Women are running for office more than ever. And they are winning.

In Chile's last Congressional elections, the number of female senators rose from six to 10 (of 43 total) and the number of deputies went from 19 to 35, out of 155 seats. In Brazil, the last election brought the total number of female deputies to 77 from 51 (out of 513), but the majority of them were still white women. For 43 of the 77, it was their first time elected to Congress. Women make up 42percent of the Senate and 39percent of the Chamber of Deputies in Argentina, the pioneer in adopting gender quotas for <u>Congress.</u>

In Mexico, where gender parity legislation was already in place in the last election, the Senate is now majority-female. Last year, Mexico expanded its gender parity to include the three branches of government on federal, state and local levels. In Bolivia, 52percent of the Congress is female, the highest rate in Latin America. To get a closer look at some of these women's stories and to understand how they are transforming politics, we mapped 600 innovative women in six countries and interviewed 107 of them, including 96 elected officials. The remainder included philosophers, academics, writers and activists.

Though quite different from one another, these women had some things in common. We consider them to be weavers who are reconstructing the social fabric of their countries. Gender-conscious, they are taking over public spaces that in many cases were not designed for them, since they were created by white men for white men.

Whether from families of politicians or political novices, the women were drawn down this path by their deep discomfort with inequality. In Mexico, Senator Martha Lucía Mícher Carmena found her political calling because she believed she needed to do something for the poor. "But I liked to sing and wanted to become a performer," she said. "And I couldn't find a way to reconcile her two goals. Finally, my husband and I went to live in a rural community and started a peasant organization."

Joining institutional politics can go one of two ways for these women: some join organizations whose ideals are in line with theirs, others are invited to run for office by political parties where that might not be the case.

It must be noted that in many countries, quota laws oblige political parties to name at least a certain percentage of female candidates. But even though often this process is a mere façade, there are parties truly looking for powerful and innovative new women. After all, it's no longer possible to ignore them.

That was the case with Victoria Donda, who, after finding out her parents were murdered militants, went through the process of coming to grips with her newfound identity. "And then, in 2007, they invited me to join the list of deputies to represent the province of Buenos Aires," she said. "I entered the Chamber as the youngest woman ever elected."

Though they share common interests, particularly in fighting social inequalities, these innovative women support diverse political goals: they speak of youth policy, education, domestic violence, and social services for the vulnerable (often considered "women's issues") but also fight to be heard in debates about the economy, planning, and infrastructure, typically the domain of male leaders.

BECAUSE THE PLACE OF A WOMAN IS WHEREYER SHEWANTS.

Victoria Sandino, Colombian senator PRESIDENTE

From politics back to the streets.

This movement that starts in the streets and then occupies spaces of power also helps empower women at the grassroots level. "Feminist power is circular," according to Gabriela Cerruti, a journalist, writer and Argentine deputy. "We women organize ourselves in circles that connect with one another."

This new way of doing politics was born of collective debate and is nurtured by it. In the case of these innovative women, this relationship is not constructed around conference room tables. It is spontaneous, transforming the act of political participation into something lighter and more creative.

Cultivating spaces for exchange and reflection; building contacts with political parties, organizations and collectives; and sharing strategies are fundamental parts of this political renewal. And it is from these exchanges that come such innovative ideas as independent and collective candidacies (to be explained later) and experiments in governing.

When diverse voices are heard by having citizens take part in the decision-making process, the solutions for urgent problems become transversal, taking into account economic, political, racial, social and cultural contexts. Empathy removes the polarization from debate and discussion and builds common ground or a fairer and more equal society. WE WOME DRGANZE

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It is because of this new way of doing politics – one that is more collaborative and circular – that many women in the field are able to work in a way that supersedes partisanship. Driven by a common cause, they cross party lines to create alliances that would not even occur to conventional politicians.

This transversality helps women accelerate the process of finding solutions. It not only makes them stronger by working together, but it goes against the *personalismo* so deeply rooted in Latin American politics. What matters is what gets done, not who does it.

The Chilean journalist Beatriz Sánchez, who once ran for president, points out the innovative and collective character of women's political initiatives. "They'll do things like write a song, share it on social media, and let everyone take ownership of it without the need to say 'This is mine,'" she said. "It's about creating community, opening one's wings, being free."

Being able to see things from another's point of view affects the way we experience inequalities and social violence. Mexican federal deputy Martha Tagle, one of the top leaders in the 2012 campaign for gender parity in Congress, points out that women are, after all, the main victims of inequality and violence.



"Those who search for their disappeared children are women. So we are the ones that surfer and who most understand that the solution for criminality in our country is not to put more police or soldiers on the streets. It has to do with many other things, which we know from our life experiences as WOMEN." Martha Tagle

The utopia of the present: urgent and emergent action

Politics can be seen as an instrument for achieving utopia – a society we imagine as perfect, where all are equal and live in harmony. What we discovered in the course of this study is that innovative women in politics prefer to focus on the now. Do it first, figure out the details later. Adjust and re-adjust as you go. But above all, do it. Seek a solution. Because the problems urgently call for one.

These are women who don't dream about traditional politics. They seek a new way to be political. "Let's stop talking about dreams," the Argentine national deputy Gabriela Cerruti told us. "Wants are not the same as dreams. Wants mean putting the possibility of doing something squarely in the present." She noted that when politics is done by men, we're always heading somewhere further away: "Nothing is worse than the idea of utopia as a place we will never reach." As the poem by Eduardo Galeano goes: "Utopia lies at the horizon. When I draw nearer by two steps, it retreats two steps."

One solution that had immediate impact was <u>Micaela's Law</u>, passed in Argentina in January 2019, which required public servants from the three branches of government to attend gender and gender violence training to better be able to recognize inequality and to create strategies to eliminate it.

The law pays tribute to Micaela García, a young woman who was raped and killed at age 21 by a man who had been placed on parole despite a record of sex crimes. Even the new president of Argentina at the time, Alberto Fernández, went through Micaela's Law training. In his inaugural address in January, 2020, he promised to support a bill in Congress decriminizing abortion. He has since been called by female title Presidenta Alberta. Silvia Lospennato, a political scientist and national deputy, spoke to us about the importance of Micaela's Law in Argentine society: "There are a great number of flaws in the justice system that stem from the lack of a gender perspective. Most people had no idea that inequality between men and women is structural and present in many areas, including economic, physical and sexual violence."

In Caruaru, in Brazil's Pernambuco state, Mayor Raquel Lyra of the PSDB party came up with the idea of integrating policies so that the result might improve the economic and social indices of the city as a whole. The revival of *Monte do Bom Jesus*, a tourist attraction that had been abandoned, provides a good example. The construction created jobs for those in the area: in addition to a new street lighting project and a recreational area for kids, they also constructed eight stalls for traditional tapioqueiras (women who prepare and sell tapioca) who also took a gastronomy course. A day-care center was built; dozens more are planned. And in addition, meals served at schools at day-care centers now include fruits and vegetables from local family-run farms. The mayor understood that these problems were interconnected, and thus the solutions should be, too.



Innovative women in politics have not abandoned utopia as an ideal, but work with a more urgent version of it: the utopia of the present.

For that utopia to take place here and now, more women need to enter politics, women who are going to question the patriarchal logic of hierarchy and who are engaged with a new kind of political action. And that search for more women is the subject of our next chapter.

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Jimena Costa, political scientist and former federal deputy, Bolivia.



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Parity: The Way Forward

More women in power, with power.

"More women in power means more perspectives brought to the table, and an agenda that has more to do with democracy."

Áurea Carolina, federal deputy, Brazil "That's where being willing to serve the system, to compete within the system, comes in. We've always been on the streets."

Jô Cavalcanti, state assembly member, Brazil

Women are taking power

As we discussed in the last chapter, women are increasingly occupying positions of power. But this is not the result of some magic trick or thanks to the good will of the establishment. The proof: <u>to this day only 24percent of</u> <u>seats in the world's parliaments are held by women.</u> And of the 193 member states of the United Nations, only ten are run by women.

If we women make up half the population, why aren't we better represented in politics? If the majority of the Brazilian population is Black, why are only 2percent of its legislators Black women? And why was it only in 2018 that the first indigenous woman was elected to Congress?

> "The Latin American woman is a sustainer of life. She lives in all kinds of communities: [low-income areas like] favelas and *quebradas*, quilombos [whose inhabitants are descended from Blacks who fled slavery], indigenous communities, cities," said Áurea Carolina, once the most voted for councilwoman in the history of Belo Horizonte and now a federal deputy. "This wealth of experience must become part of the political system." According to her, when Latin American women occupy places of political power, they are disrupting "the colonial logic that is at the root of our upbringing and is perpetually being reproduced...If nothing interrupts this

model – and if something does, it will be women who find the solution for our political system, since it will come from solutions of daily life – there will be no collective solution."

This women's movement that is seeking space in the political system wants no more than that which is just: gender parity. Parity means the political representation of the people in a descriptive sense: that is to say, the presence of their bodies. In other words, decisions made with half input from men and half from women – in public office, in councils, in all our institutions.

"Each era has a role to play, has its own responsibilities," said Jô Pereira, an assembly member in the state of Alagoas, Brazil. "Women of past eras fought for the right to vote, for the right to be voted for. I think this generation's role is to occupy the spaces."

In Argentina, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Ecuador, gender parity is a reality in national legislatures. Meanwhile, Mexico and Bolivia are at the forefront of the movement, with parity achieved across the three branches of government (executive, legislative and judiciary) and planned for all levels of government (community, municipal, state and federal).

In our travels through Latin America, we asked women who are innovating in politics what their greatest wish was. The answer? More women in politics, women who are committed to the fight for rights from a gender perspective.

Gender, by the way, is usually used to refer to one's biological sex. That is an error. We want to emphasize here that gender is much more than that. It involves social attributes associated with each sex, which is then connected to the imposition of social roles and expectations of what is seen as male and female behavior.

But we must bear in mind that women make a difference only when they are conscious of gender inequality. In other words, when they recognize when their rights are violated, see the restraints imposed by society, and want to free themselves from them.

And since we women are many, we are diverse, and we are scattered throughout the land, we must add that gender awareness also means looking toward having that same diversity of women in positions of power. White women, Black women, indigenous women, women from quilombolas, young women, disabled women, lesbians and trans women, women from poor areas, women from Amazonian riverbank communities, from rural as well as urban areas: women that make up the feminine universe and need to be represented politically so they can take part in decisions that reach everywhere and transform society as a whole. Gender consciousness with political parity and the recognition that our societies are diverse and that the more diversity there is in power, the more public policy will reflect people's daily realty: This is a win-win scenario for everyone, and makes democracy stronger.

Symbolism and subjectivity are also very important for breaking our society's patriarchal and racist structures. Though these kind of changes can seem subtle, they can lead to real, more concrete changes: different bodies occupying the spaces of institutional politics, different colors brightening political activity, normalizing the presence of women, the presence of Black women, the presence of the LGBT+ community, until we reach a politics that is diverse enough to represent society as a whole.

Andreia de Jesus, a state assembly member in Minas Gerais, Brazil, spoke of just how much this diversity, and connection with everyday life, is important in building more democratic cities and societies. As she put it: "the daily experiences of Black men and women, in favelas, having barbecues and using their cars' sound systems to throw *baile funk* parties, is also a tool of political narrative."

Over in Argentina, Eva Mieri, a city council member in Quilmes, said that promoting diversity in places of power is something those women and men who have managed to occupy those places must continue to pursue. "It is our job to make sure that neighborhood women's voices are heard, that prostitutes, lesibians, trans women's voices are heard, that the women who work in cooperatives, those who are trash pickers, are also heard because those voices are not represented," she said.

In Argentina, Silvia Lospennato, an Argentine federal deputy with ex-president Mauricio Macri's party, the PRO, said that only in the last two decades have female Argentine legislators started to understand that despite their differing political stances, they needed to come together on common issues. "Regardless if one is more neo-liberal, or more on the left," she said, "if one is a professional and the other a factory worker, we are all victims of discrimination."

That's why, once in power, women create alliances that go beyond party lines and also enlist civil society organizations to advance their projects, so that there is pressure both from within the institutions and from outside.

The Chilean anthropologist Cristina Girardi, today a federal deputy, told us that it was thanks to the coalition of women deputies from all parties in her country that they were able to change the name of their institution from



Câmara de Diputados ("Chamber of Deputies," using the masculine "diputados" form, to the more inclusive *Câmara de Diputados y Diputadas*. It might seem a mere detail, but according to one deputy it impacted the culture of the chamber:

"Previously, every time a woman deputy would say, 'I'm a *deputada*, not a *deputado*, everyone would laugh at her. It was a bizarre situation. In that sense, it was quite a change."

Cristina Giraldi

Effecting the kind of concrete change that unleashes a cultural shift is the goal of these innovative women. But to get it across the finish line, they must first hold decision-making roles. That demands time and effort, new laws and the monitoring resources to ensure that those laws are enforced.

From gender quota laws to gender parity

+ Timeline

Latin America scores above the world average for women's representation in institutional politics: 31.6 percent of the seats in lower houses of Congress throughout the region are filled by women, compared to a world average of 24.5 percent. One of the countries pushing both indices downward is Brazil, where just 15 percent of federal deputies are women. That's the highest it has ever been, but it's still very low, especially when you realize that just 13 of the 513 seats are occupied by Black women, and that it was only in 2018 that the country elected the first indigenous woman to Congress, Joênia Wapichana. Meanwhile, in that same year, Costa Rica elected a Black woman as vice president for the first time: Epsy Campbell Barr.

Though the numbers are hardly satisfactory, Latin America has been able to surpass the global average thanks to affirmative policies, particularly quota laws. In the 1990s, after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, several Latin American countries passed such laws requiring that at least a specified percentage of candidates must be women.

Quota laws are a form of redress that require the slates of each political party to be gender-balanced. It's public policy that incentivizes women to run for office under the same conditions as men and accelerates the inclusion of women in politics to correct a historic imbalance.

Little by little, thanks to such laws, some of the countries covered in this study have managed to reach gender parity. In
Argentina, for example, the first "parity elections" took place in 2019, when the parties were required to run equal numbers of male and female candidates.

Diana Maffía, an Argentine philosopher, told us that throughout the debate about gender parity, she heard the most absurd arguments from those against it. "They would tell me: ok, so now we could have quotas for homosexuals, for indigenous people, for disabled people," she said, to which she responded, "Look, this may come as a surprise to you, but half of homosexuals, half of indigenous people and half the disabled are women."

The quota laws do not guarantee, however, that women are elected. In the cases of countries where the minimum percentage of female candidates was set at 30, it has been common for only half to be elected, Kátia Uriona, ex-president of the Electoral Tribunal of Bolivia, explained to us. In her country it was only through the pressure of civil society and increased consciousness of the importance of political plurality that Congress itself finally turned egalitarian: today, women comprise 53 percent of the Chamber of Deputies and 47 percent of the Senate.

It is necessary to go beyond affirmative action and create institutional mechanisms to ensure financing for female candidates.



Encontro Ocupa Política (Occupy Politics Meeting) in Recife, Brazil 2019 Only through gender and racial perspectives does democracy mirror the daily lives of the population.

Bolivia and Mexico: where parity is reality

Thanks to a constitutional reform passed in 2006, Bolivia made history by becoming the first country in the world to achieve gender parity. Rosario Ricaldi, who took part in that Constituent Assembly, told us that to achieve inclusion of parity in the Constitution, women put together multiparty, multisector alliances: "It was a historic movement for the women's movement in Bolivia."

Making up a third of that body, the members worked side by side with the *Mujeres presentes en la historia* ("Women present in history") coalition, which brought together around 25,000 women – including Black, indigenous, and peasant women – to draft proposals for the new Constitution. The movement also had an essential ally inside: the president of the assembly, a Quechua woman named Silvia Lazarte.

"It was vitally important to engage women who, despite their political differences, were able to mobilize sufficiently to constitutionalize gender equality in Bolivia," said Bolivian senator Mirtha Arce.

Though Mexico passed its gender quota law for legislative elections just one year before Brazil, its road to parity has been much smoother. A 30 percent gender quota was imposed on federal elections in 1996, but since the election for legislators uses closed-list proportional representation, it soon became clear that though women were being included, they were ranked so low by parties that they stood little chance of being elected. In 2002, the law was modified to require that female candidates be ranked more fairly by their parties.

In 2014, the country instituted similar gender parity measures on all levels of legislative elections: local, state and federal. Today, the Mexican Congress is egalitarian: half the deputies are women, half are men. In the Senate, women have actually captured the majority, holding 52 percent of seats. When we arrived in Mexico on May 23, 2019, we were witness to a historic vote: the law that made gender parity vertical³(across the three branches of government) as well as horizontal (local, municipal, state and federal). That means that at least half the candidates for any public post must be women. "My strategy to get the parity law passed was inclusion," Senator Kenia López told us.



"In other words, inclusion of all women. Not to attach my name to the project. I thought 'I'm going to try to get signatures from all the parties, whether they are on the right, in the center, or on the left'. That is inclusion." Kenia López

Like in Bolivia, the female Mexican legislators had support from women in the streets. In the Mexican case, civil society made its presence felt through the *Mujeres en Plural* coalition, which had been pressing for more space in politics and helping monitor quota laws since 1996.

In Brazil the 1997 electoral law still in place today instituted a quota of 30 percent and was a positive development, but it was soon discovered that many parties weren't filling the spots reserved for women and yet were not penalized for it. It was not until 2012 that electoral courts in Brazil began to monitor them and hand out punishments. But even then, political parties concocted fraud schemes in which they recruited women with no real interest in running for office to fill the spots, candidates known in Brazil as *laranjas* (oranges). This was one of the reasons the women's caucus in the Brazilian Congress has grown only at a snail's place since.

Today, thanks to a transparency policy installed by the Superior Electoral Court, you can actually follow the perverse tactics that the parties still use, election by election. In the nationwide 2016 municipal elections, at least 25 of the 35 parties put up female candidates that had no chance of winning. The evidence: they all got between zero and one votes.

3. The term one of our interviewees used to describe parity in Mexico.

Still, Brazilian women in Congress have managed to come together several times to push legislation through. In 1995, a bill passed outlawing companies from requiring women to submit documentation that they were not pregnant or sterilized; the 2004 penal code and the 2006 Maria de Penha Law classified domestic violence as a crime; and in 2015, under President Dilma Rousseff, the first woman elected president in Brazil, femicide was included in the civil code as an aggravating circumstance for the crime of homicide.



That was possible because the women we interviewed had a strategy: unite around common causes regardless of political party.

"We're all different, we don't agree on a lot of social and economic issues, among other things. But when it comes to more rights for women, the women's caucus works together," said Tábata Amaral, a Harvard graduate who double-majored in political science and astrophysics, returned to Brazil and is now a first-term federal deputy.

Lucila Di Ponti, the youngest woman ever elected to the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, dispels the image some people have when they imagine a scenario with more women in politics: "It's not like everything becomes dreamy, like the Care Bears. But I do believe that institutions would become more friendly places, and that there would be a much closer relationship between institutions and society."

For example, the Brazilian Senate had no women's bathroom in the chamber itself until 2016. Prior to that, female senators would have to use the restroom in the cafeteria whereas their male peers didn't even have to leave the voting area to go to the bathroom. This architectural omission seemed to say: "This is no place for a woman."



"If you look at the legislative bodies, at city halls, at the Senate, the National Congress, you'll see that the great majority is male. To be a woman in these spaces is an act of resistance."

Katia Cunha, co-assembly member, Pernambuco state, Brazil.

What changes when more women are in power?

Once in power, women change the way politics is done. Not that "women in politics" can be considered a single category. There are also women who operate on the opposite side, defending politics of exclusion.

To explain that phenomenon, Argentine deputy Victoria Donda turned to a cycling metaphor: "I believe that power is a bicycle seat made for a male body. And as a woman, you have three options: you either sit down and get used to it, which means you exercise your power in a masculine way, using brute force and imposing authority from a violent perspective; or you accept that this seat is not for you, and don't exercise power; or, you change the seat. And as I see it, we must change the seat and change the form in which we exercise power."

The women in our study want to change how power works because they don't occupy their spaces thinking about how to perpetuate their own power. They come motivated to find solutions for the social problems that got them involved in politics in the first place.

> In other words, their motivation is not individual, it's collective. And that's a transformative way of looking at things. Through teaching how politics works, women in politics and in this study emancipate both male and female citizens and secure their legacy – even if they are not reelected. Employing empathy, they reduce polarization. As Mayra Mendoza, the mayor of Quilmes, Argentina, put it, they are "building politics through collective work, not centralization."

Women's political activities stitch the work they do within institutions together with their work outside of them. Often, to weave this new form of politics, the need rises to create new vocabulary. Take, for example, the *Juntas* ("Women Together") – a group of five leftist women currently dividing a term of office in the state assembly of Pernambuco. They have taken the masculine noun for term of office in Portuguese, *mandato*, and made it feminine, calling their term a *mandata*. What is a *mandata*? The five women ran a collective campaign for one seat and won, becoming five elected co-deputies. At first, only one was granted access to the areas of the assembly restricted to deputies. But they managed to eliminate that rule and today all five have unrestricted access.



Another example of innovation is the *Gabinetona*, in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, which brought together four office-holders around shared strategies. They include federal deputy Áurea Carolina, state assembly member Andreia de Jesus and city council members Cida Falabella and Bella Gonçales of Belo Horizonte. The *Gabinetona* works with the support of 90 activists and with movements that identify pressing social issues via a social technology they created called the *Mapa de Lutas* (or Map of Struggles).



"As representatives, we need to be constantly connecting with those who understand and act on our agenda to guide our actions, our resistance and the way we make laws." Aurea Carolina.

In Mexico, Senator Marta Tagle was also looking for a group of activists and intellectuals who could advise her on issues of human rights, women's rights, drug policy and environmental protection. Her idea became known as a "citizen's caucus."

In São Paulo, state assembly member Érica Malunguinho, the first black transsexual female to serve in the body, called her cabinet the *Mandata Quiolombo*: a team of advisors composed of mostly women (cis and trans) who made their top priority to provide services to the Black population. She also created political *terreiros*, using the term for a house of worship in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé religion, to be "a school of politics, sociology, political theory, as well as a way advisors could be present in different places." The demands the team hears during such activities at the *terreiros* are then forwarded to the appropriate authorities. "It becomes an actual training process in understanding which responsibilities that fall to the state, and which to federal and municipal governments," she said. "We explain how institutional power flows."

Maintaining this kind of direct dialogue with civil society was also a priority for Márcia Lucena, the mayor of Conde in Paraíba state, Brazil.

There, a "shared management" law – the first of its kind in Brazil – keeps the population abreast of public works and government services through WhatsApp groups. Government workers and agents are required to respond directly to citizen's questions. "And it's beautiful, marvelous," Lucena said. "At first my team would come to me saying 'Mayor, for the love of God, we're going to go crazy.' The team is small and the work is a monster. 'If you enact that law, we're going to die from all the work, we're not going to be able to keep up.' And I said, 'On the contrary, the work already exists, this nuisance you foresee already exists. What we're going to do is educate the public so that the nuisance can be an instrument of transformation in society. We're going to clean up this mess.""

In Araraquara, in São Paulo state, Brazil, city council member Thainara Faria, who works on issues of Black and marginalized youth as well as LGBT+ rights, has been striving for transparent accountability to citizens. On social media networks like Instagram, she shows herself doing her job in real time. "After a meeting, I use Instagram stories to tell my audience what we talked about, why we talked about it," she said. "I explain why it's important."

In Mexico, Irma Juan, a federal deputy from the state of Oaxaca and president of the Commission on Indigenous Peoples, wanted to do away with the image of the deputy who only showed up in town at election time to seek votes. Every week, he visits villages in her state to hear the voters' demands and explain to them how Congress works.w



Thus, she empowers voters to join in the political debate. With information in their hands, they're free to make their own choices, undoing the old currais eleitorais (a system through which powerful farmers intimidated low-income women) of patriarchal politics.

Yes to more women in politics. Gender-conscious women, please.

In May 2018, the women's caucus of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies scored a huge victory when the Federal Supreme Court ruled that a minimum of 30 percent of the federal "political party fund" must go to finance women candidates. As a result of that decision, 30 percent of a different source of campaign funds, the federal Electoral Fund, would also go to women. The election of women took off, with numbers up 40 percent in 2018.

The women's caucus celebrated its growing numbers, <u>but</u> soon realized that some of their new female colleagues <u>did not support their shared agenda.</u> Even worse: they wanted to reverse the victories the women had won, seeking, for example, the end of the very gender quotas that might have been responsible for getting them the support of their parties in the first place.

Such difference of opinion is a reflection of society: women are not, after all, a homogenous group. "Not all women represent women," said María Fernanda Rojas, a city council member in Bogotá who specializes in urban mobility and institutional transparency.

There are others who follow "the traditional logic of highly sexist, highly patriarchal politics that does not allow them to see themselves as women first, politicians second," said Fernanda Ortiz, a high school student leader elected to a Chilean regional assembly in 2018. WE ARE NOT ALL THE SAME **WE ARE INDIGENOUS BLACK WHITE: CIS: TRANS AND LGBT**+. WE COME FROM DIFFERENT SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUNDS **WE DISAGREE ON RELIGIOUS** ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT IS TO **BE AWARE OF THE POLITICAL ROLE** WE PLAY AS WOMEN

In Mexico, Senator Kenia López told us that when she was serving as a running mate (a suplente, or back-up) to a male deputy, she asked him why he had selected her: "He told me: 'Because the party forced me to choose a woman." She realized that without quotas, she wouldn't have gotten there on her own merits.`

The good news is that gender-conscious women are indeed being elected in Latin America. In many cases, they have managed to help their female colleagues understand that all women are in the same boat and thus need to all row in the same direction.

Getting elected is just the first step.

After meeting all these women who managed to get themselves elected and are changing the way society is reflected in government, we realized that the election itself is just the first step. Challenging the system from within – in other words, innovating – involves confronting resistance that is neither trivial nor easy to overcome. Many people still don't vote for women for the simple fact that they are women. And those women who are elected, regardless of their politics, suffer what we call gender-based political violence. And in the case of Black and indigenous women, there's the additional specter of racial violence.

The next chapter is about how to survive in such an environment, which can resemble a war zone, and how to fight for existence and resistance in a collective and democratic fashion.



"We have made it into power by overcoming hardships together with other women and other men, with organizations, with parties, with institutions, by fostering debate; we didn't do it alone, but we made it. [These difficulties] have always been there and. To me, any woman who disagrees and yet managed to become mayor, deputy or senator, is simply not seeing the difficulties or it is too painful to see them. But they exist in all political organizations. "

Mónica Fein, mayor, Argentina

Parity: The Way Forward

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Blenny Valecillas, city council member, Colômbia.



The Challenge of Gender-Based Political Violence

Political violence is the enemy.

On the eve of the campaign, I was riding in one car and switched to another. The car I had been in was hit by five bullets."

Brazilian mayor

"If there is any activity that is particularly sexist, politics is. Politics has long been the kingdom of men."

Colombian mayor

If more women are to be represented in politics, we must fight gender-based political violence. In this chapter, we'll address this topic by using real stories of women in institutional politics. We have chosen not to reveal the names of those women because there still do not exist effective judicial processes to hear these sorts of complaints and, more importantly, to protect the victims themselves.

> On our journey through Latin America, we met dozens of innovative women occupying spaces of power, which was invigorating. But we also ran headlong into a frightening statistic: 99 percent of the women we interviewed told us they had been the victim of some kind of violent act.

> There's a name for preventing a woman from exercising her political rights to vote – and to be voted for – using psychological, sexual or physical aggression: gender-based political violence. And it is worth dispelling a common misunderstanding: genderbased violence is not an attack directly against a specific gender, but an attack motivated by expectations of the role the victim should be playing in our society. The perpetrators of violence against women generally believe that the only roles for women are those of submission.

One of the Chilean city council members we interviewed told us that she had been educating women about the political system, since she was 16. She said there are historic biases about the role women play in society: **"I've been insulted many times by men who tell me that 'ando hueveando' as we say in Chile, which means I'm wasting time or doing something stupid.** And they would say 'Go home and cook.' Or ask 'Where are your children?' It's really hard because they attack you where it hurts the most. They make you feel guilty." Recognizing gender-based political violence might seem simple. But it's so embedded in some societies that we end up assuming that what we are seeing is natural. More recently, however, with uprisings throughout Latin America, more women are becoming aware of the prejudice and gender violence they've been subjected to.

The Inter-parliamentary Union conducted a study in which spoke to female members of Congress in 39 countries and found that 81.8 percent had suffered psychological violence in the workplace, and 44.5 percent had received threats. Around 25 percent of the women had experienced violence within the legislative buildings themselves. For 38.7 percent, the aggression made their terms in office more difficult.

But the percentage of women who have had their political rights attacked may be even higher. As one Mexican senator told us: "I think that all of us women in politics have suffered genderbased violence. Those who say they haven't just didn't recognize it."

In the course of this study, however, we had trouble finding any comprehensive data on political violence in Latin America, as it is not recognized as a category of study by many electoral bodies, in turn making it difficult to create public policy to address the problem.

Gender-Based Political Violence: a current challenge

In any electoral campaign, it's possible to identify a cycle of political violence that passes through every stage. In many countries, quota laws may require a minimum percentage of female candidates and equal funding, and political parties try to circumvent the rules.

But the problem can even start earlier, at home, where many female candidates are pressured not to go into politics in the first place through verbal threats, intimidation, and economic coercion.

One of the state assembly members that we interviewed in Brazil – someone whose career has been dedicated to racial equality – went through this from the moment she decided to run for office: **"I would hear it from my own family. Every time I would get home feeling devastated and my mother and other relatives would say: 'Give it up! Don't you see how hard it is? You have to get out of this politics business because it's so painful.'"** She said that Black women struggle even more: **"The image of Black women is never associated with power."**

Leading up to campaigns, many parties – mostly run by men – don't leave room for the candidacies of women. One Colombian senator felt this personally: **"The hardest thing was when I asked for the party's approval. I felt rejected, scorned by everyone, I felt contempt for being a woman.**" Political parties finance **"a woman's candidacy less than a man's,"** said one Chilean deputy. **"So though**

both men and women have the opportunity to run for office, we don't compete on an equal playing field."

Such inequalities especially affect Black and indigenous women, who don't get the same kind of support from political parties or the general population, and receive less campaign financing. According to a study by the organization <u>Mulheres Negras Decidem</u> (Black Women Decide), in Brazil, less than three percent of spending on legislative campaigns went to Black women candidates in 2014. One of our interviewees, a council member from a municipality in São Paulo – Brazil's richest state – learned exactly that lesson when she saw that her campaign wouldn't receive adequate financing and that she would thus have to fund a great deal of it out of her own pocket.

In Chile, a deputy heard the very president of her party say that if women candidates received the additional resources they were asking for **"they would use the money to make coffee or buy baby sweaters." "That doesn't have anything to do with party ideology. It is about maleness, specifically the male unwillingness to make room for women. In that sense, we're all in the same boat, running against the Chauvinism party."**

So there are still parties who would rather skirt the law than support women candidates. In the last Brazilian elections, one party made the news for its scheme to run female candidates as *laranjas*, registering women as candidates even though they were not running; instead they diverted the campaign financing that was designated for those women. In Mexico, these ghost candidates are called *juanitas*. Many schemes have been cooked up for launching *laranjas* or *juanitas*: showing that imagination is useful for things other than reinventing politics. Some of these women candidates are never even informed they're on the ballot. Their rights are thus violated not only by the scheming but by identity theft.

The challenge of juggling multiple daily tasks – career development, political life, self-care, caring for your children and household – discourages many women from entering politics. The way in which politics is organized also keeps them away, with its intense campaigns that require support from others in their family to free them of home obligations. Evening and weekend meetings are hard for many female politicians to reconcile with their personal or marital life, whether that be from lack of time or lack of understanding by their partners. Add to that stories from poorer women who told us of their need to feed their families and care for elderly or ailing relatives.

In Santa Catarina, we interviewed a state assembly member with an established political track record who told us how her ex-husband did not accept her routine of arriving home late every day, even though he himself worked in a behind-the-scenes political position. "Men can't stand it," she said. "They can't stand it for a thousand reasons. They can't stand a woman who gets home later than they do. They can't stand that no one is home to make them dinner. They can't stand that at some point a woman will make more of a name for herself than they themselves are. It's very difficult for a woman to withstand all this pressure. So she ends up giving up her idealistic dreams of building a better country, a better government."

Nor does the male-dominated atmosphere of politics welcome female voices in decision-making. An Argentine senator told us that even when she was vice-governor of a major province, she was disrespected on multiple occasions: **"Every day they would make a sexist joke, or an ironic retort. Or they would exchange glances with one another. They put you to the test in every meeting, where there were ten men and four women."**

Sexist comments bordering on verbal harassment are common in the corridors and spaces of power. In Chile, one of the deputies we interviewed told us she had tired of hearing commentaries like "**Ah**, **you're going to win because you're pretty**" or talk of whether there was some man from the party actually making her decisions for her. She said this happened in Congress as well: "**Hey beautiful, my daughter, little girl.' What is that about? Contempt, disregard.**"

When an Argentine deputy we interviewed took office, she was depicted in the press as "the new sexy Congresswoman." "**No male deputy was described as 'the hot new stud of Congress,**" she told us. "There's always this thing about looking at your physique and at how you dress, that has to do with this idea that a woman in public life has to be pretty, has to be well-dressed." A Colombian senator told us something similar: "A woman mustn't be young, she mustn't be friendly, because then people start singling her out. I can't wear anything sexy because they'll just say 'How did she get this far? Who did she sleep with to get as far as she did?"

Such stories are rampant. And they don't just interfere with the public life of women in office. They also affect her mental health with their exhausting burden.

In extreme situations, women even face sexual harassment. One of the city council members we interviewed encountered such harassment within the very chambers of the city council, when another member told her: **"I hope your skirt splits open."** In another situation, she was physically harassed by the president of a merchant's union. **"He said: 'Wow, you've lost weight,' and slapped my rear,"** she said. **"For me, it was the height of violation."** Sexual harassment is a nefarious cultural legacy of the days of slavery, when the bodies of Black women were seen as possessions.

Judgments by other legislators can also be merciless. **"During a** heated discussion, they immediately want to disqualify us as hysterical, screaming, crazy – which doesn't happen when our male colleagues get worked up," said one Argentine federal deputy.

"I worked in education, in universities, in NGO's, in the U.N., I was a journalist, a columnist, a researcher," a Colombian mayor told us. "I have reported on corrupt politicians, drug dealers, mafiosos. And I never felt such machismo and homophobia before I got to the Senate. The Senate was the most sexist place I have ever worked in my life."

The media's portrayal on how women politicians operate can sink into stereotypes. When women officials are not ignored, they are featured for their beauty or for other attributes that have absolutely nothing to do with their professional capabilities. When a political figure is a woman, commentaries on her always contain an element of superficiality. One Chilean gave some examples: **"Does she comb her hair, or doesn't she? Does she have a boyfriend or not? Is she married or single? Where does she shop for clothes? Does she take good care of herself?"** In Colombia, a senator who used to be a member of the guerrilla told us that the press describes female guerrillas as *chapolas* (or moths) who die when they fly toward the light. **"We're prepared for war, but know nothing about politics. We don't know how to talk to the press, we don't know what the reaction will be. We don't know.**"

And then there's motherhood. We gathered stories of women who were humiliated by their peers for being pregnant, or for taking time for maternity leave, or even for bringing their young children to work to breastfeed them. How is it possible for bodies that create life to find no place in the spaces where the future of their countries are decided?

One of the Brazilian deputies interviewed faced such prejudice twice. When she had to bring her two year-old son to an event, **"they would stand up and say: 'Ah, you brought your kid just because he's so cute and will win you votes,**" she told us. **"Or they would say I was exploiting the child. And I had to get real and tell them: Look, I'm bringing him because he is my son. And I'm campaigning to win votes. One thing has nothing to do with the other: the only one saying that I'm using my child for political purposes is you."**

After she won the election, she felt like the only new student at school. Everyone seemed to know one another except for her: **"So a deputy comes up to me,"** she said, **"an old guy with a mustache, grabs me from the side, gives me a kiss and says: 'There's nothing to worry about, we've already voted on it, and you're one of the prettiest deputies here. You'll be alright."** At that moment, she understood that her colleagues might just be being nice, but that women have to work twice as hard to be taken seriously.

The tenor of the attacks on women candidates during campaigns goes beyond the tone of healthy political debate. Early in her campaign for reelection to a city hall in small-town Brazil, the candidate discovered she had cancer and eventually received threats that someone would rip off her wig in the middle of a rally. **"Twenty days before the election,"** she recounted, **"I was hospitalized with severe pneumonia. I hadn't told anyone I was ill and no one was sure I had anything. But at that moment the opposition found out and do you know what they did? They held a funeral for me."** And finally, the voters themselves can be even more cruel. One of the Argentine deputies we interviewed, who was an active participant in constructing and coordinating the multi-party coalition that backed the *#AbortoLegalYa* (Legal Abortion Now) movement, used the debate over the legalization of abortion as an example. (Though the bill was approved in the Chamber of Deputies, it was rejected in the Senate.) **"Many of our male colleagues voted for it,"** she said. **"But they weren't insulted on social media for doing so like we were."**

And this violence is not just by the voters against the politicians. Female voters themselves are often targeted. There are cases in which women have been coerced, threatened or even beaten into voting for candidates other than the ones the favor. Their oppressors devalue their opinions and their ability to make a choice as justification for the pressure. In some cases they are prevented from voting, either by pressure by an individual or broader social pressure. In the most severe cases of political violence, women – voters, candidates, and office-holders – can be attacked physically, or even murdered.

Such violence can also be directed at identities under the LGBT+ umbrella, such as transexuals and transvestites. One state assembly member in Brazil told us that a male colleague had threatened **"to slap transvestites out of the restroom."** She continued: **"Soon, others went to the podium to say that 'Men are men and women are women.**" The solution she is calling for? Not allowing this kind of violence to be normalized.

In Colombia, a union organizer offended and actually spit in the face of one of a female city council member after she had stood up to him in a public hearing. **"I reported him for gender-based violence,"** she said. **"But now two years and three months have gone by, and nothing has happened. It's shameful."**

Challenges in implementing legislation on the issue: the cases of Bolivia and Mexico.

In Brazil, a bill introduced by a female deputy in Congress – one that calls for three to eight years in prison for political violence "through pressure, persecution, harassment, threats, aggression, physical or psychological, against female candidates, elected officials, appointed officials, or women holding political positions" – is stalled awaiting a vote before the chamber.

In Mexico, gender-based political violence made headlines in the 2015 election when civil society organizations documented cases of blackmail, harassment, rape, torture, and murder of female candidates. In response, the Senate asked the <u>National Electoral Institute (INE in</u> Spanish) and the <u>National Council on the Prevention of</u> <u>Discrimnation (CONAPRED) to weigh in. Since then, the</u> <u>protocol for cases of political violence against women calls</u> for the coordination among the institutions responsible to prevent that women's political and electoral rights be impeded by the violence.

It's not a coincidence that Bolivia and Mexico are the first countries to take measures to combat political violence against women. They are the only two countries we visited that have achieved gender parity, where men and women are just about equally represented in Congress. Why? Because when women participate in decision-making, they make a point of leaving the path wide open for other women to follow them. But even in the countries that have made progress with legislation, civil society and its representatives must constantly be on alert for the laws to be enforced and to avoid any steps backwards. "Bolivia is the country with the greatest rate of political participation of women in Latin America, but at the same time we have the highest rate of violence against women, which is a contradiction," said Mónica Novillo, the executive director of the Bolivian organization <u>*Coordinadora de la Mujer*</u>. She has worked on the issue for more than 20 years.

"The coordination of organizations must have an agenda, must be vigilant that gender parity rules are complied with, must propose new laws, must monitor state assemblies," advised Rosario Sandi, a Bolivian politician who was a part of what was called Commission 9 for Autonomy and Decentralization during the Constituent Assembly of 2006/2007 and supported the incorporation of the Agenda Política de las Mujeres (Women's Political Agenda) into this historic Bolivian framework.

At the other end of the spectrum, in countries that do not have laws to educate and to combat gender-based political violence, the problem is met with silence. The first step forward would be simply to give it a name. It's easy to forget that femicide – the death of a woman for the fact of being a woman – only became a topic of discussion after a 2015 Brazil law championed by then-president Dilma Rousseff defined femicide and made it an aggravating circumstance in homicide cases.

In Argentina, the term made the front page when the *Ni Una Menos* movement was in the streets struggling against gender violence. That's proof, once again, that action by civil society can be a great ally in fostering gender awareness and setting the stage for the drafting of new laws on gender.

THE CYCLE OF ELECTION NCE MUST EI E CYC EWE H E W IS E F R G E 4 ESS E E D NS C G R E RS F E F V F Ε F D D E CA F S R F H F L V SE E CE н H P **RT**. E Ε LS P E D F H L Н S **C**7 A E Н N CS I ٨ H. P P E E E H E D Δ NGE

The politics of life as counterpoint to the politics of death.

Being a woman in politics is like running an obstacle race where the obstacles are twice as big.

But picture this: if, despite all those obstacles, innovative women in politics are managing to set the agenda of political debate and redesign how power is exercised, what will happen when women actually gain equal footing? Something far more powerful.

Look no further than what women have already been able to accomplish. In Pernambuco state, Brazil, a lesbian mayor was deluged with threats during her campaign. Days before the election, bullets were shot at the car she would normally have been using. Despite all this prejudice, she was elected the first lesbian mayor in northeastern Brazil. "When I get into a fight, I'm there to fight," she said. "Win or lose, I'm there to compete. I went in with my head held high, knowing full well that I might encounter some obstacles. I found a lot of them. But we also broke a lot of taboos in our city."

Another accomplishment: the election of three former advisors of Marielle Franco to the Rio de Janeiro state legislative assembly. In fact, in the Brazilian the elections of 2018, innovative women, Black women, LGBT+ women and women from poor communities across the country broke barriers when they were elected in their cities.

This new generation of elected women has come into a political scene that values gun ownership, deforestation and science denial over life, dignity, and sustainable construction. And that's our topic in the next chapter. The Challenge of Gender-Based Political Violence

IT IS INDISPUTABLE HAT THE SOARING **IMBERS OF BLACK** WOMEN BECOMING PART OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK SINCE **2018 IS A RESPONSE TO THOSE WHO TRIED TO SILENCE BLACK WOMEN TO SUPPRESS THOSE WHO ARE NOW OCC PLACES WHERE DECISIONS ARE**

Black female lawyer elected to the Minas Gerais, Brazil, state assembly in 2018.

MARIELLE PRESENTE, HOJE E SEMPRE!



Imagination in practice

Political innovation by women: an invitation.

"The hope of Latin America – of the developing world – is us: women and young people. Because we are the force of change, of renewal. We bring a new agenda: entrepreneurship, equality, environmental consciousness, economic growth with justice."

Cláudia López,

Colombian mayor

"In a patriarchal world, solidarity has always been a sign of weakness. Today, it is our strength."

Victoria Donda, Argentine legislator

Collective awakening, collective power.

As you've noticed in reading this report, claiming space in the political debate is no easy task. One must take on longestablished ideas, overcome party bureaucracy and win popular support. And this battle is even more challenging for women, as they face gender and racial violence, stigmas, and prejudice.

That said, campaigns to encourage people to vote for women have spread across Latin America. On our trip, we found hundreds of women in elected office who are defying traditional gender roles, occupying spaces of power and changing politics from within.

We want more women in politics. But what actually changes when they are in power?

Throughout this journey, we noticed many similarities in the career trajectories of our subjects, whether they were elected officials, activists or academics. As the meetings went on, we began to realize that these stories of mobilization and innovation were echoing one another even though the women were from different countries and acting within utterly different political contexts. By the end, we were able to identify patterns of behavior among the women we consider political innovators.

In order to answer the question "What changes when women are in power?" we must remember where many of them got their start: in the streets. When they first participated in one of these women's uprisings, like *Ni Una Menos* in Argentina or LASTESIS in Chile, many of them understood – for the first time – that the problems they faced at home were also faced by thousands of other women. As the slogan that set the tone for feminism's second wave says, they realized that "the personal is political," and they went home forever changed.

Throughout our journey, we learned that this collective awakening is at the root of a wide-ranging cultural change. When women enter institutional politics, they are not doing it with personal ambitions. They are using politics as a tool of social transformation. Getting a seat at the table of power is just a tool to change the present reality. **Power thus ceases to be an individual pursuit and instead becomes a collective exercise.**

We can confirm that one objective these women have in common is remedying social inequalities. Many told us stories of injustice that awakened in them the desire to occupy decision-making spaces. Their actions are guided by one immediate objective: solving problems.

This problem-solving capacity develops through **intuition and empathy**. Intuition is a form of interpersonal intelligence and empathy is a political tool for making concessions and breaking deadlocks in debates. When we are able to understand the other person, our dialogue with them becomes richer. These qualities are the polar opposite of those found in old-school patriarchal politics, where taking personal credit for accomplishments is paramount and cults of personality among leaders common.

This desire to reduce social equality and promote equity using problem-solving tactics and the ability to listen and mediate creates an important connection between women in politics and **civil society**.

One innovative strategy is to develop **collaborative networks** and create **spaces of reflection**. Initiatives that are connected to the priorities of their base gain strength right out of the gate. Social pressure also helps speed along the legislative process and gives other politicians incentives to support the issue.

By including the community in the debate, these women are also cultivating the idea of **co-responsibility**, in which political actions are collective. People have a way of maturing politically when they realize they are not only part of the problem, but part of the solution.

As civil society has lost its influence within political parties themselves, this new avenue of exchange has helped resolve the **crisis of representation**. These innovative women, in constant contact with their bases, cease to be just intermediaries in society and become the legitimized spokespeople of its collective desires. Working to dispel the cultural idea that voters need a national savior, they introduce themselves not as heroines but as participants in a collective outcome.

Innovative women also invest in making their projects transversal. By thinking collectively about how to solve a problem with, say, social inequality, they don't leave out issues like the environment, gender and racial justice, public security and the economy. Because, after all, structural problems require integrated solutions.

With this base of popular support and commitment to transversal solutions, our subjects then start to **cross party lines**. There are other reasons: lack of support from their parties and the still-low share of women in institutional politics pushes them to ally themselves with men and women who support their ideas even when those men and women are from other parties. This supra-partisanship and the transversality of issues are yet another way they combat the *personalismo* so deeply rooted in Latin American political culture.

This exercise in imagining and creating new forms of conducting politics – including the development of proposals, the definition of the process and engagement of the electorate – is more than an experiment for our subjects: it's a principle. Creativity is not just a tool, it's an ethic. They believe that building a different kind of process leads inevitably to innovative solutions. We call this the **creative ethic**.

The way these women operate in politics, power is not something distributed at office desks and in cabinet meetings but discussed in the home, on the streets, in meetings and at celebrations.

By creating this more **stimulating and welcoming form of politics**, they also attract new women to the debate. The presence of innovative women has transformed the politics of confrontation, polarization, and exclusion into a politics based on mediation, dialogue and inclusion. And the winner is society.

Change in practice.

Next, we'll share some stories our subjects told in which we identified this new political logic. Their protagonists are women who have had an impact on the political scene in their country. We chose them because we believe they will inspire as examples of resistance and the creation of new political processes.

- 1. #ParidadEnTodo Mexico (#ParityInEverything)
- 2. The Peace Treaty Colombia
- 3. **Estamos listas** Colombia
- 4. **Gabinetona** Brazil
- 5. Las Sororas (The Sisterhood) and La Marea Verde (The Green Tide) Argentina
- 6. Parity in the Constituent Assembly and Collective Performance LASTESIS Chile
- 7. Law 243 Bolivia



Imagination in practice #ParidadeEnTodo (#ParityInEverything)

Our journey to learn how women are changing politics in Latin America began in Mexico, where we first encountered the power of the discoveries we'd make along the way. On our first day in Mexico City, in May, 2019, we interviewed Senator Kenia López, of the PAN, a large political party. She wouldn't stop talking about "parity in everything." We didn't know it at the time, but one week earlier the Mexican Senate had approved a Constitutional reform that mandated equal numbers of male and female candidates in elections for political office across levels (municipal, state and federal) and branches (legislative, executive and judiciary) of government. [For more about gender parity, see Chapter 2.]

It was a surprise to discover that something so directly related to our research had not been on our radar. But it also made sense: after all, the invisibility of female politicians in the media is real. As usual, the issue had not been prominently featured in the Mexican press and the change, which would have a major impact on the political system and its culture, was being treated as a minor issue, hidden deep inside the papers. We even tried to do our part to fix the problem, writing about the issue for *El País*.

When she took office in 2018, Kenia López and two other female senators introduced the bill to expand gender parity – at that point only in place in the federal Congress – to all spheres of power. They joined forces to whip votes. Kenia negotiated the approval of the bill with her allies on the center-right; Martha Lucía Micher, of Morena (the same party as leftist president Andrés Manuel López Obrador), took advantage of her ties to the left, and Senator Martí Batres successfully took on the role of bringing the not-so-engaged men of Congress on board. Result: the bill passed unanimously.

But the coordination around the drive to full parity had started much earlier. Such a constitutional change had been on the agenda of civil society since the 1990s. Starting back then, the *Mujeres en Plural* movement – comprising activists, academics, journalists, jurists and many other professionals – played the role of coordinator among the many movements and political parties working for greater political rights for Mexican women.

It was *Mujeres en Plural*, for example, that provided the studies and data to support the work of the deputies. They were also in charge of social mobilization to put pressure on both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.
Imagination in practice #ParidadeEnTodo (#ParityInEverything)

On May 23, two days after we began our journey, we attended the vote on total parity in the chamber. It was electrifying. For one thing, you never know what will happen in politics. For another, they were running against the clock. The Chamber of Deputies would go into recess the following week and the leaders of the effort didn't want to put off the voting and lose the momentum and energy that seemed to show the wind blowing in their favor.

It was Deputy Martha Tagle, of the leftist *Movimento Ciudadano* party, who shepherded us around on the day of the vote. She told us that as soon as the bill had been introduced in the Senate, female deputies started to organize for when the vote came in the Chamber. It was through Martha that we learned about the existence of the Gender Equality Commission. We met the then-president of the commission, Deputy Wendy Briceño, who told us that the commission was created in 2014 to ensure that all laws passed would include guarantees of gender equality. They worked both to move forward and avoid setbacks.

The most inspiring part of the experience was witnessing a group of women so diverse, from across the political spectrum, with such different stories and backgrounds, all working for the same result. It was there that we identified the first two recurrent patterns of women's innovations in politics: the importance of connecting with civil society, and the strength of trans-party alliances through which people of varying political orientations unite around a common belief.

In Mexico's case, this coordinated action plan managed to push the reform through according to schedule, avoiding any erosion of goodwill. The women were so certain of their ideas that the constitutional reform was approved in record time in the 23 state legislatures. It was an example of a joint struggle in which no one obsesses over taking credit for the idea. In no interview did we hear anyone saying that this was an accomplishment of x or y party. It was a victory by and for all women.

As Deputy Wendy Briçeño said in the statement accompanying her vote, we must continuously repeat that "Nothing was ever given to women. All that we've won has come with great struggle."

Senator Micher told us something that was indicative of the resilience and insistence of women. "We're no longer feminists, we're *insistencealists*. We are the avant-garde of insistence-alism.

Imagination in practice #ParidadeEnTodo (#ParityInEverything)

From seats above the chamber, representatives of civil society organizations like *Mujeres en Plural* watched Parity in Everything get approved by the Senate, also unanimously.

As researchers, we're accustomed to following constitutional change and passing of new laws, but it is almost always at a distance, by being in touch with the agents of change but not actually witnessing the vote. It was exhausting to observe the final steps of coordination and the long hours of the plenary session, but it was also exhilarating to watch the debate, follow the wrangling in real time and, finally, celebrate the achievement with these women. We knew our study was on the right track.

We also learned it is necessary to keep both feet on the ground. As Martha Tagle pointed out, it was an important step, but they still need to guarantee that women that came into power actually wielded power. In other words, that women in elected office took the lead in important decisions, serving on traditionally male commissions like those on infrastructure, economics, security or national defense. And also leading such commissions.

In Mexico, we learned that to ensure victory, women must unite like links in a chain. Once connected, they grow stronger. We also learned that actions have to both pass the legislature *and* have support from civil society. The people's support is a catalyst for change and a protector of the accomplishments that come with it. Imagination in practice

The Peace Agreement



Imagination in practice The Peace Agreement

Colombia experienced the longest civil war in Latin American history: 50 years of armed conflict against the FARC, or Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. It claimed the lives of 250,000 people, leaving seven million people as either direct or indirect victims. In 2016, the FARC laid down their arms and became an official political party as a result of a peace accord with the government. That made international news. But what you might not know is that the agreement is viewed as a world-wide model for being the first developed with a gender perspective. In other words, it accounted for the impact of the war on the women who were its direct victims.

The following year, we went to Colombia and interviewed 40 activists, public officials, politicians, and others, and not one highlighted the gender perspective's role in the peace agreement. It was only in our most recent trip, in 2019, when we interviewed Senator Victoria Sandino and Deputy Juanita Goebertus, that we understood the importance women's perspectives were given in the peace process.

Both Victoria and Juanita were seated at the bargaining table in Havana, Cuba where the government negotiated with the FARC's representatives. And their participation confirmed what we had observed in Mexico: connections with civil society and alliances between parties of differing ideologies are practices commonly used by innovative women in politics.

Victoria is an ex-guerrilla member and was one of the few women at the table in Havana. She was the one that started the process that would end up engaging civil society. She had studied communications and was uncomfortable with the way women in the guerrilla were portrayed as marionettes for guerrilla leaders, or, as she put it, "moths around a lamp." She and her colleagues started to train themselves for interviews and write op-ed pieces as preparation to occupy space as spokespeople of the group, together with their male colleagues.

They began to participate in debates and be in constant dialogue with activists, students, academics, and women from rural areas. And they realized they had before them a unique opportunity to gain reparations and justice for female victims of the war. During the negotiations in Havana, they proposed a gender equality subcommission that would hear from women on all sides of the conflict - guerrillas, farmers, rural and urban victims, military families, community leaders, politicians.

Imagination in practice The Peace Agreement

Its status as a subcommittee was unofficial: what the women built was a form of dissent, a way of hacking a negotiation mostly made up of men who didn't see the need to listen to the women. But the power of constructing solutions based on the victims' reality is what turned the process into the first peace agreement in the world to include gender perspective in every article of the document. The agreement, for example, recognized that resolving the agrarian conflict was intimately tied to ending the war and guaranteeing more rights for rural women. Previously, many women weren't even granted the rights to their land when their husbands died. Yet another part of the agreement was to ensure more rural women participated in politics.

The Colombian government held a popular referendum on the accord and, alas, it was rejected by a small margin. The opposition had engaged in a massive disinformation campaign, making gender perspective into the great villain of the deal. False reports in the style of "fake news" said that the deal was based on "gender ideology." It is not a coincidence that what made the treaty innovative – the participation of women in the peacebuilding process – became a target of those who stood to benefit from a continuing conflict.

Several months later, the accord was approved by the Colombian Congress thanks to a great mobilization in favor of peace. But not without cost: the gender perspective element of the text was modified in negotiations to placate those who rejected terms like "gender" and "diverse sexual identities." Its implementation is still facing challenges, and in 2020 there is an entity of activists, politicians, civil society organizations and specialists who continue to carry on the gender focus. Despite its stumbles, what we want to highlight in the peace process is the actions of women so different from one another who managed to put together an agreement sensitive to the traumas of a long and violent war.

No need to romanticize. Simply being women is not enough to ensure progress, and agreements between women will not always be like this: there will be moments of disagreement, of fragmentation and even of polarization. But we want to call attention to the potential of the stories in which there is unity. The story of Colombia peace reaffirmed what we learned in Mexico: empathy can and should be used in a pragmatic and objective manner in the search for consensus and reparations of justice.

Estamos Listas

Colombia

Imagination in practice Estamos Listas

We also visited Medellín, Colombia, in Antioquia – the state where the peace agreement had suffered its greatest popular defeat in the public referendum. Around the same time, the *Estamos Listas* movement was attempting to turn around the poor record of female representation in local legislatures. *Estamos Listas* is Spanish for "We (women) are ready." Ready for political power, that is.

Unlike Brazil, a popular movement in Colombia can participate in elections as a political party if it collects a specific number of signatures. That meant a double challenge for these women: first, gather enough signatures to qualify their independent candidate list. Then, win the election.

It all began with a small group of female friends who didn't feel they were being represented in the political spaces of Medellín, a city typically dominated by white men from elite traditional families. Once they decided to enter into the institutional fray, they created a process through which women united through "trust circles." Each of the six friends had to invite six more friends of diverse backgrounds who didn't necessarily have to know much about politics. The only condition was that they had to be committed to the movement.

What was most striking about *Estamos Listas* were its powerful organizing skills and its pragmatism. The women needed 186,000 votes to get everyone the list elected. To do so, they would need at least 1,860 women in the collective to be able to mobilize 100 women each over the course of a year. When the municipal elections of 2019 came, they already had 2,2000 women actively meeting in 37 trust circles.

The movement was organized horizontally, in small groups, each member of which had their own responsibilities: one was a facilitator, another took care of communications, one legal aspects and another training. Each member also participated in a large thematic group organized by their role. In addition to being decentralized – there was no hierarchy among the circles – the movement was based on affective bonds, since the circle was formed by women who knew one another.

When it came time to rank the women on the list, a decision that would directly impact each woman's chances of getting elected, they once again turned to creativity. The idea was to go beyond the old kind of organization where the few made decisions for the whole group.

Imagination in practice Estamos Listas

The process must ensure quality, not competition, and take into consideration the diversity of the group: LGBT+, white women, Black women, indigenous women, poor and rich. Each member voted for three people, as a way of making the vote more egalitarian. It was be a more democratic way of ranking them.

Though it arose in one of the most conservative cities in the country, *Estamos Listas* broke new ground in the Colombian elections of 2019. Many women who had never before participated in politics finally felt comfortable being part of the debate in such a friendly environment. The movement turned into a safe space for the exercising of politics among women and made it seem possible to put forth candidates that could occupy and innovate the political system.

Thanks to *Estamos Listas*, Dora Cecilia Aldarriage became the first feminist to hold the position of city council member in Medellín. The women continued their movement and are now putting together an agenda for their candidate's term in office.

In Brazil, we met the deputies and council members of the *Gabinetona*, a pioneering action in Brazil that served as an inspiration for Estamos Listas and is our next example of political innovation.

Imagination in practice

Gabinetona



Imagination in practice Gabinetona

The *Gabinetona* is "an experiment in the citizen occupation of political institutions" and also a bet on creativity as a work ethic – starting with the very name. "*Gabinetona*" (a augmentative, feminized form of *gabinete*, "cabinet" or "office") is the term one federal deputy, one state assembly member and two city council members, all women, use to describe a sort of "joint term in office" through which they share activities, strategies, and staff.

The story of how this came to be is a confirmation of the patterns we've been following through the length of this project. In Belo Horizonte, the capital of Minas Gerais state in Brazil, a group of activists that had connected working on squatters and housing rights movements in the center of the city and its poor outskirts decided that they needed to take their fight into political institutions "through citizenship, boldness, and a foot in the door," as they put it. So in 2016 they created *#Muitas* (*#*ManyWomen), a collective campaign under the banner of the leftist PSOL party that used the slogan: "A vote for one is a vote for all."

Out of that campaign two women were elected to the city council: Áurea Carolina, who came from the hip-hop movement and the field of popular education and received more votes than any other councilwoman in the history of Belo Horizonte; and Cida Falabella, a theater director and teacher. Those two decided to invite the woman who finished third on the party list, Bella Gonçalves, a member of the LGBT+ community and a housing rights militant, to serve with them as "co-councilwoman," another political experiment. Once they took office, they merged offices. Literally. They tore down the walls and started sharing the same space and the same staff.

This may seem like a simple change, but it is not. If you've ever been in a traditional legislative office you know that the physical structure is extremely compartmentalized: on one side, the workers; on the other side, the private dispatch of the legislator and a conference room for closed-door meetings. The *Gabinetona* doesn't even look like it belongs in a government building. It's an wide-open space with no walls, allowing free movement of people and ideas. The team is diverse, including Black, white, LGBT+ and indigenous people, is connected to local culture and social movements and ensures that debates include different perspectives and identities.

Imaginação na prática Gabinetona

The *Gabinetona* even founded a theater company and education center called *Az Diferentonas*, which serves as the poetic and artistic link between the officials and the community. All these solutions confirmed for us that creativity is a powerful social technology to bring power closer to the people. After all, those who don't have power need to find new methods to secure it.

In the next election, the group went a step further, running Andreia de Jesus for state assembly and Áurea Carolina for federal deputy. And they won. That means that today, as of 2020, they have a "gabinete" that combines all levels of government: federal, state and municipal.

In practice, this powerful experiment in citizen occupation of institutional politics leans on a broad group of civil society members to define strategy. That group includes 90 women – activists, workers and researchers, white, black, LGBT, and indigenous; squatters, quilombola leaders and disabled people – who make up the *Mapa das Lutas* (Map of Struggles). This way, the politicians are in permanent contact with popular movements and proposed bills are written collectively.

To meet the challenge of acting simultaneously on municipal, state and federal levels, they are now working together from a house in Belo Horizonte that serves as a place for the three officials to coordinate and to hold citizenship participation events in the city.

The *Gabinetona* is a further example of the patterns of innovative behavior that we identified in our interviews. They use creativity to transform how institutional politics is done, they understand that their actions must be connected to the population they represent, and they know that the most organic way to create that connection is through collaborative networks. They depend on joint agendas to create broader solutions for society's problems.

Las Sororas (The Sisterhood) and the Marea Verde (Green Tide)

Argentina

Imagination in practice Las Sororas (The Sisterhood) and the Marea Verde (Green Tide)

In Argentina, we learned how cultural change is achieved through innovative policies in alliance with the power of the streets. It can all start with a simple action like creating a WhatsApp group. That's how Las Sororas started. The group, made up of 11 women and one man who together managed to pull off a historic legislative feat, a vote on a bill "of voluntary interruption of pregnancy" that would have made abortion legal, safe and free. The bill reached the Chamber of Deputies, where it was approved. It was then blocked in the Senate, but more important than the result was the way the vote was orchestrated as well as it was, even though its subject was one of the most taboo issues in Latin America, the legalization of abortion.

In that first WhatsApp group, each person had a role. On one side was Silvia Lospennato, a deputy allied with then president Mauricio Macri, who was responsible for legislative strategy; on the other side, Victoria Donda, an opposition deputy connected to the popular movement. The group formed a commission in which 738 guests voiced pros and cons on various aspects of the bill, from questions on health to questions on punishment. Daniel Lipovetsky, the lone man in the group, also an ally of Macri, helped make progress with male, right-wing deputies. Meanwhile others, like Romina Del Plá of the *Frente de Izquierda* ("Leftist Front") became spokespeople against the conservative movement. Though each went to battle with their own arms, they worked with a shared strategy.

These hearings, were shown both on public television and online, generating an ample four month-long debate. To prevent the events from becoming dull, each debater – one for each side, got seven uninterrupted minutes to speak. Questions from the elected officials came only by writing to prevent grandstanding.

At 6 p.m., when classes at universities let out, hundreds of young people with green handkerchiefs met in front of Congress to watch the debates. And this regular mobilization turned into #mareaverde, a green tide that also swept over social media.

The coordinating capacity of Sororas was unheard of in Argentina, where there is little tradition of reaching political consensus, especially among opposing parties. There was opposition, of course. A lot. But the street movement pushed along debate in the legislature, and also took the debate into people's homes.

Imagination in practice *Las Sororas* (The Sisterhood) and the *Marea Verde* (Green Tide)

These home debates were far from a trivial occurrence. All our interviewees mentioned this *revolución de hijas* (daughters' revolution), when young women who were daughters or grandchildren of deputies pressed them to vote in favor of the legislation.

On the day of the vote in the Chamber, millions of women took to the streets to hold a vigil. When the legislation passed, there was an explosion of energy. Weeks later, however, the bill was rejected by the Senate by a close vote. The effort fell short of its objective, but the process was a success. It was a good lesson for society and it was transformational for Latin American politics.

In Argentina, we learned the power elected women can reap from a union between the streets and coordinated, strategic work. We saw the building of links between generations and confirmed we could count on male allies in the fight for more rights. Argentine women seem to be a few steps ahead of us. They're the groundbreakers for this huge cultural change driven by those who understand the strength of uniting different kinds of individuals, identities and generations. To see this project up close was important for us, the authors of this project, because it enriched our own political imagination of what women in power can be.

The Green Tide showed that it is possible to hold democratic debate even on what is one of the biggest taboos in many Latin American countries. In 2019, Argentina elected a president who took the issue of equality and rights seriously. He created the <u>National Directorate of</u> <u>Equality and Gender within the Ministry of Economics</u>, led by one of our interviewees, Mercedes D'Alessandro. In the end, women have made it clear that the changes they advocated for are here to stay.

Parity in the Constituent Assembly and The LASTESIS Performance Collective



Patriarchy is a judge Who convicts us at birth And our punishment Is the violence you don't see (x2)

It is femicide. Impunity for my killer It is disappearance It is rape

And it was not my fault Not for where I was Not for how I dress The rapist was you The rapist is you

••••

This was the song we heard in every corner of the world, along with its choreographed dance performed on the streets by millions of women who in 2019 turned the protests into something greater.

Our experience in Argentina was transformative. That said, when we arrived in Chile in the midst of the <u>social upheaval</u> of late 2019, we saw what we had only been hearing about, but this time happening before our very eyes. We arrived in Santiago on the day that thousands of women met to perform the choreography of the LASTESIS collective, <u>"Un violador en tu camino"</u> (A Rapist in Your Path).

For the prior 50 days, widespread demonstrations had taken place in Chile, and was met with police violence. The protests had started because of a hike in subway fare. But its target became something much bigger: the country's disconcerting social inequality. The women's movement took part in the protests; in fact, it was women that brought people into the streets - <u>and never left</u>. The emergence of LASTESIS reshaped the protests, which were waning after several weeks without any real response from the government about how to solve the problem. That brought women's rights front and center. After all, it doesn't help to reduce inequality if the discussion that led to the change did not include all men and women.

Days later, we were able to go to a new demonstration inspired by LASTESIS, in which older women danced and sang outside the National Stadium, which had served as a military torture center under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. The dance was the creative ethic in practice: a new way of protesting, with new colors and sounds, uniting generations of feminists.

LASTESIS blew up in the week we were there. From our apartment we were able to hear the song playing from several of our neighbors' homes. The song and choreography brought women who had left because of the violence back out to the streets .

To see women who could be our mothers or grandmothers protesting with so much energy made us realize that this journey started long before us, and we are merely clearing a path toward the horizon for other women to walk it after we're gone. This was not just a dance. It was a living example of what we mean when we speak of an ethic based in creativity and inclusion. It's inspiring and powerful because it confirms there is no future that is not built with women and by women.

Finally, after many days of protest and pressure, a plebiscite was finally approved that would decide on whether there would be a National Constituent Assembly to rewrite the Constitution inherited from the dictatorship. And thanks to the mobilization of Chilean women, this assembly would include equal numbers of men and women. The pandemia suspended the vote for a while, but it has now been approved.

Law 243

Bolivia

Bolivia would have been the last stop on our trip if reality hadn't gotten in the way. First, in the midst of accusations about electoral fraud, Evo Morales resigned the presidency and sought exile in Argentina (and later in Mexico), wreaking social havoc. Months later, under the presidency of interim president Jeanine Añez, the coronavirus arrived in Latin America. Still, via videoconferencing, we set out to understand the innovative process constructed by women during the Constituent Assembly, which had brought together 50,000 women to create a new Constitution using a gender perspective. This alliance of various movements became known as *Mujeres Presentes en la Historia* (Women Present in History).

As you might imagine, bringing together 50,000 women means weaving a network out of people from vastly different backgrounds. It would be impossible to agree on anything if the common thread bringing them together were not empathy. Such diversity strengthened the debate and succeeded in overcoming polarization. And among many victories, the biggest in political terms was the full constitutional approval of gender parity. Parity on all levels and in all spheres of government, to be spelled out later in electoral law.

But as so often happens, a step forward triggered a reaction: an increase in gender-based political violence. Because imagine, these men so accustomed to holding power over their communities all of the sudden had to share the table with women, many of whom had no political experience. We heard of cases in which local politicians used all kinds of psychological, sexual and physical aggression to expel women from their positions. This structural sexism and racism were especially impactful in areas typically ignored by the state, such as indigenous, poor, and rural areas.

The recognition that gender-based political violence was a structural problem brought women together in collaborative networks, where female politicians and civil society groups met to mobilize around agendas and action.

The turning point in this debate came in March, 2012, when Juana Quispe, an Aymara woman and city council member from Ancoraimes (outside La Paz) was killed. Juana had reported numerous assaults by her colleagues since taking office. She had refused to resign and was eventually assassinated.

Imagination in practice Law 243

The murder of Juana Quispe created a national commotion and opened the door for the approval of law 243⁴, which defines gender-based violence. Passed in a rush, the law included no provisions for regulation or enforcement. But, as the gender parity included in the Constitution years early had raised a woman, Katia Uriona, to the presidency of the Supreme Electoral Court, they now had an ally in a high position to create regulatory mechanisms to apply the law.

Even so, there were gaps: what would happen to the aggressor? How would the victim file a report? These answers were being drawn up in a legislative commission that had the support of the then-president of the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies, Gabriela Montana. Once more, having a woman in power, in a crucial decision-making position at that, was decisive in the plan's success.

Since then, the political landscape in Bolivia has changed. Evo resigned in circumstances a large part of the population considered a coup, society has been polarized, and interim president Jeanine Añez is, well, not exactly an ally of the movement of innovative women. Is it still possible that those dialogue networks will return? It's too soon to tell. What we have learned from the Bolivian case is that we must be consistently monitoring our rights. We need to be vigilant and strong.

4. Juana's murder is considered emblematic, since it accelerated the approval on May 28, 2012 of the law, entitled "Against Political Harassment and Violence Against Women," proposed by women's organizations in 1998.

CONCUSION

This innovative way of conducting politics – replacing polarization with dialogue, *personalismo* with collaborative networks – has also changed those involved personally. And this maturity in turn impacts their political activity. This is why most of our subjects seek political action done rationally and pragmatically – but without disregarding feelings and emotions.

It is also a more inviting way to conduct politics, and it helps maintain civil society engaged not only at decisive moments like legislative votes or urgent demonstrations, but also in the constant vigilance of our rights.

This trip through Latin America started with an idea: to understand how women are innovating in politics. The women we met along the way were not only planning for change. They were delivering change, on the spot.

And our conclusion is that there are no conclusions: this is a process forever in construction. That is why we need to vote for a diverse group of women who are ready and willing to challenge the existing system, and then call attention to their work. We also need to get involved in the debate and never stop safeguarding the rights we have won so far. We must support organizations, movements and independent media with resources and visibility. The work is arduous but inspiring. Before us lies a great opportunity for change.

We returned from this journey transformed, confident in our ability to work in politics. Because politics is not just jargon and bureaucracy. **Politics is, above all, an exercise in imagination.**

The Journey: Country-by-Country.

The importance of a Latin American perspective: a voyage from the inside out. Latin America is a multicultural and multiracial land. Each country brings a little blood, sweat and struggle to the intense and constant movement for the emancipation of the citizenry. Our past and present are marked by ancestral stories and indigenous and Afro-Latin cosmovisions that come together in a patchwork quilt that makes us who we are. But we are not just made of flowers and forests. We have a colonial past stained by slavery, environmental degradation, racism and patriarchy, as well as the dictatorships and authoritarianism still present in our societies.

We are all that and a little more. Our societies are complex and that connects us. Same with our challenges. To look within our lands, to look within our social and cultural dynamics, is to trace a path in search of innovative solutions that align with who we are, what we do, with our characteristics and qualities. To learn about Latin America through active listening to the stories and lived experiences of those who built it and rebuilt it is to reveal the political imagination that springs from every political act throughout the land.

To pursue this from a decolonial⁵ perspective means coming face to face with the active presence of women, diverse women, who are trying to organize collectively to confront real, complex problems. This is not something of the present day: in the quilombos and indigenous villages of long ago, women sat in circles braiding one another's hair and telling stories, one of so many strategies for resistance and existence. Those female voices still echo in today's world and are transformed into political entities that recognize that spaces of power are the fundamental places to fight social inequalities.

In this chapter, we will be amplifying the voices of our six partner organizations, one in each of the countries in our study, who supported us with the dedication and intelligence of 17 researchers. Each country has contributed in the process of seeking more representation of women in politics. Together, we want to acknowledge the political innovation that pulses through our societies and whose spokespeople are Latin women, but at the same time shed light on the structural barriers that still stop women from participating in public life.

We invite you to dive into the open veins of Latin America even as they are being stitched up by weaver-women using the tool of transformational and democratic political change. 5. "Decolonial thinking portrays colonization as a major and enduring event with many ruptures, not as a historic period that has ended. [...] In that sense, it emphasizes the intention not to undo colonialism or reverse it but to move from the colonial moment to the post-colonial moment. Its intent is to provoke continuing transgression and insurgency. The decolonial thus implies that the struggle is ongoing." (COLAÇO, 2012, p.8)



Local researchers:



Agustín Frizerra is the executive director of Democracia en Red and coordinator of the Causas Comunes project. He is also a member of the Red de Innovación Política de América Latina, the Consejo Estratégico de Convergencias Latinamericanas de Innovación Política. He studied sociology at the University of Buenos Aires, has a master's degree in urban management from the Polytechnic University of Barcelona, and was director of various programs in Argentina and Spain.



Soledad Tuñón studied sociology at the University of Buenos Aires. She is experienced in education policy and has done work for Democracia en Red. She is currently pursuing a master's degree in gender studies at the University of Paris 8.

Though you could produce a long genealogy tracing the feminist and LGBTQ+ movement in Argentina back in time, we will start with the "return to democracy" in 1982, since it marked a turning point in our history, a threshold whose crossing led to the voicing of urgent questions that had up until then been silenced by force. Taking their cues from the Encuentros Nacionales de Mujeres (in English, the National Women's Meeting and now called the "Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, Transvestites, Trans and Non-Binary People), events known for their consistency, dynamics and scale, the movement has taken to weaving new discussions, new legislation, and new forms of militancy.

In 1987 came the Divorce Law, a milestone in the loosening of restrictions on personal relationships. The Female Quota Law, passed in 1991, guaranteed women a minimum of 30 percent of the spots on parties' electoral lists

The Journey: Country-by-Country Argentina

and paved the way for those daring women who would dedicate themselves to the world of politics.

In 2010, after a wide-ranging and inclusive debate, came the Marriage Equality Law and, in 2012, a progressive Law of Gender Identity that permitted citizens to change their gender on official documents and guaranteed access to total or partial hormonal and surgical treatments.

In 2015, the cry of "Ni Una Menos" rang out and those who had never before considered themselves feminists joined and actively participated in the political struggle. The massification gave these movements a never-before-felt air of consensus, enough to hold a National Women's Strike in 2016.

In 2017, caught up in the wave, a group of women serving in Congress managed to get a vote on a proposal to elevate the quota from 30 percent to 50 percent. In 2018, within the context of an explosion of feminist demands that arose from the first Ni Una Menos, came the milestone legislative debate over the legalization of Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy, known by its Spanish abbreviation IVE.

And for five months there were massive demonstrations across the country. The political imagination, organization, actions and, of course, green handkerchiefs suffused the Argentine social fabric and became part of our collective memory. Propelled by the power of Marea Verde in the streets, Las Sororas, the group of female federal deputies, brought the fight into Congress and got the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies, something that months earlier would have been considered impossible.

The last three decades have seen the involvement of more women in electoral politics and show a dialogue that has grown and touched on various issues. There were many achievements and some defeats, with plenty of matters still pending. Today, with the COVID-19 pandemic accentuating inequalities, the participation of those who incorporate feminist and sexually diverse points of view into insitutional politics are indepensable for bringing urgent issues into the political arena.

The Journey: Country-by-Country Argentina

List of interviewees⁶



Ana Meiners Mayor



Araceli Ferreyra Federal Deputy



Maria Cristina Gomez Former mayor



Marta Alanis Catholic Women for the Right to Choose -Argentina



Caren Tepp City Council member



Mayra Soledad Mendonza Current Mayor; former Federal Deputy



Cecilia Palmeiro Writer and activist



Mercedes D'Alessandro



National Director of Economy and Gender and Founder of EcoFemini(s)ta



Diana Maffía Philosopher



Monica Fein Former mayor



Eva Mieri City Council member



Norma Durango Senator



Gabriela Cerruti Federal Deputy



Ofélia Fernandez Legislator



Josefina Menzona Federal Deputy



Romina Del Plá Federal Deputy



Karina Banfi Federal Deputy



Silvia Lospennato Federal Deputy



Lucila Maria de Ponti State assembly member (today); former Federal Deputy



Victoria Donda Perez Former Federal Deputy

6. All elected officials interviewed held office at the time of their interviews. Argentina held elections in 2019, so some of their terms

have ended.

Bolivia

Our ally:



Local researchers:



Julia Beatriz Alandia Ricaldi is a political scientist, activist, militant for human rights, and consultant to Coordinadora de la Mujer. She has contributed to research on the political involvement of both young people and women. Her activism and academic training has included work on decentralization, citizen participation, open government, and civic laboratories, among other topics.



Lucia Vargas Sontura is a human rights activist, psychologist, and feminist dedicated to gender equality and social justice. She participated in the process of the new Bolivian Constitution. She was partly responsible for the founding of the Observatorio de la Paridad Democrática, and for thr institutionalization of gender within electoral bodies. Currently, she takes part in the struggles and schemes of Coordinadora de la Mujer.



Monica Alejadra Novillo Gonzales is a feminist activist, social communications specialist, and journalist. She has worked at several media outlets and institutions that support and defend women's rights. An expert in gender and public policy, she organizes political initiatives at the regional, national, and global levels. Her writings have addressed issues of political participation, gender, and HIV. She is director of Coordinadora de la Mujer and regional coordinator of the Red de Educación Popular entre Mujeres, also known as REPEM. In recent years, Bolivia has become a regional model by reaching full gender parity in its legislatures. This historic presence of women has reconfigured decision-making spaces that had previously been a male monopoly, changes that allowed for important progress in women's rights. These accomplishments would not have been possible without the support of a diverse set of organizations that rallied around a common agenda, mapping out a path to victory in alliance with female politicians. The path first passed through the Constituent Assembly that drew up the country's new Constitution, and then led to development of electoral laws that would codify the principles of parity, equality, and peaceful transition of power.

This study reflects the process of political innovation created in the context of advances

The Journey: Country-by-Country Bolivia

and consolidation of gender equality and gender rights. The women making up this relatively new political group are a force, skilled in dialogue and coordination and having the political maturity to draw up bills collectively, to develop alliances among divergent voices, to coordinate strategy, and to respond to the needs and demands of women and of society as a whole, quite often going beyond party ideologies. Their incursion into politics is a result of their investment in advancing social justice, gender equality, legislative parity, and the expansion of intercultural democracy.

Today, Bolivia's political scene has grown complicated, with a controversial transition government that took power after extreme social and political unrest resulting from alleged electoral fraud in October, 2019. In an attempt to overcome the crisis, new electoral authorities were chosen and national elections called for. But political polarization and conflict persists, putting the country's democracy at risk.

The participation of women in politics continues to develop despite an uneven playing field. The challenge is to recover our political imagination (a task women in politics specialize in) to rebuild the social fabric by overhauling our patriarchal, capitalistic, colonial system. To do that, it will be necessary to create spaces for dialogue where the parties are on equal ground, to add an intersectional focus to the women's rights agenda, and to transform political culture and practice. Finally, we should consider a new modality for women to participate, what we call "independent candidacies," so that autonomy no longer has a political cost for women nor places conditions on their right to representation. New channels are opening for the political participation of Bolivian women. The Journey: Country-by-Country Bolivia

List of interviewees⁷



Cecilia Chacón City council member



Katia Uriona Former President of Supreme Electoral Court



Celima Torrico City council member



Leonida Zurita State assembly member



Claribel Sandoval State assembly member



Marina Benitez State assembly member



Elisa Vega Representative to the Constituent Assembly from Tarija



Mirtha Arce Senator



Gabriela Montaño Former Federal Deputy



Rosario Ricaldi Representative to the Constituent Assembly from Tarija



Isabel Dominguez Representative to the Constituent Assembly from Cochabamba



Susana Rivero Former Federal Deputy



Jimena Costa Former Federal Deputy

7. Interviews were conducted in a time of political crisis, and some of the subjects no longer held the positions to which they had been elected. Others were selected for their role in the consolidation of gender parity and the law on gender-based political violence.

The Journey: Country-by-Country

Brazil

Our ally:



Local researchers:



Clara Carolina de Sá is a lawyer and specialist in public management. She has worked in the Brazilian Ministry of Social Development, as a parliamentary advisor in the Senate, and as a consultant for the National Education Development Fund (FNDE). She was also a member of the National Social Assistance Council and the National Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents. Today, she is a codirector of the Instituto Alziras.



<u>Marina Barros</u> studied administration and holds a master's degree in communications and technology. Her background includes the development of more open, participatory, and transparent governance models both in the public and private sectors. Co-founder and codirector of the Instituto Alziras since 2017, she has developed projects that strengthen the presence of women in politics.



Michelle Ferreti studied management at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in São Paulo and holds a master's degree in social sciences from the CPDA, a research center at the Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRRJ). In over twenty years experience in public policy, human rights and sustainable development, she has served as an advisor and consultant to governments, civil society organizations, and companies like Petrobras and Grupo Votorantim. She is a co-founder and codirector of the Instituto Alziras.



Roberta Eugênio graduated with a law degree from the State University of Rio de Janeiro and holds a master's degree in law from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. In recent years, she has conducted research on the fight against gender inequality, structural and institutional violence on gender and race, and political participation through a decolonial and antiracist lens.



Thaisa Torres Nunes studied public policy at the University of São Paulo's School of Arts, Sciences and Humanities and is an activist on the issue of women and politics. She has worked in legislative consulting, and in drafting and monitoring social projects for NGOs. She staffed several political campaigns and later founded the Iniciativa Brasilianas.

The Journey: Country-by-Country Brazil

Despite making up more than half the population and electorate, Brazilian women run only 12 percent of municipalities, fill only 13 percent of city council seats and account for only 15 percent of officeholders in state assemblies and both houses of the Federal Congress. If we add in parameters of racial and economic diversity, our democratic deficit becomes even more serious.

It was not until 2010 that a woman became president for the first time in our history. Dilma Rousseff governed for four years and was reelected, but her second term was cut short by a controversial impeachment process with chauvinistic and misogynist contours that show just how hostile politics can be to women. A few years later, the brutal assassination of city council member Marielle Franco in Rio de Janeiro reaffirmed the urgent need for mechanisms that mandate not just access to positions of power and decision making in the country, but that guarantee they can fulfill their terms in conditions equal to those of men and free of violence and discrimination.

Throughout the last decade, the country has suffered both economic difficulties and a grave political crisis stemming from corruption cases that involved business leaders, government actors and political parties. Together, these issues helped shatter the population's trust in the traditional political system and led to increasingly extremist political positions. This provided an opening for the rise of conservative politicians who gained support with positions that are racist, sexist, LGBT-phobic and against so-called "gender ideology." In response, millions of Brazilian women took to the streets in defense of their rights and organized waves of protests that would culminate in the *#EleNão* (#NotHim) campaign against the candidacy of current president Jair Bolsonaro.

In the midst of this complex confluence of events, the 2018 elections triggered two important developments that would directly impact the political participation of women. Businesses were prohibited to donate to political campaigns, which led the Chamber of Deputies to create an Electoral Fund on the order of 1.7 billion reais for this exact purpose. And thanks to new electoral regulations, female candidates had the right to at least 30 percent of that money, just as they also were due 30 percent of the resources from the Party Fund (another source of public campaign financing) and of free advertising time reserved for political campaigns on radio and television.

The Journey: Country-by-Country Brazil

These recent achievements help to explain the increase in seats held by women in the Chamber of Deputies after the last election from 51 to 77, including 66 held by whites, 10 by Blacks and one by the first indigenous woman deputy in the country's political history. In the state assemblies, women took 164 of the 1059 seats, up 38 percent from the results of the 2014 elections.

Though significant, the increases are still insufficient to correct the monumental gaps in representation in Brazilian democracy. Women who dare take up careers in politics still face a series of barriers ranging from an undue share of the chores at home to the lack of support from their own political parties and the difficulties they face once in office, where they are expected to limit themselves to "female" issues and must prove themselves again and again to be capable legislators. Media coverage often slips into undue scrutiny of their looks and behavior, focusing on their hairstyles, dresses and so many other gender stereotypes.

Even with so many obstacles before them, Brazilain women are playing a fundamental role in the strengthening of democracy, fostering equality and redefining many rights, this despite the fact that they have historically been minorities in spaces of power. With the pandemic upon us, they have stepped up to the front lines, both in the public sphere – since essential health and social services are largely staffed with a female workforce – as well as in private. It is women who have ended up doing even more of the domestic work and caring for children, the elderly and other relatives with schools shut down and the health system overburdened.

If on the one hand social isolation provides evidence of the central role women play in societal organization, on the other it reinforces the need for us to move toward gender parity in our democracy, with women participating more actively in building solutions to public problems. That is why it is fundamental that values like equality of gender, race and social class become ever more present in our daily life and in our public institutions. The Journey: Country-by-Country Brazil

List of interviewees



Andreia de Jesus State assembly member



Kátia Cunha State assembly co-member



Renya Carla Mayor



Áurea Carolina Federal Deputy



Marcia Lucena Mayor



Robeyoncé Lima State assembly co-member



Carol Vergolino State assembly co-member



Marina Helou State assembly member



Tábata Amaral Federal Deputy



Cristina Lopes Afonso City council member



Moema Gramacho Mayor

a acho

Thai Faria City c





Dani Monteiro State assembly member



Mônica Francisco State assembly member

Olívia Santana

State assembly

member



Erica Malunguinho State assembly member



Jô Cavalcanti State assembly member



Jó Pereira State assembly member



Joelma Carla State assembly co-member



Paulinha State assembly member



Priscila Krause State assembly member



Raquel Lyra Mayor

All elected officials interviewed held office at the time of their interviews. Brazil held elections in 2020, so some of their terms have ended.



Our ally:



Local researchers:



Gabriela Seig studied sociology at the University of Chile and holds a master's degree in Social Policy, Employment and Welfare from the Autonomous University of Barcelona. She has worked at consulting firms that design, implement, and evaluate social policies and has worked as a researcher studying gender, the labor market, and social inequalities.



Paula Poblete majored in economics and minored in sociology at Chile's Pontificia Universidad Católica. She also holds a master's degree in public policy from the Universidad de Chile. She has worked as a researcher and analyst at the National Council of Culture and the Arts, at the Central Bank of Chile, and in several consulting firms. Her professional experience is in research and development, systematization, and statistical analysis. She has served as director of research at Comunidad Mujer since 2014. Because of the pandemic and subsequent lockdown, Chile finds itself in a state of suspended social upheaval that, when it returns, will have been inflamed but the impact of the health and economic crises, which have only sharpened the inequality and poverty denounced by the Chilean population in October, 2019.

Although much is left to be done, the political participation of women has been evolving slowly over recent years and has passed milestones that predate and explain the important role of women in the 2019 demonstrations and the upcoming creation of a new Constitution. In 2006, Chile became the first country in Latin America to elect a woman as president, Michelle Bachelet. In 2015 came the law instituting gender quotas for Congressional elections, which led to an increase of women in the legislature from 16 percent of the total to 23 percent. Later, through massive demonstrations against and condemnations of systematic sexism, abuse and gender violence, the feminist movement took to the streets and gained relevancy as a political force.

The impact of such advances on the inclusion of women in the political process in Chile has been significant on both formal and informal levels. The famous performance of "Las Tesis" showed the political voice women have today as they articulate feminist demands for a egalitarian society free of gender-based violence, both in Chile and beyond its borders. At the same time, the biggest accomplishment came as women reached one of the more imposing milestones in the history of our institutions when gender parity was approved by the body that will write the new Chilean Constitution.

Thus Chile now sees before it the historic opportunity to build a new society, written by women and men. The Chileans interviewed clearly identified women's contributions and cited political innovation as paramount to further work on collectivist, dialogueoriented political actions that rise above partisanship in favor of common causes and sisterhood. Examples of this dynamic in action include: the 2018 formation of the "Julieta Kirkwood Caucus" in Congress by female deputies of multiple parties in order to promote women's rights; the creation of the Commission on Women and Gender Equity in the lower house that same year to promote women's rights, sexual diversity and gender equality; and in the changing of the name of the same institution from *Câmara de Diputados* (Chamber of [Male] Deputies] to the more genderinclusive "Câmara de Diputados y Diputadas."

Now what remains is to prepare to work toward further triumphs to ensure that a new society founded in parity becomes more than words on paper.
The Journey: Country-by-Country Chile

List of interviewees







Beatriz Sánchez Journalist



Camila Vallejo City council member



Catalina Perez City council member

Claudia Heiss

Expert with the Institute of Public

Affairs (INAP), University of Chile

Cristina

City council

City council

Emilia Rios

Saavedra

City council

member

member

Emilia Nuvado

Girardi

member



Gael Yoemans City council member

Izkia Siches

Medical College

President,

of Chile







Juana Gaete City council member



Lorena Arratia Regional assembly member



Maite Orsini National Deputy







Maya Fernández National Deputy



Ruth Miranda Muñoz Regional assembly member



Fernanda Ortiz Guerra Regional assembly member



Soledad Mella President of the Association of Collectors of Recyclable Material

Colombia

Our ally:



Local researchers:



Aluna Serrano Barrera studied political science and history, and earned a master's degree in public affairs. Her professional experience is in creating spaces for dialogue and co-creation for civil society actors, with a focus on political innovation. In 2019, she joined the team of the political impact group Nosotras Ahora as a researcher.



Juliana Hernández De la Torre studied finance and international relations as well as cultural management. She is currently executive director of Organización Artemisas, coordinator of Nosotras Ahora, co-founder of the Extituto de Política Abierta, member of the Red de Innovación Política de América Latina, and an activist for peace and women's rights . Colombia was the second-to-last country in the region to grant women the right to vote. As a result of the constitutional reform passed in 1954 under the dictatorship of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, with the coordination of women in the Liberal and Conservative parties, women went to the polls for the first time in 1957. Just voting, of course, did not guarantee that women would be represented and be granted equal access to run for office. It was not until last decade, via Law 1475 of 2011 and the political reform of 2015 known as "Balance of Powers," that guidelines were established to require political parties to provide financial support to women running for office and to apply gender parity principles to their candidate lists.

There have always been organized groups of women. They even played a role in the wars for

The Journey: Country-by-Country Colombia

independence and achieved, for example "the approval of Law 28, enacted in 1932, that eliminated 'conjugal power' and gave married women the right to manage their own assets" (Velásquez Toro, 1995). But it was the Cold War, the fear the left would consolidate power in Colombia, and the coordination of women that led to women gaining the vote. The idea was that women's votes would protect tradition as well as family and Christian values. It was the confluence of this moment with the pressure of collectives like the Colombia Female Union and the Female Alliance of Colombia (NIMD, 2018) that paved the way for political participation of women, a key element in women's political innovation: support networks and building collective power.

Women in Colombia are a political force, but not an electoral force. The results of the last elections have once again demonstrated this: women won only 14 percent of city council seats, 17 percent of regional deputy seats, 9 percent of city halls, and 21 percent of seats in Congress. Overall, only 12 of every 100 elected officials in the country are women. This is also shown in studies of women's organizations and movements like the *Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres* (Women's Pacific Route) and the *Iniciativa de Mujeres* (Women's Initiative), which for decades have advocated for peacebuilding with gender-conscious public policies and a focus on victims of the armed conflict. Parity in political representation is a prerequisite for democracy.

The women interviewed show that they start innovating from the moment they commit to seeking alternatives to the old political ways and question what changes when a woman wins office. This innovation is often in response to spaces of power that, far from welcoming them, obstruct their participation. Women report more collective action in politics and use more data analysis, take up diverse causes well beyond the defense of women's rights, such as environmental protection and preservation, implementation of the Peace Treaty, and more plural, socially-conscious and sustainable development policy. Innovation is also a common thread in the ways our interviewees described how they conduct politics. That has led to new ways of giving speeches, collecting experiences of their constituents and encouraging their participation in politics, and bringing color, music, and traditional cultural practices to public and political arenas. Many interviewees stressed the necessity to

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"depatriarchalize" the practices of women who win office. We need more women who will strongly defend platforms that seek increased equality in the exercise of their rights. Finally, their experiences suffering political violence are an area that needs to be examined deeply. The spaces of power perpetuate dynamics of misogynist exclusion against which women must fight. These practices are rooted in our political system and failing to make reforms that include a clearly established gender perspective will forever hinder the efforts of women in politics.

List of interviewees



Aida Avella Senator



Ángela Garzón City council member



Julie Bohórquez City council member



Katherine Miranda Congressional deputy



Arneth Gutierrez City council member



Lucía Bastidas City council member



Blenny Valecilla Prefeita (atual) Former city council member



Mafe Rojas City council member



Catalina Ortiz Congressional deputy



María José Pizarro Congressional deputy



Claudia López Mayor



Danis Londoño City council member



Isabel Sierra Law professor, Universidad de los Andes



Juanita Goebertus Congressional deputy



María Ruiz Taborda City council member



Sandra Ortiz Senator



Victoria Sandino Senator



Xinia Navarro City council member

Mexico

Our ally:



Local researchers:



Ana Joaquina Ruiz is a specialist in gender and public policy. For the last ten years she has collaborated with a diverse group of civil society organizations on projects about transparency, accountability, open government, and the transversality of gender perspective. Her latest publication is "Analysis of women's trajectories in political parties: perspectives and challenges." She likes traveling in Latin America and gets excited about projects involving political innovation.



Aida Bustos studied political science at ITAM and holds a degree in Gender, Sexuality and Law. A data fanatic, she has experience in the use, handling and visualization of information to perform quantitative as well as complementary qualitative research. Her main areas of interest are sexual and reproductive rights, women's political participation, and violence and armed conflicts.



Ana Laura Flores Torres studied political science and public administration at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Her work focuses on citizen participation as the main driver of democracy. She has been looking for ways in which the wider society can be integrated into government decisionmaking through public administration. She is a young Mexican woman hopeful and eager to build a Mexico for all.

Mexico achieved a "Parity Congress"⁸ in 2019, and subsequently passed a law entitled *Paridad en Todo*, or Parity in Everything, where everything includes the Constitution; federal, state and local electoral processes; nomination of ministers, nominations to the Supreme Court, and the governments of the 16 subdivisions of Mexico City. A more recent accomplishment is the recognition of "gender-based political violence" as a crime.

Women have substantially increased their political participation in the last 20 years, pushing through actions from recommending

8. The Chamber of Deputies comprises 241 women (48.2 percent) and 259 men (51.8 percent) and the Senate has 63 women (49.2 percent) and 65 men (50.8 percent).

The Journey: Country-by-Country Mexico

female inclusion in institutional spaces to "Parity in Everything." In 2014, the principle of parity became law on the Constitutional level, obligating political parties to put forth gender-balanced slates on the federal and state levels; that would soon expand to the municipal elections as well. In 2018, the government established regulations and commitments to enforce the parity principle, but even so, the situation within political parties is still hazy; the ILSB produced a study on the matter.

Since the beginning of the transition to democracy from the late 1970s through the 1980s, women have organized themselves in movements to overcome their systematic exclusion through demanding a greater role in institutional politics. The organized presence of women in their parties reflect their presence within the institutions that train them and make them leaders, channeling them into participatory roles. This, together with the many laws and reforms that promote parity, have positioned women as a political force in the country.

Women's innovation in politics is reflected in the constant fight for participation in institutional spaces, as well as for the issues that they support and defend. The disruption caused when women enter politics is already an innovation; we are now occupying spaces that historically were reserved for and considered the exclusive territory of men.

List of interviewees



Alejandra Lagunes Senator



Martha Tagle Federal Deputy



Circe Camacho State assembly member



Patricia Mercado Senator



Citlali Hernández Senator



Patricia Ortiz Mayor



Irma Juan Federal Deputy



Sarah Cerna Villagra Political scientist



Julieta Mejia State assembly member



Vanessa Rubio Márquez Senator



Kenia López Rabadan Senator



Wendy Briceño Federal Deputy



Lucia Riojas Federal Deputy



Xóchitl Gálvez Ruiz Senator



Maria Guadalupe Almaguer Federal Deputy



Martha Micher Senator

Electronic Women in politics



Our collaborative intercultural journey

For **Elected**, we worked to create an innovative process to examine the lives of women elected to public office, integrating their individual stories into a study of institutional politics. Their narratives are the primary sources of our research. They recount and interpret experiences, shed light on life trajectories in given historical and cultural contexts. They also illustrate the logic of the routes their careers take and the effects of systemic and structural limitations on them. Such narrative forms become an analytical framework allowing us to understand how women construe their own experiences.

The personal narratives of non-dominant social groups (women in general, the working class, non-whites, LGBT+) are an effective source of counter-hegemonic insights in that they expose the dominant point of view as personal, not universal. Elected participates in the effort to question such constructions and seek a totally human conception of social reality. The human experience is pervaded by gender, and as such we consider it fundamental to document and interpret the lives of women to better understand the world.

Several moments stood out in our field work: from the delicate process of approaching local organizations to the formal dialogues with our subjects, and including informal conversations with militants, visits to different places and participation in events related to our theme.

To understand the context in which innovation emerges in each of the countries and to learn the stories, challenges, visions and dreams of a new Latin American politics, we used qualitative research methodologies, including in-depth interviews of approximately 90 minutes conducted in a location selected by the subject. 9. Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives, edited by the Personal Narratives Group (Indiana University Press, 1989) explains that both the social sciences and the human sciences question which experiences (and whose experiences) are considered exemplary in historic and contemporary studies. New studies are redefining what it means to write history, focusing on first-person accounts by ordinary people.

The **"Elected"** project comprises

1. Collaborative Mapping in partnership with local strategic alliances:

We mapped 600 women who were elected to office, and interviewed 96 of them in the six countries included in the study. ComunidadMujer Chile Coordinadora de la Mujer Bolivia Democracia en Red Argentina Extituto de Política Abierta Colombia Instituto Alziras Brazil Instituto de Liderazgo Mexico Simone de Beauvoir

Organización Artemisas Colombia

2. Field Research: interviews with women in elected office and experts on the topic. **Mexico:** May 20-30, 2019

Colombia: May 31-June 13, 2019

Argentina: July 11-23, 2019

Also attended the 34th Encuentro Plurinacional de Mujeres: October 11-14, 2019

Chile: November 21-December 7, 2019

Brazil: Throughout the project

Campo Bolívia: March 23-April 10, 2020

3. Collaborative analysis with local alliances based on building an intercultural methodology

Our methodology was an intercultural and collaborative effort in which our partners in every country provided connections, strengthened collective intelligence, and improved the ecosystem for political innovation in Latin America.

To analyze the material, Instituto Update set up a workflow to facilitate the analysis of information gleaned from 1,919 pages of transcribed interviews and to systemize it on a platform where all our allies could add and edit information in real time. The analysis process was collaborative, and all procedures were open to modification. The use of grounded theory allowed us to create new categories, as well as eliminate and change them and to generate, by the end of the process, a contextual overview of each country (behaviors, practices, and emerging innovations), narratives of women in politics (their language, trajectories, and political actions), what they have in common and how they differ.

4. Systematization of what was learned into a final report: **the one you have** just read :)

5. Building a transversal communication strategy

To share our project's content on different platforms and with strategic content partners, follow <u>@institutoupdate</u> on social media. Are you interested in supporting us and spreading the word? Email us at <u>comunicacao@institutoupdate.org.br</u> and share your views. Let's occupy social media networks with more women in politics!

6. Sharing audiovisual content and stories through a web series available on Youtube, produced in partnership with Quebrando o Tabu and Maria Farinha Filmes.



Methodological Notes

1. Because of budget and time constraints, all interviews were conducted in two cities in each country (one of which was always the capital). Despite those limitations, we tried to interview people from other parts of the countries who could share perspectives about the realities of places other than where we visited. Still, in the end, some places are overrepresented, such as, in the case of Colombia, the department of Antioquia and the city of Bogotá.

2. Although we prioritized a geographically, ethnically/racially, and politically diverse subject pool, most of our interviewees are centrist and left-wing politicians. That is the result of our initial mapping, in which interviewees were chosen in part by taking political innovation and minority status (LGBT+, indigenous, Afro-Colombian) as criteria, which often led us to sources in the center and on the left. We also set out with a goal that 50 percent of the women interviewed would belong to ethnic and racial minorities, but were stymied by the underrepresentation of Black and indigenous women, evidence of institutional racism in the halls of power.

3. The data set is not statistically representative of women elected to office in Latin America and, therefore, does not allow for generalization or development of theories on political representation in the region – not even in the six countries we have studied. It does, however, introduce a good portion of the innovative women politicians working in the selected countries, allowing us a glimpse of the strategies, profiles, and standards of those women linked (openly or indirectly) to the ecosystem of Latin American political innovation.

4. Based on previous research carried out by Instituto Update, our hypothesis assumed that women innovated politically. But we did no corresponding study examining men's stance on gender issues. Still, this report was not meant to be a comparative study; instead, our objective was to identify strategies for political innovation in our interviews with the selected women, allowing us to draw conclusions from the information we collected.

Who we are and who

Instituto Update is a civil society organization that researches and promotes political innovation in Latin America. We seek new strategies and practices that bring citizens closer to the political system, fighting against inequality, confronting the climate emergency, and strengthening democracy. Our work is based on two pillars: sharing inspiring stories and encouraging political innovation in campaigns and by those who hold office. We thus develop our project based on two strategies: generating Visibility and encouraging the Viability of the ecosystem of political innovation.

The countries in which we conducted research, always with the support of a local organization, were: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico.

Technology and Training

Strengthening and accelerating innovation in electoral campaigns and terms in office.

Viability in political participation

Research and Dissemination Creating a new political imagination to restore confidence in politics.

Visibility

We believe in the power of stories. And stories about this new kind of politics are crucial to overcome the crisis we are facing across Latin America and throughout the democratic world.

Our approach consists of understanding and analyzing emerging political behaviors in Latin America and producing new knowledge, language, formats, and accessible narratives to tell stories about possible new ways of doing politics as well as what is currently being done.

We use a combination of methodologies that explore human behavior in a positive and purposeful fashion towards fostering new ways of living in 21st century society:



5. Identification of contemporary trends that break current socio-cultural-political paradigms



- 1. Collaborative mapping
- 2. In-depth interviews
- 3. Interviews with experts
- 4. Experiences and open conversation
- 6. Creation of content and new narratives on #politicalinnovation, using multi-platform communication as a tool to get the word out



- 7. Coordinaton of local partnerships with wellregarded organizations and institutions to increase our connection with Latin America
- 8. Coordination of audiovisual partnerships (with producers, screenwriters, directors) who are thinking up innovative storytelling formats from a decolonial and decentralized reference point.
- 9. Qualitative research (in partnership with specialized organizations)

More Information

Reference for consultation: data and other studies about women and politics

- <u>Ministerio del Interior, Obras Públicas y Vivienda</u>
 <u>Observatorio Político Electoral</u>
- Observatorio de igualdad de genero de America latina y el Caribe
- Feminindex de Economia Femini(s)ta
- <u>CIPPEC</u>
- <u>Sistema de Indicadores de Género</u>
 <u>(específicamente autonomía toma de decisiones)</u>
- OBSERVATORIO DE GÉNERO
 Coordinadora de la Mujer
- ONU MUJERES. Participación Política.
- OBSERVATORIO DE PARIDAD DEMOCRÁTICA. Órgano Electoral Plurinacional
- OBSERVATORIO DE PARIDAD DEMOCRÁTICA. Órgano Electoral Plurinacional. IDEA INTERNACIONAL
- OBSERVATORIO DE GÉNERO. Coordinadora de la Mujer. IDEA INTERNACIONAL. Mónica Novillo. Paso a paso Así lo hicimos
- <u>COORDINADORA DE LA MUJER. Propuesta Foros</u> <u>Departamentales "Ahora... Paridad en Programas</u> <u>de Gobierno."</u>
- La política de paridad y alternancia de género en los órganos de elección del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia y en las instancias políticas intermedias: un avance en la garantía de la autonomía en la toma de decisiones de las mujeres
- <u>"VIOLENCIA POLÍTICA POR RAZÓN DE GÉNERO"</u>
- <u>CENTRO DE ATENCIÓN Y MONITOREO DE ACOSO</u> <u>Y VIOLENCIA POLÍTICA</u>
- Para onde vamos? Construindo um futuro antirracista a partir das estratégias e soluções do movimento brasileiro de mulheres negras
- Perfil das Prefeitas no Brasil (2017-2020) -Pesquisa revela quem são as mulheres que governam o Brasil
- Mais Mulheres na Política: Retrato da sub-

representação feminina no poder

- <u>Gênero e Feminismos: Argentina, Brasil e Chile em</u> <u>Transformação</u>
- Por um feminismo Afro-latino-Americano
- Mais Mulheres na Política: Mulher, tome partido!
- <u>Gênero e Número: primeira organização de mídia no</u> <u>Brasil orientada por dados para qualificar o debate</u> <u>sobre equidade de gênero."</u>
- <u>Vozes Femininas na Política uma análise sobre</u> <u>mulheres parlamentares no pós-Constituinte</u>
- Observatório Brasil da Igualdade de Gênero
- <u>A presença das Mulheres nos Espaços</u> <u>de Poder e Decisão</u>
- Elas no Congresso: ranking de políticos em relação aos direitos das mulheres
- Ministerio de la Mujer y Equidad de Género
- <u>Servicio Nacional de la Mujer y Equidad de Génerp.</u> <u>Línea de trabajo: "Muer y política"</u>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Estadísticas de Género
- Servicio electoral de Chile. Estadísticas.
- <u>Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Historia, mujer</u> <u>y género en Chile</u>
- <u>Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile. Participación</u> política de las mujeres: a nivel central y local
- <u>Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile. Antecedentes</u> para el proyecto de ley de cuotas en Chile.
- <u>Comisión Mujeres y Equidad de Género. Cámara de</u> <u>Diputados y Diputadas</u>
- Observatorio de Igualdad de Género de América Latina y el Caribe. CHILE: autonomía en la toma de decisiones
- <u>ComunidadMujer. Publicaciones "Mujer y política"</u>
- <u>ComunidadMujer. Resultados y hallazgos de las cuotas</u> <u>de género en las Elecciones Parlamentarias 2017</u>

- <u>ComunidadMujer. Mujer y política: por una mayor</u> participación femenina en la toma de decisiones públicas
- <u>PNUD. Nuevo mapa del poder y género en Chile</u> (1995-2018). Página 30. Poder político
- PNUD. Representación política de mujeres en el Poder Legislativo
- PNUD. Diagnóstico sobre la participación electoral en Chile
- PNUD. Estudio sobre financiamiento de los partidos <u>como estrategia de promoción de la participación</u> política de las mujeres.
- <u>PNUD. Una década de cambios hacia la igualdad de</u> <u>género (2009-2018). Página 30: percepciones sobre</u> <u>participación de las mujeres en la política</u>
- <u>CEPAL. Las mujeres chilenas en los noventa: hablan</u> <u>las cifras. Página 135: participación política de las</u> <u>mujeres</u>
- <u>Cuotas de género. Democracia y participación.</u> <u>Revisión de datos en Chile.</u>
- <u>Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica</u> <u>Nacional. Datos actualizados de las Brechas de</u> <u>Género en Chile</u>
- Informe GET: Brechas de género en Educación, Salud y Trabajo en Chile. 1990-2018.
- <u>CONICYT. Participación de las mujeres en la Ciencia</u> <u>en Chile</u>
- DANE, Encuesta Nacional del Uso del Tiempo
- <u>DeJusticia, Participación política de las mujeres y</u> partidos - 2013
- <u>Departamento Nacional de Planeación, Equidad de</u> <u>género para las mujeres, a partir de p. 13</u>
- IDB, Proporción del empleo público ocupado por mujeres
- Inter-Parliamentary Union, Mujeres en el parlamento comparación mundial
- Fecode, Revista Mujer
- <u>Mesa de género de la Cooperación internacional en</u> <u>Colombia, Insumos para consideración de la Misión</u> <u>Especial Electoral - a partir p. 14</u>
- <u>NIMD, Violencia de género en política</u>
- OIT, Mujeres en cargos de alta responsabilidad
- <u>ONU, Informe "Atenea" -Colombia, la hora de la</u> <u>paridad</u>
- <u>PNUD</u>, Mujeres y política: claves para su participación y representación - a partir de la p. 35

- <u>Universidad Externado, Aplicación de las cuotas de</u> <u>género en Colombia - a partir p. 9</u>
- <u>Estudio de ONU Mujeres sobre Violencia Política de</u> <u>las Mujeres en Ecuador</u>
- <u>Prevenir La Violencia Contra Las Mujeres Durante Las</u> <u>Elecciones: Una Guía de Programación</u>
- <u>A contribuição das mulheres para a igualdade na</u> <u>América Latina e no Caribe</u>
- INE, Instituto Nacional Electoral
- Igualdad de género y no discriminación.
- Mujeres en la política. Participación y representación
- <u>Violencia política contra las mujeres</u>
- Paridad en las candidaturas
- Paridad de Género. Participar y votar en igualdad
- Evolución normativa en México. Paridad
- Paridad en los Organismos Públicos Electorales.
 Paridad
- <u>CRONOLOGÍA. Movimiento de paridad en México</u> <u>1910 - 2019</u>
- INEGI, Atlas de Género
- <u>FEPADE, Fiscalía Especializada Para la Atención de</u> <u>Delitos Electores</u>
- ONU Mujeres, Liderazgo y participación política
- <u>Strategia Electoral: participación de las mujeres en la</u> política
- IMCO, Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad;
 Informe legislativo 2018, Paridad de Género en el
 Poder Legislativo
- <u>PNUD México, Participación política de las Mujeres en</u> <u>México (2013)</u>
- <u>CNDH, Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos</u>
 (2009)
- Observatorio de Participación Política de las Mujeres en México
- <u>"Cámara de Diputados Mx, La participación política</u> de las mujeres.De las cuotas de género a la paridad "
- Instituto de las Mujeres de la Ciudad de México
- ONU-PNUD-IDEA, Atenea, por una democracia 50/50, LA DEMOCRACIA PARITARIA EN MÉXICO: AVANCES Y DESAFÍOS
- <u>Violence against women in parliament</u>
- <u>Campanha #NotTheCost</u>

FROM WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE TO PARITY & RECOGNITION OF GENDER-BASED POLITICAL VIOLENCE



This project is the work of many hands. We thank each one of you who turned this from idea to reality.

ELECTED research team are:

Beatriz Pedreira: general coordinator Carol Althaller: content planning and communication strategy Carol Pires: editor Daniela Delamare e Mariana Brunini: organization of audiovisual content Isadora Brant: camera operator and photojournalist Larissa Dionisio: executive producer Luciana Minami e Jonaya de Castro: co-creation Luciana Ramos: translation into Spanish Patrícia Rangel: qualitative research analyst and gender and politics consultant Seth Kugel: translation into English Victoria Carvalho: graphic design, visual narrative, and design. VGL Translations & Publishing: transcripts Zainne Lima: proofreading Rane Souza: sensitivity consultant Julia Stabel: english version layout

Researchers and local organizations:

Agustin Frizzera - Democracia en Red - ARG Aída Bustos Martínez - Instituto de Liderazgo Simone de Beauvoir - MX Aluna Serrano Barrera - Extituto de Política Abierta - COL Ana Joaquina Ruiz Guerra - independent consultant - MX Ana Laura Flores Torres - Instituto de Liderazgo Simone de Beauvoir - MX Clara Carolina de Sá - Instituto Alziras - Brasil Gabriela Saieg - ComunidadMujer - CHL Julia Beatriz Alandia Ricaldi - Coordinadora de la Mujer - BOL Juliana Hernández De la Torre - Artemisas - COL Lucia Vargas Sontura - Coordinadora de la Mujer - BOL Marina Barros - Instituto Alziras - BRA Michelle Ferreti - Instituto Alziras - BRA Mónica Alejadra Novillo Gonzales - Coordinadora de la Mujer - BOL Paula Poblete Maureira - ComunidadMujer - CHL Roberta Eugênio - Instituto Alziras - BRA Soledad Tuñón - Democracia en Red - ARG Thaisa Torres Nunes - Iniciativa Brasilianas - BRA

Advisors and consultants:

Carla Mayumi: qualitative research advisor Cila Schulman: advisor Coletivo Massa: racial diversity consultant Gênero e Número: gender and quantitative data consultant Manoela Miklos: advisor Mariana Cosgwell: advisor on women's leadership issues Mattos Filhos: pro-bono attorney

Audiovisual team

Ana Bovino, Andrea Giusti, Bruna Bravo, Carol Avelino, Cinthia Imamura, Daniela Sánchez, Duda Porto de Souza, DYG Midnight, Elton de Almeida, Fernanda Polacow, Gal Buitoni, Geisa França, Giulia Salvatore, Inés Terra, Julia Teles, Lili Carvalho, Lucas Campos, Lucas Ogasawara, Luis Felipe Labaki, Mariana Martins, Maranha, Mariana Oliva, Marina Mercês, Mario Lemes, Mazi Rodrigues, Patrícia Castilho, Patrícia Martins, Paula Tobón, Renata Correa, Renata Romeu, Roberto Collío, Rosa Caldeira, Vanesa Castiblanco, Victoria Marechal e Viviane Zangrossi.

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More Information:

<u>eleitas.org</u> contato@institutoupdate.org.br /institutoupdate @institutoupdate